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

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## NOTES.

**Lord Mountbatten's Task** :—Contrary to the impression that the plan of operations in the Far East had been decided at the Quebec conference before Lord Louis Mountbatten's appointment to the chief command in the Pacific was announced, the political correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* is quoted by the London correspondent of the *Hindu* as observing that long talks would probably be necessary before an agreement is reached between the Chinese Generalissimo and Lord Mountbatten during the latter's expected visit to Chungking. If that be so, it would have saved valuable time if General Chiang Kai-Shek had been invited to the Quebec Conference. The reason now disclosed for not inviting Marshal Stalin, namely, that as a neutral in the war with Japan, the Russian Prime Minister would be embarrassed, does not apply to the Chinese leader. The correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* indicates that there is difference of opinion among British leaders themselves as to the most efficacious way of attacking Japan. The Burma Road which has so long been held to be vital to communications with China, seems to be now discounted. The re-conquest of Burma itself is considered likely to prove too costly in manpower and material to be undertaken immediately. Those who hold this view, advocate an amphibious campaign along the Malaya and Sumatra coast as it would drain Japanese resources. Lord Mountbatten is said to be an expert in amphibious warfare, and perhaps he may prefer this course. In these calculations there is no recognition of the importance of the political repercussions of military strategy. The Chinese Generalissimo has been keen on the reconquest of Burma as the best means of helping his own defensive operations. In India, too, the postponement of the reconquest of Burma will have a depressing effect. The Indian people have been often told that their food problem can be solved only by the reconquest of Burma. The *Times of India's* New Delhi correspondent, on the other hand, had disclosed the other day that the Government of India had made it clear to the British Government that the cost of reconquering Burma should not be put on India. The actual cost in rupees does not represent the burden which India will have to bear in connection with the Far East campaign. India has been led to expect that the campaign against the Japanese in Burma was to be started at the earliest moment possible. The

amphibious operations in Malaya have no immediate interest for India. It is stated that Lord Mountbatten will make his headquarters in New Delhi. The Imperial capital will thus have the honour of being the headquarters of the Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief in India, and the Supreme Commander of Anglo-American armies for the war with Japan. It was announced this week that a large number of East African troops has also been landed in India.

**Provincialism and the Food Crisis** :—Sir Jwala Srivastava has been active since he took over charge of the Food Department trying to get a firsthand knowledge of the food crisis, so far as it affects Bengal. The Governor-General has relieved him as an after-thought of charge of the Civil Defence Department which is merged in the Defence Department under Sir Feroze Khan Noon. As we feared, the method of dealing with individual provinces has its drawbacks. Bengal's needs are great but so are the needs of some other parts of the country which are not so vocal and which have no outstanding personality like Dr. Shyam Prasad Mukherji to voice their sufferings. A friend who returned from Malabar recently, tells us that the situation there is every whit as serious as in Bengal. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar speaking in Tinnevely the other day characterised the food crisis as due to provincial autonomy run mad. This is not a whit too strong. Sir Jwala can not be everywhere and see everything with his own eyes. A great administration cannot depend on personal impressions to keep it working evenly. Nothing short of the withdrawal of the licence at present enjoyed by provinces, whether with or without authority, to violate the statutory prohibition against provincial restraints on the movements of commodities, can prevail against the bloated provincialism which has seized certain administrations. This does not mean that there should be no control whatever over food transactions. Prices should be controlled and transport should be regulated by an authority more in touch with conditions throughout the country than at present. The appointment of an Indian as Joint Secretary to the Food Department is a step in the right direction. There should be a similar arrangement with regard to transport.

**Bengal Food Problem** :—Sir J. P. Srivastava, the new Food Member of the Government of India, before going to the Punjab, as he had announced in Calcutta during his recent visit to that city, met the Punjab Prime Minister and the Orissa Prime Minister in New Delhi. A Press message states that an arrangement was reached between them. "The Punjab Premier has undertaken to do his best for Bengal and the Maharaja of Parlakimedi (the Orissa Premier) has agreed to release the large stocks of rice bought some time ago by Bengal which the Orissa Government had 'requisitioned' and also to give immediately further large quantities of rice from his own province." Orissa itself is suffering not less severely than Bengal from

food shortage. When the Orissa Premier "requisitioned" the rice bought by Bengal and under what authority, and why he has been keeping the stock undistributed when the Uriyas are starving, and from where he will send the large quantities of rice (400,000 maunds) which he has promised to Bengal, are a mystery. As we anticipated when the Food portfolio was transferred from the hands of Sir Azizul Haque, the investigation which he had undertaken into the responsibility for obstructing the free flow of food to Bengal is not to be pursued. *The Times of India's* New Delhi correspondent states that it is felt that the recent unpleasant controversy as to who was to blame for the existing state of affairs should be brought to an end by issuing an agreed statement of the supply, transport and distribution arrangements "revealing in true perspective" the part played by each Government. So, everything is made to appear seemly, though unseemly things have been happening. This morbid regard for keeping up appearances, has been the keynote of the Linlithgow regime.

**Communalism in Universities:**—Sir Jogendra Singh's earnest plea against introducing the communal canker in universities, was admirable. But one felt that he was leading a forlorn hope with great gallantry but poor chances of success. The Secretary of his own Department, Mr. Tyson, who had piloted the Delhi University Bill in the Legislative Assembly, became apologetic in the Council of State while replying to the Muslim League opposition which scarcely touched educational issues and was entirely confined to securing communal representation in the various university committees. Mr. Tyson said that he sympathised with the object of the opposition as the minorities did not pull their weight in the Delhi University. We cannot understand what Mr. Tyson meant by pulling their weight. What have majorities and minorities to do with learning? If it means that there was not a proportionate number of members of the minorities among the undergraduates, it may be that the communities concerned do not believe in the educational training imparted in the Delhi University. Or it may be that the cost of education in the University is too high and that they do not feel disposed to make sacrifices like those who seek admission in larger members. In the former case, the University can attract the students only by remodelling its course according to their requirements and wishes. In the latter case, the University should lower its fees, which would bring more students of other communities also, or give special scholarships for students of particular communities. We have gone very far in the communal direction but we trust we have not yet reached the point of prescribing quotas for success in university studies. There was point in the observation of one of the non-Muslim members, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, that having adopted communalism as the guiding principle in most administrative and political fields, it was too late now to oppose its introduction in the University. Sir Jogendra Singh has managed to keep the evil out of the amending Bill but it is sure to come in by the backdoor. In the Annamalai University, the amending Bill drafted by the Governor and his Advisers, openly discriminates against Brahmins in favour of non-Brahmins both regarded as forming the majority community. At the present stage, there is no resisting the evil with any chance of success. It must be allowed to work itself out. Lord Minto did not realise that he was laying the axe at the root of the British Indian system when he, against the experienced advice of Lord Morley, adopted communal discrimination as the basis of the franchise.

**Acting Governors:**—What embitters the differences over the constitutional problem is the racial discrimination which, notwithstanding solemn assurances, have continued to disfigure the Indian administration. This has never been so nakedly exhibited as at present. Instead of minimising racial discrimination as a step towards conciliating Indian susceptibilities, the practice, if not the policy, is to emphasise it on every possible occasion. Recently the Governor of Bengal, Sir John Herbert, fell seriously ill of a complaint which seems to bear resemblance to that of which his predecessor was a victim. Sir John was incapacitated for carrying on his responsible duties at a time of the utmost stress in Bengal. Before the Government of India Act came into force, the senior Member of the Executive Council would have become acting Governor as a matter of course. Sir Mahomed Usman and Sir K. V. Reddi in Madras, the late Raghavendra Rao in the Central Provinces, the Nawab of Chattari in the United Provinces, and Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan in the Punjab, acted as Governors in the absence of the respective incumbents. The Prime Minister of a province has certainly a higher status than an Executive Council Member. The Prime Minister represents the people while an Executive Council Member is an official. In the circumstances which have arisen in Bengal, Sir Nazimuddin, the Premier, should have taken over the acting Governorship. Instead, the Governor of Bihar is appointed to the position. To act in the place of Sir Thomas Rutherford in Bihar, the Chief Secretary of the Government of the United Provinces is deputed. Both these acting Governors are English and members of the Indian Civil Service. Neither of them has any knowledge of the province which they are sent to govern. It is the duty of the Muslim League which is the chief political party now freely functioning, to protest against this supersession. The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal would probably have been appointed to act for the Governor over the head of the Prime Minister but for the fact that he has resigned owing to the censor having found something objectionable in one of his letters to a friend. The Muslim League has a special duty in the matter as Sir Nazimuddin is one of its prominent Members and has declared that he will follow the policy of the League. It is also the duty of non-party leaders to raise a strong protest against this flagrant act of racial discrimination.

**Mr. Khare Rebuked:**—The Right Hon. M. R. Jayakar presiding at a complimentary function to Dr. Khare, the Member for Indians Overseas, during the latter's recent visit to Bombay, pointedly criticised the studied omission to refer to the political situation and the reactions to it of the Government of India, in Dr. Khare's observations on the occasion. Dr. Khare's elder brother was elected Shankaracharya for one of the mutts in India and the younger brother was probably, therefore, in a mood to philosophize. What, however, the people expect to hear from an Indian Member of the Executive Council is not a philosophical disquisition but something of what he and his Indian colleagues are doing to justify their official position. They must admit that their appointments are due not to their superior abilities but chiefly to their being Indians. Their influence in the Government is wholly dependent on the persistence of the demand for Indianisation. If this demand slackens, their hands will become correspondingly weakened *vis-a-vis* their European colleagues who have at their back the powerful Services which actually rule the country. For an Indian Member to avoid speaking of politics to his people is to acknowledge his impotence in the Government as a force for directing policy.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, September 11, 1943.

## ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

Mr. Churchill is still in America. A New York message dated September 7 says that though he has been in that continent since August 10 and the object of his meeting with President Roosevelt has evidently been fulfilled, Mr. Churchill shows no disposition to return to Britain. That, it adds, has aroused speculation that the British Premier and the American President are marking time. Mr. Churchill however, is not marking time. He is busy assiduously cultivating American opinion and there are signs that he is not unsuccessful. Mr. Churchill's policy was clearly indicated in a speech which he made to Harvard professors and students on September 6. Mr. Churchill waved aside the various schemes for setting up stronger institutions for preserving peace and expressed his faith in Anglo-American co-operation as the ultimate security. He asked for the fraternal association of the two peoples not for material aggrandisement or the vain pomp of earthly domination but for the sake of service to mankind and for the honour that comes to those who faithfully serve great causes. The fact is that Mr. Churchill is not at his best, perhaps not even in his element, in this atmosphere into which he has soared. His style is better suited to the earlier pronouncements about his not becoming first minister of the King to give up the Empire; or about the Anglo-American nations marching in majesty down the path of victory. Mr. Churchill's condemnation of the futile pacifists who wrecked the League of Nations—a historically inaccurate statement—shows what his idea of peace is. In this peace Britain and her Commonwealth-Empire, on the one hand, and, on the other, the U.S.A. are to keep the peace. The United States has seen the disadvantage of this plan. Nathaniel Peffer writing in *Political Science Quarterly* for March 1943, gave the alternatives that the United States faced. He wrote:

Reduced to baldest terms, the choice is this: international organization of some kind or alliance with Great Britain. And, as between the two, on the coolest, unillusioned, rational calculation and without any weakness for the rhetorical or callow faith in formulae, one's judgment must be: the second, if necessary, but only after every effort is made to bring about the first. The second is the counsel of despair; in the first there may be some hope.

Mr. Churchill thinks the present opportune for pressing the cause of alliance between Britain and America. Stalin has been cold. The United States' intervention in French politics in North Africa and her support of Otto of Austria and other incursions into European politics, have not been calculated to remove European traditional distrust of American political commonsense, leave aside wisdom. The appeals of China and Chinese criticism of the tempo of the Pacific war must have also contributed to make Americans feel inclined to adopt the "counsel of despair" Mr. Churchill is cautious. Once he spoke of the two English-speaking nations marching in majesty to victory. Now he thinks in terms of extending their influence in other nations through Basio English.

There are signs that American opinion is not unmoved by these overtures of British imperialism. On issues like India where they have no interests to preserve or extend, Americans will probably accept Britain's lead. But there are many other questions arising for settlement at the peace

conferences, which cannot be as amicably disposed of. There Mr. Churchill, or whoever takes his place will discover that it is not always an advantage for two peoples, that they speak the same language. At any rate, President Roosevelt is also preparing for the peace discussions and, as *The Reformer* pointed out recently, his best work has been in achieving a measure of unity in South and Central America. The American President has carefully avoided the errors of Woodrow Wilson and obviously the worst was when the American representative faced a solid British Empire block or even a united European group of nations on issues relating to world questions. Now that he has brought about a strong feeling of continentalism in the Americas, there is a vital difference in the position. Mr. Churchill is too much of an imperialist to appreciate the difficulties of the United States of America; or even if he did, to care very much about it. But the United States can ill afford today of all times to insist on emphasising its English elements. For apart from the very mixed nature of its own population, it has now to link itself up with the Latin peoples of America. We had already referred two weeks back to the continental unity wrought in the western hemisphere. There are two articles in *Foreign Affairs* for April 1943 which discuss American problems in regard to inter-state relations. Waldo Frank who draws a careful distinction between the continental outlook and the "island" outlook, pleads for better understanding between the three Americas—the Anglo-Saxon, i. e., U.S.A. and Canada; Spanish America; and Brazil. It is a point worth noting that the Spanish and Portuguese Americas have assimilated their Negroes. The United States of America, says Frank, must face its failure in race democracy. "We cannot expect confidence in the American republics," he adds, "so long as we continue to discriminate against so important a minority as the Negro, and to make of him an inferior nation within our nation." In the second article Percy W. Bidwell explains why South and Central America is finding unity with the United States welcome. In fact the initiative in many plans of collaboration has come from the Latin American States, though they have always been suspicious of U. S. economic imperialism. As Bidwell writes:—

None of these countries wants to be dependent, politically or economically, on the United States, or on any other country.....They seek to escape from anything resembling a colonial status. The best thing we can do is to facilitate their resumption of normal trading relations with us and with the rest of the world as soon as possible and on the most advantageous terms possible.....Their economies are now so closely linked with ours that if we crash after the war they will crash with us.....Latin America will need also European markets, and prosperous ones. Those who are busy with plans for the postwar world seem to be so preoccupied with European aspects of the problem that they seem to be neglecting responsibilities nearer home. But the fact is that if by such planning we are able to help establish a durable world peace and promote the expansion of international trade, we shall have fulfilled in large part our Pan American obligations.

The implications of all this are clear. The United States of America is coming to the peace conferences with a new outlook. It is no longer a case of European politics being the sole influence in world affairs. We are now at the end of an epoch and Europe will fast cease to be the centre of international politics. Perhaps Mr. Churchill realises this and seeks to build up round the new centre that promises to develop. But his approach is not the

best. Even while he talks of developing the common language and spreading its use through the world, thoughtful Americans are realising that, for the United States, English alone is not enough. "Spanish or Portuguese should be a compulsory part of our primary education," writes Waldo Frank, "as English should be a compulsory part of education in the other Americas. The histories of African and Amerindian cultures should become at least as important in our classrooms as the politics of the dynasties of Europe."

#### ITALY SURRENDERS.

When with the fall of Fascism and Mussolini, the Badoglio Ministry came to the head of affairs in Italy, it was thought that the time was not far distant when Italy would offer unconditional surrender, even though Badoglio's proclamation stated that the war would continue. Of course, it was realised that time was needed for adjustments between Germany and Italy. German troops in Italy had to be given the chance to withdraw; Italian troops serving abroad had to be brought back. In the past month, we in India have been shut out from press and radio opinion in Italy, except the little that came through the censorship. But what did trickle through was enough to show that Badoglio had started on a complete reversal of Fascist policies. His attitude was that Italy had been dragged into the war against the wishes of the Italian people. On June 10, 1940, Mussolini had announced that the hour of destiny had struck for Italy, and he had entered on the war, on the side of Nazi Germany. The fall of Fascism before the surrender of Italy upset many calculations. But events are only symptoms. Fascism fell because the Italian people had no heart in hostilities. Writing last April in *Foreign Affairs* Luigi Sturzo observed:

To free Italy from the Fascist Government; the Fascist Party and Fascist ideology is precisely one of the chief war aims and aspirations of a majority of the Italian people. To say this is not to say that they can be asked to revolt now.....The appearance of United Nations armies in Italy, and Italian popular confidence in the purposes of those armies, are the conditions precedent to revolt... There would seem to be a need for clear and unequivocal statements by the leaders of the United Nations and for straight directives to all those who communicate over the radio or through other means with the Italian people.

The terms of the armistice are secret. So far as we can judge, Signior Sturzo's conditions were not satisfied. Yet the Italian people have asserted their will to peace. This can only mean that the feeling was general that any peace was better than the war they were forced to continue. That Marshal Badoglio was able to effect the transition from his first proclamation to unconditional surrender, suggests that there was a deep understanding both between him and the Italian people, on the one hand, and between him and the Allied leaders, on the other. The Italian monarchy has doubtless played an important part in bringing this condition about and the Pope has exercised his great influence.

The question arises what is to follow. Immediately there will be a kind of protectorate over Italy set up by the Allied military command. The resources of that country will be to some extent—though this will be conditioned naturally by the three year war that has just ended for Italy, and, we hope, too by the necessity of arriving at a stable peace later—available to the United Nations.

#### SOVIET RUSSIA AND THE CHURCH.

The event of most far-reaching importance of the week is the permission accorded by M. Stalin to the Metropolitans of Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev to elect a Patriarch of the Orthodox Church for the whole of Russia. Coming so soon after the dissolution of the Comintern, it marks perhaps the most crucial point in the liquidation of the Bolshevik Revolution. Revolutions are a very wasteful and unintelligent way of clearing an existing system of its overgrowths. They are like burning down a whole house in order to light a cigarette. What prudence, foresight, and timely repairs can achieve without involving widespread destruction and suffering, creates, in the absence of these qualities, in the people first, the spirit, then, the fact, of violent and wholesale destruction. The revolution, however, sooner or later exhausts itself and the solid core of a people's spiritual and cultural life revives with undiminished vigour. Even in Lenin's lifetime it was evident that the Bolshevik Revolution had missed its mark. Stalin was then an obscure figure with little influence in the Bolshevik councils. He was in fact a heretic without faith in the Party's slogan of international revolution. He stood out against the ambition of world revolution. His goal was Socialism for one nation and one people. It is doubtful, extremely doubtful, if the old slogan had been persisted in, whether Russia would have been able to offer such resistance to the Nazi aggression as she is doing. A people, said Disraeli, is ruled either by tradition or by force. Stalin, by restoring the tradition of the Russian people, the most important of which is embodied in their Church, is preparing the way for reducing the scope of force in the Soviet system of Government.

The Orthodox Church on its part has shown much wisdom in establishing contacts with the Soviet regime. Metropolitan Nikoliev of Kiev is a member of the Commission appointed by the Soviet Government to investigate German war crimes. Metropolitan Sergie, acting Patriarch, blessed Russian Arms in Moscow Cathedral and in a call to his flock, he denounced Hitler as an enemy of the people and appealed to the Russians to rise in defence of their country. The early anti-religious phase of the Soviet Revolution was directly due to the association of the Church first with the Tsarist regime, and then with Kerensky's counter-revolution. The Soviet State, as such, has no established Church. The Church receives no subsidies from the State. This is no disadvantage to a Church in which the people believe. It is rather an advantage because the stability of the Church depends entirely on the support of the people. The new constitution of 1936 is free from all traces of anti-clericalism. Under it, priests have the right to vote and be elected to the Supreme Soviet. Freedom of worship is guaranteed. The Article relating to religion says that "in order to ensure freedom of conscience, the church is separated from the State and the school from the church, Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognised for all citizens." James Maynard writing in the *Protestant* reports that buildings for religious purposes are provided free of charge and are exempt from the usual taxes by the Soviet Government. Any one who tries to violate the rights of believers by offending their feelings and jeering at their beliefs is severely punished in Soviet Courts. He adds: "The sacred rights of the individual, irrespective of race, colour or religion, are respected in this strange land which is practising Christianity without accepting its theory." A similar tendency to abandon the anti-religious bias is discernible also in Turkey.



### ANGLO-AMERICAN INTELLECTUALS' ADVICE.

The Indian public has been surprised by the messages in quick succession purporting to have been given by Upton Sinclair, Bernard Shaw and Bertrand Russell expressing their opinions as to what Indian leaders should or should not do at this juncture. We say "purporting" because in wartime messages from abroad are apt to become crumpled in transmission. Upton Sinclair sympathises with Indian aspirations but he advises us to put them "in cold storage," to use the elegant phraseology of Mr. Brendon Bracken, British Minister of Information, for the period of the war. This is intelligible from the Minister of information but not equally so from Upton Sinclair. The war is proclaimed to be solely for the liberation of people and the securing to them of the four freedoms. One freedom at least can easily be granted by the champions of freedom of their own motion. Why put that in cold storage? The grant of freedom to India will certainly help the liberation of others for whom the Allies have to fight the Axis. This is plain as plain can be. To put it at the very lowest it would relieve Britain of the sole odious responsibility for the starvation and epidemic conditions which are threatening not only the lives of considerable sections of the population but are bound seriously to impede the war effort and the prosecution of the Pacific operations from India.

Bernard Shaw characteristically declares that the attainment of freedom is a task for Indians themselves, in which he has no right to interfere. This is a very convenient and comfortable position to take. But how does it accord with Bernard Shaw's self-assumed role of world renovator as he appears in his works? We admit that it is Indians themselves who should win their freedom. Is it wrong for them to expect the moral support of men who in other lands have proclaimed the gospel of freedom? Surely Bernard Shaw has a more active part to play in the matter than looking on with folded hands on the Indian scene.

Bertrand Russell's opinion with which Mrs. Russell has associated herself, is somewhat involved in style and confused in thought. They say that Gandhiji is not pro-Japanese but seem to hold that his pacifism is as bad as being pro-Japanese and that his detention, therefore, is justifiable. They overlook the fact that Gandhiji advocates non-violence as the surer and more effective means of achieving the very object which the Allies profess to be fighting for. The couple merely echo what Mr. Amery has been saying all these years: "Settle your differences first and you will have freedom for the asking." Because Indians have differences among themselves as all nations have, it is no reason why Britain should insist on sitting upon them. It is rather a reason why Britain should say, "Gentlemen, since you can not settle your differences, my presence among you cannot be of any benefit either to you or to me because I want you to live in peace and harmony. If you want my help really, you should cease to quarrel and be united. Otherwise, I shall leave you to your own devices." With due deference to all three men of letters and science, Indians would be thankful to be left to follow their own leaders though they may not be as eminent as any of their advisers. It has long been clear that Asiatics cannot expect disinterested advice from Europeans and Americans even of great intellectual eminence.

### JEWES AND MOSLEMS IN ALGERIA.

(BY GLORA M. WYSNER.)

[Dr. Wysner has served as missionary to North Africa for the Women's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church since 1926. She received her Ph.D. from the Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford Seminary Foundation, in 1942, her doctoral dissertation being a study of the Berbers of North Africa, among whom she has worked for so many years. She is now serving as Special Consultant on Muslim Relations for the Foreign Missions Conference of North America. This article is released by Worldover Press.]

Back of the tumult which arose when General Giraud repealed the Crémieux Law of 1870 regarding Jewish rights in Algeria, there lies a political tangle which is most complicated and serious. It is difficult for those who have not followed the political implications down through the years to understand all that is involved in that area today.

Of the country's seven million people, about 110,000 are Jews, 950,000 are Europeans, and six million are Arabs and Berbers. Of the European population about 850,000 are French citizens. The others are mostly Spaniards and Italians. Although the Arabs and Berbers are followers of Islam, these two groups differ in many ways from each other. The Arab is a Semite, the Berber a Hamite. The Berbers became Muslims after the Arab invasions of North Africa in the 7th and 11th centuries. But many of the Berber groups have never accepted Koranic law above their own customary laws.

The Jews came into North Africa in large numbers at various times. Some came centuries ago. Many came from Spain in the 16th and 17th centuries. Both Jewish and Arab historians tell of many Berbers being converted to Judaism. Some of these tribes today are known as Berber Jews and follow the practices of the Jewish faith. They live largely in the cities. The Ghetto of Constantine contains thousands of Jews living in miserable quarters, wearing their native dress, many holding firmly to old Jewish customs. On the other hand, some of the Algerian Jews have attended the University of Algiers where they have very often taken the lead in scholastic attainment. Some of them became doctors, lawyers, dentists. Others have leading places in commerce.

Today's burning political issue in Algeria concerning citizenship rights of Algerian Jews and the Muslims (Arabs and Berbers) is not a new question. In fact, it has been the subject of attention by various groups in France and Algeria for more than seventy years. In attempting to understand this problem it must be remembered that the French Colonial policy has been one of assimilation—a policy very different from that followed by Great Britain. Ever since France took Algeria in 1830 they have tried to assimilate the indigenous population. But this on the whole has been an unsuccessful attempt.

Pursuing this policy the French passed a decree on October 26, 1870 known as the Crémieux decree because it was promulgated by Adolphe Crémieux, Minister of Justice in the Government of National Defense. This decree gave to all Algerian Jews, "en bloc," full rights of French citizenship.

It must be remembered that this law was passed in France, by the French of the metropole, during the Franco-Prussian War. The French people of France proper and of Algeria have often been far apart in their thinking on Colonial questions. Although the French Colonial citizens did not approve of the Crémieux law they did not immediately register a

protest. This was probably due to the fact that they were not a united group at the time.

The majority group—the Moslems—were not included in this decree. An Act had already been passed in 1865 which decreed that the Muslims would continue to be ruled by Muslim law. This Act did not close the door for Muslims to become French citizens. It said that Muslims could request the privilege of citizenship but upon becoming citizens must be governed by the civil and political laws of France.

Very few Muslims ever availed themselves of this opportunity. They did not and do not to this day want to give up their "personal status." By this is meant the rights and privileges which are theirs under Koranic law or the customary law (the *Qanouns*) of the Berbers. When a Muslim becomes a French citizen he can no longer use his Muslim rights of marriage, divorce, inheritance or paternal authority, but must be subject to those of the French law which are far different. The Muslim laws are tied in with the whole religious system of Islam and to break with them seems to the orthodox Muslim like heresy.

Some Muslims did accept French citizenship but in doing so often broke with their families and with the Muslim community. In some instances educated Muslims became citizens. Again, a few Muslims became citizens in order to secure better positions within the civil government. Although not citizens, the Muslims have been required to do their two years of military service and hundreds of them served in the first World War and hundreds more in this present war. They are subject to call as reservists whenever mobilization of the armed forces occurs.

Anti-Jewish agitations have occurred at various times in the history of Algeria. These have often been blamed upon the Muslims. In the last few years the Muslim has been more involved in these outbreaks but some of them can be traced very definitely to the economic situation in Algeria and also to the anti-Jewish sentiment among the French Colonials.

Numerous bills have been introduced by various sympathizers of the Muslim group to gain for them citizenship rights. So far these have all been without success. The question of "personal status" has always been a stumbling block in these efforts. Some of the bills have made an effort to obtain citizenship rights for them and at the same time allow them to retain their "personal status" under Muslim law. A proposal of this kind was made by Georges Clemenceau in 1915 but was defeated. Another proposal of this kind was made in 1936 during the Blum regime by Maurice Violette who had been Governor-General of Algeria from 1925 to 1927. This bill had the support of the Blum government and was favourably recommended in committee.

The Violette bill was proposed when Nationalistic feeling was running high in Algeria. It came at a time when the country was still feeling the effects of anti-Jewish riots. When the Violette bill was introduced in 1936 it was strongly backed by the Muslims. But the French Colonists did not favour it. They saw their own influence in colonial politics coming to an end if this measure passed. For the Muslim group, being the majority group, would soon have the power in their own hands.

When the bill found favour in France, a storm of protest arose in Algeria against it. In order to bring more pressure many of the mayors and other civil officers in Algeria resigned their posts. Just when the situation became most critical with pressure for the bill coming from the Muslims and pressure

against it being exerted by the colonists, the Blum Government fell and the bill was lost.

But the situation continued tense. The Jews were blamed, since the Crémieux decree had granted them citizenship "en bloc". The Muslims were discontented because they were deprived of citizenship if they retained their "personal status."

The next change in events came with the fall of France and the inauguration of anti-Jewish laws by the Vichy Government. Citizenship rights of Algerian Jews were repealed by an Act of October 8, 1940. This reduced the Jews in Algeria to the status of outcastes. They did not even have the right to become citizens as the Muslims still had provided they would give up their "personal status." Many of the Jews in Algeria were imprisoned. The University of Algiers was closed to them and many other hardships were inflicted upon them.

With the invasion of the American and British troops, hope was seen for another change in the situation of the Jews. March 14, 1943, General Giraud, French High Commissioner, declared null and void the decrees of Vichy which affected Algeria. This meant that the Jews were again restored to French citizenship. Once more their status *vis-a-vis* France was better than that of the Muslims. But this was only for a very brief period.

The following day, March 15, 1943, General Giraud repealed the Crémieux law of 1870, so that the Jews were again without citizenship rights. He explained his action as a desire to eliminate all racial discrimination. The move would be favourably accepted by the Muslims and also by the strong anti-Jewish element among the French colonial population. However, it is only emphasizing a problem that has existed in Algeria since the time the Crémieux law was first enacted in 1870. Many have questioned the right of General Giraud to repeal this law of so long standing.

#### BOMBAY MEETING ON FOOD.

Under the auspices of the Federation of Social Workers, a public meeting has been arranged for September 14, under the presidentship of Mr. N. M. Joshi. The draft of the main resolutions is given below :—

"As a proper and effective solution of the present food problem, the meeting is of opinion that the Government of India should take upon itself the function and the responsibility of controlling the prices of food grains and other essential articles in all parts of the country. The meeting is of opinion that the control of prices should not be left to the Provincial Governments and the District Authorities. The meeting further urges upon the Central Government that the prices to be fixed by them should be within the capacity of the people to pay; and if for that purpose it is necessary, the Government should take the responsibility of bearing the financial losses if any."

"The meeting also urges upon the Government of India to take in its own hand with the co-operation of Provincial Governments and the District Authorities to secure and regulate supplies of food grains to all parts of the country. And in order to keep all the parts of the country properly and promptly supplied with adequate quantities of food grains and other essential articles suggests to the Government of India to make transport available for carrying food grains from surplus parts to deficit parts and even for importing food grains from foreign countries. This meeting further urges upon the Government of India and Provincial Governments to penalize hoarding and prevent the existence of Black Market by taking drastic steps."

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

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## NOTES.

**Bombay Meeting on Food:**—There was a remarkable consensus of opinion, in the resolutions and speeches at the public meeting held on Tuesday under the auspices of the principal social workers' associations in the City, that the Food question must be taken over completely by the Central Government and should not be left as it has been to the Provinces with the present deplorable and, in some cases, comic results. From many other parts of the country has come the same demand, but the Government of India still hesitates. The latest appeal of the Food Member to the provinces to make their purchases early of the new crops soon to be harvested, shows that he is still not prepared to deal with Food as a central subject. He is content to be the post office between the provinces. The reluctance of the Government of India to take over the Food question is intelligible. The Executive Council of the Viceroy, as at present constituted, consists of members chosen on a communal and provincial basis and they cannot be expected to cut the ground from under their feet by discarding communal and provincial predilections. *The Reformer* had from the first pointed out that the expansion of the Executive Council would be a hindrance and not a help to the centralising of the Indian administration essential during at least the war period. The Members of the Executive Council look upon themselves not as Indians but as Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Englishmen, and the Indians look on themselves as men from the Punjab, the United Provinces, Madras or the Central Provinces. It is only when the communal and provincial mouths are fed that they are prepared to think of India. The Food situation today is the direct result of the Hoare constitution. It is a thousand pities that the illogicality and disingenuity of that scheme required the starvation of thousands to expose its real character.

**Rationing and Stocks:**—We are unable to share the faith of Mr. N. M. Joshi who presided at the Food meeting, in universal rationing as a means of relieving the situation. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta differed from Mr. Joshi in his opinion of the working of rationing in Bombay. What has succeeded in Bombay is not rationing but the departures from strict rationing in the scheme in actual practice. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta said that the non-presentation of a considerable proportion of the ration cards at the shops in Bombay, was due to the prices of the articles rationed being beyond the means of the masses. This is

partially true. But to a greater extent it is due to the traditional habit of Indian families of the middle and well-to-do classes having in their homes stocks of the essential food grains and pulses sufficient to last for some months and even a year. The practice of daily bazaar is alien to Indian homes. Government have wisely allowed families to retain a month's requirements. There has been no inquisitorial searches to ascertain whether stocks are sufficient for one month or more. In Madras, the Government have permitted persons to import paddy from their fields into the City after the introduction of rationing. Even apart from the Hindu joint family system, no official agency can determine precisely whether the rice imported comes from a family's own or from neighbouring fields. The fact is that, without a considerable winking at irregularities on the part of the people, Government would have found it impossible to administer the rationing system in this country. What we are admiring as rationing is rather a travesty of rationing. Even in England where the conditions are most favourable, rationing is far from being a complete success. If the Food Member cannot afford the time, he may depute one of his Secretaries to study "The Politics of Food" by George Darling who, while acknowledging the great ability and integrity of the Food Control authorities in Britain, points out how in important respects there is yet much to be remedied. Much of the superstition about rationing on which Mr. Joshi's advocacy is based, needs to be discarded. Darling writes:

Rationing does not bring food to the people; it prevents any one from having more than his fair share; it is a purely negative device. It prevents the millionaire from buying more than 4 oz. of butter or 4 oz. of bacon a week, but it does not provide the old age pensioner with these quantities. There is only one practical way by which every one can be positively assured of a full supply of food, and that way is to give every one the same income.

**No Piecemeal Solution:**—The British Ministry of Food has not only to collect and distribute but also to fix, with reference to income and nutrition, the scale and composition of the food available to the people. The Indian Food Member at any rate for the present has only to go from province to province and force, cajole or beg the provincial man in authority to give his neighbour some of his surplus food. Bengal may be satisfied today but the Food Minister has not visited the other parts of the country where food shortage is not less acute. The present method of dealing with the problem by provinces cannot succeed. Lady Linlithgow from the kindness of her heart has started a fund to supply milk to nursing mothers and children. In Darling's book there is reference to a similar attempt in Britain. It sent up prices at once and made milk beyond the means of the poor. The milk problem must be dealt with as part of the food problem. We do not know how it may be in Britain but here in India the nursing mother and the infant child cannot be helped unless the whole family is helped.



The following passage from Darling's book is commended to the Government of India:

In all other wars it has been assumed that the army had the first claims on food supplies. This would be a dangerous doctrine today for the production of munitions and the maintenance of civilian morale are just as important as the training and the fighting capacities of an army. No one section of the community comes first. We are all on the firing line: shopkeeper, soldier, munition worker, shop assistant, housewife—all must have adequate diet. This must be the first aim of a national food policy, and, if achieved, it will in turn conquer mal-nutrition, with its toll of physical and mental sickness.

**Sir Shafaat Ahmad on Discrimination:**—We have received a copy of the proceedings of the South African Indian Congress which held its session after eight years at Johannesburg in June. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, High Commissioner for India, opened the proceedings in a speech which breathed pride in the people he represented to the full. We print his reference to the "pegging" Act, particularly as we had the impression that he had not been as outspoken as he might have been. Sir Shafaat made an extensive survey of the progress of the Natal province which owed its prosperity to the labour, industry and skill of its Indian population. He stated that it was ahead of the three other provinces of the South African Union. He then traced the progress of the Indian community against great and unprecedented hardships. There were, he said, an increasing number of Indians from the Union taking their degrees and training in English, Indian and Union universities and institutions. In trade too, he pointed out that there was no reason to doubt the future of the community. Efforts were also being made to conform to Western standards of life. But the more the community did towards these ends, the more progressive it was, the more restrictions did it find placed on it. The future, he concluded, rested on the energy and initiative of the community and its co-operation with other racial elements in the Union. He gave a stirring lead when he said that the community is moving forward with the impelling certitude of a race to which doubt of its mission in the land is impossible. Indians there were devoted to the country and he was confident that, if they were given the choice, they would unanimously elect to remain in the Union. But he added that the Government of India could not withdraw its protection so long as citizenship rights were denied to Indians in South Africa. He advised the Congress to consider franchise questions.

**Fascism Reverts to Republicanism:**—In the beginnings of Fascism, the tendency was towards republicanism. Mussolini's newspaper strongly advocated the abolition of the monarchy. Then came the famous March on Rome and King Victor Emmanuel by holding his hand gave the Fascists their chance. Not ungrateful, Mussolini converted the demonstration into a parade of loyalty to the King. When in July this year, King Victor with the same ease turned out Mussolini and brought in Badoglio, it was recalled that Badoglio was in the days just prior to Fascism eager to finish the Fascist Party but had his advice ignored by the King. The rescued Mussolini has gathered together the remnants of the old Fascist Party many, leaders of which surprisingly enough have got free to rejoin Mussolini, and the first step he has taken is to declare for a republican form of Government. The days of the monarchy in Italy appear to be over, whatever the result of the war. Whilst his recent actions have put King Victor out of court with Fascists, his long twenty years association with the Fascist regime cannot make him acceptable

to anti-Fascists, even though there may be assiduous propaganda about the many differences between him and the Fascist Party chiefs. The struggle between monarchist and republican in Italy is one as old as Italy itself. It is one that will be settled after the war by Italians themselves. But developments which are taking place during the war, are taking Italy towards republicanism. That is likely too to mean a weakening of the power of the Roman Church in Italian politics.

**Marriage Law Muddle:**—Mr. Kopargam Ramamurthi in his article published elsewhere questions the soundness of the opinion expressed by the Calcutta High Court that marriages among Arya Samajists are monogamous. He mentions three instances of Arya Samaj ministers having celebrated marriages of persons who had wives living. If the Calcutta ruling holds good all the three marriages should be declared void. Unless the issue is formally raised before them, Courts can only pronounce upon the evidence which is placed before them by parties interested in establishing their own case. In the present case, the party opposing the application for divorce, seems to have urged that the Arya Samaj rite which followed the registration under the Special Marriage Act, revoked the monogamous effect of the registration and restored the polygamous freedom enjoyed under Hindu law as administered by the Courts, Aryas being admittedly Hindus. Counsel for the petitioner would seem to have recoiled from maintaining that the second Arya Samaj rite was of no legal value as it might make his client liable to a criminal prosecution for fraudulent marriage. He argued that the Arya Samaj marriage was also a monogamous marriage which carried with it the right of divorce. Monogamous marriages as such do not carry with them the right of divorce, for example, marriages among Catholic Christians. The Arya Marriage Act passed a few years ago leaves everything beautifully vague. There is no mention in it of monogamy or of divorce. It merely validates all marriages, past, present and future, among Aryas irrespective of any restrictions as to caste or gotra under their personal law as Hindus. The pronouncement of the Calcutta High Court, as Mr. Ramamurthi says, must be regarded merely as the personal opinion of the Judges concerned. The Hindu lawgiver laid down monogamy as the norm and grudgingly permitted a second marriage in strictly defined contingencies and even then with the consent freely given of the first wife. British Indian Courts have treated the restricted permission as a general licence, on the principle, perhaps, that what the sovereign permits, he commands. As the sovereign under the Hindu, as under the Muslim, Law has no power of legislation, this principle of western jurisprudence has no application.

**Sir Roger Lumley's Promotion:**—A Reuter's message this week announced that the promotion of Captain Sir Roger Lumley, ex-Governor of Bombay, to Major-General indicated, according to London opinion, some high appointment for him. Sir Roger Lumley himself has confirmed this by saying that he knows some high appointment is reserved for him but he does not know what it is. This looks rather naive but Sir Roger during his Bombay governorship was known to be cautious and politically very much awake. There are many high appointments these days and the fact that they may be at the moment filled, need not rule any of them out, as changes are by no means infrequent. Moreover, even if there were none available, the opportunities for creating something new have never been so great.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, September 18, 1943.

## WAR ECONOMICS: CHINESE AND INDIAN.

"Chinese Economic Policy in War-time" is the subject of an illuminating contribution by General Ho Yao-Tsu in the May number of the *International Labour Review*. It is of special interest to India as China and India have many points of analogy. To begin with, they have the two lowest averages of income per head of the population in the world. Then they have the two largest populations and cover the two largest land areas. China and India have the two oldest surviving civilisations. It is generally assumed that the Indian psychology is metaphysical while the Chinese are a practical-minded people who are concerned chiefly with mundane matters. This difference is stressed even by Chinese leaders of thought at the present time. Not so long ago the Chinese were depicted as opium sots revelling in a dreamland and as inveterate gamblers. As a matter of fact, Indians are quite as practical as the Chinese and the Chinese quite as metaphysical as the Indians. The distinction between physics and metaphysics is a creation of the materialistic philosophy of the West. However that may be, it is instructive to note the contrast between the policies and methods followed in China and India in war-time. The contrast arises from the fact that, while the Chinese Government is a national Government, the Indian Government is British not Indian. The Chinese policy is based on Chinese tradition and social institutions. The Indian policy is borrowed wholesale from Britain and British experts are brought out to apply them to Indian conditions. General Ho Yao-Tsu begins his article with a reference to its background without which he says Chinese policy cannot be understood. He writes:

The Chinese people have a cultural heritage going back to more than five thousand years, and their indomitable spirit of resistance to aggression is inspired by their love of peace and patriotic fervour, qualities for which they have been conspicuous throughout the centuries.

In the National War Front propaganda in British India also, the people are reminded of their ancient valour and patriotism but, as the people have been disarmed and are even today prohibited from bearing arms, the appeal naturally does not ring true. The Chinese leaders are careful to conserve the national and social structure of the country as it has come down the ages. Their war economy is to that end. The family is still the basis of national life. Under the reorganisation of 1940, each head of a family was charged with specific duties. In provinces and cities representative bodies have been set up and an organisation entitled the People's Political Council has been established in the Central Government. A network of representative bodies extends over the whole country, and provides the necessary machinery for giving effect to national policy and serves to direct the energies of the people to the work of political and social reconstruction. The keynote of the policy is complete centralisation. The State actively works for unity, repressing differences, communal or provincial. It is a mould for shaping national unity.

China like India is a predominantly agricultural country. Like India it is a land of small farmers. It is the policy of the Republic, laid down by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, that the small farmer should be protected and the people encouraged to acquire land. There is no more stable foundation for a

State than the possession of land by the largest proportion of the people. This is in direct opposition to the Marxian gospel and that is why there is the perpetually recurring conflict between the Chinese Republican Government and the Communists. But in their zeal to conserve the peasant's proprietorship, the Chinese leaders do not neglect industrial development. General Ho Yao-Tsu describes the general policy as regards industrial development thus:

The nature of the light industries to be developed has to be determined with reference to the heavy industries which it is proposed to establish; the heavy industries, including the defence industries, to be, as a rule, State-owned; and the small-scale industries and handicrafts to be assisted and subsidised by the State.

In India the establishment of heavy industries either by the State or by private agency, is not encouraged. General Ho Yao-Tsu devotes a section of his article to describe the rapid development of Chinese Industrial Co-operatives, started five years ago. There were more than 1,600 Co-operatives in 1940. Spinning and weaving are the most popular of their activities. The Co-operatives include also the manufacture of electrical apparatus, metal working and the manufacture of chemicals and food products. The Food problem is as acute in China as in India. The first measure adopted to ease the situation was the collection of the land tax in kind. The Madras Government is reported to be making an experiment in this direction. In China it has succeeded. It has been in force since 1941. In June last year it yielded 22 million piculs of food stuffs, three percent more than the estimate. General Chiang Kai-Shek has declared that second only to military affairs, comes food administration; the proper enforcement of the national food policy is equal in importance to that of the work of the unification of legal tender undertaken by the Ministry of Finance in 1935. As a matter of fact, the Food problem is as important as the armed defence of the country; indeed, it is even more. Though the Government of India seems to believe that the food problem has nothing to do with the war effort, it will realise very soon that it has. Much has been said, and deservedly, of the endurance and courage of the British in face of the severe air-bombing to which they were subjected in 1940. But it is not recognised that this was largely due to the conspicuous success of the food administration. The people were well fed. The cost of living index was actually lower than before the War.

**Mussolini's Escape:**—After fifty days of imprisonment after his resignation, Mussolini has been brought back by the Nazis to head a government in Italy, functioning from Cremona in the north. The German Fuehrer in his speech on the surrender of Italy by the Badoglio Ministry, eulogised the Duce in language which could only mean an early attempt at restoring him to a truncated authority at least. Then a German communique announced that Mussolini had been rescued by Nazis specially deputed by Hitler to the task. Then another announcement said that Mussolini's family had also been rescued and the Duce had joined them. Hitler naturally wants to surround the incident in a haze of Dumas mystery for his greater glory. But the circumstances do not support any rescue story. However confused conditions might have been in Italy, they could not have been so chaotic as to make the Badoglio Government forget not only their distinguished prisoner but his whole family.

## A PROPAGANDA PAMPHLET.

Propaganda is of two kinds: direct and insidious. In the first, the nation, movement or institution you wish to attack is roundly denounced as barbarous, reactionary, or dishonest. This kind of propaganda is never very effective. The large section of the public which stands outside rival schools, is as often prejudiced as it is impressed by mere vilification. It wants to know the credentials of the man who slings mud at others. Especially so when persons and institutions are attacked by name and the attacker hides himself behind a pseudonym or is blankly anonymous. The second kind is more effective and is, therefore, more often resorted to. Insidious propaganda has in fact become a fine art. There are rules and experts for its practice. Briefly, the art consists in disseminating partisan views in the guise of history. In the early part of the last century it was no uncommon thing for pamphleteers to pose as historians. Macaulay was the most famous of the tribe. In the middle of the century, however, a sterner idea of the function of the historian came to hold the field. The historian of this school divests himself of all his national and political affinities and becomes the medium of History as it is reflected in his mental camera. History was a sanctuary. Its high priest was the historian. He had to put off his shoes before he stepped on the holy ground. This is still the dominant view of History.

A propagandist who professes to be a historian, is sailing under false colours. Any amount of dates and documentation will not make propaganda history. The historian has no need to suppress his proper name. When, therefore, the pamphlet published by the *Times of India* Press with the interrogatory title "Has Congress Failed?" professes to be "a historical survey of the years 1918-1939" and the author poses as "A Student of Public Affairs," the reader is put on his guard. When, in addition, the author thinks it necessary to protest that "it would a gross misunderstanding of the purpose" of his writing "if it were supposed that its intention is anti-national" he betrays his true role. The historian, whether student or writer, has only one motive and one purpose, that is, to be true to history. He has no need and he has no call to disclaim any other.

But there is a more serious objection to this pamphlet being regarded as a historical survey which it claims to be. The author does not use his sources fully and fairly. Rushbrook Williams' annual reviews on India are one of his chief sources. Rushbrook Williams bore testimony in successive reviews that Civil Disobedience had the effect of keeping down the movement of violent political crime, which was Gandhiji's primary objective in starting it. Not once does the author mention this important admission. This is remarkable because the theme of the booklet is that Gandhiji's leadership of the Congress has been a failure. The question-mark in the title is only a pose. The writer has made up his mind that Gandhiji's leadership has been a failure. By the way, the words, "success and failure," with reference to public movements have no meaning. Was the constitutional movement before Gandhiji came on the scene a success? If it were, there would have been no non-co-operation at all. According to the author's yard-stick, Tilak's public activities would be adjudged a failure. Yet, Dr. H. C. Mookherji, the Indian Christian leader, in a carefully composed article in the current number of the *Hindustan Review*, headed "The Beginnings of Mass Awakening in Maharashtra," declares that "no student of the history of Indian nationalism will feel any hesitation in acknowledging that Lokamanya Tilak was one of the most prominent among those who, when backwardness if not timidity in demanding

India's inherent and inalienable right to Swaraj characterised the ordinary run of politicians, by their devoted courage and lifelong service laid the foundation of Swaraj." Was Dadabhai Naoroji's leadership a success? In his last address to the Congress he bewailed that, notwithstanding his earnest attempts to persuade the British Parliament and people to fulfil their pledges to India, he had not been able to effect any reform. Our historical student refers to the Declaration of 1917 and implies that it has been steadily pursued. Has he read Lord Ronaldshay's official biography of Lord Curzon who himself drafted it and afterwards repudiated it? Why is there no reference to Sir Malcolm Hailey's quibbling about it in the Legislative Assembly and that it took ten years to get the authoritative interpretation of what the Declaration meant?

## A BANDRA DIARY.

Some time back a friend wrote to me enquiring, among other things, whether it was true that there were Hindu temples in which the object of worship represented the sex relation. I told him that I had not heard of them but that I would not be surprised if there were such temples, the Hindu view of the sex relation being diametrically the opposite of the Christian missionary cum drain-inspector view. About the same time, I came across the autobiography of Jacob Epstein, the famous sculptor. Such coincidences are very common in my experience. When you are brooding over some intense idea an unseen hand seems to help by bringing relevant literature or events to your notice. Epstein tells at length the story of how he had to endure much persecution on account of some eighteen pieces of sculpture which he had executed for the decoration of the building of the British Medical Association. He heads the chapter on the incident: "The Strand Statues: A Thirty Year War." Epstein says that when the commission was given to him, a Member of the British Medical Association had suggested that the decorations should consist of their historically famous medical men. "But I was determined," he writes, "to do a series of nude figures, and surgeons with side-whiskers, no matter how eminent, could hardly have served my purpose as models." In symbolism, he explains, he tried to represent man and woman, in the various stages from birth to old age—a primitive, but in no way a bizarre, programme. A London newspaper started the hue and cry. "We are concerned most of all," it wrote, "with the effect which such figures will produce on the minds of the young people. They cannot be expected to exercise a full discrimination (why not?) and in any case the sight is not one which it is desirable in the interests of public morality to present to their impressionable minds." Browning in his "Ring and the Book" speaks of the rascaldom of Rome having rallied to the cry of sanctity of hearth and home by denouncing Caponsachi as the seducer of Pompilia. The London newspaper's cry was taken up by other newspapers and organisations. But England is a free country, or was, and there were people who defended Epstein. The *Times* took up his cause. Dr. Lang, who later became Archbishop of Canterbury, after personally inspecting the figures, declared that he saw nothing indecent or shocking about them. On the other hand, some sculptors denounced Epstein's figures as immoral and obscene. The building was later purchased by the Government of Rhodesia and the demolition of the statues was only partially averted by the protests of the British Press against the attempt to dictate British taste in Art by Rhodesia. One of the Rhodesian authorities said that the figures were all very well and very appropriate in the British Medical Association

building as Anatomy was a subject of study in Medicine. But to the Southern Rhodesian they could have only a pornographic meaning. Epstein replied that the figures were never intended to be 'topical'. They were intended to have a universal appeal "even perhaps understood in Southern Rhodesia." This did not save the statues from being mutilated much in the same way as the sculptures in Elephanta by pious Portuguese. As a boy I was almost a daily visitor with my people to the temples and I never saw any worshipper inspecting the sculptures on the gopuras which, indeed, they could not have done except with the aid of a telescope. Indeed, I never knew that the linga was a phallic symbol until I saw it so represented in some missionary publications. But one need not go to a Shiva temple to discover phallicism if one is minded to do so. The eye sees, wrote Carlyle, what it brings with it the means of seeing. One can see a phallic symbol in every tree or hill or, indeed, in anything in nature. A friend of mine once told me that the evening had been spoiled for him by coming across two dogs mating on the road. Have a clean mind and there will be no need to invoke the Indian Penal Code to save your youth from being corrupted. By the way, young people, as a rule, seem to be very little affected by the sight of nude figures, or even by semi-nude, much less than the older ones.

The other day I was taken to see a picture. For the first half hour or more I was obliged to stare at scenes from American life, principally war effort, endless noises and whirling of wheels, in which I could conceivably have no interest, and few else in the audience seemed to have. By the time the story came in view I was thoroughly bored, and I saw several persons leave their seats to go out for the interval. The story related to the invasion of Norway by the Germans. The wealthy man of the small town which the Germans had chosen for their landing had in collusion with the invaders arranged a picnic for the small police force out of town, so that when the Nazis came there was not even a show of resistance. The Commander calls the Mayor and tells him that he does not wish to have any trouble with the people and this can be easily managed if the Mayor and the other local authorities would co-operate with him in maintaining order in the city. The Colonel takes his quarters in the Mayor's house as that would be visible evidence that the invaders and the local authorities are acting together in full accord.

The man who had arranged the picnic for the Police comes in to claim his reward but the Commander quietly tells him that they are much obliged to him for what he has done but have no further need for his services. They want to create a friendly feeling among the people and to give the picnic-maker any prominence in the new arrangements would not be of help but a great hindrance to that object. Then the Commander finds the Mayor not amenable to his appeal for co-operation, he threatens him with force and actually the man is shot. At this stage, I left the place as I found the story tiresome. I came home and read it in its original form. I am told that the book is considered in some circles in America as being favourable to the Nazis, as not exhibiting the full measure of their brutalities. The Commander certainly showed that he had a conscience though it was invariably repressed in deference to orders. But the story has an inner significance which does not lend itself to adequate depiction on a film. The one phrase which has caught my imagination in it is that "the fly has conquered the fly-paper." The

conqueror is caught in the meshes of the conquered. The silent, gloomy faces round him drive him, in one or two cases, mad. The human heart craves for human sympathy. The lust of conquest does not last. One tires of dominating his fellows. It is only by completely dehumanising himself that he can maintain his dominance. For many even among Nazis this is too heavy a price to pay. —RECLUSE.

### MONOGAMY AND ARYA SAMAJ.

(BY KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI, ASKA.)

"Had the marriage in the present case been polygamous, it might conceivably have been argued that the Indian Courts would have no jurisdiction to dissolve it, since the English Divorce Court does not recognise such a marriage. There is, however, satisfactory evidence as found by the District Judge, that an Arya Samaj marriage is monogamous." So declared their Lordships of the Calcutta High Court in Dr. Niranjandas Mohan's case in disposing of the objection that the Divorce Act did not apply to it because Arya Samajists are Hindus (A. I. R. 1943 Calcutta 146 at page 149).

This marking off of the sheep from the goats among Hindus does not help sheep in the melancholy task of dissolving a life-partnership unless at least one partner abandons the parent fold and jumps over to Christianity. But the news that the Arya Samaj abides by the principle of monogamy so strictly as to attract honourable judicial recognition, came as a surprise to many who knew the Arya Samaj only by its officers performing second marriages to Hindu husbands who had cruelly deserted their first wives, from the time at least when in 1909 the Lucknow Arya Samaj married the Maharajkumar of Tikari to the Australian lady renamed Sita Devi, as detailed in A. I. R. 1928 Patna 375 up to the Allahabad and Russalkonda cases reported in the *Reformer* of 1938. An earnest longing was therefore expressed in the *Reformer* of 29th May current for a direct perusal of the said "satisfactory evidence", so that all doubts and prejudices may be set at rest. Today at last the whole printed book of evidence is before us through the kind courtesy of Mr. Nirmal Kumar Sen, M. A. B. L., the learned Advocate of Dr. Mohan the Petitioner. But we regret to find that the evidence on this specific point of Aryan monogamy is distressingly meagre and inconclusive.

There were only two witnesses on the point. The first was Mr. Lal Chand Pathak, an early Arya Samajist of independent means, whose sole contribution was that "persons who have been married, cannot be married again by Arya Samaj rites," which, in answer to the court, he amplified into the statement that "persons who have been married and whose wife is living, cannot be married again to another wife by Arya Samaj rites."

The only other witness, Pandit Ajodhya Prasad, is the most qualified to speak on the subject, being the experienced Minister of the Calcutta Arya Samaj in Cornwallis Street. He is a graduate of the Calcutta University and has belonged to the Arya Samaj sect since his childhood, and is a recognised authority on the tenets of the Arya Samaj. Above all, he represented the Arya Samaj at the World Parliament of Religions at Chicago in 1933. His testimony also is that "Polygamy is not allowed and no divorce is allowed either. A man can have only one wife and a woman only one husband for life. But, if one of the parties of an Arya Samaj marriage is converted to another religion, he or she can apply for divorce. If both parties remain Arya Samajists and one goes through a form of marriage subsequently with another person we do not regard that as binding."

In cross-examination, the opposite side elicited the following: "My source of knowledge is my scriptures. Arya Samaj marriage is treated not as a contract but as a sacrament. There are Arya Samaj marriage scriptures dealing with marriage and divorce. They are Satyarth Prakash and Rigved Adibhashya Bhumica. The fourth chapter of the first deals with marriage. The question of divorce is not separately dealt with."

That is all. Not a single question was put to either witness to test the accuracy of his claim. If a married person with his wife living cannot be married to another with Arya Samaj rites, how did it happen that a prominent Arya Samaj like that of Lucknow broke the rule in the case of the Tikari Kumar in 1909? If the Arya Samaj does not regard such polygamous marriage as binding, what is the family law governing the Arya Samaj by which the courts can declare the issue illegitimate and exclude them from inheritance? So the recorded evidence now verified leaves us just where we were when "The Marriage Law of the Aryas" appeared in the *Reformer* of July 30, and August 6, 1938, and "Monogamy Made Easy" appeared in the *Reformer* of 29th May 1943.

The whole discussion and judicial pronouncement by the Calcutta High Court is obiter and serves no abiding purpose. The only fact that mattered was that there had been, prior to the Arya Samaj marriage in question, a valid civil marriage between the same parties under Act III of 1872 which made the subsequent marriage ineffective and that Act gave jurisdiction to the Court to apply the Divorce Act to the case without the need for an Arya marriage or Christian conversion to justify such procedure. When the new Marriage Bill of the Rau Committee, which enjoins monogamy on all Hindus, becomes law, there will be no need to divide the sheep from the goats within the Hindu fold.

#### THE SOUTH AFRICAN PEGGING ACT.

(BY SHAFAT AHMAD KHAN.)

While our community is forging ahead on all fronts, political, economic and social, and establishing a claim to the gratitude of mankind by the extent, variety and magnitude of their sacrifices for a sacred cause, while the Indian community in the Union itself is justifying its claim to political and social emancipation by its capacity for enterprise in all fields of activity which are open to it, it has been subjected to a series of humiliating laws which have deprived it of social freedom, and political rights. With its rapid advancement in mental capacity and moral purpose, and its fixed determination to conform to western ways of life and thought, it would have been natural to suppose that the parliamentary franchise of which it had been deprived in 1896 and the municipal franchise which had been taken away from it in 1924, would be restored to it, so that it may play its due part in building up the prosperity of the land of its adoption. Unfortunately, the reverse is the case, and the community is deprived of representation in local bodies and public services, in Parliament as well as in the Universities; denied admission even to hotels, cinemas, theatres, places of culture no less than of amusement, and subjected to a colour bar for which neither modern nor ancient history affords any precedent whatsoever. It seems that the greater the progress which the Indian community makes in basic spheres of national energy, the greater are the restrictions imposed upon its inevitable growth.

The Pegging Act was passed this year. There was absolutely no justification for such a measure

at all. The Indian community is naturally keen on living with persons of their own race and blood, and there would have been no encroachment in European areas had adequate arrangements been made for the housing of the middle class Indians. Unfortunately, nothing has been done for the last 20 years, though promises have been made on numerous occasions in the past. Nor did the amount of penetration justify a measure which has been condemned by responsible opinion all over the world. I am not satisfied with the way in which education of Indian children has been looked after.

We have missed no opportunity to bring it to the notice of the proper authorities, but the replies have been highly unsatisfactory. The community had a right to expect ameliorative measures by appropriate authorities to improve its social and educational condition and to restore to it the civic and parliamentary rights of which it has been deprived by a series of unjust laws. The Pegging Act has, however, dealt a serious blow to these thoughts.

It is no secret that the Government of India sent its strong representation against it, and they made certain proposals which, if accepted, would have made the Bill totally unnecessary. Most unfortunately not only were all the proposals rejected, but the Bill was passed through all its stages so precipitately that there was little time for calm consideration or mature deliberation. I have only one other comment to make about the passage of the Bill and that is that it was passed through a House which did not include a single representative of the highly cultured and gifted community whose rights it infringed. At least the sentiment of chivalry and fair-play ought to have prompted the bodies responsible for giving the Indian community a chance to reply to the charges levelled against it from all sides of the House. No! A voteless, defenceless community was indicted for actions for which, at the most, only a handful of Indians were responsible. Edmund Burke said long ago that you cannot indict a whole community but this is exactly what has been done by this Act.

By this one act, Natal, which had hitherto maintained in theory, though not unfortunately in practice, the pretence of English Liberal tradition, has come out openly for segregation, and is now basing its policy on this. Natal has done this, after securing the maximum good from the brains and brawn of the Indian race in its midst, and deriving maximum profits from its sugar, tea and other industries. There is unfortunately evidence that in the economic sphere too, certain European industrialists are trying to extend the colour bar. The need to safeguard the position of the Indian community in the spheres of skilled and semi-skilled employment in which it has excelled cannot be too strongly stressed. It seems a tragedy that the province which is, par excellence, the home of Imperialism and has been defended by the valour, devotion and sacrifice of thousands of Indian soldiers in North Africa, should take a lead in building up these frontiers which the new world of progress cannot and will not, tolerate for long. It is impossible for any province, however patriotic it may be, to apply the principle of limited liability. Such a province cannot secure immunity from invasion through the efforts and valour of Indian soldiers, a few thousand miles away, and at the same time segregate men of the same race and colour who have created the prosperity of that province. The Indians who live in Natal, and those who are fighting in the North, are of the same race and as proud of their brethren here, as their brethren in the Union are legitimately proud of their cousins in Tunisia. The



Indian community cannot be kept in two separate parcels, one parcel reserved for service, and recognition by the Empire, and one parcel reserved for segregation and colour bar.

#### INDIAN NEWS ABROAD.

Ignorance of India, writes Devere Allen, is widespread, but is especially noticeable in Latin America. Only the more sensational news about it has been sent southward from the United States, as a rule, and sometimes information is poisoned at the source. One influential Latin American daily, known in the trade to be British-subsidized but not so known to the public, ran the following comment when Gandhi was critically weak during his fast: "In India another dictator—or would-be dictator—is fasting again. It is always extraordinary how intellectual Leftists show their ignorance about the Hindu leader. If his speeches—including those written eight years ago—were to be published with Hitler's name on top nobody would question that they were a supplement to 'Mein Kampf.' Gandhi is a Fascist whose plan is to control India with One Party and One Leader on traditional National Socialist lines." The British are equally deceived by this subsidized journal, for, in good faith and unaware of its character, British weeklies have quoted its fulsome laudations of British policy in the belief they were giving their readers honest interpretation of Latin American opinion. Such trickery is not characteristically British and, while properly condemning it, Americans should realize that countless Britons would resent it bitterly if they knew.

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WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

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

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Governor of Bengal. So far from being concerned, as *Dawn* imagines, that the appointment should be "a slight to the Muslim League," only a casual reference was made to the League at the end of the editorial note. That too was because of the League being the only important political organisation which is freely functioning and the Bengal Premier being a pillar of the League. Strictly speaking, the *Reformer's* view that the Premier should have been appointed to act as Governor during Sir John Herbert's illness, just as Members of the Executive Council had been appointed to act during the absence of Governors in some provinces which were specified, was constitutionally incorrect. In the absence of the Sovereign whom the Governor represents, the Ministry nominates a Council of Regency consisting mostly of its own members. That is the British practice. In the United States, in the President's place the Vice-President acts. But the Provincial Ministries in India are merely advisory. It has been shown by recent events that the Governor can dismiss or invite any one of his choice to form a Ministry. In Bengal Sir Nazimuddin was preferred to Mr. Fazlul Huq whose resignation was secured by the Governor. It would, therefore, have been in the fitness of things if Sir Nazimuddin had been appointed to act during the illness of Sir John Herbert. He occupies a position which is no whit inferior to that of a Member of the Executive Council who, under the old order, would have been appointed to act. The selection of the Chief Secretary of the Government of the United Provinces to act for Sir Thomas Rutherford as Governor of Bihar, is an even more flagrant exhibition of racial discrimination. Surely, there are Indian public men of ability in Patna who would have served as well as the Chief Secretary from Lucknow as acting Governor.

**Plea for Reconsideration** :—We earnestly hope that the Government of Bombay will reconsider their recent orders instituting domiciliary visits to ascertain the quantities of food grains stored in private premises and to bring to book persons who have more than the quantity prescribed in the orders. When we first read this order we were reminded of what happened in the closing years of the last century in connection with plague measures. Dr. H. C. Mukherji, the Indian Christian leader, refers to the effect of the measures of forcible evacuation adopted on the outbreak of plague, in his article in the August *Hindustan Review* on "The Beginnings of Mass-consciousness in Maharashtra." Even in England procedure entailing the violation of domestic privacy, whatever the object, would be resented. It is idle to overlook that conditions in India demand greater circumspection. In the first place, measures which sharply cut across public sentiment, seldom succeed. The plague measures adopted at first were conspicuous examples. In the present instance, even if the new Government orders are enforced with the utmost strictness, they will not disclose any appreciable addition to the amount of food grains in Government's possession. More than two-thirds of the population of Bombay live in one-room tenements. They cannot possibly keep any surplus food in hiding. Government themselves advised people who had surpluses, not to use their ration cards until they had exhausted their reserves. The public, even before the Government advice, anticipated and followed that advice. That is how a considerable proportion of ration cards were not availed of. The orders can not and will not be enforced equally on all. Obviously there will be difficulty in inspecting the interiors of homes where women observe purdah. Women inspectors can not be expected to be too strict in these matters as they themselves share

the prejudices of their people. It is not necessary to push the argument further. The advantages which are expected to come out of the house visits, will be more than outweighed by the irritation and resentment they will cause. The prosecution and punishment of those detected will bring sympathy to the culprits and not to the Government. The severer the punishment, the greater the sympathy. Some recent sentences for contravening food orders are surely unconscionable. They defeat their own purpose. Similar transgressions in England have been met by concessions.

**The Sentinel Contempt Case** :—The judgment of the Bombay High Court (Chief Justice Beaumont and Mr. Justice Sen) in the case in which the Allahabad High Court had issued a warrant for the arrest of Mr. B. G. Horniman, Editor of the *Bombay Sentinel*, for non-appearance before the latter on a summons issued by it to answer a charge of Contempt of Court, is a landmark in the history of Indian journalism. The Bombay High Court set aside the order of the Chief Presidency Magistrate requiring Mr. Horniman to appear before the Allahabad High Court on the date mentioned in the warrant. Sir John Beaumont held that, as Contempt of Court was not an offence under the Indian Penal Code, the Editor of a Bombay journal could not be arrested under a warrant of the Allahabad High Court and incidentally his lordship also indicated that the writing in question did not constitute Contempt of Court. It is to the credit of Mr. Horniman who throughout maintained that he was not under the jurisdiction of the Allahabad High Court and was not obliged to appear before it on a charge of Contempt, that he hit upon a legal point which had apparently escaped the eminent lawyers who argued the *Hindustan Times* Contempt case in the same Allahabad High Court last year. The *Hindustan Times* had to go to the Privy Council to get the order of the High Court reversed. Delhi, where the *Hindustan Times* is published, is under the jurisdiction of the Punjab High Court and the Contempt in that case was held by the Privy Council to be no contempt. The British Indian law relating to the Press does not recognise that journalism is public service and rather regards it practitioners as possessing more analogy to criminal tribes than to an honest, not to say, honourable profession. One of the most onerous incidents of journalism in India is the liability of the editor to be summoned to the most distant point in the country where a single copy of his paper may be found, on complaints, however frivolous, of libel, the law of libel itself placing many difficulties in the way of the journalist, even in normal times when Press Advisers are not. The *Sentinel* by the intrepidity of its editor has removed this risk so far as Contempt of Court is concerned. That is a distinct service.

**Wanted Co-ordination** :—There are at present besides the Bengal Relief Committee, two others at least appealing for help in conditions similar to those of Bengal. These are the Andhras on whose behalf the veteran leader, Konda Venkatapayya, has come to Bombay, and the Keralas on whose behalf the Servants of India Society has started a relief fund. We are afraid that the Andhra and Kerala appeals are likely to receive insufficient support because the more influentially organised and publicized Bengal appeal. This would be unfortunate. Bengal's plight has received worldwide publicity. Bombay and not Delhi seems to be looked to as the main centre of relief for all parts of the country and the citizens of Bombay should therefore distribute their help as equitably as possible in the circumstances.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, September 25, 1943.

## LORD WAVELL ON HIS TASK IN INDIA.

Lord Wavell's speech at the luncheon given in his honour by the Pilgrims, Society in London last week was prefaced by a fervent acknowledgment of India's part in ensuring victory in the war. "It was India's troops," he said, "that helped us hold not only Egypt but also Palestine, Syria, Iraq and Persia and for this the United Nations owe India a considerable debt which I am sure they will not forget." From his knowledge at first hand, Lord Wavell declared: "Without the assistance of India, both in troops and in material, we most certainly could not have held the Middle East which has been, I think I can claim, the keystone of our present success." The "Allied Nations" is the name in which British and American publicists prefer nowadays to speak of their own countries. In connection with India, the gratitude of the Allied Nations means nothing unless it means the gratitude of Britain. Lord Wavell's hope that Britain will not forget that she owes her victory to India, is somewhat superfluous. The present Prime Minister, and his father before him, fully knew and proclaimed that India was the keystone of the British Empire. Without India they declared their small island in the Atlantic Ocean would not be the wealthy and powerful Empire that it is. They resisted all proposals for giving India freedom on the ground that without India Britain would shrink into insignificance as a third-rate power. Mr. Winston Churchill will only find confirmation of his and his father's belief in the necessity of never letting go the British hold on India. He will not forget that Britain owes her present victories to India, and for that reason he will not countenance any political change which makes India free from dictation from Downing Street. He and Mr. Amery know exactly what India's contribution to the war in men and material means. Thousands of persons have been and are under detention on the ground that their activities would impede India's war effort. Mr. Churchill and Mr. Amery have rejected all advice to the effect that the release of these men and women would bring about a more favourable political atmosphere. Deep behind their decision to allow no freedom of political expression is the consciousness that the British people, for instance, if they had been subject to the sort of Government which prevails in India, would not feel disposed to reject an opportunity of setting up self-government whenever it offered itself. They will remember that India was the keystone of their success and that remembrance will only prompt them to ensure that the keystone is always in their keeping and may not fall into other hands, Japanese or German.

That Lord Wavell shares this view of the passive role of the Indian people, is revealed by his statement about the day-to-day duties which will devolve on him as Viceroy. This gallant soldier who has led great armies in the deserts of North Africa, quails at the thought of having to provide for the increasing Indian population. "It is an alarming thought," he said, "when one considers the problems of India, to realise that every year at the present rate of increase of population, there are an additional 800,000 to 400,000 people to be fed, educated and cared for." The Germans and Japanese do not create in Lord Wavell's mind so much alarm as the increasing population of India. That the people of India are not maintained out of the British national income, a large part of which is derived from the Indian people, no foreigner would

infer from Lord Wavell's observation. This very increase of population which alarms Lord Wavell has made it possible for India to make the vast contributions in men and material to the war. In an address presented to Sir John Colville, the Governor of Bombay, in a village in Satara which he visited in his recent tour, His Excellency was told that the land revenue collected from the village was Rs. 4,000 while remittance to it on account of its men serving in the Army was ten times that sum. The same phenomenon has been noticed in the Punjab. The largest number of recruits come from the poorest villages. This fact gives rise to several reflections but for our present purpose it is enough to point out the bearing of the increase of population on the victories in Africa. It does not enter into the heads of British statesmen that they can easily relieve themselves of this alarming responsibility of having to feed, educate and care for the annual addition of four lakhs to the Indian population, by persuading the British Dominions to throw open their vast empty areas to Indian immigration and by allowing Indians to develop their own industries and commerce under a system of Government more in keeping with the economic capacity of the country. Last in his list of the tasks before him in India, Lord Wavell mentioned the political aspirations of Indians which, in sum, is that the brand of subjection should be erased from their brows. This indeed should come first because, if India is politically satisfied, the work of repelling Japanese invasion—India is not interested in crushing the Japanese or any other people—and that of the day-to-day administration will be infinitely facilitated. That ultimately will be found to be the only solution of the problem of Indo-British relations. Lord Wavell made not the slightest sign in his Pilgrims Club speech that thousands of people in India are dying of starvation, that epidemics are raising their heads, and that the Government of India is utterly unable to cope with the situation. If Lord Wavell meant his reference to the increase of population in India as a suggestion that the present food situation is due to it, he would have been guilty of a disingenuity of which we do not believe him capable.

## THE FAMILY IN CHINA AND INDIA.

In the leading article in *The Reformer* last week reference was made to the striking similarities between the economic problems and the contrast between the economic policies of China and India. The resemblance between the two nations goes deeper. It extends to family life and social behaviour. The current number of the *Bulletin* of the National Council of Women in India, publishes an interesting talk by Mrs. A. T. Wang on "Chinese Family Life." The joint family system prevails in China as in India. Mrs. Wang tells the story of an old Chinese patriarch who was once asked by the Emperor how he kept peace in his family of five generations under one roof. To test him, Mrs. Wang writes, the Emperor gave him a pear, thinking that it would be impossible for him to share it with his entire family. The old man, however, ordered it to be pounded and mashed and with the one pear made a soup in a big dish from which each member tasted the grace of the Emperor. Questioned as to the secret of peace and happiness in his home, the old man answered just one word: "Patience." Imagine, adds Mrs. Wang, trying to live together with your relations of varying ages without tolerance and patience. That remark is itself proof that the Chinese family today is not what it was in the days of the old patriarch who made one pear go the round

of five generations of his family. The Generalissimo will have now to give at least five pears to test the tact and skill of managing large families.

"The typical moral values in China," said Mrs. Wang, "are loyalty and filial piety. Loyalty to the country and filial piety to the parents. That filial piety is the highest of all virtues is a moral conception deeply rooted in the minds of all Chinese people. It is no exaggeration, indeed, that Dr. Sun Yat-Sen called this the unique trait of the Chinese race." Filial piety, with which is closely associated ancestor worship, is also a trait of the Japanese among whom the two have become indissolubly associated with nationalism. In India, filial and ancestral piety is a part of the social consciousness, though there is no instance of its being exhibited in the fashion of Wang Slang who thawed the frozen river with his own body-heat and got two fishes which he presented to his sick mother who recovered her health at the pleasure derived by her son's filial conduct. Courtesy is another national trait of the Chinese. It was so in India also. But owing to Englishmen decrying courtesy as a sign of hypocrisy, Indians nowadays often behave with calculated rudeness, particularly towards Europeans who profess to, but do not actually, like any one but themselves to call a spade a spade. Chinese mothers are as devoted to their children as Indian mothers are. They do not leave them to the tender mercies of the ayah. The mother of Mencius, the great Chinese sage, moved her house three times to find an ideal neighbourhood for her son. Mrs. Wang added, "Of course she did not have to face the housing shortage that we now experience in Bombay." The Chinese woman was required to obey her father when she was young, her husband when she was married, and her son when her husband was dead. This is a repetition of a text of the Code of Manu. This, however, was a generation ago. Today, Mrs. Wang suggests, while daughters obey their fathers when young, "it is questionable whether she will obey implicitly the other two."

#### RATIONING IN BRITAIN AND INDIA.

It was remarked in the leading article last week that the cost of living index was actually lower in Britain than before the War. This is not correct. The cost of living index in December 1942 was 121 and the cost of food index 106, or 21 and 6 points more respectively than in the basic year, 1929. In Bombay the cost of living index, was 227, and the cost of food index, 237, or 127 and 137 points in May 1943 above the basic year 1937. The Department of Labour of the Government of India has not yet been able to arrive at averages for the whole country. Although the British Indices were not lower than before the war, as compared with Bombay the increases in them were negligible. (The figures for Britain are from the *International Labour Review* for April and those for Bombay from the *Labour Review*, Bombay, for June, 1943.) Britain has several distinct advantages as compared with India for distributing food and goods. It is a small country with highly developed means of transport. The largest proportion of the population lives in towns and even the British villages enjoy amenities which many large towns in India lack. Broadly speaking, Britain is almost wholly urban while a large part of what passes for urban areas in India is rural. Most Indian towns are really overgrown villages. Above all, Britain in the matter of organization, whether for food or other purposes, has the immense advantage that the people know and keenly appreciate that the War is a matter of life and death to

them, that defeat in the War would within a few weeks bring starvation to their doors and that scenes now witnessed in Calcutta will become common in the streets of London. They are, therefore, not only willing but eager to co-operate with the authorities who are of their own race and nation, to offer effective resistance to the enemy. Nevertheless the authorities keenly realise the importance of keeping up the standard of nutrition to the highest possible level in order to maintain the morale of the people. Lord Woolton who, by all accounts, has proved a highly successful Food administrator, when he took over the Department, broadcast his policy as "Food for all at prices all can afford." Notwithstanding the facilities for distribution in Britain, he has not been able to achieve this end. Nevertheless, it is a very remarkable achievement that the cost of food in Britain has not risen more than a few points above the pre-war level, in spite of the enormous difficulties of having to import two-thirds of the food of the people, in the face of U-boat dangers and the restrictions on shipping space.

We in India squandered our food resources in utter disregard of the needs of the population. The Central Government deliberately renounced the powers of control which the statute provided it with and let the provinces in the name of autonomy defy and obstruct it, until the growth of famine conditions woke it to a sense of the impending calamity. Much of the energy of the Central Government was spent in preventing popular feelings from finding expression through the Press and public meetings. Whenever a new contingency developed, a new Ordinance was passed to suppress its symptoms. Nothing was done to cure the malady. An English boy the other day was imprisoned for refusing to work underground in a coal mine. Thousands of miners struck work in protest. The next day the Home Secretary released the boy who, it was stated, had agreed to dig coal in the bowels of the earth. Here in India thousands of men and women are being detained without trial for now over a year. Men of all parties and political schools, men eminent in the professions, who had held high office under the Crown, and even Christian missionaries in an eleventh hour appeal, have begged Government to release these detenus as a measure of conciliating public opinion and dispose it to bear the sacrifices which it is daily called upon to make, with less impatience. Sir Reginald Maxwell has not only turned a deaf ear to these petitions but indulged sometimes in statements deeply wounding to Indian self-respect. Lord Linlithgow has been repeatedly proclaiming that the War had brought to India great opportunities, a statement repeated by the Secretary of State and quite recently by Lord Wavell. Indians, on the other hand, feel that they and their country are being offered up on the altar of the Allied Nations as a sacrifice in this war to restore the supremacy of the Whiteman over the coloured peoples of Asia and Africa. A century ago Sir Arthur Wellesley, then a Sepoy General in India, observed that he had never come across people who took changes of Government with such equanimity as the Indian people. In the years, which have since passed, nothing has been done to make the people more attached to the Government under which they lived. On the contrary, every attempt on their part to interest themselves in their administration had been thwarted or perverted by reforms which under a facade of parliamentary institutions only perpetuated the bureaucratic regime and even strengthened it. The whole blame for the failure which can no longer be concealed, is now laid upon the increase of the Indian

population. Lord Wavell is alarmed at what Lord Halifax in the *American Geographical Review* describes as the result of British rule. British rule has no reason to claim credit as it is as well established as any other scientific theory, that a high birth-rate, concomitant of a high death-rate, is the sure symptom of abject poverty.

#### NATIONALISM VERSUS COMMUNALISM.

Mr. Narayan Sadashiv Phadke describes his pamphlet (Popular Book Depot, Re. 1) with the above title as a nationalist challenge to communalists. Communalism within its legitimate limits is not opposed to nationalism. It, may, indeed be a help to nationalism by securing for it the backing of the religious and social culture of communities. Stalin's permission to the Russian Church to elect a Patriarch for the whole country, which it was not permitted to do under the Tsarist regime, is a shrewd move to ensure stability for the new order. Economic nationalism for which Mr. Phadke stands, is the cause of the present bloodshed and strife among nations. No nation, any more than an individual, can live by bread alone, though it must have bread to support physical existence. It must have an outlook and an ideal. Otherwise, nationalism is merely a form of animal existence. India, Mr. Phadke says, was never a nation state. The Nation State notion was, indeed, repugnant to Indian historical trends. Not only were persecuted peoples from many lands freely admitted to the country, but no attempt was ever made to assimilate them into the general population as is done in the United States as a single nation. They were, on the other hand, endowed with lands and given full freedom to follow their national habits and forms of worship. That this is the course which commends itself to modern minds, is evident from the almost exaggerated concern shown in international thought for the rights of minorities. As we had occasion recently to remark in connection with Mr. V. D. Savarkar's doctrine of two nations but one State, the ideal State should not consist of one nation and one community. Hindu-Muslim unity is a misleading phrase. No sensible person wants Hindus and Muslims to give up their religious and cultural heritage in order to become one nation fighting other nations for its daily bread. Mr. Phadke, like some others who offer a cut-and-dry solution for India's problem, fails to realise that the Congress, the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha and even the Communists, are phases in the evolution of India's future. Gandhiji, Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Savarkar, Mr. Roy, Dr. Ambedkar and every Indian who thinks of India's future and labours for it, are all co-operators though they may conceive themselves as antagonists. That Mr. Phadke's pamphlet has gone to a third edition shows that his manner of presenting his views is appreciated by his readers.

#### FOOD AND FADS.

We all make mistakes. The other day I made rather a bad one. How it occurred I do not know. It may have been because I had not seen anyone to talk to for a few days, or because I felt it necessary to educate another human being, or because of a natural desire to find someone at least who would listen to me with the attention I deserve. Perhaps there was some of all three in my motive. But I showed a copy of the local newspaper with illustrations of starving people in Bengal to my cook. Though the pictures were, in spite of the blotched effect which reprinting from the Calcutta press had given them, self-explanatory, he asked what they were photographs of. I told him that there was

food shortage in Bengal and, as rice is the staple food for him, I said they could not get rice to eat. He looked aghast for a moment. Then he said, "Why don't they eat fruit?" I explained that that also was not to be got. He thought again and this time his bright mind struck on milk. Then I realised that it was I who had shown myself unimaginative. Fancy explaining food shortage to a cook!

But thinking over things later, there is much which can be learnt from his reaction. He did not think of other grains as substitutes for rice. Neither wheat nor bajri came to him as an alternative. The reason was not a logical if unreasonable idea that shortage of rice meant shortage of all grain. Some months back, when temporary shortage of rice put the house first on wheat and then for a while on bajri, the cook stuck to his guns and to rice. He avoided inferior substitutes like the very plague and a prejudice developed through long centuries of rice-eating had to be respected. He knew very well that rice could be scarce amidst an abundance, or at least a sufficiency, of other grain. But to him it was unthinkable that people should be asked to change their habits so far as to adopt another staple food. It was more sensible to tell them to get on for a time without rice but with more of things they were used to, than to ask them to eat bajri or wheat instead.

I mention all this because what my cook thinks on food is extremely relevant to a recent official broadcast from Bombay Station of the A. L. R. The listening public was told to take to bajri as it had more food value than either rice or wheat. Unlike my cook who was quite definite that the abandonment of rice should be only a temporary expedient till better times returned, the food authorities pursue a line which, if successful, would bring rice into contempt with the public. Ancient prejudices cannot be attacked like this. Public and private reactions have been fierce. The student of food will note that the press of the country is dominated by rice-eaters and it has been quick to throw ridicule on the suggestion of the broadcast that patriotism and health thrive best on bajri. So much for the public reaction. I am told that in the homes of many Government officials and other law-abiding and conscientious citizens who have tried to carry out the suggestions of the broadcast, the cooks have professed ignorance of the way of handling bajri. The one palatable form, they say, is to mix a little bajri with a lot of rice; and if you can get enough rice to do that, why have the bajri at all? Health and patriotism make no appeal to a tribe which has devoted itself to worship of the palate and the belly. The attitude, I know, is childish in the extreme. We all know the old trick by which the child asks for the promised sweet in hand before taking the dose of castor oil, eats the sweet first and then spurns the ladder by which it got the sweet. But can we afford to face a revolt in the kitchen? Rebellions of the belly, wrote Bacon, are the worst. And the Government would be well-advised to note the signs in time.

What is the lesson of all this? Food is a personal matter. It cannot be tackled by appeals to abstract ideas. The Japanese have seen this very early. Shrewdly realising the sense of inferiority under which short people laboured, because the leaders also laboured under it themselves, they rapidly spread the habit of consuming a particular species of fish by saying it added a couple of inches to one's stature and by persistent publication of statistics to prove this. Gandhiji in his autobiography mentions that he took to meat-eating for a short while because he was argued into believing that only by that means could he get the British out of India.

He gave it up on account of inherited dislike and a doubt as to the relation between the ideal and the method rather than because of abandonment of the ideal. There was a link between the two which he missed. The link was Sir Richard Burton's discovery that ferocity and the conquests that attend the ferocious arose from constipation which is very common among meat-eaters. But that is a large subject and I just throw out the reference for others to follow up. I am not sure had he known it that Gandhiji would have persevered in his meat-eating. For Gandhiji has been more than a mere patriot. He has also shown a lively and abiding interest in health and food. Has not Sir Stafford Cripps said that he discussed diet with the Mahatma when they met to solve the political deadlock? In talking of health and patriotism in the same broadcast, the official mind has shown that what Gandhiji thinks today the Government thinks tomorrow or the day after. And this is not the first time.

The intimate relation between what one eats and what one does has occupied men's minds for centuries. All religions discuss it. Christianity alone has the credit of not following the discussion up with a ban on certain kinds of food and drink. On the contrary, it is generally believed to have initiated a general license in these respects. It is natural because it was born in a world of restrictions. But that is by the way. A speaker at a population conference asked his public to make sure what they wanted. If we want a race of tigers, he said, then let all eat meat; but if you will be sheep, then eat grass. His unscientific presentation met with derision from the learned audience. The man of science must not speak in parables. The trouble is we do not know what we want, and we do not want the same thing always. Ferocity is all right in wartime but no Government wants ferocity as a permanent state of mind among its citizens. The scientific researcher, therefore, will be well-advised to confine himself to observation and experiment, rather than indulge in "practical suggestions" which will lead people astray.

I have a case in mind which is interesting though it does not sound authentic. An Indian nutrition research enthusiast experimented on guinea-pigs. He fed six guinea-pigs on the food of the British Tommy, the ration of the Sikh soldier, the Punjab diet, the Bengal diet, the Maharashtrian meal and the Madrassi food. After a week, he looked at the guinea-pigs and his inference was that in appearance, sleekness and bodily fitness they ranged in the order set out. When this was published, it pleased some people but it hurt the provincial vanity of others. So another research worker set out to study the question in the same way. At the end of his week of experiment, he found that the results of the first worker were correct but there was a difference. What had been gained by the first three in appearance, had been lost in energy. The worst-looking of the lot was the most energetic, the best least. Being well-fed, the British Tommy guinea-pig did not exert itself whilst the worst-nourished was scurrying round its cage looking for food and new worlds to conquer. It might be objected that what is true of guinea-pigs need not hold true of men. But to the true scientist all human beings are guinea-pigs.

VIPRA.

### THE TASK OF EDUCATION.

"Children are to be made fit to live, and fit to live with," it has been said. Let us consider what this means. To be made "fit to live," a child must be given that knowledge which will enable him to support himself, take care of himself and of those dependent on him and to work as a citizen in some sphere of life. To be made "fit to live with" a child must be trained to live so that he will be able to take his place in the life of his community, town, and country.

The natural environment of the child is the home and it is in the home and through the parents that the child should get his earliest care and experience. In its first years a child is very imitative and he learns his first lessons through the example of those around him. Then very soon he arrives at the questioning stage. The old-fashioned idea that a child should be seen but not heard is now a thing of the past fortunately. If only we have the patience to listen sympathetically to the questions of even the youngest child, to answer them simply and correctly, and not to repress that natural curiosity which later in life will keep the mind alive and alert.

A child of normally intelligent parents should accumulate a store of knowledge in the home before his schooling begins. But parents have neither the time nor the ability in most cases to teach or inform a child. And so we have schools with trained teachers, where the child, besides learning the subjects prescribed by the "Powers that be" and taking examinations, has the added experience of mixing with others of his own age and so learns to share in community life. The punctuality and discipline necessary in a school prepare him for the discipline of his future life.

When a child enters school at the age of five he is living the relative freedom of his home and all home associations for an entirely new environment where he has to learn, to a much greater extent, to submit his will to that of others. He has to learn to work and play with other children—no mean feat, especially for an only child. Therefore, in the preparatory classes a child should find school as home-like as possible, and the teacher should realise that, with all the mental adjustments the child has already had to make, he should not be pressed too hard in his studies in his first year. He is still at the play-stage of his life and should be taught as far as possible through play. To learn to count his toys, to control pencil or chalk, to recognise printed symbols for letters, to speak correctly, all these are an achievement in themselves. Besides these beginnings of the three R's, there are other essentials, such as Nature study, to develop observation, handwork, music, singing, games, all of which help the child to develop individuality and a community sense.

The preparatory stage paves the way for all further study and this is the time for the child to make practical use of practical things. The child should gradually learn to measure with real measures, weigh with real weights, play shop with good cardboard money, divide real things into halves, quarters, etc. All this practical experience will be of real value in later stages, if skilfully guided. Nature study—the watching of changes of seasons, the growth of plants, metamorphosis of butterflies, frogs, etc.—all aid the development of that observation which so enriches one's life, if it is given, not as one more subject to swot, but as a real thing of interest.



With correct guidance, these preliminary years give the background for the whole of later education. Too often, however, one finds that the so-called Kindergarten is nothing but a forcing-house where the child is forced into reading and number work at far too great a speed, at a time when he should be developing gradually at his own rate. The fundamentals are so important that they should never be hurried. The teachers who are so anxious to achieve visible results that they enforce homework on small children after the work of the day, can not be too strongly condemned. They forget the necessity of real recreation for the child, both from the mental and physical point of view. To overstrain a child in its early years is possibly to injure its health, its eye-sight, and its brain, and thus to fail at once in one's aim "to make fit to live." At a later stage, home work, judiciously set, is desirable, as a form of revision and as a preparation for individual work and thought. But it is surely not necessary for a child of six or seven to learn how to spell every word in his reading-book at the expense of his natural right to fresh air, exercise and freedom.

D. R.

## RELIGION AND SOCIAL SERVICE.

Sir,—A recent article by 'Recluse' on charity was interesting but rather provocative. Most social workers have a fairly clear understanding of the why and wherefore of much of the suffering around them and, no doubt, if they entered the political field they would be able to accomplish much but, *meanwhile*, what is to become of those in need? Is there to be no help for them until the cause of their misery is dealt with? What of the spectacle of Bengal? Because somebody has blundered, or been careless, or too sanguine, or whatever else may be the root of the difficulty, are we to refuse help, to refuse to feed the hungry at our doors, to clothe the naked in our streets? By all means go to the root of the trouble, by all means let those who are particularly fitted and equipped to deal with the larger issues play their part, and play it manfully and with courage but, *meanwhile*, let those who can meet immediate suffering and want. The promise of a Utopia tomorrow is of no use to a man doomed to die of starvation today. Most social workers never pretend that their work is anything but, in the main, ameliorative, of helping innocent victims of a system that is, perhaps, all wrong but, until those fitted to deal with fundamentals make up their minds about it, the kindly, selfless, social worker continues his (or her) ministry of love, *meanwhile*!—PRACTICAL.

The correspondent evidently has in mind what I said at the conclusion of my observations on "Religion and Social Service" in the *Reformer* of September 4. I did not certainly wish that all social workers should take a long holiday. But the more observant of them will admit that social services have not reduced social problems but have given rise to others more complex than themselves. Take the Soviet Revolution which in its way was the biggest social service undertaken in history. Its first five year plan entailed a volume of suffering and hardship which those who advocate, similar plans elsewhere, do not seem to know or do not appreciate. The method of mental training is a long one. Immediate results are not to be expected. But their results whenever obtained are sure. The short cut, it has been well said, is the longest way round. While the State and private charity should continue doing what they can to alleviate suffering, it is only a moral revolution which can bring about permanent peace and cessation of unrest in the world.—RECLUSE.

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

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## NOTES.

**Pacific Command Controversy:**—We are indebted chiefly to the *Free Press Journal* for the messages sent by Reuter regarding the rather untimely controversy which has arisen regarding the bearing of the appointment of Lord Mountbatten to the Super Command of the operations against Japan, on the position of General MacArthur who has been carrying on highly successful operations against Japan from Australia. On the announcement of Lord Mountbatten's appointment, General MacArthur made comments which have been described in some American newspapers as an outburst. It seems that the General has his own plan for attacking Japan from the Philippines and Lord Mountbatten's appointment would seem to have been interpreted as overruling the General's plan. The Premier of Australia has intervened in the dispute to assert that there can be no change in General MacArthur's status without consultation with the Commonwealth Government, implying that he had not been consulted about the appointment of Lord Mountbatten and as to its exact scope. Mr. Curtin maintains that the South East Pacific Command which has been set up under General MacArthur, cannot be affected by the set-up of the South East Asian Command under Lord Mountbatten. But, as both the Commands are to fight Japan, there should be obviously co-ordination between the two. This will have to be arranged, if it had not already been, in the interests of the Allied Nations. There was a significant sentence in the Prime Minister's war statement in Parliament. Announcing Lord Mountbatten's appointment, he said that it had the cordial approval of the Chinese Generalissimo. He added that, in making such appointments, persons acceptable to the several interests concerned have to be chosen. If the Chinese Government objected to an Australian Command, it is not quite unintelligible having regard to the Australian restrictions on Asiatic immigration. General MacArthur's attitude assumes special importance as he is spoken of as the Republican nominee at the next Presidential election less than two years hence. The advantages of unified command have been proved repeatedly. In the Pacific they are not less needed than anywhere else.

**The New Chancellor of the Exchequer:**—The Vacancy in the British Cabinet created by the sudden death of Sir Kingsley Wood, Chancellor of the Exchequer, has been filled by the appointment of Sir John Anderson who held one of the sinecure offices attached to the British Cabinet.

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

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## NOTES.

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as it entailed much entertaining, and he was a man of modest means and hated entertaining. Welles was well-to-do and a personal friend of President Roosevelt and was selected to relieve his Chief of the social obligations of his office. The official statement ascribes Mr. Welles' resignation to his wife's ill health. That this is a diplomatic reason is shown by the agitation in the American Press almost simultaneously with the announcement of the resignation, for securing Mr. Welles' experience and ability for the State by finding another important job for him close to the administration. There has been strong criticism of the attitude of the State Department to the Axis Powers. In a recent book, "The Riddle of the State Department", Robert Bendiner indicts the State Department for having neglected the opportunities of the United States for nipping the Axis menace in the bud. The writer threw out a broad suggestion that the President should be his own Secretary of State as all strong Presidents have been. President Roosevelt possesses in a developed degree the quality of dropping men when they cease to be useful to him. The number of persons whom he had taken up and let down in the course of his ten years tenure of the White House is legion. In this respect he is the reverse of Mr. Winston Churchill who would rather lose India than drop Mr. Leopold Amery. Mr. Welles' successor is Mr. Stettinus, until recently head of Lease and Lend operations.

**Pakistan Immediately:**—Mr. Jinnah told some foreign correspondents last week that Pakistan should be brought into operation without delay. He added: "What can Lord Wavell do? There is no ground for delaying this settlement." It is difficult to piece together Mr. Jinnah's somewhat jerky remarks into some sort of coherence. The only thing that seems clear is that Mr. Jinnah thinks that this is a suitable occasion for pressing the British Government to concede him his Pakistan. While the Muslim leader is insisting on his pet idea, Mr. Rajagopalacharya wants Sir Stafford Cripps to come back and the Indian National Congress to accept the scheme which it, in common with most other parties and leaders, rejected last year. The Cripps scheme was withdrawn by Sir Stafford Cripps himself before he left India. Later the Secretary of State, Mr. Amery, declared that the scheme was still in the field. Whether it is in the field or not, much has happened since it was rejected, and a fresh scheme should be formulated in the light of those happenings, if it is to get a hearing. Sir Stafford himself is no longer the same man or has the same background as when he came over with his proposals. Apart from the scheme, the issue between Britain and India today goes deeper than the political or constitutional surface. It is a conflict of two national psychologies. The one which has the more staying power will win. Mr. Rajagopalacharya and Dr. Subbarayan are making Indians ridiculous by their pathetic pleas for "unconditional surrender" as the first step towards starting fresh negotiations with Mr. Jinnah who wants now and here the division of India into two countries, north and south. Mr. Jinnah said that he was for the present leaving the Indian States alone. How can he? The Indian States are inextricably bound up with the destinies of India and the institution of two separate Indias, as Mr. Jinnah asks, would radically and fundamentally affect their own status present and future. The invocation by Mr. Jinnah of the name of John Bright in favour of a communal Pakistan, is highly disingenuous.

**Indian Delegation to Britain:**—It was mentioned sometime back that a deputation of Indian journalists will be sent to Britain to acquire firsthand knowledge

of the spirit in which the people there face the problems created by the war. It was announced last week that four Indians are shortly proceeding on a tour of the United States and Britain to give the public in both countries a first-hand account of India's war effort. They are: Sir Srinivasa Sarma, Mr. Ghiassuddin, M. L. A. (Central), Mr. Bhole, M. L. A. (Bombay) and leader of scheduled castes, and Mr. H. D. Misra of the National War Front, Cawnpore. The names are not very impressive in India. In order to enable the four to get a first-hand knowledge of India's war effort, they are to be taken to visit the principal war factories in this country. While the deputation will convey an adequate idea of the war effort, the members will be asked about the Food scarcity all over India. They will be asked how far the War effort has strained the resources of the country as Lord Wavell in his recent speech in London feared. They will also be asked about the detention of political leaders and the reactions to it of the Indian people. They will not have an easy time of it in the United States at least, where the average man is better informed of happenings in the world outside than in Great Britain. None of the four chosen delegates will claim to any outstanding position as representative of India. Whether this deputation takes the place of the journalists' delegation or there is to be another deputation of journalists, will be known in due course. Sir Girjashankar Bajpai has no doubt approved of the four names as likely to be helpful to him in his task of keeping Americans informed about India.

**Food Dictator:**—Sir John Maynard in an article to the *Manchester Guardian* suggests the setting up of a food dictator for India as the only means of solving the food situation. The only value of Sir John's article is that it indicates that people in Britain are beginning to realise the difficulties and the seriousness of the food situation in India. Otherwise all these publicists would not be out explaining things. Moreover, Sir John is juster than the usual Anglo-Indian expert on India in that he sees the failure as the collapse of a system and the evil consequence of provincial autonomy. While some writers have used Bengal as an argument against giving India self-government, Sir John writes that all provincial administrations have failed.

**The 'Late Mr. Ramanand Chatterjee:**—The death of Mr. Ramanand Chatterjee, well-known Editor of the *Modern Review*, announced in Friday's morning papers, leaves a great gap in the public life of India. Mr. Chatterjee made his mark as an educationist in Allahabad before he settled down in Calcutta to the career of a journalist. The *Modern Review* and its sister Bengali magazine, the *Prabasi*, have come to be regarded as the most prominent Indian journals in the field of art and literature. On a recent occasion, Mr. Chatterjee described how he came to publish the writings of the Poet Tagore. All through his life, Tagore's writings were a regular feature of the *Modern Review*. In his editorial Notes, Mr. Chatterjee steadily maintained accuracy and balance. He was seldom provoked to violent language. A Brahma Samajist of long standing, Mr. Chatterjee was instrumental in bridging the gulf between Hinduism and the Samaj which had at one time threatened to leave the reformed Church high and dry. Mr. Chatterjee was a prominent member of the Hindu Mahasabha and its President in one session. He could not have been much in sympathy with Mr. V. D. Savarkar's tirades against the Indian National Congress. Mr. Chatterjee was a staunch supporter of the Congress. By his death India loses one who has been a force making for unity and goodwill among all communities and castes. We convey our deep sympathy to members of Mr. Chatterjee's talented family.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, October 2, 1943.

## SIR J. SRIVASTAVA ON THE FOOD PROBLEM.

Speaking at the Indian Merchants' Chamber on Monday, Sir J. P. Srivastava, the Food Member of the Government of India who was on a visit to Bombay, maintained that the food problem in India was one not so much of intrinsic shortage but of maximum mobilisation of the domestic resources of the Provinces, that is, of procurement. Among the factors which complicated the problem of procurement, the following seemed to him to be obvious :

(i) the tendency of the primary producers to withhold their stocks from the market, who, owing to the rise in the prices of their produce and lack of consumers goods in which to spend their increased resources, have developed a holding capacity and a bargaining power not known before; (ii) the encouragement given by currency inflation to the primary producers to consume more of their produce than they used to do in the past; and (iii) the general tendency among all classes of people, including those who have the barest means, to buy their requirements for months in advance thus reducing the quantities available for general consumption.

On reading this analysis of the causes of shortage, the first thing that occurred to our mind is that the Hon. Member must be reminded that the Government exists for the people and not the people for the Government. When a custom or an institution prevails among some hundreds of millions of people, it is almost axiomatic that it originated in some felt necessity, and it is for the student and the statesman to investigate if the causes which led to its adoption by common consent and enforcement without any sanction from authority, still exist in whole or in part. Take the third factor of food shortage, according to Sir Jwala, first. Let him try and imagine what a lot of administrative and police machinery it would require to enforce among a people who are accustomed to convert their crops to cash on the threshing floor, a law requiring them to keep three or four months requirements in reserve for their own consumption. It would have to be very numerous and very costly. And yet here we have what in normal times should be praised as a prudential and provident practice accepted and obeyed without any cost to the State or coercion. Should any statesman who regards the permanent well-being of his people, lightly decry a course of conduct so wholesome in motive and so voluntary in execution? Is it wise to inculcate living from hand to mouth as being more social than thinking of tomorrow and the day after? Let us try and find out what the reasons may be which has led to this long-standing and universal practice. They are, besides ordinary prudence, the seasonal uncertainty affecting the crops, the political uncertainty which has prevailed for centuries and is not even now absent, and the brief average of Indian life.

Then there are social obligation, obligations to a social system which has protected the people for centuries against all sorts of calamities including foreign invasions, and the due fulfilment of which is necessary for the individual to retain his self-respect as a member of the community. There are, again, marriage expenses and dowries—silly, says the economist, but when it is the case of a marriage in his own family, he puts his economic wisdom in cold storage. The first and most authoritative Indian Famine Commission

brushed aside extravagant marriage expenses as a cause contributing to the country's poverty as without foundation. Whatever was spent circulated in the same village circle and had no effect on the well-being of the community as a whole.

Take Sir Jwala's second obvious factor, the encouragement given by currency inflation to the primary producer to consume more of his produce than he used to do in the past. Stript of the jargon of officialdom about primary consumer and inflation, in plain English this means that the cultivator gets more for his crops and, therefore, consumes more of it himself realising whatever cash he needs from the sale of a smaller quantity of his crops than usual. Plainly the man is not out to profiteer. That should, one would think, call forth the approbation of authority. But no. What he should do as a social being is to eat only as little as he used to do in the lean days and dispose of the rest at the price which he used to get in the days when the United States ploughed under its crops and slaughtered swine by the million in order to keep up prices. Such self-abnegation is demanded of him for no higher reason than that it would slightly mitigate their problems for Sir Jwala's Department. As a matter of fact, however, it is not possible for the human stomach to take in more than its accustomed amount of food because more currency notes are printed by the Security Printing Press at Nasik. If there is any doubt, let the members of the Government of India try the effect of eating one chattak of foodgrains more, as suggested by Sir Jwala every day. A man may starve for a few days without any permanent effect on his health but overeating even by a chattak a day for a couple of days would be followed by diarrhoea and more serious disturbances as surely as the night the day and may even imperil precious lives. What used to be known as Engel's Law was stated in the formula that, as the income level increases, the proportion of the expenditure on food declines. A millionaire and the mendicant eat approximately the same quantity of food, and any increase in its cost is due to quality and not quantity. Whether a man eats on a gold plate in a luxury hotel or on the pavement just outside, the quantity of food eaten cannot vary much. Sir Jwala here merely paraphrases the stupid sentiment with which Mr. Amery beguiled a moribund House of Commons. Besides there is no proof that the cultivator anywhere actually eats a chattak more a day. On the contrary, there is ample evidence that thousands are starving and dying of starvation. This hypothetical argument of the Food Member sounds more like a joke and a cruel one at that.

Now we come to Sir Jwala's first factor. The involved language in which it is couched shows that Sir Jwala himself is not quite clear about it. In simple English, it is that, owing to the greater demand for food grains and the higher prices consequent thereon, the cultivator, for the first time for many years, is in a position to choose his own time and make his own terms for disposing of his produce. Is this not what every one who has thought of the lot of the Indian cultivator, wished as the first step in its amelioration? Is this not what every merchant and manufacturer, does? What is the difference between profit-making and profiteering? The whole modern system of industry and commerce is rooted in the profit motive. Why should the cultivator alone be expected to be a philanthropist? The time is gone by when political and economic arguments can be carried on without bringing them home to the bosoms of the controversialists. Now is the time when every man who feels called upon, either as an official

or non-official, to speak on the Food problem, should publicly lay his hand on his heart and speak as before the judgment-seat of history. To call hoarding anti-social does not lead us anywhere. There is a hoarding which is social and one which is anti-social. When a man keeps a stock sufficient to last his family for six months or even a year, he is doing what is truly a social act. He prevents so many human beings from starving to death should Government measures fail, as they have done, to procure a sufficiency of food for the people. If every individual did likewise, the Food problem would cease to trouble Government. The best test of a moral action is the effect it would have if it was universally followed. We know of no better test. Even the merchant who hoards for profit has an excuse, as pointed out by Mr. Anson, Adviser to the Governor of Bihar, in the sanest statement so far made on the Food problem, just when the portfolio passed from the hands of Sir Azizul Haque into those of Sir Jwala Srivastava. Mr. Anson said that the vacillation and vagaries of Government policy were bound to create apprehension leading to hoarding. To make the people the scapegoat of a deplorable situation the entire responsibility for which plainly lies on the authorities, is not playing the game. Sir Jwala, as was expected, is a provincialist and does not mean to injure the susceptibilities of provinces whatever may be the consequence. No solution can be found for the food problem that way.

#### BRITAIN IN INDIA.

In the article on "Rationing in Britain and India," reference was made incidentally last week to an observation of Sir Arthur Wellesley when he was in India. It was a century and a half ago, and not a century ago as was mentioned in the article, that Sir Arthur was a Sepoy General in India. In a letter to Major (Sir Thomas) Munro dated August 20, 1800, Colonel Wellesley (later the Duke of Wellington) expressed his apprehension that the rapid absorption of Indian States was creating many enemies. "As for the wishes of the people, particularly in this country," he concluded, "I put them out of the question. They are the only philosophers about their governors that I ever met with—if indifference constitutes that character." He was opposed to the subsidiary alliances of his brother, the Governor-General. "One bad consequence of these subsidiary treaties, is," Sir Arthur Wellesley wrote three years later, "that they entirely annihilate the military power of the governments with which we contract them." In British India the people were disarmed. Notwithstanding the protests of the Indian National Congress and other public bodies that the Arms Act was emasculating the people and making them incapable of repelling invasion, the same policy has been persisted in. In the civil administration, too, initiative was not encouraged among Indians. Sir John Gorst, when under Secretary of State for India, let fall the remark that the Indian administration had no place for tall poppies. Sir Pherozshah Mehta was fond of quoting as the pattern of Indian administration one of Dickens' characters, the Poor Man's Friend, Sir John Bowley :

Your only business, my good fellow, is with me. You need not trouble yourself to think about anything. I will think for you; I know what is good for you; I am your perpetual parent. Such is the dispensation of an All Wise Providence. .... What man can do, I do. I do my duty as the Poor Man's Friend and Father; and I endeavour to educate his mind, by inculcating on all occasions the one great lesson which that class requires. That is entire Dependence on myself. They have no business whatever with themselves.

General illiteracy and lack of industrial development have aggravated the effects of this policy. All the so-called reforms had this for their central feature. None more than the Government of India Act of 1935. The people of India under one excuse or another must be kept in perpetual tutelage. The smug assumption on which the whole policy was based has proved dangerously false. An Asiatic nation has ventured to challenge the white man's supremacy. The white men themselves are at each other's throats. And now Indians are reminded of their ancient martial tradition which the British Indian Government has done its best to eradicate. The disarmed, untrained, emasculated people are now called upon to emulate the Russians and the Chinese who are defending their homeland under own national leaders.

The facts mentioned above cannot be denied. They are not denied. Lord Wavell admitted the other day that mistakes have been made. But unless mistakes cease to be made and are not repeated, there is no meaning in such admissions. The same mistakes, on the other hand, continue to be made. They have not ceased. We are told all these matters will be considered after the war is triumphantly ended. Lord Linlithgow declared that India was at war, without a thought of how she was going to sustain the burden which war entails. He was confident that he could do without the cooperation of Indian leaders. They were arrested and are still under detention. The Viceroy was no doubt congratulating himself on being able to mobilise the resources of the country for war, and without the cooperation of Indian politicians. The Food problem has taken him completely by surprise. No doubt His Excellency is convinced that the food problem has nothing to do with his political methods. We are convinced that it has a good deal to do with them. If popular leaders were in a position effectively to influence Government policy, the Food problem would not have arisen. Exports of food grains which even yet have not been completely stopped would not have been allowed. The useless, from the Indian point of view, despatch of large Indian contingents to the near and middle East, would not have been sanctioned. Burma would not have been lost and rice would have flowed into the country as in normal time. The law of cause and effect extends certainly to the political world. There are no exemptions from it on the score of race or colour. The readiest way of solving the Food problem is to secure rice from Burma. This is plain to the meanest intelligence. Suggestions are made that wheat should be brought from Australia which is far more distant and many ships are need to transport Australian wheat to this country where moreover the more urgent need is for rice. The Food problem can be swiftly solved if the Government in India and Britain mobilise their full strength to recover Burma and negotiate with the Burmese to send rice in large quantities to Bengal. Unfortunately, the War strategy is planned not with an eye to India's urgent interests but with reference to those of Europe. It seems to be more important to free Holland, Belgium and France from the Nazis than to prevent the people in India from dying of starvation. Burma is next door to Bengal. There is plenty of rice in Burmah. Why go to Australia to get wheat which is not the chief requirement at this stage? The immediate recovery of Burma, is the quickest solution of the Food problem and should be undertaken apart from the larger phases of the world war.

## FOOD SCARCITY AND EATING TOO MUCH.

In an ingenious effort to explain the food problem in India to a House of Commons six thousand miles away from our difficulties, Mr. Amery said that food shortage in India was due to increased prosperity and consequent overeating. This is an explanation which will be no doubt very pleasing to British ears when British minds are perplexed with the transformation of India from a debtor to a creditor country. The problem of adjusting these credits after the war "satisfactorily" can be tackled with less twinges of conscience if the feeling prevails that she has had much more to eat than ever before. To those Indians who had expected some attempt to raise a fund in Britain to show sympathy at least for the plight of Indians in the distressed areas of Bengal, Andhra and Kerala, the bland statement made a few days ago by the Secretary of State for India that his earlier statement still held true, must have been a surprise. Overeating and death from starvation do not go together and even distance could not have dimmed the vision of a responsible politician to such an extent as to make him illogical. What made Mr. Amery take the attitude he has done?

The answer lies in America not India, not Britain. For Mr Amery is not even original. In an issue of the *New Republic*, the American economist, George Soule, writes of the Food Conference at Warm Springs. Discussing food in the U. S. A., Mr Soule observes that the articulate upper strata, even in the best fed country in the world, was getting concerned with the problem of having enough to eat. Strikes, he says, multiplied because of a rising cost of prices caused almost exclusively by increases in food prices. Yet more food is available now, because (i) America is raising more food than usual; (ii) hostilities have curtailed exports of food which were normally large; and (iii) Britain, the one country to which exports are still made, eats less than in peacetime and grows more. The shortage, he concludes, arises from people eating more. He writes:

Wage-earners are at last fully employed on decent wages. They are buying more and better food than they have previously been able to afford. What creates the shortage in the markets is mainly the fact that for the first time in years millions of our fellow citizens are getting enough to eat.

Mr. Amery must have concluded that, if this was true of America, it must be also true of India. Obviously the seriousness of food shortage here was first concealed from him. He could scarcely have been prepared for the long tale of woe which has been released after his first reference to overeating. But having made it, Mr. Amery does not wish to lose face by admitting his mistake. So he stands firmly by what he said, hoping the people in India will do everything to relieve the situation lest he is forced to eat his words. It is quite possible, too, that he has been assured of this by Lord Linlithgow's Government. How can a politician think of doubting the wisdom of an administration headed by one who is the acknowledged expert on Indian agriculture?

The British who are now eating less and growing more, cannot feel much sympathy for Indians in their Amery an overeating. In fact they will lump us with the Americans and feel a distinct aversion which cannot be counteracted by any ministerial references to cousinly relations. To the many grievances which they have had against India as the skeleton in the Imperial cupboard, will be added the awful realisation that it is not even a skeleton but well-fed. In the light of this, it is not surprising that reports going out of India about conditions here are, to use a mild word, toned down.

## STATE AND NATION.

Dr. Sun Yat-Sen in his lectures on Nationalism in 1924 discusses the difference between the concepts of State and Nation. The clearest distinction, he said, can be seen by a study of the forces which moulded each. "Chinese say that the wang-tao, royal way or way of right, followed nature. In other words, natural force was the royal way. The group moulded by the royal way is the race, the nationality. Armed force is the pa-tao, or way of might; the group formed by the way of might is the state. No state has been built up without force. But the development of a race or nationality is quite different; it grows entirely by nature, in no way subject to force. Therefore, we say a group united and developed in the royal way, by forces of nature, is a race; a group united and developed by the way of might, by human forces, is a state." Dr. Sun Yat-Sen was developing the thesis that China was the one country of which it held true that nation and state were equivalent. China has been developing, he said, a single state out of a single race, while other countries developed many states from one race and have included many nationalities within one state. Dr. Sun, however, proceeded to enumerate the five great qualities that unite a race—common blood, common livelihood to start with, common language, common religion and common habits and customs. And he dismissed the minorities in China as comprising not more than ten millions out of four hundred millions. Now it is important to bear in mind that the great Chinese leader was heading a revolution against a system which had thriven on dividing the people. "The Mongols, the Central Asian Turks and the Tibetans all considered themselves in some degree allies of the Manchus and partners in the dominion over China," writes Mr. Owen Lattimore in "Empire in the East." "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 to prevent them from being assimilated."

The Mongols and the Tibetans, says Mr. Lattimore, expected that the collapse of the Manchu Empire would allow the original component parts of the Empire to resume their national identities—as happened in Austria-Hungary in 1918. But the most powerful force was the Chinese people and its leaders were energetic. More, the Western powers were anxious for reasons of their own to recognize the Empire of the Manchus as the Empire of China and the Chinese Revolution was treated as the heir of the Manchus. The Revolution itself in its early days recognized the federative character of the different peoples of China and the first five-barred flag symbolized the union in equality of the five races of China. Later it followed the policy of assimilation. It has met with opposition from Chinese Communists who hold out to Chinese Muslims the hope of forming an autonomous Government and to unite the Muslims of China, Outer Mongolia, Sinkiang and Soviet Russia. China has been extremely fortunate in so far as she has had at the head of affairs, during a time when everywhere else the tendency was towards the breaking up of large political empires into national units, men who saw China as one nation. More than that, the world outside accepted this, as the quotation from Mr. Owen Lattimore's study shows, for China, at a time when the doctrine of self-determination was being pushed to ridiculous lengths in Europe and when Britain, after losing its grip on the Dominions, had started in India on a policy of

first splitting up the nation into communities and then British India into "autonomous" provinces. Dr. Sun Yat-Sen's remarks about Chinese being a nation may be true of most other countries. He was prepared to interpret things liberally to stress his point of view. For instance, he speaks of common religion. Ordinarily, this would mean belonging to one established religion. But Dr. Sun Yat-Sen was himself a Christian, a minority community in China. When he spoke of religion, therefore, he must have meant something more fundamental than the faith one professes.

### FEAR AND THE CHILD.

Fear is the most primitive of all the instincts. If we look back to the primitive era, to the period of our earliest ancestors, we find that their lives were passed in the grip of fear—fear of the elements—storms, thunder, lightning and flood—and fear of the great animals which crashed through the forests and against which they had no defence. In short, their fears were twofold—fear of the unknown or incomprehensible and fear of enemies whose strength was greater than their own. As the years passed, so these fears gradually became less. Primitive man found means of combating them. He created allegorical but satisfying explanations for the elemental powers and he discovered the use of stronger and more powerful weapons to defend himself against his enemies, the wild beasts, and, above all, he discovered fire, which was a sure protection since it imbued the formerly much feared beasts with fear of him, since he possessed something which they were unable to comprehend.

It will be seen, therefore, that the growth of knowledge, and the broadening of experience, together with the feeling of security engendered by the possession of strengthened means of defence, minimised fear in primitive man. What bearing has this upon the upbringing of children of the present day? In the first place it shows us that the aim in bringing up children must be to eliminate fear as far as possible and to develop in children a healthy self-confidence in their own powers. This does not mean that a child should be allowed to be foolhardy and perform actions which may be dangerous to himself or to others while not realizing the danger himself. A very simple example will suffice. The small child sees a match being struck and naturally wishes to do it himself also. Before the mother, there are two alternatives. She may forbid the child to touch the matches. If the child is natural, he will probably, at the first opportunity when he is unobserved, strike a match, and there is every possibility that he may at the best be slightly burnt, while at worst a serious fire may result. The other alternative is to explain that the match will burn, show the child how to hold it and allow him to experiment. He may burn himself but his mother will be present to prevent serious consequences, and, if he realises that this is a treat which may be expected if he asked for it, he is less likely to perform the action in secret.

In a similar manner, the child should be warned of other dangerous actions, and be told of the possible results—not in a way to create unnecessary fear but to teach him care in his play and work. A child who learns to climb a tree, gains a great deal of confidence and healthy pride in his achievement, and warning against trusting to dead branches or against climbing

a tree with brittle limbs will not cause fear but will give him sufficient knowledge to render the action comparatively safe.

Discipline through fear defeats its own purpose in every case. Fear *may* cause the child to be obedient at the time but it is more than likely to cause deceitfulness and lying in the long run. Most children's lies can be traced back originally to fear. The child is afraid to confess a fault because he is afraid of the punishment he may receive, so he tells a lie. If the adult will only attempt to be understanding and sympathetic and will have patience to appeal to the child's reason instead of relying on fear as a deterrent, he will find that the child will grow up into a much more honest person. This must not be regarded as an argument against punishment. Punishment is essential, but the reason for which the punishment is meted out must be understood by the child and the punishment must "fit the crime."

The young baby shows fears very clearly. His fears are simple, a sudden noise will cause him to start and probably cry. So from birth we must begin to eliminate fear. The small infant should be given as peaceful, quiet and regular an existence as possible. As he arrives at the stage of talking and understanding, it becomes easier to explain away those natural and irrational fears which may develop. Above all, the child must have perfect confidence in the adults surrounding him, and they must in the first place never show fear before him, and secondly never, even by teasing, develop ridiculous and unnecessary fears in him. One child may go through life handicapped with fear of the dark because some uneducated nursemaid has frightened him about the proverbial "bogeyman", another may have an unreasoning dread of thunder and lightning, because, instead of explaining them simply to the child, the adult has used them to frighten him.

Besides the care required to eliminate fears and to avoid the development of new fears, the child must be led to have confidence in himself. A new exploit should be applauded and he should be encouraged to add to his achievement. This will cause not conceit but healthy pride, and a feeling of equality with his fellows, and it is this confidence in his ability to compete mentally and physically with others which will save him from deceit or cowardice, whose root-cause is fear.

D. R.

### THE FOOD SITUATION.

(BY SIR PURSHOTAMDAS THAKURDAS)

The country has neither the statistics nor the administrative machinery to permit of any scientifically laid out plan efficiently to tackle such a grave crisis. I am convinced that there is not the time to permit of any conclusive discussion regarding what would suit the country best in its present unenviable condition.

There is a tendency to fasten the blame for the existing situation on a class of people called hoarders, and make a scapogoat of them. The one clear and undisputed fact facing us at present is the enormous rise of food prices and the scarcity of foodstuffs even at such prices. Foodgrains are available in one part of the country and cannot be carried to that part of the country which needs them. It is a fact that foodgrains have been withheld for higher prices by hoarders, either the grower himself or the middleman. As to the quantum of such hoards, nobody seems to have any knowledge whatsoever.



If Government had fixed a maximum rate for foodgrains as soon as scarcity made itself felt and if the prices fixed for such foodgrains were sufficiently tempting to persuade the grower to grow more, hoards by growers would have been avoided and there could have been no temptation to the middleman to hoard grain. But this ideal to be achieved would have necessitated a sufficiently broad policy by the Government to compensate the grower of foodgrains more or less adequately, by fixing a price in keeping with the prices for other articles of consumption as prevailing. Further, it would have necessitated efficient machinery to (1) enforce the maximum prices fixed and (2) assure reasonable distribution. But in the admitted absence of such a machinery, the only way open to Government would appear to be to import more food grains from abroad, and to almost dump it on the Indian market at such price as Government thought could ensure reasonable return to the grower, without unduly inflating the economic structure.

Here it is necessary to have a clear idea as to what would be an unduly high price of foodgrains, as distinguished from a price which would ensure a fair return to the grower. Unfortunately, there is no standard of judging a fair price to the growers of the various raw produce of India even in normal times. If the Government of India have, after a hundred years of orderly government in India, any such figures available they may well put forward such figures for the various food products of India, say upto the period of the outbreak of this war. And to lay down any such price during the War period, especially during the last two years, for any raw produce, it would be necessary to bear in mind, to a reasonable extent, the cost to the grower of growing a raw produce even in normal times. In the absence of these basic figures being available to the Government, it is no wonder, that the Governments—both Central and Provincial—groped in the dark, and are doing so even today, regarding the fixing of a reasonable maximum price for any produce.

This cannot but have a most undesirable reaction on all concerned, namely, the grower, the middleman, and the consumer. The people at large have the impression that the Central Government, has, for all practical purposes, abdicated its authority in this respect and that each Provincial Government or State Administration is invited to emphasize its own requirements which naturally are estimated on a generous scale. Under such conditions of growing economic chaos, it is hardly for a non-official, individual or Committee, to decide whether the Central Government can exercise greater political power over the Provinces or States which have a surplus of foodgrains. Until reliable data regarding the costs of production are collected and verified by each Provincial Government and a Committee of economists at the Centre advises the Central Government as to the addition which must be put on to such cost for the extra out-of-pockets to the grower to get his other requirements, and this latter is generally approved by Provincial Governments, there is bound to be a tug-of-war between the Centre and the various units Provincial or Indian States. Under such a contingency the best course is, pending the collection of the figures indicated above, to import wheat from abroad, Australia, and to put it on the market here in such sufficient quantity as to bring down the price of food grains to such a level as may fit in with the policy of the Central Government regarding the control of prices. This strikes me as the only, and, undoubtedly, the most effective method, in the circumstances, of handling the situation.

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

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## NOTES.

**Banning Bengal Destitutes** :—The Bombay Government issued this week a curious statement to the effect that they are adopting measures to prevent destitutes from Bengal from coming to Bombay and depriving her citizens of a share of their rations. The first duty of the provincial government, it was urged, was to safeguard the interests of its people. This recognition of their duty to their own citizens comes rather late and rather gracelessly. A year or two before the War, there was a strong protest from Bombay doctors against the influx into Bombay of German Jews of the profession fleeing from the anti-semitic drive of the Nazis. That protest went unheeded. Incidentally *The Reformer* severely criticised the Bombay doctors' protest as violating the traditional Indian policy of the open door. Then Polish and other European Jews, prevented from entering Palestine, were allowed to land here on their maintenance being guaranteed by individuals or organisations. The number of those who landed under this dispensation is not known. Doubtless they were a good few. Then Polish orphans in large numbers were brought and placed in charge of the Roman Catholic Archbishop. Then, there were several thousands of Italian war prisoners interned in this country. The cost of maintaining them has been undertaken by the British Government but this means for the present merely a book entry in London and in no way eases the strain on our food resources. When Lord Mountbatten makes his drive in the Eastern Pacific, Japanese prisoners by the thousands will be sent to India, they will have to be fed and the Government of Bombay will have no say in the matter. The excuse for the present declaration of policy is that some organisation, not named, in Bombay has invited destitutes from Bengal to seek asylum here. So far as we know the invitation was not for all destitutes but only for orphans and children deserted by their parents. Their number would not have exceeded the number of refugees from Europe and war prisoners. It would be considerably less. Even the severe famine in Bengal has not entirely broken up the ancient social and family system. The cost of maintaining the orphans and destitute children will not be a tenth of the cost of maintaining European refugees and war prisoners. Bombay is a part of India. She derives a large part of her wealth from business in Bengal and other provinces. She has a responsibility, if her Government have not, for going to the help of a sister province in dire distress far exceeding her responsibility to European refugees

and war prisoners. We know that our protest will not have the slightest effect on the authorities but all the same we have a duty to make it and we do so because we believe in India's unity and the solidarity of humanity.

**The Scapegoat Press** :—The acting Governor of Bengal, Sir Thomas Rutherford, has broadcast a statement on the Bengal food situation as the result of a month's personal study in the province. Although Sir Thomas as a newcomer may be expected to bring a fresh and open mind to bear on the question, as a member of the Indian Civil Service he is precluded by training and tradition from acknowledging mistakes on the part of the administration. He is bound to find a scapegoat in politicians and the press for everything which goes wrong. After a none too illuminating account of the statistical position as regards the production and distribution of food grains in Bengal, His Excellency ends on the familiar note that criticism of government measures has undermined public confidence. Promptly on the heels of the statement, the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*, one of oldest and most respected organs of opinion in India, has been placed under that most odious and vexatious form of censorship—pre-censorship of its articles. As might have been expected the pre-censorship order which the *Patrika* was forbidden to disclose, has had the effect of aggravating the want of confidence in the Government. What was intended to be a domestic discipline has gained publicity all over the country and the Nazimudin Government has come in for some severe comment. A Government which professes to be a popular Government, is expected to respect the freedom of the Press on which it will have to depend for support. The Nazimudin Government by this order on the *Patrika* has revealed its character as a thinly veiled version of bureaucracy.

**The Hitavada and the C. P. Government** :—The *Hitavada* has given the only possible answer a self-respecting journalist can give to the demand of the Central Provinces Government to disclose the name of the correspondent or informant who gave it the news of the resignation of the Chief Secretary of the Bengal Government, Mr. Blair of the Indian Civil Service. That Mr. Blair has gone on leave preparatory to retirement before his full term of service, is the fact. A Government which sets itself to suppress the truth is sure to come to grief. Professional confidence is respected in the cases of Confessionals, or as between Solicitor and client, and as between doctor and patient. It used to be the law that a wife should not be called upon to testify against her husband in a criminal Court but this is no longer the case. The Editor of a newspaper is legally responsible for everything which appears in it including advertisements. There is absolutely no need to get behind him to ascertain his sources of information. In this connection, we recall that when Sir Sankaran Nair was a member of the Government of India, some official news was

published in an Indian newspaper. Sir Sankaran's English colleagues—he was the only Indian member at the time,—evidently suspected their Indian colleague as responsible for the leakage. They casually mentioned the matter in his presence regretting that such leakages should occur. He told them frankly that he was responsible for giving the information and, when they professed to be surprised, he asked them if they were not in the habit of giving information of government policy and measures privately to the correspondents of certain Anglo-Indian papers which he named. The matter was never mentioned again.

**Farewell to Lord Linlithgow :—**By the time the next issue of *The Reformer* is issued, Lord Linlithgow would have handed over his high office to Lord Wavell and departed from this country, in all probability never more to visit it. Having dealt with the principal phases of His Excellency's regime from time to time, there is no need and we have not the heart to go over the ground again. He began the Viceroyalty under very favourable conditions. Lord Willingdon had left behind him none too favourable memories of his slapdash methods. Lord Linlithgow had been Chairman of the Royal Agricultural Commission in India and had taken a prominent part in the shaping of the Hoare scheme. It was expected that he would be able to leave India nearer to self-government at the end of his five years. The outbreak of war caught him unawares. His slow-moving mind could not rise to the occasion. He plunged the country straight into the war adopting as his slogan that this was a war for India's safety. His policy since then has been consistently to draw upon India and her resources without a thought as to how far they were able to bear the strain. Lord Wavell said in one of his speeches in London that Indian resources have been strained to a point when further burdens might lead to collapse. The responsibility for this rests on Lord Linlithgow whom, nevertheless, Lord Wavell praised as one whose work has not been adequately recognised. If His Excellency had left India a year ago, he might have cherished the belief that his regime had not materially affected the country's wellbeing. But today this is impossible. On all sides he has evidence, grim, unmistakable, of the condition in which he leaves India. The memory will haunt any man less endowed with the gift of self-approbation. His Excellency has been unfortunate in his Councillors, Indian, and British. We have no doubt that he was actuated by the desire to serve India according to his lights. India is a long-suffering nation. Her patience is her strength. Her parting wishes for Lord and Lady Linlithgow and their family are of the kindest character.

**British Cabinet Changes:—**The revolutionary effect of some recent appointments in the British Cabinet, is more far-reaching than it appears to be on the surface. Up to within the lifetime of the present generation, the Prime Minister had no legal status in the British Constitution. He had no precedence except that which pertained to his personal rank. He was the first among equals in the Cabinet. Every other member of the Cabinet was, like himself, an elected representative from a constituency. He belonged to the same party as his colleagues but that only made for the independence and freedom of all the members of the Cabinet. This independence and freedom of Ministers is seriously impaired by the appointments of Civil Servants to key positions like the Chancery of the Exchequer and the Secretaryship of State for War. No doubt, Sir John Anderson and Sir James Grigg have been elected by constituencies to the House of Commons but that is

solely because of the Party truce which makes every election and by-election during the war an uncontested one. Under ordinary circumstances, neither of the men would have had a chance against political candidates. The Civil Servant has no politics. His whole training is to accept and carry out the policies of his Parliamentary Chief. The infiltration of the Cabinet by Civil Servants destroys its utility as a Council of State, reducing it to a caucus controlled by one man, the Prime Minister for the time being. Of course, it will be said that this is only temporary, for the duration of the war. But, when once the character of the Cabinet is fundamentally changed, it can never be the old free council of equals again. The British Government after the war will approximate more perhaps to the Presidential system of the United States than to the Cabinet system as it was known to Gladstone or even to Asquith. The effect of this transformation on the Government of India and other dependencies needs no elaboration.

**Hindu-Muslim Affinities :—**"Sutlej," the writer of the Oxford pamphlet noticed last week in the *Reformer*, has based his case for Pakistan on the differences between Hindus and Indian Muslims in race, language, and social customs. The Rev. Dr. Murray Titus in his "Indian Islam" in the Religious Quest of India Series, has analysed all these factors. As regards race, Dr. Titus observes, "The great majority of the Muslims of India are converts or descendants of converts and are found chiefly in the two social classes Shaykh and Julaha. They come from the Aryo-Dravidian races in the north and from the Dravidians in the South." (P. 234) Next as to language, Dr. Titus points out that there are at least seventeen important languages used by the Muslims of India. Bengalee can claim to be the mother tongue of more millions than Urdu whose exact position is that of lingua franca of the Muslims. He gives a table showing the numbers speaking different languages and adds, "All of the above languages used by Muslims have been greatly modified by contact with Islam. Urdu may be described as Muslim Hindi just as the language used by the Muslims of Bengal is called Musulman Bengali." (p. 342). The chapter headed "Islam in its Hindu Environment" has a wide range of information on the identity of manners in the two communities. In an address to the Social Conference at Lucknow forty three years ago, Ranade showed that a process of fusion between Hindus and Muslims was in progress through the centuries, which was interrupted by the advent of the British Power. Dr. Titus' book furnishes many proofs of the same process. The following passage is a sample:—

The social life of many Muslim groups is honey-combed with Hindu customs and observances. This is clearly revealed in names. The Avans of the Punjab, for instance, though they are nearly all Muslims, retain Hindu names and keep their genealogies in the Brahmanic fashion. Hindu titles are also found, for instance, among the converts from the Taga Brahmans of the western part of the United Provinces, the title of Chaudhri is kept in prominent families; and in Lucknow we find important Muslim princes bearing such Hindu titles as the Maharaja of Mahmudabad and the Raja of Jehangirabad. In marriages certain groups that are Muslims in name only, either use the Hindu ceremony alone, or perform the ceremony first by Hindu rites and then call in the qadi to perform the Muslim ceremony. In some sections, for example in Mysore, among Muslims the joint family system of the Hindus obtains in the rural areas.

**A Correction :—**In some of the copies of *The Reformer* last week the date and number on the front page were wrongly printed as October 5 and 9. They should be date October 9 and serial number 5.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, October 10, 1943.

### MR. F. RAHIMTOOLA ON THE FOOD POSITION.

We reprint extracts from the note which Mr. Fazul Rahimtoolla has appended to the Report of the Committee on Food Policy. He is strongly of the view that the Government of India is the proper agency to undertake the procurement and distribution of gram according to the needs of different parts of the country. Mr. Fazul is under a misapprehension when he speaks of legal difficulties in the way of the Central Government taking this work out of the hands of the provincial governments. On the contrary, provincial governments in taking control of the movement of commodities from province to province, are acting in violation of the express provisions of the Government of India Act. The Government of India are fully aware of this. The sections of the Government of India Act prohibiting restriction of inter-provincial freedom of movement of commodities were quoted in *The Reformer* and other papers. Provincial autonomy was definitely circumscribed so as to prevent just the situation which has now arisen. We can only surmise that the Government of India's reasons for tolerating the violation of the statutory restrictions by the provinces, are mainly political. Engaged in a fight with the Congress, they perhaps feel that they cannot assert their undoubted authority over the provinces even in vital matters. They want the co-operation of the provinces in suppressing political movements and they are securing it at the terrible price of people dying of starvation in Bengal and other parts of the country. We have been told that political capital should not be made out of the Food situation but this advice is misconceived since the Food situation is the direct and inevitable consequence of the wrong political policy which is being followed by the Government of India.

Mr. Rahimtoola attaches overmuch importance to the argument about antagonising the provinces. In the great famine at the beginning of this century, Lord Curzon practically forced upon the Bombay Government reforms in famine relief, which have proved their value in preventing scarcity from attaining the dimensions of famine since. The Sind Government has set itself up as practically an independent State. This is all bluff. It had to call in the Central Government to put down the Hurs and has generally proved incompetent to manage the provincial administration on statesmanly lines. The Orissa Government is posturing as an independent State with even less reason than Sind. The Punjab, it is reported, will not agree to control from the Central Government. If it persists in its silly attitude, it will have to go. India is and must be regarded as a single economic unit and its resources, wherever they may be, as the common stock of the whole country. The Government of India who now affect so much tenderness to provincial susceptibilities, show none in the war effort. This war against starvation is now the first concern of India. The Allied Nations must take their chance after we have given the people food. Mr. Amery, of course, thinks otherwise. He told the House of Commons that the Food Problem in India, so far as relief from Britain goes, was the problem of finding ships and they can be found only after the more important demands of the Allied Nations are met. Britain herself depends on imports for the greater part of her food. The supply of food there is, of course, a part of war

strategy. But starvation in India is evidently without effect on war strategy. If the Government of India take the Food Problem in their hands as they have the right and the power to do, our needs from abroad will be considerably less. The late Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolla, in what was his last political testament, recommended a unitary Government for India with full powers to the Centre. The ultimate form of the Indian constitution will have to be on the lines of his prescient pronouncement.

### FOUR BOOKS OF HINDU PHILOSOPHY.

The Adyar Library Series is planned so as to bring out the unity underlying the apparent discord between different phases and schools of Indian culture and philosophy. This is well exemplified by three recent additions to the series. The *Vedanta Paribhasha* by Dharmaraja Advarin, which Sir S. Radhakrishnan in a brief Foreword describes as a "great classic on Advaita Theory of Knowledge and Metaphysics"; the *Philosophy of Visishtadvaita* by Professor P. N. Srinivasachary; and the *Vadavali* by Jayathirtha, the first classic in the Adyar series bearing on the Dvaita or dualistic school. The *Alamkaraparibhasha* by Dinnaga, although a Buddhist work, has a definite place in the evolution of Hindu philosophy because Dinnaga was the Buddhist philosopher who came closest to Hindu scholarship. Kalidasa has a reference to Dinnaga. Dinnaga's work in the original Sanskrit has been lost and the present English translation is made from the Tibetan and Chinese versions. Dinnaga's work was the immediate target of the Hindu revivalists Kumarilabhatta and Shankara, and, therefore, it may be regarded as the starting point of the Hindu revival. Shankara taught the Advaita or non-dualist doctrine, Ramanuja the Visishtadvaita or qualified non-dualism; and Madhva was the founder of the dualist school. Jayathirtha, the author of the *Vadavali*, is the greatest exponent of Madhva's philosophy. It is worthy of note that the founders of the three schools all came from the South, as well as the commentator, Dharmapala, who popularised Dinnaga's philosophy.

Although Ramanuja and Madhva were both critical of Shankara's advaitism, their modern exponents betray considerable interest in showing that there was no fundamental difference between them and Shankara. The fact is, intellectually Shankara's teachings represent the high-water-mark of philosophy. Ramanuja and Madhva were trying to adapt it to the mass intelligence, the first by compromise and the second by contradiction. The positions of the two Acharyas who dissented from Shankara, is hard to maintain on a purely intellectual basis. All philosophers, Eastern and Western, tend towards a form of Monism as the truth, as the ultimate reality. That is why Professor Nagaraja Sarma in his Foreword to *Vadavali* feels obliged to point out that Shankara's doctrines could not be correctly appreciated without reference to the Buddhist position. Shankara was meeting the Buddhists on their own ground. Ramanuja and Madhva in trying to overthrow Shankara overlooked this important circumstance. Professor Nagaraja Sarma also takes up the ground that Shankara's doctrine in its original purity is not to be found in the later exponents of his philosophy. Professor Sarma, though he professes to shrink from expressing an opinion on the Dvaita philosophy, shows with sufficient clearness that he himself is not one of its votaries. No philosophy is needed if we accept as conclusive the evidence of our sense of the diversity



of the world. Philosophy begins only when we begin to question the evidence of our senses which, in the words of a modern mathematician and physicist, J. W. Dunne, author of an "Experiment with Time," is notoriously unreliable. Professor Srinivasacharya, a devout Vaishnava, too, finds that there is no material difference between Shankara and Ramanuja and that, indeed, they substantially agree. This reluctance of the modern Hindu to throw Shankara overboard is significant. The method of Ramanuja and Madhva in establishing their own special theses was not in line with the Hindu tradition as exemplified in that authoritative scripture, the Bhagavadgita. Sri Krishna never rejects or discards any sect or opinion as false. He regards them all as different phases of Truth, all leading to the same goal. There are hints in the Gita that the personality of Buddha and the broad doctrines of Buddhism were known to the Gita philosopher and that he regarded them as worthy of the highest respect.

#### THE PARADOX OF THE IRISH.

The American "Journal of Affirmation," the Protestant for February-March 1942, published a striking article headed "The Paradox of the Irish" by L. H. Lehmann. The paradox is that the Irish, the pioneers of culture in Europe, passionate lovers of freedom, are refusing to co-operate with the British and the Americans in the war against Nazi-Fascism. They have obstinately rejected all overtures from these democracies. The Irish antipathy to Britain is due to historical causes. But the Americans have been friendly to Irish freedom. Their intervention materially influenced British policy after the last war. And yet, the Irish are no less antipathetic to America than to Britain. The landing of American troops in Northern Ireland was bitterly resented by the Government and people of Eire. Mr. Lehmann points to the Catholic Church in Ireland as the prime cause of Irish antipathy to the Protestant democracies. The Irish brand of Roman Catholicism, he says, is the most uncompromising and reactionary within the pale of that Church. This is all the more strange, observes the writer, because it is entirely foreign to the liberty-loving nature of the Irish people. The Irish Church in its original form and spirit was Celtic, communal not authoritative. The Roman Church was imposed on Ireland by the British King to whom it was ceded. But when Britain broke with the Papacy, Ireland refused to follow her lead. The Irish Catholics have since been implacable enemies. We reprint the concluding part of the article which throws interesting light on the religious evolution of the Irish people:

"It is almost impossible to convince the Irish today that the Christianity of the Irish Church originally was Greek, not Roman, that it had a communal, not a hierarchical ideology, that it was opposed to the old Roman spirit of universal domination. It had the Greek Orthodox conception of the nature of salvation and justification; like Greek Orthodoxy, it permitted no man to act as vicar and representative of God on earth, but taught that the ever-present, living Holy Ghost guided all men equally through the individual conscience—understood, however, not separately but simultaneously; it never copied the Latin mind by following a rigid system of legal formalism as a substitute for the true reality of spiritual things. Like the Greek Orthodox, the Celtic church did not permit the bending the knee to anything or anybody human, not even to the consecrated elements of bread and wine, and not only did not admit of infallibility in the Bishop of Rome, but openly disputed and contradicted many of the teachings and practices of the Roman Church.

"Ireland was then free of all Roman influence, both imperial and papal. In legal matters, both civil and religious, it followed the Brehon, not the Roman, code of law, dispensing justice on a basis of common equity rather than formal technicalities and hair-splitting distinctions. Its religion was fundamentally monastic; the monastery was the centre of learning and industry; the life of the common people revolved around it, and, although the monks themselves were celibate and devoted their lives completely to their labours, legal marriage was not forbidden to the ordinary parish pastors.

All this was changed in the 12th century when Ireland was given as a papal fief to the English King Henry II. by Pope Adrian IV and when the religion of the Church of Rome was foisted upon the Irish Church.

"Edmund Austin, M. A., Professor of Modern History at Dublin University, confirms this in the Encyclopaedia Britannica (Vol. 12 p. 602).

"From that time onward, the Church in Ireland became Roman Catholic. It also ended the "Golden Age" of Ireland. The ruins of the monasteries and schools of learning which were abandoned about the 12th century, can still be seen all over the land, mute witnesses of the blight that fell on the Christian Church in Ireland after Rome had taken possession of its religion, and (Roman Catholic) England of its soil.

"The situation in Ireland was further complicated by the fact that when England at the time of the Reformation, threw off allegiance to papal Rome, the Irish, who had been subjected to papal domination by England, refused to be liberated. Their intense religious differences thereafter served to whip up their hatred of the conqueror to new heights of antagonism. As a result, America's alliance today with Protestant England and the sending of an AEF to the Protestant corner of Ireland's "black North", have greatly enraged Irish Catholic spokesmen. Patrick Maxwell, Nationalist (Catholic) Member of the Northern Irish Parliament, declared in an interview to the Associated Press on January 28: "There is nothing we can do physically to throw the American troops out of Northern Ireland, or we would do so." A recent series of articles by Dr. John Heenan in the *Catholic Herald* of London, reprinted in full by the Catholic press in America, bitterly resented American efforts to line up Catholic Ireland with the United Nations in defence of "what the Allies call democracy" as he puts it.

"Thus the paradox of the Irish becomes more baffling than ever. Ireland, which could and should be Europe's out-most bastion of democratic defence is being forced by its political and church leaders into the Latin Fascist bloc. It belongs there no more than does Iceland or New Zealand. The Order of Nazi-Fascism may be in accord with Ireland's brand of Roman Catholicism, but is utterly destructive of the native aspirations and the traditional glory of the Irish people."

#### A BANDRA DIARY.

In my morning walks for several months past I have been observing a number of young women in khaki uniform hurrying past towards the Railway Station. In uniform you cannot tell a Muslim from a Hindu or a Christian. Many of the girls here are Christians and they look quite smart and do not hide the fact that they are conscious of doing so. Last Saturday morning, I noticed two girls going towards the bus-stand at the Pali end of Turner Road. Just as they were nearing it, a motor-car driven by a man in khaki shorts and shirt pulled up and the man offered them a lift. With a slight toss of the head,

the girls said, "No. Thank you." I noted this because there have been some rather sensational letters in the *Catholic Examiner* about the danger of Christian girls making themselves too free with soldiers in Bombay. These girls know how to take care of themselves.

One of the signs of the new idea of social relations which is superseding the old, is that the word "Street" is becoming obsolete. Its place is taken by "Road". Here in Bandra I cannot think of a single street. The town is all roads—Turner Road, Pali Road, Hill Road, Perry Road, Carter Road and so on. In Bombay city itself, except for a few old localities, roads are the rule. The significance of the change is unmistakable. A street like a village represented a stable unit. "To be in the same street," meant a definite affinity among the residents. There is no such suggestion about a road. Every road leads to some other road. The disappearance of streets and the multiplication of roads, shows that people nowadays care little for stability and like constantly to be in a state of flux, spiritual, intellectual as well as local. This is also shown by the rarity of men who can sit for half an hour and think. Even Prime Ministers are constantly flying about and they seem to think that locomotion aids statesmanship.

On the night before Dusserah day, I had a painful experience of what can be described only as boisterous Hinduism. The whole night, without literally a moment's pause, scores of men were shouting themselves hoarse to the accompaniment of drums and cymbals. One of them at intervals bawled out like a drill sergeant in order to whip up flagging enthusiasm. I confess it saddened me to note this development. The energy which should build up the new order, is dissipated in aimless shouting. It was not, I felt, a civilised mode of worship. I can well understand people who do not share the belief in this boisterous Hinduism trying to keep their residential areas free from it. Leaders of Hindu society should exert themselves to put an end to this mode of religious rowdyism.

I have read the Notes of "D. R." in the *Reformer* on the bringing up of children and their education, with much interest. I would suggest that the writer should bring out a "Parents' Handbook" for the benefit of the general public. The truths contained in the Notes are not new but they will bear, and they require, constant iteration. Parents are apt to forget that their children are influenced more by their example than by the precepts of the preacher or teacher. If the parent cannot resist the temptation to a Bohemian life, the child more often than not is likely to follow in his or her footsteps. Of course, it is also true that the excesses of one parent produce a revulsion in the thoughtful child, especially if the other parent is of a steadier type, so complete as to turn it away from the parental example. The most ardent advocates of total abstinence have often had drunkards for father or mother. (On the other hand, clergymen's children are proverbially ungodly.) But this is not always the case and it would be dangerous for a parent to adopt libertinism as his or her way of life in the hope that their children may turn saints by revulsion. On the whole, a good parent, other things being equal, is more likely to bring up his child in the right way than a parent who thinks self-indulgence is the end of life. The same is true of the teacher. I differ from D. R.'s opinion that fear is a primitive instinct of man, I

think it is very much an acquired character. The child knows no fear. It takes all its surroundings as friendly. The human race in its childhood did the same. Homer's Hellenes "with a frolic welcome took the thunder and the sunshine."

#### PLAY AND THE CHILD.

Play is one of the most important factors in the development of the child. It is, at once, an outlet for superfluous energy and a preparation for adult life.

In the young of animals, we see that those animals which are born helpless and dependent for food and protection on their parents, like the puppy and kitten, are very playful during the first few weeks or months of their lives. The puppy growls, dodges, and pounces, pretending to fight with his brothers as later he will have to fight with his enemies. The kitten plays with a leaf or a piece of paper, as later it will play with a mouse, jumping on it with claws outspread, worrying it and at last leaving it for some new attraction. Chickens and ducklings, on the other hand, which from the very first are able to find food for themselves, lead, in comparison, a very staid and serious youth. In a similar way we shall find that the child, who is so helpless at birth, prepares through a much longer childhood for the more complicated business of human adult life.

In early infancy, the baby's "play" consists of using his limbs and gradually gaining control and co-ordination in his movements. He kicks and waves his arms and tries to catch anything he sees moving near him. Then he learns to roll and crawl and finally to walk and talk. From this time onwards, he seems to have tireless energy, as long as he is well. He runs and shouts and plays all day long, till bedtime comes and sleep restores the energy expended, and prepares him for another day. The very small child will, as a rule, be found to shun the company of other children, and to prefer to play his own games by himself. He has a vivid imagination, and can, with ease, "make-believe" that a certain corner of the room is the Zoo, and some sticks and stones, the bird and animal inhabitants. A sand pit opens up endless possibilities for this imaginative play.

At this stage, great care is needed in the choice of toys. Easily broken mechanical toys are of little lasting interest and of no value to the child. He needs toys which will help him to develop accuracy of movement and which will at the same time give him some scope for his creative ability, and he makes use of and enjoys these toys for a long time. Building blocks to make trains, castles, houses and ships, beads to thread and re-thread, jigsaw puzzles to fit accurately and form a complete picture—these are the toys that last. Toy cycles and cars have their value, too, for the child has to co-ordinate his movements in guiding and propelling them and develops judgment in avoiding the obstacles in his way. Parallel bars and swings on which the child may play freely, will inculcate a sturdy fearlessness.

A little later comes the stage of Meccano and toy trains. In the former the child learns the use of tools and accuracy in putting the pieces together, while his creative ability is exercised in making up new models. The toy railway also combines enjoyment with observation, and the child learns about signals, points, goods and mail trains through his play activities.

The child also requires good miniature replicas of "grown-up" tools. Carpentry sets for the boys kitchen utensils, sewing machine and sewing materi-

als for girls, are ideal toys, though often too expensive. The little girl will play with her dolls and treat them just as her mother treats her baby brother or sister. She dresses them, puts them to bed, talks to them and feeds them, and with the doll as the focus she will learn many types of "female" occupations. She will learn to cut out and make clothes and to knit, so that she can make suitable clothes for it.

Dominoes, draughts, and simple card games, such as Snap, are all useful and pleasant occupations for the child of five or six. Dominoes and cards develop quickness of perception of number groups and draughts teach him to plan his moves and so to think ahead. In all these games it is necessary to encourage the child to be a good loser as well as a winner. When the child reaches the school period, we have to differentiate between work and play. Roughly defined, work is a duty which imposes conditions, in that it is something set, which must be performed at a certain time, while play is something which one does of one's own choice, can do in one's own way and in one's own time. In the ideal Kindergarten, though a time-table is essential, a lot of the activities consist of play—play with number apparatus, play with world-building apparatus, and later on, playing shop, and learning to weigh, measure and use money. At this time there is the limitation set by the time-table and the choice of play materials and the tactful teacher must so guide the children that they use their materials for the right purpose. So in this early school period, the child is gradually being trained to pass from the freedom of play in his home to the more serious side of the school life proper, when work and play are definitely separated. Then "play" falls into two categories—play as pure recreation after lessons in the school room, and play in the form of organised games in teams or sides, the object of which is to develop a team spirit and healthy competitiveness.

During the whole school period the child should be encouraged in his hobbies. It must be remembered that "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy." Although the child may and should be interested in his school work, it is *work* which is imposed by an external force, and his hobbies should, together with sports, form his recreation and give him fresh and different interests, which he can pursue at his own will. Just as the man who is busy all day long at an office desk finds his recreation in the evening in sports, or Bridge, Chess or books, so the child should be allowed and helped to develop interests quite apart from his school work. It will often be found that the hobby of school-days may give, at least, some indication towards the vocation which may be chosen when the time comes to choose a career and the "play" of childhood and adolescence will indeed have proved to be a preparation for adult life.

D. R.

#### LONG-TERM FOOD-GRAINS POLICY.\*

(BY FAZAL IBRAHIM RAHINTOOLA.)

I feel that in the recommendation concerning procurement, sufficient attention has not been devoted to some important consideration. The Committee admit that, from the standpoint of principle, the only completely satisfactory solution would be a Central Government's foodgrains monopoly. They, however, state that the problem of staffing, organisation and administration involved are so great and the need of the situation so pressing that the necessary time is lacking. The above conclusion suggests an

approach on the basis of a short-term need. Since it is agreed that the crux of the food problem lies at present in the procurement of the necessary foodgrains, it is to be regretted that the report gives little indication as to how this vital problem is to be tackled. It contents itself by laying down that the problem of procurement should be tackled by provinces in such manner as they consider best in view of local conditions. This is doubtless due to the desire to avoid wounding provincial susceptibilities. But I am of opinion that a clear lead should have been given in the report on this aspect of the food problem.

The first important point that needs to be cleared up is as regards the quantities that are to be purchased. The essence of the scheme is that all the grain that can be obtained at the price fixed should be bought. This, however, does not mean that it will all be sent away elsewhere. Once it is known how much is available, it will not be impossible for a suitable body to determine how much should be kept for local requirements, how much sent to other deficit areas in the provinces and how much sent to meet the needs of other provinces.

It has often been argued that the purchasing organisation should only concern itself with such quantities as are required for other provinces. This system has been tried and found wanting. It sets up two or more opposing organisations, each trying to obtain grain for its own requirements, *viz.* one for the province and the other for outside the province. For orderly purchase, it is essential that there should be only one organisation which would obtain all the grain available; this can then be distributed equitably.

A similar difficulty is apt to arise if a purchasing organisation is set up in some districts which are supposed to be surplus and not in others. The fact is that even in those districts which are said to be deficit, a large amount of grain does come to the market. If proper arrangements are not made for taking over this grain and giving it out later in the same area, if necessary, there will be a tendency for this grain to disappear and go into the black market and the shortage in these deficit districts will thus be enhanced.

Hence if the work is to be satisfactorily done, there is no alternative but for the purchasing organisation to buy all that it can get and try to get as much as possible from all areas, whether classed as surplus or as deficit. It is the subsequent distribution between the two types of areas which would differ.

There is no need to be frightened by the magnitude of the task that will face the organisation. The task is tackled in normal times by the trade, in spite of its magnitude. And if the system that has been suggested above is adopted, it will continue to be tackled by the trade in exactly the same way, except for the fact that it will work under certain restrictions and subject to such conditions as may be laid down.

Another difficulty that may be brought forward is that of the time factor. It may be argued that it may take months if not years to build up the sort of organisation that is contemplated. As a matter of fact the organisation is already there waiting to be used. The only work needed is to ask all the beoparis, traders etc. to apply for licenses by a particular date indicating the zone which each one prefers. Each district officer would then call a meeting of the beoparis and settle their beats and give them licenses free of charge. Similarly in respect of retail dealers. Given the co-operation of district officers, the whole

\* Note appended to the Food Policy Committee's Report.

machinery can be built up and get going in a few weeks.

It may be asked where the organisation will get the money from. How does the trade get the money in normal times? However, if there is any difficulty about the beoparis, arhatyas, whole-salers or retailers in finding money under war conditions, in view of the fact that they will not be able to make profits by price manipulation, but will have to work on fixed margin, it will be for the Central Government to come to the rescue and find the necessary finance.

Finally I come to what is perhaps the most important point, *viz.* who is to run a scheme of this kind, *i. e.* who will be the controlling or deciding authority in respect of the various points that will arise.

There appear at first sight to be three alternatives:-

(i) the work may be entrusted to the Provincial Government concerned,

(ii) the task may be taken up by the Central Government, and

(iii) an all India Commercial Corporation may be established which will take up the work in consultation and collaboration with both the Centre and Province concerned.

Hitherto, the task of procurement has been entrusted to the provinces and the results are known. It is only natural that, when one province has to try to procure grain for another, it will not take up the task with any great zeal. It has moreover to think of its own future; the next harvest may fail; hence a sufficient quantity of grain must be kept in the province till the new harvest comes in, whatever hardship may be caused elsewhere. Further provincial authorities cannot control transport and there are apt to be bickerings on that account. The provision of the necessary finance is also apt to present difficulties. Hence I am doubtful about the wisdom of leaving the task of procurement to the provinces.

The third alternative entrusts the work to a body which knows and understands business methods. This would probably cause the least dislocation. But I realise that it will take time to set up such an organisation.

It thus appears that for the time being, the only feasible alternative is that the work should be carried out by the Central Government. This suggestion, however, is likely at least in the first instance to meet with opposition from most of the provinces. They have been exercising powers which they will naturally not like to give up. But we must face facts. Where questions of national well-being, nay of existence itself, are involved, the Centre cannot divest itself of its responsibilities and take shelter behind legal difficulties. Theoretical considerations must give place to questions of practical results.

It must, however, be pointed out that from the practical point of view it is necessary to retain the good-will and co-operation of the provinces. And it can be argued that so long as they are not willing to entrust the task to the Centre, there is no alternative but to leave it to them. No scheme can be made to work if the Provincial Governments decide to oppose it and to prevent it from being worked. I realise the force of this contention. But I may well ask what reasons are there for supposing that, if the scheme is explained fully to the Provinces, they will not withdraw their opposition. I consider it to be the duty of the Committee to guide public opinion aright in a matter like this instead of taking failures for granted.

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

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## NOTES.

**Lord Linlithgow's Parting Address to Princes:—**  
Lord Linlithgow's parting address to the Princes last week has given offence to the Muslim League and to the Princes, both of whom have reason to be grateful to His Excellency for the solicitude he has shown to safeguard and advance their interests during his Viceroyalty. The *Dawn*, principal organ of the League, has been provoked to the verge of hysteria by the commonplace about unity with which His Excellency prefaced his address. The *Delhi* journal has exhausted all its vast resources of sneer, sarcasm and irony in its comment on the innocuous and, for all practical purposes, inconsequential emphasis on the importance of unity, ignoring the subtle suggestion in comparing Europe with its deeply divided nationalities, to India with a population whose differences are all on the surface. The Princes would seem to have been hurt by Lord Linlithgow's assumption that every one of them would agree that "the Crown's obligations to protect carry with them equally binding responsibilities to ensure, if need be, that what is protected continues to be worthy of protection." The Princes have now come to regard themselves as Allies and co-partners of the British Government and the idea of protection and proving themselves worthy of protection, is naturally unpalatable. But apart from the word, which was not the most tactful in the circumstances, Lord Linlithgow was merely enunciating a principle which has often been enunciated before and which is being practised even in our own time. Lord Linlithgow's proposition, indeed, does not cover the entire situation as it is developing before our eyes. Of the four principal Allies in this war, two have, within the lifetime of many of us, grasped power by overthrowing ancient monarchies. The United States deliberately and of set purpose discarded monarchy as a form of government which cannot satisfy the aspirations of the people. All three are intensely anti-monarchist. If it came to voting, the overwhelming majority of the Allied Nations would solidly cast their votes against any form of monarchy. The British monarchy itself is less of a monarchy than a hereditary dignity. Lord Linlithgow evidently meant to warn the Princes that the British Government will have an uphill task in justifying before the Allies the continuance of autocratic rulers in India when the Peace settlement comes to

be discussed and that its task would be somewhat lightened if the Princes could show that the States had reached a standard of administration equal to that of China and Soviet Russia. Even this could not avail unless the people of the States themselves come forward and assert their right to have the form of government which they have enjoyed for generations.

**Grandiose Schemes:—**Sir Jogendra Singh's many-headed Department had a field day all to itself last week. The Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, Mr. John Sargent, unfolded a complete scheme to be worked up in the next fifty years, embracing every conceivable—and some inconceivable—aspect of education with detailed schedules of cost, men, and material. Gokhale begged Government for a few crores of rupees for free elementary education and was told that it was beyond the resources of the Indian Government. He suggested that the cost may be met by an addition of eight annas to the salt duty, but this also was refused on the ground that any addition to the salt duty must be treated as a reserve for emergencies. Mr. Sargent's scheme involves an expenditure of several hundred crores which even with the sterling securities cannot be met by taxation. A system of universal education for India is possible only by the free and voluntary co-operation of the people. Every Scheme of the British Indian Government is bound to cost the country enormous sums which it cannot afford. W. H. Sharp in his monograph on the Japanese educational system noted that far more efficient results were attained at far less cost in Japan than in India. On the ground of cost alone the Sargent scheme must remain an idle fancy. The same remarks apply more or less to the Board of health which met last week to devise a scheme for making the Indian people a perfectly healthy people, Sir Joseph Bhore, as already announced, is Chairman and there are some twenty doctors including, it was stated, Dr. B. C. Bose. But there is a slight snag. Owing to difficulties of transport, it was stated, the whole Board cannot visit all parts, of the country. Small committees will, therefore be detached for this purpose. No one has more vividly described than Mr. Winston Churchill the political uses and the practical futility of Commissions and Committees in the British system. In British India, too, they are useful as excellent window dressing. The political question, we have been told, must be put in cold storage for the duration of the war. All the schemes of post-war re-construction depend on the form and scope of India's future constitution. It is sheer waste of time and money to have elaborate schemes which will be scrapped by the post-war Government whether it be a national government or the bureaucracy in a democratic garb. These grandiose plans only serve to distract attention from the burning topic of the day, how to prevent starvation on a country-wide scale.

**Press Restrictions:—**The understanding which prevailed for about three years past between

Governments, Provincial and Central, and the Press, seems to have broken down. The Central Provinces demand on the *Hitavada* to disclose the name of its correspondent in the Blair affair, the imposition of pre-censorship on the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*, and the demand of a security from the *Sind Observer* reported this week, all tend to show that some Provincial Governments are disregarding the undertaking to consult their Press Advisory Commissions before taking action against any newspaper in their jurisdiction. The demand on the *Sind Observer* is said to have been called forth by an article commenting on a statement by the Hon. Dr. Ambedkar about the British Empire and the reforms needed in its constitution and policies to ensure its permanence in the new world order. It was an outspoken pronouncement. But the *Sind Observer* merely endorsed Dr. Ambedkar's observations, and if anybody had to be penalised it was Dr. Ambedkar, not certainly the *Sind Observer*.

**Madras Floods:**—The news that a Japanese plane threw a few bombs over parts of Madras City without serious damage to life or property on October 4, was accompanied by the news that the City had been flooded by the overflow of the Cooum and the Adyar rivers. Those who knew Madras, were surprised at the news of these two small rivers overflowing their banks and causing widespread devastation. Those who do not know Madras, thought that it was due to the outburst of the North East monsoon. The idea that the rainy season makes air operations impossible is obsolete. Throughout the rains in June—October British and American bombers raided Japanese objectives in Burma. As a matter of fact, however, the rains, it seems, had little to do with the rivers flooding Madras. This seems to have been due to nearly a hundred tanks in the Madras and Chingleput areas having been breached. The Government of Madras have appointed a special officer to enquire how this happened. But the damage caused by the floods is serious. About 50,000 persons have been rendered homeless. The Mayor of Madras has opened a Relief Fund. The areas affected are mostly the low-lying slum areas on the banks of the rivers and the opportunity should be taken to replace the destroyed huts by pucca buildings and to extend the amenities of healthy life to the people who have been rendered destitute by this unprecedented misfortune.

**India's Food and Britain:**—The demand for a debate in the House of Commons which Mr. Churchill has granted for "the near future", has stirred up unusual activity on all hands in Britain on the question of India's food problem. The Lord Mayor of London who refused the Calcutta Mayor's request for a fund, has now associated himself with Mr. Leopold Amery, the Secretary of State for India, in an appeal to Britain; General Smuts has promised supplies from South Africa and the Government of India has accepted the Union Government's offer and asked its High Commissioner to purchase and arrange for the transport of these supplies; there has been a Lords debate on food in India in which Lord Hailey played the role of defender of Government's policy while Lord Strabolgi and Lord Huntingdon denounced the Government for inefficiency and inaction. In the House of Commons Mr. Amery failed to display his usual nimbleness in support of his contention that hoarding by the cultivator was one of the causes of food shortage and he met a persistent questioner in Sir John Wardlaw Milne. Two Communist speakers asked for Mr. Amery's removal from India office on the strength of an appeal sent up to the Prime Minister by the

Lea Bridge Works Factory Committee. Mr. Churchill set it aside as being a subject on which the Committee was not specially qualified to express an opinion and did not even regard it necessary to reply to it. As a matter of fact, there is no constituency in Britain which can be held competent, let alone specially qualified, to express an opinion on India, and it would seem as though parliamentary responsibility is a phrase which means nothing so far as Indian affairs are concerned.

**The Food Conference:**—Another All India Food Conference held in New Delhi has not materially contributed to the solution of the problem of feeding the starving. Each province, particularly the Punjab, which had a surplus opposed any action on the part of the Central Government to control the distribution of the commodities available according to the needs of all parts of the country. The Government of India themselves were half-hearted and apologetic. There was general agreement that the problem must be approached as an All-India one but the provinces had not sufficient confidence in the capacity of the Central Government to deal equitably with it. It may be necessary to create a new and independent agency under the authority of Parliament to deal with the question. The difficulty here is that the British Government are reluctant, as shown in Mr. Amery's utterances to override the autonomy conferred on the provinces by the Government of India Act. Lord Linlithgow was particularly proud of the part he had played in framing the scheme and felt a parent's reluctance in acknowledging its failure in the present crisis. Lord Wavell need have no such compunction. By the firmness with which he handles the Food crisis, the public will estimate his capacity to deal with other problems.

**Reversal all Round:**—It is not only Soviet Russia that has reversed its policy in order to meet the situation created by the war. The United States have done the same. The same issue of the *New Republic* (May 31) comments editorially on "Death of the Comintern" and publishes an article by Malcolm Cowley on "The End of the New Deal." Cowley says that there is a tory from Washington that the New Deal is being abandoned and that New Dealers are losing their government posts and that a new crowd is preparing to take over. The President is not responsible for this change. The writer conveys the impression that the President is powerless against vested interest which are using the Congress to thwart his measures. The old struggle for power between the legislative and executive, he writes "has never been quite bitter."

**Religion in Soviet Russia:**—The Archbishop of York recently visited Moscow and on his return to England summed up his impressions under four heads. They are: the church of Russia is free from the state in the election of its patriarchs and its archbishops and bishops and in the control of its own internal and domestic affairs. When we see the various limitations which may interfere with the freedom of the Russian church we must not forget it has gained in the appointment of its chief officers a right which does not exist in our own church. Secondly, there was complete freedom of worship within the church; thirdly, there was great and deep faith and devotion in the hearts of millions of Russian people and fourthly, all anti-religious propaganda had come to an end. Godless societies existed but their work was suspended.

**Change of Viceroys:**—Lord Wavell assumed charge of the Viceroyalty at New Delhi on Wednesday. Lord Linlithgow and his family left the place on Tuesday.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, October 23, 1943.

## MR. AMERY ON THE FOOD SITUATION.

Speaking in Birmingham on October 15, Mr. Amery began an exposition of the Indian Food situation with the remark that what they had hitherto thought possible only in Nazi-occupied countries, was actually happening in India under British rule. "It has come to us as a profoundly disquieting shock," he said, "that anything of the kind should be possible anywhere under the British flag or that people should be dying of hunger in the streets of the Empire's second city." In the rest of the long speech, however, Mr. Amery set himself to explain how and why what has happened was bound to happen. His main line of argument was somewhat as follows: The majority of the Indian people were small landholders living on the produce of their land. The Indian population is increasing at the rate of 400,000 a month. They were all mouths to feed and not hands to work because "even with every effort to develop industry, to exploit irrigation and to improve agriculture, the menace of famine has never been wholly removed." A more abject confession of failure, cannot be made by any government claiming to govern for the good of the people. And yet a few days ago Mr. Amery declared Britain has good reason to be proud of her achievement in India. What Russia in twenty years and Japan in fifty years have been able to achieve, British India has not been able to do in nearly two hundred years. That is the plain significance of the sentence quoted from Mr. Amery's speech. It is a record no nation ruling another has reason to be proud of. Mr. Amery's reference to "every effort to develop industry" is misleading. Indian industrialists know that so far from efforts being made to develop industry, obstacles have been placed in the way of private enterprise doing so. The fact is that no serious effort has been made all these years to improve the capacity of the Indian people as producers. If it had been, it would surely have succeeded as much as it did in Russia and Japan. At the same time, India has been drawn upon for war purposes as if she were a country enjoying an economically equal status with the United States and the United Kingdom.

Mr. Amery said that the constitutional reforms of 1919 and 1935 broke up the unity of Indian administration. One would think from his detached attitude, that these Acts, particularly the latter one, was passed against the advice of British statesmen. As a matter of fact, the breaking up of the administrative unity of India was deliberately done by the Act of 1935 sponsored by Sir Samuel Hoare. The cutting up of India into eleven autonomous provinces was not in the least necessary for the purposes of Federation with the States. The late Maharaja of Bikaner expressly stated at the Round Table Conference that the Princes were indifferent whether British India came into the Federation as a single unit or as distinct provinces. We have always regretted that the Indian delegates did not oppose the creation of distinct provinces. We have never been able to ascertain why they did not. The situation which has arisen in regard to Food, is the direct consequence of that disastrous decision. Mr. Amery's admission that India was always on the verge of famine is not reconcilable with the shock which he professed to feel at the dying of people in the

streets of Calcutta. Normally thousands of people are undernourished and suffer from the diseases of malnutrition. Deaths from actual starvation may be few but those from chronic semi-starvation are bound to be numerous. This population always on the verge of famine was called upon to participate in the most costly war in history. No doubt sterling securities were issued in payment of the extra demands made on India. But men cannot feed on securities. It must have been evident to the most ordinary intelligence that the demands on India would strain her strength to the breaking-point. The Government of India Act introduced a few years before the war, had effectively rendered her incapable of co-ordinated action. Burma was separated. A week before the Japanese declared war, a Member of the Government of India told an audience in Bombay that there was not a single Indian soldier guarding the Burmese frontier, whom we could withdraw as a reprisal against the U. S. Government's anti-Indian policy. The moment Japan declared war, Indian troops were rushed to Burma's defence and the fact of separation became a fiction. Aden was similarly withdrawn from Indian control. In India, itself the communal divisions which had been crystallised by Lord Minto were aggravated by the provincial divisions of the Hoare scheme. In the few years since the introduction of that scheme, provincialism has gained a firm footing in the politics of the country. Mr. Amery justifies the attitude of the provincial Governments which refused to carry out the policies of the Government of India, as natural. As we have shown it was in direct contravention of the Act which expressly prohibited restrictions on inter-provincial movement of persons and commodities. And this, too, when seven out of the eleven autonomous provinces were run by the Governor with Advisers. In all this the most charitable construction which can be put on the policy of the British Government, is that they acted without forethought. But evil is wrought by want of thought as well as by want of heart. Deaths from starvation in Nazi-occupied lands are due to want of heart. Under the British flag they are due to want of thought. Mr. Amery assured his Birmingham audience that the British Government was carefully watching the situation in India. The Lord Mayor of London has declined to open a relief fund in response to the appeal of the Mayor of Calcutta as he is advised that his intervention was not likely to be helpful at this stage. He is probably right but the impression in this country produced by his reply will not mitigate that created by the Secretary of State's nonchalant attitude in Birmingham.

## BAN ON BENGAL DESTITUATES.

Sir,

I was glad to note your remarks as regards the treatment to be given to the refugees from the Bengal Famine. I entirely agree with the principle underlying it. It would be absolutely against the tradition of India to grudge asylum to the needy. I also propose that a Fund should be started specially ear-marked for such refugees from Bengal as may have arrived in this Presidency as a result of the present famine condition in that Province. I think the Destitute Home of Matunga should take the lead in this matter. In any case, a beginning should be made and I would be ready to send you my first contribution in this behalf.

Yours truly,  
J. R. GHARPURE.

### SIR SHANMUKHAM ON JUSTICE PARTY PROSPECTS.

Since his return from the United States where he had been sent by the Government of India as the head of a Supplies Mission, Sir Shanmukham Chetty has kept himself in the background. This is a loss to the public as Sir Shanmukham is a man of marked ability and wide experience of administration and public life. He was President of the Indian Legislative Assembly for a term and but for the abandonment by the Congress of its policy of non-co-operation, he would no doubt have served for several terms in that high office. When he accepted the Mission to Washington the *Reformer* suggested that he was allowing himself to be side-tracked by some of his friends. If he had not expatriated himself, Sir Shanmukham would not have escaped being included in the twice expanded Executive Council. We are glad that he has broken his self-imposed silence. His remarks at a meeting held to congratulate a Justice Party candidate on his election as the Chairman of the Chingleput Municipality in place of the late Mr. M. C. Raja, contained more than a hint that he might take up the reorganisation of the Justice Party. Sir Shanmukham attributed the present low ebb in the fortunes of the Justice Party to the swing of the pendulum to which political parties in other countries are subject. After seventeen years of the party regime the people wanted a change and the party went into and remains in the wilderness. Later in the same speech, Sir Shanmukham suggested another explanation of the vicissitudes in the fortunes of the party. "I find" he said "one great difference, and that a difference for the good, between the fortunes of the Justice Party at its inception in 1916 and the fortunes of the Party today. In 1916, the British members of the Services of the Madras Government were endeavouring to encourage the growth of the Justice Party, while the Madras Government as it is constituted is doing everything in its power to discredit and pull down the Party." The white Brahmin who worked against the brown Brahmin has now become his friend! The Madras Government today is the Governor with Advisers, and there is no conceivable reason why he should try to discredit or pull down the Party which claims to have made the largest contributions in money, men and material to his War efforts. The real cause of the failure of the Justice Party is that it has no broad constructive ideas. Its attention is concentrated on petty issues. Its only inspiring motive now seems to be an insane hatred of the Brahmin. That cannot carry it far. The British, disgusted with the anti-Semitism of the Nazis, are not perhaps disposed now to countenance the anti-Brahminism of the Justice Party. The *Reformer* has for years advocated the abolition of caste as a principal item of social reform. While many Brahmins have practically discarded caste, few non-Brahmins have ventured beyond a abuse of Brahmins even attributing their progressive tendencies to interested motives. The theory of the "swing of the pendulum" can not be invoked to explain the fall in the fortunes of a Party which is purely a communal party and not one inspired by political ideas. There is no future for the Party unless it drops its caste propaganda and adopts an idealistic platform. We are sure that Sir Shanmukham Chetty realises this and we hope that under his leadership the Party might assume an ideological character. It is significant that there was not a single reference to Ramaswami Naicker, the titular head of the party, throughout the proceedings.

### A CONGRESS LEAGUE EPISODE.

The India Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council like the bat is neither a bird nor a beast. He is part and parcel of the irremovable Executive. When Mr. Aney was nominated Member in charge of the Overseas Department, his seat in the Legislative Council became vacant. A Congress candidate was elected to it by an overwhelming majority. Mr. Aney appeared as Leader of the House without the slightest hesitation after what was in effect a vote of no confidence by his constituency. Safe in his office like any official member of the Executive Council, the India Member permits himself a freedom of speech and criticism which no official Member ever claimed for himself. That is to say, he enjoys the immunity from removability of the official and permits himself the freedom of a non-official to criticise public men and movements. The most recent instance is a statement which Sir Azizul Haque has published on how the Muslim League came to break with the Congress. According to him the issue was about three seats in the Central Assembly. Muslims were agreeable to accepting joint electorates provided they were given thirty three per cent of the seats in the Central Legislature. The Congress leaders were willing to give thirty per cent. Sir Azizul makes out that the Congress by refusing to concede three seats irretrievably ruined the chance of a national settlement. It never occurs to him that the Muslims were guilty equally of sacrificing a national settlement for the same paltry three seats, the acquisition of which would not have affected in any way the fact that 66 per cent of the members could if they wished carry everything against the minority. Congress leaders are in detention and cannot answer the allegations against them. Our own impression is that the Congress, whether at the Calcutta Conference to which Sir Azizul Haque refers or a Conference convened by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya at Allahabad, had agreed to the Muslim League demand but resiled from it when on the same day or the day after the Government of India announced a slight increase in the League quota. But in either case the position of both the Congress and the Muslim League, was contrary to principle. The *Reformer* has repeatedly urged that nor separate electorates but weightages were the most objectionable part of the new order. Whether three seats or thirty seats were the weightage asked for and conceded, it will still be wrong in principle.

### A BANDRA DIARY.

The October number of the *Indian Review* publishes a radio talk by the Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastry with the heading, "Is death the end?" Mr. Sastry observes, "If the question means, Does the individual self persist as such after the body has perished?, my answer is No: there is not sufficient evidence. But some of my physical and mental characteristics will descend to my children and through them to their children and so on. Some influence on the affairs of the family or on those of the neighbourhood, powerful or feeble, will be felt there after me. My name will be remembered for some time after I had been dust and ashes." Mr. Sastry's 'No' does not follow from there being not sufficient evidence. 'Not proven' would be the more appropriate answer. Mr. Sastry tells of his experiences with the planchette. He once requested a young lady reputed to do wonders with the planchette, to summon the shade of his father. "He was apparently at hand, for he came readily. I asked how he was doing. 'O. K., darling' was the response. He

was an old-fashioned pandit and utterly innocent of English. The convent school idiom was certainly not his. I was so shocked, the seance did not proceed further." Mr. Sastry also mentions a friend of his who invoked Gokhale on the planchette on every occasion of perplexity in public affairs. "Once he was performing ablutions and could not come. Another time, he was engaged in conversation with Ranade. On the occasions he appeared, his views and language were surprisingly close to those of the questioner. I was sorely puzzled and did not know what to think, but could not bring myself to believe." The experiment with the young lady, at this juncture, decided him to disbelieve.

\* \* \* \*

Survival of the human personality after death is one thing. The possibility of men who are living, being able to communicate with the surviving personality is another. The *Bhagavadgita* is positive that the personality of a man not only survives but continues where it left off in another body, at the tasks which absorbed it in life. The last thought of the dying man is all important as it determines the environment in which he will be reborn. But the *Gita* does not say anything about inter-communication between the dead and the living. The question, indeed, does not arise as in Hindu ideology biological heredity is a subordinate factor in the making of a man, the chief factor being his own acts and omissions in previous lives. Incidentally, Mr. Sastry begins by calling Death the most dreaded enemy of man. Is it really so? If men feared death they show remarkably little of it in their everyday lives. They go about eating and drinking, buying and selling as if they would never die. Smiling orchards on the slopes of Vesuvius do not suggest that the Italians are disturbed by the thought that a single eruption of the volcano will destroy the labours of a lifetime in the twinkling of an eye. Bacon has remarked that death is more fearful to the onlooker than to the man who is actually dying. This coincides with experience of others.

\* \* \* \*

I find it impossible to believe that death is the end of life. The *Gita* avers that it is the putting off of an old and worn-out garment and putting on a fresh one. Few of us have the satisfaction of realising our highest aspirations in this span of life. Our most strenuous endeavours are often interrupted. Ideals have a life of their own and physical death can not kill them. Man's spiritual personality continues and carries on its mission either through another body or in the form of influence. Communication with the dead is a different question altogether. I do not think such communication impossible. Before the electric telegraph was invented, men did not believe that they could communicate in a few minutes with persons who lived a few miles away. Then came the telephone and the radiograph. Television is now an accomplished fact. The poet's concept of putting a girdle round about the earth in forty minutes, has become a fact of every day life. Eminent scientists like Oliver Lodge, steeped in the lore of experimental science, aver that there is survival after death and that intercommunication is not only possible but that in their personal experience it has been achieved. I do not personally invoke the dead either on the planchette or through a medium as I hold that it would be an unwarranted intrusion on the departed soul to drag it down to answer questions which we can best answer ourselves or which are best left unanswered. In the same way I do not disbelieve in

astrology though personally I never seek its help, holding that, if one comports himself, to the best of his lights in the present moment, the future may be left to take care of itself. There is nothing to be gained by a prevision of what is to happen. Belief in these matters is independent of evidence as we understand it in law. Longfellow wrote,

It is a beautiful belief  
That ever round our head,  
Are hovering on angel wings  
The spirits of the dead.

"Beautiful? Yes," says the sceptic, "but the question is it True." Keats has answered this objection for all time,

Beauty is truth, truth beauty—that is all  
Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know,

If Keats had written only these two lines he would have assured himself of a high place among the immortals.

RECLUSE.

#### A WEST INDIAN FEDERATION.

Mexico—Reports from various islands of the British West Indies reaching the Latin American Office of Worldover Press in Mexico, reveal a movement for federation which, if hardly substantial enough as yet to influence events profoundly, is worth watching. Ever since the appointment of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission in March, 1942, all sections of the Caribbean have been stirred with new hopes and aspirations. Great Britain has already made numerous concessions, including a new constitution for Jamaica.

In 1932 a conference at Dominica in the Windward Islands stimulated efforts for greater self-rule, crystallizing attempts which had begun in Grenada and had been sporadically put forward during the first 25 years of the present century. That President Roosevelt has shown an interest in the extension of the franchise, compulsory education, more self-government, and measures to make the islands self-sustaining, was indicated in the December, 1942, newsletter of the League of Coloured Peoples, which published a report of a conversation at Washington between the American Chief Executive and Sir George Gater, the Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies.

In a recent issue of *The Times*, published at Kingstown, on the island of St. Vincent, a leading editorial advances the desirability of a West Indian Federation, and asserts that a constitution for such a political unit has been drafted and will soon begin serving as the basis for a popular campaign. The draft of this experimental document stresses loyalty to the Crown, outlines the component parts of the new federation by name (islands of the Caribbean now under British rule plus British Guiana), and asserts: "In domestic matters the national sovereignty shall only admit the limitations of morality and law, and internationally only those restrictions imposed by convention or treaties freely concluded, or by customary law freely accepted."

Further provision is made for a federal government with autonomy for each unit, and for additions to the federation should any other British possessions in the area desire to join, for example, Bermuda.

"All around us," declares the editorial vigorously, "there is self-government. The entire American continent is self-governing; the French islands are departments of France; Cuba, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic are self-governed; why not the British West Indies? We want self-government."



### OSTENTATIOUS SIMPLICITY.

Lord Wavell has taken over from Lord Linlithgow the Viceroyalty of India. The main feature of the functions connected with the event, according to press reports, is the great simplicity with which they are performed. In fact, the simplicity is somewhat ostentatious, and the word "simple" is being overworked in reports of the new Viceroy's taking over charge. There was nothing very grand about Lord Linlithgow to necessitate this emphasis on Lord Wavell's simplicity. If anything the new Viceroy's monocle gives an impression of there being less rather than more simplicity in him than in Lord Linlithgow.

Something of the implications of overdoing the simplicity stunt has struck one correspondent belatedly. He has thought it tasteful to add that already much had been done to curtail ceremony and ceremonial by Lord Linlithgow and Lord Wavell was merely cutting things down a little finer. There is a grace in this which other correspondents might well imitate. After all, the old Viceroy was only yesterday a power in the land—in fact a power as no other Viceroy has been. It is not proper that he should be ignored so completely in an attempt to raise the new Viceroy in the public esteem.

Too much can be made of simplicity, just as there can be too much pomp. The Western mind in contact with the East has always swung from one extreme to the other. The high salary of the Viceroy was fixed with a view to enabling him to maintain the standards of luxury of Indian princes and merchant princes. Richard Burton, in fact, mentions the case of a French Ambassador at Damascus who had to give in his resignation because his wife found it difficult to match the gold service of the Jewish leaders of society. Other officials similarly placed managed with greater skill the adjustments of power and purse which these delicate situations called for. Usually power sets the pace. It either raises itself to the level of the economic society in which it finds itself, or levels all down to simplicity. It is only when the scholar turns politician or diplomat, that difficulties arise and have to be met as in the case of the American Ambassador Dodd at Berlin or Secretary of State Cordell Hull in our times.

To return, however, to Lord Wavell's simplicity. This will have a great value outside this country primarily. In a recent publication by the China Publishing Co., entitled "Wartime China as seen by Westerners," Eva Spicer gives her impression of the power and influence of the Chinese Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek. "Not here," she writes, "the pomp and pageantry of the East, which was to be found at the court of the Empress-Dowager, and is still to be found to some extent in India, where the British have not perhaps fully realized that is something the new East has left behind." So from this point of view nothing could be more valuable than a soldier-Viceroy who starts with a certain popular feeling in his favour in regard to austerity and the simple life.

So far as India is concerned, however, there are two difficulties. The standard of simplicity has been laid at its unbeatable lowest by Gandhiji. Even some of his followers have found it at times irksome to keep up to it. In a simple matter like travelling third, for instance, several Congress Ministers found it neither comfortable nor convenient to conform to the rule. So they chose the middle path and travelled second, one Minister even giving out the explanation that he had to do so because of his office files which he carried about with him to work on. Even the iniquity of travelling by the highest class has been

got over by having the railway authorities, on one occasion, converting a first class into a second class carriage.

The other difficulty is the presence at New Delhi of Lord Louis Mountbatten as the Supreme Commander of the East Asia Campaign. For obvious reasons, this introduces a rival court and its standard cannot but affect that of the viceregal court. All these are questions which time should solve or evade. And in the next few months it will be seen how far these early strivings after simplicity are kept up and with what effect.

Nevertheless, there is one point which must not be lost sight of. The people who take the lead from the Viceregal example in this country are not very numerous. If Lord Wavell's practices to influence Indian life, there are many gulfs which have to be bridged. Meanwhile, the class which is likely to be affected, will lament the passing away of a picturesque element in British Indian life.

### ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE BIBLE.

The Bible and Shakespeare share between them the greater part of the responsibility for the wide diffusion of anti-Semitism among Christian peoples. Shakespeare typified for all time Shylock as the grasping Jew. The Bible represents the Jews as the persecutors of Christ, who caused his crucifixion by the Romans. Throughout the Gospels the Jews are held up as hypocrites and stiff-necked people. The fanatical anti-Semitism of Hitler has brought about a strong revulsion in favour of the Jews in many minds. Attempts are made by earnest men to remove the causes which underlie anti-Jewish feeling. The National Conference of Christians and Jews in the United States appointed a text-book Commission some months ago to eliminate all anti-Semitic references from the Bible. This would practically mean the complete over-hauling of the gospels and we are not surprised that Dr. Joshua Bloch writing in the *Protestant* complains that little progress is being made in the work. In answer to his repeated requests for information, Dr. Clinchy the Chairman of the Committee, wrote :

The problem of anti-Semitism should not be separated from anti-Catholicism and anti-Protestantism. Educational experts and governmental authorities who are fighting intolerance agree that the segregation of any specific problem of prejudice may aggravate it and even spread the disease.

"We welcome all efforts to build good will if they observe these fundamental conditions.

"*The National Conference makes no claim that all passages conducive to prejudice have been removed.* (The italics are mine—J.B.) However, it does say that radical revision has been made and that the task is being done by those in positions of authority and responsibility. If no groups are antagonized and the above stated principles are observed the task can be completed with increasing pace. The most important tasks now are the creation of materials to promote good will and the training of teachers to use these materials. A positive program, not a negative one, is the present need which the Conference is attempting to meet."

### HINDU LAW.

Sir,

Messrs. B. V. & Co. passed on the issue of the *Reformer* containing your note on Hindu Law which also includes a reference to the two recent publications issued in the collection of Hindu Law Texts Series edited by me. I am thankful to you for it.

I wish, however, to point out that there is some misapprehension about the two books. They are independent of each other. One which is entirely in

Sanskrit, viz., *The Dharma Dwaita-Nirnaya*, is a composition of *Sankara Bhatta*, the father of *Nilkanta Bhatta*, the author of the *Vyavahara Mayukha* and other *Mayukhas*. The importance of the Treatise can be appreciated from the fact that a respectful reference to it is made in important *Smriti* works. It is an attempt to set at rest controversies whenever and wherever they are likely to arise. Such an end can only be reached by a person commanding universal respect. The other book which contains an English note on *Sapindya* consists of the note which you have been pleased to review and a collection of passages bearing on *Sapindya* from important *Smriti* works.

As regards the matriarchal system to which your note makes a reference, there again I wish to point out that, although there is evidence of the women being entirely in supreme and sole authority as regards matters of Government and State affairs in some parts of this country, the introduction of the general law of Inheritance represents a stage in the evolution of the Law of Inheritance of the Indo-Aryans between whom and the ancient Romans, the existence of a common origin has been assumed to be a probable fact. The supremacy of the tie of agnation among the ancients which has been noted in my remarks to which your note makes a reference, is due to the sense of insecurity which prevailed among the ancients and which necessarily compelled the ancients to live in compact colonies bound by the ties of agnation of which the 'family' and the 'gens' are the other two ends in a contracted and an expanded form.

You will find the evidence prominently of the existence of Women's State in the Markandeya Purana and other places; but as I have said above that is a different matter.—J. P. Gharpure.

We regret the confusion which was due to inadvertence.—Editor.

**Four Books on Hindu Philosophy :—**We omitted to mention the prices of the four books on Hindu philosophy noticed last week. They are: *Vedantaparibhasha* Rs. 2-12; *Philosophy of Visishtadvaita* Rs. 10; *Vadavali* Rs. 4; and *Alambanapariksha* (erroneously printed *Alankaraparibhasha*) Rs. 3-8.

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

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## NOTES.

**Chinese Win American Citizenship:—**The Chinese Exclusion Bill has passed the House of Representatives and is expected to be accepted soon by the Senate. The message of President Roosevelt to Congress urging the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Bill, which we reprint, is a masterpiece in the fallacy known as non-sequitur. The President says that the Chinese have been fighting the Japanese single-handed for seven years. They have been doing so because the Japanese invaded their country and not in the hope of being admitted to the "privilege" of American citizenship. The President says that they have accepted the view that the European front has the first claim on the Allies' concentrated effort and that they must wait until the Nazi Power is overthrown. They have also realised, according to the President, that they must be content with such small help as the Allies can send at present. On this point, if we had only the President's assurance, we may be less confident. But the Chinese have welcomed the message. The question, however, is whether the Chinese can, without more help than they have been getting from the Allies, hold back the Japanese until the Allies are able, after settling the Nazis, to turn their full strength to crush the enemy on the Pacific Front. The President seems to be satisfied that they can. If so, there is no need for the Chinese to delay defeating the Japanese until the Allies are able to claim a share in the victory. In any case, this, too, is not intended by the Chinese as a credential for being admitted to the privilege of American citizenship. The European nations without displaying any heroic qualities have been enjoying this privilege by mere virtue of their race and colour. The President next reassures Americans—and this is significant—that, as only 100 Chinese will become eligible for citizenship in a year and, as the number already in the States is not large, there need be no fear of the Chinese depriving Americans of their jobs. No such argument has ever been advanced for admitting Europeans to citizenship. The only forthright statement in the message is that they have made a mistake in passing the Chinese Exclusion Act and there is no humiliation in correcting it. Only, this argument applies as much to natives of India as to the Chinese; and yet there is no talk of lifting the ban on Indians. On the contrary, President Roosevelt holds out as a

desirable end the fact that the Chinese will have a preferred status compared to other Oriental peoples. India is reckoned for purposes of war as one of the principal Allies, she is the main base of operations against Japan. She is fighting not because Japan has invaded India but because Japan is the enemy of the Allies. She is giving help out of all proportion to her slender resources, she is experiencing the horrors of starvation by a large section of her people and yet there is no suggestion that the same mistake as had been made in excluding Chinese from citizenship has been made in her case also, and must be rectified.

**International Guardianship for India:—**In the course of his speech initiating a debate on the Food situation in India in the House of Lords, Lord Huntingdon suggested that Britain should take, as her colleagues in the guardianship of India, the United States, Russia and China for being responsible for India's present welfare and guaranteeing her future freedom. In the course of his speech in the debate which followed, Lord Hailey referring to Lord Huntingdon's suggestion, said:

India has only one objective and one ambition and that is independence. Ward trusteeship as used by us is in very little favour in Indian political circles. I doubt whether the association of our Allies or the United Nations in the form of the guarantee suggested or the joint assumption by them of trusteeship for India would be any more satisfactory to India than it would be flattering to us.

This is an estimate of the prevailing opinion among Indians. International guardianship has proved to be of no value in the case of the Mandated territories. Once a year the Mandate Committee met and heard the report of the mandated powers and made some remarks. The addition of three powers to share the guardianship of India will only eliminate even the small amount of responsibility felt by the one Power now controlling India's destinies. All the four countries will, at the end of the war, have their hands full of their own problems. They can render no material assistance in the management of Indian affairs. We shall have four Courts installed in New Delhi and all that it implies in the provinces. In the present Food trouble, the most conservative British opinion is obliged to admit British responsibility. In the proposed scheme, none of the four guardian powers will own responsibility if anything goes wrong. On the other hand, it is not unlikely that the condition of India will be that of China before the capitulations were abolished. Instead of one country exploiting India, there will be four and the last state of the ward will be worse than the first. Dr. Sun Yat-Sen in his lectures on Nationalism was very clear in his denunciation of China's status as inferior to that of a colony. He said:

The people of China still think we are only a "semi-colony" and comfort themselves with this term, but in reality we are being crushed by the economic

strength of the Powers to a greater extent than if we were a full colony. For example, Annam and Korea are protectorates of France and Japan and their people are slaves..... We seem unaware that our own position is lower than theirs. Whose "semi-colony" is China? China is the colony of every nation that has made treaties with her, and the treaty-making nations are her masters. China is not the colony of one nation but of all, and we are not the slaves of one country but of all. Would it be better to be slaves of one country or of many countries? If we were slaves of one certain nation and some natural calamity, such as flood or drought, befall China, the master nation would appropriate funds for relief as an obligation and distribute the funds as a duty. In China foreign nations do not feel they have any obligation to send relief.

Lord Hailey was right when he said that India has only one objective and one ambition and that was independence. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry still clings to the idea of Dominion status but few others in this country will come forward to support him. Mr. Sastry is keen on Gandhiji representing India at the Peace Conference and pleads for a settlement in order to facilitate that end. As we said before, Gandhiji will exercise greater influence from outside than from within the Peace Conference. This does not mean that he should be kept in detention until the Conference is over. The British Government in its own interests will have to release the political detenus before the Peace Conference is held.

**Hailey on Pakistan:**—Speaking in the House of Lords on Lord Huntingdon's motion to discuss the food situation in India, Lord Hailey was definite on only one point. He said:

Looking to the future there is certainly one lesson that sticks out. There could be no stronger argument than that provided by these events to prove the inadvisability of the fragmentation of India which would inevitably result from such schemes as that for the creation of a separate dominion of the Moslem provinces.

Mr. Jinnah would perhaps retort that the Muslim League does not want to create a dominion of the Muslim provinces but wants them to be an independent sovereign State. The obvious answer to that is that, as an independent sovereign state, Pakistan would be even less able to support itself than as autonomous provinces of British India. Anyhow, Lord Hailey has thrown out a challenge to the League and the public will await with interest what Mr. Jinnah has to say. For some obscure reason, this passage and the one following it on the position of the Central Government in the future constitution of India, were cut out in some daily papers.

**South African Bishops Protest:**—The Episcopal Synod of the Church of South Africa, consisting of fourteen bishops, have issued a strong protest against the prevailing colour prejudice in that country. The civilisation of India, they say, shows that it is ridiculous to maintain that civilisation is the monopoly of white-skinned races. In view of anti-colour legislation in South Africa, the Bishops question the right of the Dominion to take a leading part in the future settlement of the African Continent. They condemn colour prejudice as cruel, wasteful and dangerous. The Bishops' appeal will have no immediate effect on South African policy. The Boers interpret Christianity to mean that God made only the Boers in His own image and that the coloured races are given over to them in perpetuity to dominate over. Although the biblical basis of colour prejudice is not accepted by the British in South Africa, they have accepted the political implications of that doctrine and are as fervently against the

letting down of the colour bar as the Boers. The Bishops' protest will have as little effect on them as water on a duck's back. Still, it is well that the protest has been made.

**Moscow Talks:**—The Moscow correspondent of the *Hindustan Times* quotes from *Red Star*, the organ of the Red Army, bringing out the differences between the British-American and the Soviet Russian points of view about war strategy and post-war Germany which form the subject of the three-Power talks now going on in Moscow. The *Red Star* says that the Italian strategy suits Hitler. Germany's sole hope lies in protracting the war which she is achieving by containing large Allied forces in Italy and by procrastination of trans-Channel invasion. As regards the Peace terms, Russia insists on the 1941 frontiers (which would include part of Poland) and does not want Germany destroyed but only made militarily non-aggressive.

**A Good Beginning:**—It is announced that Lord and Lady Wavell will shortly visit Calcutta and that the visit will be private and divested of all ceremonial. The date of their visit will not be published beforehand. This is a good beginning. Their Excellencies will be able to see things for themselves. As regards relief measures, Lord Wavell will be able to assist materially at least in one particular. It is generally believed that the military have accumulated stores much in excess of their actual or probable requirements. A civilian Viceroy has necessarily to go by reports but Field Marshall Wavell will be able to assess at first hand the amount of surplus stores which can be diverted for relief purposes. The Viceroy has lost no time in giving effect to his intention. He arrived in Calcutta on Tuesday and made a tour of the streets at night in private cars.

**Dr. B. R. Ambedkar on Reconstruction:**—If the press reports of what Dr. B. R. Ambedkar said at the Policy Committee of the Reconstruction Committee, are correct, then the Labour Member in the Government of India has discovered a new reason for the food situation in Bengal. He is reported to have said,

Everybody knows that India is primarily an agricultural country but what is surprising is that very few people seem to realise what a great misfortune it is. I know this will not be readily admitted. What more evidence is wanted to prove that this is a misfortune than the famine which is stalking Bengal and other parts of India where so many from the agricultural population are dying daily from want of food or want of purchasing power.

Dr. Ambedkar who is an economist first, seems to have forgotten his special subject now he is Government Member for Labour. He said that the solution for this was industrialization which would draw population away from land to gainful occupation other than agriculture. If the problem is one of food shortage, then the solution naturally should be more food production. If the problem is caused by maldistribution, then obviously the remedy is better distribution. In neither case, can Dr. Ambedkar's suggestion for industrialization meet the needs. No one, even the learned Doctor will admit, can eat the products of industry. If India had industrialized, then she may have been more dependent on Burma for rice. And consequently have suffered more from the loss of Burma. And, agriculture too is an industry, the oldest in the world.

**Notice:**—Owing to Divali holidays falling at the end of the week, this issue of *The Reformer* goes to Press on Wednesday instead of on Friday as usual.



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, October 30, 1943.

## THE HITAVADA AFFAIR.

The Central Provinces Government served an order on the *Hitavada* of Nagpur, conducted by the Servants of India Society, calling upon the Editor to disclose the name of the correspondent who gave the news about the resignation of Mr. Blair, Chief Secretary to the Bengal Government, and the circumstances in which it was tendered. The Editor, Mr. A. D. Mani, declined to comply with the demand on the ground that it was against journalistic convention to reveal the source of information obtained under an express or implied pledge of secrecy. The three days allowed to the Editor elapsed some days ago. Under the Defence of India Rule assumed to empower the provincial Government to make the demand, the Editor laid himself liable to a criminal prosecution. No proceedings have been instituted against him as yet. Meanwhile, the Government of India have issued a communique explaining and justifying the demand made by the Central Provinces Government. Unless the Central Provinces Government acted under the orders of the Central Government, what becomes of the Provincial Autonomy of which so much is made with regard to Food control?—the intervention of the Central Government at this stage is wholly unintelligible. The Government of Bengal was not perhaps able to move the Central Provinces Government to take action in the matter. It, therefore, moved the Government of India and the latter ordered the Central Provinces Government to call on the editor to disclose the name of his correspondent. The Nagpur Government probably informed the Central Government of the Editor's refusal and left it to explain and justify the demand on the *Hitavada*.

The Government of India's communique can only be construed as an apology to the Press which all over the country has protested against the Nagpur Government's demand. It may be assumed that the demand has been dropped though the communique does not say so. "The Government of India agree," it says, "that it is undesirable in all ordinary circumstances to disturb the confidential relations that exist between an editor and his correspondents, but the editor cannot expect that any journalistic convention, however honoured by time or usage, should be allowed to override the law." What is the law which requires an editor to disclose the name of his correspondents and contributors? The law makes the editor responsible for what he publishes. When he accepts responsibility, the law is satisfied and does not probe into his professional confidences. The acknowledgment that in all ordinary circumstances it is undesirable to disturb the confidential relations between an editor and his correspondents, is welcome. This is the first time that the Government of India has made it or anything like it to the Press, the invariable contention being that the editor has no more rights than a private citizen charged with receiving stolen property, to refuse to disclose the name of the thief who sold it to him. No less a personage than Lord Dufferin when Viceroy of India took up this position, when the editor of the *Indian Mirror* waited on him as a member of a Congress deputation. The *Indian Mirror*, then edited by Narendranath Sen, nephew of the Brahma leader Keshab Chandra Sen, a man of dauntless courage and integrity, had published some proposals purporting to be made by the Government of India regarding an important Indian State. Lord Dufferin, when he was introduced

to Narendranath Sen, withheld his hand remarking in an angry tone that he will have nothing to do with a receiver of stolen property. Narendranath drew himself up to the full height of his stature, much taller than the Viceroy, and gravely reminded His Excellency that he was in Government House at the moment as his guest. Dufferin reddened and then and there apologised. But the Dufferin doctrine has held sway all along and the acknowledgment in the Government of India communique is a welcome departure from it which will be appreciated by the Press. But the danger is that the official mind seldom discriminates between ordinary circumstances and emergencies, when it is annoyed by the entrance of a ray of light in the darkness in which it prefers to work.

The *Hitavada* case itself is a conspicuous illustration. The Chief Secretary of Bengal has resigned. He has gone on leave but he is not returning to his post although his full term of service is not over. If he was going on leave in the normal course, he would have cancelled the leave when the Governor of Bengal fell ill. It would not have been necessary to dislocate the administration in two neighbouring provinces to find men to act for an ailing Governor. The *Hitavada* might have been right or wrong as to the circumstances in which, it alleged, Mr. Blair had tendered his resignation. In the Punjab the papers published a similar story about Mr. Moon, a senior Indian Civil Service officer, that he had to resign because the Censor had found something objectionable in his private correspondence. No attempt was made to discover how the story leaked out or whether it was true or false. Referring to the *Hitavada*, the communique says

The article in respect of which Government desired information alleged that official action had been taken against a particular officer of Government on the basis of a private letter written to a relative, which had been censored and brought to the notice of the higher authorities. The information contained in the article, if true, could only have emanated from official sources in complete disregard of the provisions of the Official Secrets Act and of the well-known rule that the operations of the censors are in no circumstances to be disclosed. If, on the other hand, the information was untrue, it amounted to a most unfair attack on the integrity of Government and their officers. In any case, the publication of confidential information is an offence.

The Government are in the best position to know if the information was true or false. The papers connected with the matter should be on the files of both the Bengal and the Indian Governments. If the statement was false, Government could have issued a statement immediately contradicting it and taken such action, or asked Mr. Blair to take such action, against the newspaper as was permissible in law. It was not in the least necessary to get the information from the correspondent of the *Hitavada*. We do not know that the resignation (or death?) of an official is protected by the Official Secrets Acts nor the reasons for his resignation. Whether it is or it is not, Government can have instituted an investigation among the officials concerned to discover if there was any leakage.

Towards the end of the communique there is a different line of argument. We quote:

Moreover it is clearly necessary both in the public interest and also in the interest of military security, that abuses of the censorship or of the rules of censorship, if they have indeed occurred, should be stopped by all possible means, and it is Government's duty to ensure that the contents of private correspondence remain private to the greatest extent possible under the

exigencies of war. If editors wish their confidential relations with their correspondents to be respected, Government and members of the public, whether they happen to be officials or not, have no less right in common fairness to claim that neither editorial privilege nor official indiscretion should be allowed to extend with impunity to the disruption of the equally confidential relations that should subsist between the censors and those whose private correspondence it is their duty to examine.

We have every sympathy with censors. To read a private letter not meant for your eyes is an odious thing under ordinary circumstances. Military necessity, however, knows no law nor decency. We are not clear as to what the Government communicate means. Does it mean that it would have been an abuse of censorship if the censor had opened the letter of a member of the Indian Civil Service to his relative? Government here seem to concede that there was a letter and it was censored in the circumstances stated by the *Hitavada*. They seem here to be anxious to restrain and regulate the activities of the censor to the minimum needed for military security. This is a highly laudable aim which the public should appreciate. The last sentence is perfectly unintelligible. What are the relations between the censors and those whose letters are censored or it is their duty to examine? There are none. The censor blacks out what he finds objectionable and never explains to the writer of the letter why he did so. The letter may not be passed at all and no information is given to the writer that it has been held back. There is consequently no appeal against the censors. They are, so far as the public are concerned, a law unto themselves. As for the operations of the censorship being confidential, it is the business of the Department and not of the public. May we finally remind the official who drafted the communique of the elementary principle that Government has no rights as against its subjects, only duties to them, most important of which is the duty to protect them against encroachment by its officials?

#### INDIA, BRITAIN AND AMERICA.

There have been many American observers, official and non-official, journalists and senators, coming to India since the war broke out, particularly since America's entry into the war—from Mr. William Phillips, the U. S. President's personal representative, to the smallest reporter. The American uses the advantage of his country's position in world affairs to win entries to places not easy to go to or to dress himself up in sufficiently impressive authority. But, when it comes to expressing an opinion on any question, he is sometimes modest and seeks to avoid embarrassing his British ally. It is natural that, when nationals of a country start visiting India on a large scale and ask all sorts of persons all sorts of questions, the idea gets about among Indians that that country is interested in India; from this to the impression that it is going to intervene, is not a very far-fetched inference. But that notion seems to upset the American in India. Mr. Herbert Matthews of the *New York Times* was one of the top-men in American journalism to visit this country. He stayed a year. In a last article, he has mentioned that Indians look to America to win their independence for them. It is unfortunate that Mr. Matthews was the last of the American correspondents to arrive in India. Obviously he has had to bear the reaction from the cumulative effect of successive interviews with American pressmen experienced by Indians. Obviously too Indians began by the time they saw him, to feel that America was really preparing for action. So they gave him what they thought was

good for this country. In his novel on the last Peace treaties, Upton Sinclair mentions how much in demand Americans, any American, were with the delegates of small nations, all anxious to reach the controllers of the world's destinies. Something like that has evidently happened to American correspondents in India and they have proved, even the Matthews of the press, not big enough to understand the position. Moreover, is there really anything wrong in looking to America today for assistance in winning independence? China has done it; Russia has done it; even Great Britain is doing it—and strangely America does not find it so unpleasant when these countries ask for her help. Only the Indian appeal seems in bad taste. And that is because the U. S. A. does not want to become embroiled with Britain. As a section of the press put it in criticising the mild and timid reference to Bengal made by a few U. S. senators, this is not the time to kick our ally on the shin. In other words, India has grown from being a skeleton in the imperial cupboard into a skeleton in the United Nations cupboard.

Both the concern about Indian conditions and the desire to have nothing said about them are caused more by American preoccupation with Britain than any special interest in India. Those sections of American opinion which have shown interest in India, are not very much heard at the moment because their opinions are crowded out by other news. There is no ally not even a brother, says Sidney Rogerson in his book on Propaganda, who does not need special attention. The United States of America and Britain are the two great powers among the United Nations which are most closely bound in the present war. Mr. Churchill has expressed the hope that the union will persist till the settling of peace. If that is to happen, care has to be taken to avoid treading on national corns by both sides. One way is to deny that there are any differences. But that is a dangerous game which might not succeed. There are writers on both sides of the Atlantic who are seeing the value of recognizing differences.

Maurice Cranstone, writing in *Worldover Press* on William Saroyan's picture, "The Human Comedy" which is being shown in London, cites one of the ablest English critics as seeing in it an illustration of a factor in Anglo-American relations which is not sufficiently appreciated on either side of the Atlantic—the profound differences between the way of life of the ordinary American and the way of life of the ordinary British. Mr. Winston Churchill recently quoted Bismarck's observation about the advantage which a common language conferred on Anglo-American co-operation. The critic, on the other hand, concludes that a common language was, if anything, a barrier to full Anglo-American understanding, because it made the British too lazy to make an effort towards understanding. The English take the American too much for granted.

The *Saturday Review*, now defunct once famous, remarked years ago that the common language was a nuisance because it helped Americans to overhear what was not meant for them in British speech and writing. Maurice Cranstone goes on to observe:

Successful Anglo-American unity is not going to be as easy as many people imagine. I have said so in this column before; I shall doubtless say so again. Concessions will be needed which some Americans and some Britishers will not like making. Quarrels over civil aviation are already budding; a deeper schism on political principles was apparent in North Africa before Darlan's death. And, if such differences on the level of politics and economics are to be overcome, there must be a greater bond of sympathy between your

common people and ours. A lot more education and interpretation is needed on both sides. The cinema might help a great deal if it were not so tied to money-making make-believe. But perhaps we should be grateful that at least one film has shown what the problem is.

Sidney Rogerson in his "Propaganda" gives one side of the picture when he observes that "there has always been a substratum of suspicion of Great Britain in the United States; the American people may admire some of our traits and hold others in contempt, but they periodically tend to suspect our motives." The American has not much of a reputation for political acumen, either in Europe or in Asia. The British genius for politics is recognized the world over. Naturally, when two nations like these get together, there is a certain suspicion on the part of the less wise that the disparity between effort and reward is great and that the other party is profiting by the association. Unfortunately the last war and the peace that followed, had these two redoubtable nations also as allies. That has had a bad result. While Americans felt then that they had gained little, there were British writers who thought America had got too much. Fairly representative are the following verses by Rudyard Kipling who played a leading part in British propaganda in America before the United States enter into the last war:

At the eleventh hour he came,  
But his wages were the same  
As ours who all day long had trod  
The wine-press of the Wrath of God.  
When he shouldered through the lines  
Of our cropped and mangled vines,  
His unjaded eye could scan  
How each hour had marked its man.  
(Children of the morning-tide  
With the hosts of noon had died;  
And our noon contingents lay  
Dead with twilight's spent array.)  
Since his back had felt no load,  
Virtue still in him abode;  
So he swiftly made his own  
Those last spoils we had not won.  
We went home, delivered thence,  
(rudging him no recompense  
Till he portioned praise or blame  
To our works before he came.  
Till he showed us for our good—  
Deaf to mirth, and blind to scorn—  
How we might have best withstood  
Burdens that he had not borne!

Mr. Rogerson's book—it was written in 1938—has some valuable predictions about the possibility of the United States coming into another war on the side of Britain. He wrote:

We shall require to do much propaganda to keep the United States benevolently neutral. To persuade her to take our part will be much more difficult, so difficult as to be unlikely to succeed. It will need a definite threat to America—a threat, moreover, which will have to be brought home by propaganda to every citizen, before the republic will again take arms in an external quarrel. The position will naturally be considerably eased if Japan were involved and this might and probably would bring America in without further ado.

This is a notable point in view of Mr. Dixwell Chase's article on Japan which we print this week. Mr. Chase's theory that the United States authorities are aware of the need for a human approach to the Japanese question, does not convey, as the paragraph quoted above does, the least idea of the deep-seated prejudice against Japan prevalent in the United States.

## JAPAN IN THE POST-WAR WORLD

(BY E. DIXWELL CHASE.)

Back in June, Joseph C. Grew, former Ambassador to Japan, gave a speech at the University of Kentucky which did not receive the publicity it deserved. It was a particularly interesting speech because it indicated that those responsible for wartime propaganda in the Government are becoming mindful that a workable peace cannot be built upon popular hatred of the former enemy, but will require understanding. Said Mr. Grew of the Japanese, a people he has reason to know exceptionally well:

"It is important, both during the war and afterward, for us to realize that the common people of Japan, who support their government body and soul, did not seek this war. They do not have for us the long-standing hatred which mars the relationships of some pairs or groups of western nations. In my many years in Japan, I found that most of the ordinary men and women of Japan—men and women of all classes and of all regions—were friendly toward America. They respected our good faith. They honoured us for our humane, non-aggressive ideals. They showed us time and time again a true courtesy and friendliness which in some cases became devoted friendship and personal loyalty. Nevertheless, they are obedient people, and, when their government fell into the hands of bullies, murderers, and fanatics, the ordinary people of Japan continued to give their government the same unqualified obedience which they had shown their constituted authorities for ages past.

"These ordinary people are fighting us today. They are fighting us with the grim devotion of which they have a superlative mastery. They do not display the irrepressible good humour which lies at the heart of China's immense endurance. They do not possess the grim, almost reckless enterprise which we Americans can put into an all-out fight. But they do have a respectfulness, a co-operativeness toward one another, an almost dreadful anxiety to do what they are told. These qualities account for the curious paradox that, although the Japanese, man for man, may well prove to be the hardest enemies whom we have to defeat, they promise to be the easiest people with whom to make a real peace, provided that we liberate them from the braggarts and men of blood who now hold Japan in thrall."

The former Ambassador then went on to recount how the Japanese people had been literally conquered by the militarists, who used terror, deceit, and assassination, how the army had started the Manchurian war without asking or telling Parliament, the Cabinet, or the people, and how once that war was started, the Army was in a position to appeal to the sentiment, "My country, right or wrong!" which the Japanese, least of all peoples in the world, were in no position to deny or disrespect. Mr. Grew further stated that the occupation of Manchuria was "a deliberate blow against constitutionalism in Japan and was the work of militarist radicals who realized that every succeeding month of peace was bringing the Japanese common people closer and closer to the realization of the goodness of decent international relationships. If the Army had not started Japan on a course of aggression, the constitutionalist and peaceful forces might have dislodged the militarists from pivotal positions of political power and might have directed Japan's course down the road of international progress, disarmament and collaboration."

At the time that the struggle for power was going on in Japan and the China war was about to begin, most Americans who read their newspapers carefully understood the situation as Mr. Grew has described it. In recalling these facts at this time when it is the fashion to depict all Japanese as incorrigible

outlaws who always have been and always will be beyond the pale of civilized society, Mr. Grew has given us a sharp reminder that war tends to play tricks with our memories and our judgment—tricks that will not help us build a just peace.—*Worldover Press.*

### ROOSEVELT ON CHINESE EXCLUSION ACT.

On October 11 President Roosevelt sent the following message to Congress, urging the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act:

"There is now pending before Congress, legislation to permit the immigration of Chinese people into this country and to allow Chinese residents here to become American citizens. I regard this legislation as important in the cause of winning the war and establishing a secure peace.

"China is our ally. For many long years she has stood alone in the fight against aggression. Today we fight at her side. She has continued her gallant struggle against very great odds.

"China understood that the strategy of victory in this world war first required a concentration of a greater part of our strength upon the European front. She understood that the amount of supplies we could make available to her has been limited by difficulties in transportation. She knows that substantial aid will be forthcoming as soon as possible—and not only in the form of weapons and supplies but also in carrying out plans already made for offensive and effective action. We and our allies will aim our forces at the heart of Japan in ever-increasing strength until the common enemy is driven from China's soil.

"But China's resistance does not depend alone on guns, planes and attacks on land, on the sea and from the air. It is based as much on the spirit of her people and her faith in her allies. We owe it to the Chinese to strengthen that faith. One step in this direction is to wipe from the statute books those anachronisms in our law which forbid the immigration of Chinese people into this country and bar Chinese residents from American citizenship.

"Nations, like individuals, make mistakes. We must be big enough to acknowledge our mistakes of the past and correct them.

"By the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Laws we can correct a historic mistake and silence distorted Japanese propaganda. The enactment of the legislation now pending before Congress would put Chinese immigrants on a parity with those from other countries. The Chinese quota would, therefore, be only about one hundred immigrants a year. There can be no reasonable apprehension that any such number of immigrants will cause unemployment or provide competition in the search for jobs.

"The extension of the privileges of citizenship to the relatively few Chinese residents in our country would operate as another meaningful display of friendship. It would be additional proof that we regard China not only as a partner in waging the war but as a partner in the days of peace. It would give the Chinese preferred status over certain other Oriental peoples, and their contribution to the cause of decency and freedom entitles them to such preference.

"I feel confident that Congress is in full agreement that these measures—long overdue—should be taken to correct an injustice to our friends. Action by Congress will now be an earnest of our purpose to apply the policy of the good neighbour in our relations with other peoples."

### RE-MARRIAGE OF WIDOWS AND DIVORCE AMONG THE BENGAL MUSLIMS.

(By J. M. DATTA).

The Bengali Muhammadans are of the same origin as the Bengali Hindus. [See *The Modern Review*, March 1931]. Yet they have been increasing at a faster rate than the Bengali Hindus. Increasing frequency of widow remarriages seems to be a major cause. Sir Edward Gait speaking of the Muhammadans of the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1901 says:

Amongst Muhammadans widowers are very rare. When a man's wife dies, unless he is already advanced in life, it is the almost universal practice to marry again. Widows also are comparatively fewer than amongst Hindus, but they still number more than a sixth of the total female population, whereas amongst the Animistic tribes only one woman in nine is a widow. The difference is due mainly to the influence of Hinduism. The marriage of widows is enjoined by Muhammadan law, and the Prophet himself married several widows, including his first wife, Khadija. But in India the example of the Hindus has gradually created a prejudice in the other direction, and at the present day it is seldom that a man takes a widow as his first wife. Widows who marry again usually become the wives of widowers or of men who have already got another wife. At the same time women who lose their husbands while fairly young find little difficulty in marrying a second time, and the proportion who fail to do so is not large until after the age of 30, when it increases rapidly.

The Muhammadans regret this Hindu influence. The Urdu translator of the *Khatasat-at-Tawarikh*, written about 250 years ago, laments that the Hindu notions about widowhood have infected the Muhammadans, especially in the villages, and have led to their women remaining widows contrary to Muhammadan law.

It is said that the Farazis and other reformed sects strongly advocate widow re-marriage, and that in consequence the practice is gradually coming into greater favour. The census statistics lend support to this view, and the proportion of widows appears to be steadily falling; while that of the widowers has varied comparatively little since 1881.

As the Bengal Muhammadans form more than 87 per cent of the combined Muhammadan population of the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, there can be very little doubt that much of the steady decrease in the proportion of widows from 193 per 1,000 in 1881 to 160 in 1911 is due to the Bengali Muhammadans alone. Similarly the steadiness in the proportion of widowers is mainly due to them alone.

Under the Muhammadan law, a husband can divorce his wife at his sweet will without assigning any reason. The only check is the dower money which he has to pay. The minimum sum is 10 *dirhems* equal to Rs. 2-10 as. The usual sum fixed as dower among the cultivating Muhammadans *i. e.*, ordinary cultivators and field labourers (who form 85.1 per cent of the total Muhammadans of Bengal), is anything between Rs. 15 to Rs. 50. So it is easy to divorce a wife. As a matter of fact, we know there are many divorces, though we do not know the exact magnitude. It is common knowledge also that most of the divorced women remarry after the period of *iddat*. *Iddat* may be described as the period during which it is incumbent upon a woman whose marriage has been dissolved by divorce or death to remain in seclusion, and to abstain from marrying another husband. The abstinence is imposed to ascertain whether she is pregnant by the husband so as to avoid confusion of the parentage. When the marriage is dissolved by divorce, the duration of the *iddat*, if the woman is

subject to menstruation, is three courses; if she is not so subject, it is three lunar months. If the woman is pregnant at the time, the period terminates upon delivery. When the marriage is dissolved by death, the duration of the *iddat* is four months and ten days. If the woman is pregnant at the time, the *iddat* lasts four months and ten days or until delivery, whichever period is longer.

In 1941, the total of divorced Muhammadan females numbered 1,313 out of the total Muhammadan female population of 15,996,004. The number is very very small. It is less than .008 per cent. It may mean either (1) that *talak* or divorce is very rarely practised among the Muhammadans of Bengal or (2) that almost all the divorcees re-marry soon after the period of *iddat* is over. The first alternative can hardly be true. So we are forced to accept the other alternative.—*Modern Review*.

**Linguistic Provinces** :—The Governor of Bombay, during his recent tour in the Karnatak, declined to commit himself to a definite view about a separate province of the Kanarese-speaking people beyond saying that he recognised the local patriotism inspiring the aspiration. The Maharaj-Kumar of Vizianagram in his presidential address to the Andhra Mahasabha which met at Bellary, pointed out that the demand for a separate Andhra or Telugu-speaking province was not on a par with the demand for Pakistan as the Telugus did not claim to be a separate nation. As we have shown more than once there is no incongruity in two different nationalities constituting a single State, as in the United States, in Canada, in South Africa and in the United Kingdom itself. The essential thing is that all the component parts of a State should recognise their common loyalty and co-operate in maintaining their common interests. Linguistic provinces are a great convenience provided that their functions are limited to provincial matters and do not trench on the province of the Central Government. Provincial autonomy is not independence as some of the provinces have latterly interpreted it. It is self-government in strictly provincial matters without detriment to the solidarity of the whole. If the principle of a strong Central Government is accepted, the utmost latitude can be allowed to the provinces by way of devolution.

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

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## NOTES.

**Sir Purshotamdas's Minute:**—We print today more extracts from Sir Purshotamdas's minute appended to the Report of the Foodgrains Policy Committee. Last week we had printed extracts from the earlier part of the minute. We entirely agree with his view that this is no time to discuss long range policies as we have not the data or, for that matter, the men who can make such enquiries. We are confronted with problems which have to be solved immediately and we should concentrate on them. This is the ground on which we objected to Sir Jogendra Singh's idea of a Board of Health which, we see, has met and dispersed after passing some academic resolutions. The Education Member himself has appealed to politicians and publicists to consider whether the Food question would be best managed by the Central or by Provincial Governments. When people are dying by the thousands, and the angel of death stalks the land, it is hardly sensible to talk of the future. It is indecent. It is obscene. As regards the immediate problem of bringing food to the mouths of the starving, we agree with Sir Purshotamdas that the Government of India should have fixed the maximum price at the first sign of danger. On the point where the prices should be fixed, Sir Purshotamdas is not clear. He seems to suggest that the main consideration in fixing prices should be that they should encourage the producer to grow more food. On the other hand, it should be the price that will bring food within reach of the poorest family. This has been the policy in England though it has not been consistently followed in the case of all commodities. This does not mean that the producer should bear the loss. The State in England is subsidising the producers heavily in order to protect them from the loss due to the prices fixed being below cost. The test, whether the price fixed is the right one, and it is the sole test, is that the poorest man, woman and child is able to afford to buy their basic requirements. The second point is that the main requirement now is rice. Wheat from Australia may help to keep the price of wheat down in the wheat provinces which do not suffer from the present scarcity. But it will not be a satisfactory substitute for rice which is the most urgent need. We, therefore, said last week that we should try every means in our power to get rice where it can be most readily found—from Burma. To let the people of India die in order to destroy Hitlerism in Europe, is hardly fair. If a strong

enough force is mobilised for the sole purpose of getting Burma and its rice, it may not be necessary even to fight a battle.

**"Economist's" Casuistry:**—We noted sometime back the backsliding of two of the most reputable organs of the British Press from their traditional principles of liberalism, in dealing with the payments of Britain to India on account of the expenditure incurred in the war. Referring to the large amount of British securities accumulating in India's favour and the transformation of India from a debtor to a creditor country, these two journals argued that this was unfair and that India should bear the expenses herself as the war was for the defence of India. In the last war, the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, and the British public generally, acknowledged that India's help was wholly disinterested as she had no grievance against Germany and her allies. In this war, by the ingenuity of our departing Viceroy, the war was envisaged from the first as a war against India, and all subsequent efforts here have been made on that basis. The British Government's payments to India whenever made, will be made according to long-existing practice which itself is not too favourable to India. Now the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Economist* contend that India should be treated as a belligerent in her own right, for her own interests and of her own free motion. They have seized hold of the inflation and the Food situation to stress this point of view. The *Economist* says that the high food prices are due to the inflation of Indian currency and the inflation is due to the accumulation of sterling securities. If India had taken the whole cost on herself, there would have been no sterling securities against which to expand the Indian currency. India would, in the *Economist's* opinion, have met the full demand from taxes and loans. But all the same there would have had to be more currency, even if the taxes were collected in kind. This estimable organ of British finance meets the objection that India cannot bear the heavy burden, in a clever way. It says that India is now actually bearing the full burden and there are only some book entries in London to show for it. These book entries mean nothing for the present and the *Economist* implies that they should mean nothing. There are Indians who have all along believed that India at the end of the war will be as much a debtor country as she was before the war, perhaps debtor to a larger extent. The *Economist's* casuistries would swell the number of the sceptics beyond computation.

**Central Advisory Board on Health:**—The press on Wednesday reported the proceedings of the Central Advisory Board on Health which met a day earlier at New Delhi under the presidentship of Sir Jogendra Singh, Member in the Government of India for Education, Health and Lands. Several distinguished persons spoke at the session and apparently they all denounced the Hot Springs Conference on Food as academic. But there seems to be little to show that the Delhi Conference was in any way practi-

al in its attitude. It encroached on the food problem and many speakers were inclined to air their views on food scarcity. The chairman, Sir Jogendra Singh, himself gave the wrong lead in asking his audience to express opinions on Agriculture and Nutrition. This was perhaps to be expected because food shortage makes any discussion of other subjects a farce at the moment. But then there was no special reason for instituting a Central Health Board at the moment. If Sir Jogendra Singh is really eager to know what is needed in a Health Board, he might with profit peruse the article on health by Dr. Fernando Abente Haedo of Paraguay, released through the *Worldover Press*. Dr. Haedo contrasts the average expectation of life of the child in various South American countries with the average expectation in the United States of America; the yearly death rate per thousand; and he asks Latin America to face the duty of bringing health to all. The figures for India are discreditable compared even with South America. He writes:

Public health is a delicate technical and social question, and it will be necessary to overcome individual selfishness to achieve it. For within the vast compass of its province are such factors as these: adequate and correct feeding; hygienic living; appropriate clothing; guaranteed work and sufficient wages; obligatory professional examination and bill of health; increase of preventive services to diminish medical care. The Pan American Sanitary Office, with the support of the Sanitary Code which is law in the 21 republics of the continent, and the Rockefeller Foundation, have been carrying on many substantial projects deserving of our warm gratitude.....During the War of the Chaco it was clearly demonstrated that preventive and sanitary measures could control the ever-present typhoid and paratyphoid diseases, as well as bacillic dysentery, smallpox, and malaria. It was shown that sanitation could reduce to a low figure the incidence of gangrene and tetanus, and could avert plague and exanthematic typhus. It withstood the immense risk of yellow fever and checked worm diseases in general. This preventive work gave increased validity to the efforts being carried on in other countries of the Americas to develop sanitation, to police food, water, and milk, to improve popular nutrition, and to teach hygiene. In order for this rousing crusade to become a reality, governments must be the first in mapping out definite directions to follow. A government, as was well said by the dynamic Minister of Health of Paraguay, Dr. Gerardo Boungermini, which does not concern itself with the health of its people is its own worst enemy.

It will be seen from this extract that nutrition is part of the Health scheme but it is only a part. Sanitation is given great importance. The plans to be regarded by a Health Board are long-range plans and the Central Board might well be informed of it.

**A. R. P. Sirens Persist:**—With the easing up of the situation in North Africa and to a less extent in Italy, there is a noticeable slackening of A. R. P. observances in Bombay and the suburbs. There are more lights visible and conveyances are less darkened in the inside. The practice of the sirens going off at 9 every Monday morning, however, still continues. The purpose is to familiarise the public with the all-clear and danger notes of the siren. The public has been so well familiarised that contempt has been bred and people have ceased to notice the siren's noise. If that is so, the purpose is defeated and the A. R. P. authorities might as well think of something different. The usual practice is for the siren to sound the all-clear a little before 9 on Monday, to intimate that what followed was merely exercise. Then came the danger note and ten minutes later, or something like that, the all-clear. Last Monday something went wrong in this

locality and the sirens serving it became most erratic. First there was the danger note, then the all-clear; then again the danger note, followed again by the all-clear; and then for the fifth time the sirens went off, this time sounding the danger. Till the time of writing, there has been no all-clear and Bombay suburban areas are presumably still under danger from air raiders. This erratic behaviour has passed unnoticed by most people which in itself is proof of the attention paid to the sirens. We would not have thought it necessary to comment on this phenomenon because naturally one assumes it is an isolated one. But it is apparently something which has been noticed in the preceding week by a few stray A. R. P. Inspectors, with nothing being done to prevent repetition of it. There is one lesson which does emerge from the confusion, and that is that should a genuine A. R. P. warning go off on Monday morning at 9, it will find all people, even members of the A. R. P. organisation, incredulous and be ineffectual. This is making things easy for the raider with a vengeance. This is a point so obvious that it is absurd to think that the brains in the organisation have not thought of it. Why they have done nothing about it, is difficult to explain, unless it can be set down to the difficulties of effecting change in any big organisation.

**Wavell Welcomes Smuts:**—Field Marshal Smuts has been invited and has arrived in London to discuss matters relating to war strategy. He was received on landing from his plane by, among others, Viscount Wavell, Viceroy-designate of India. Lord Wavell, doubtless, knows that there is acute resentment in this country, among all classes, shared by the Government of India, against General Smuts' anti-Indian policy and measures in South Africa. Lord Wavell holds no official position at present which obliged him to make himself conspicuous among those who welcomed the South African Prime Minister. He might have shown his personal regard for the Boer statesman by making a private call. Or, at any rate, he might have requested the Press to omit his name as he was present only in a private capacity. His presence at the function can only be regarded as inspired by a deliberate disregard of Indian sentiment, which is not a happy augury for his Indian career. If Lord Wavell thought that, by ostentatiously advertising his regard for the South African statesman, he would persuade the Indian people to adopt an acquiescent attitude to the anti-Indian policy of the Smuts Government, he is entirely mistaken. His presence at the London aerodrome to receive General Smuts is a black-mark on the opening page of his Indian career.

**Mr. Morrison on the Empire:**—Speaking at the Anglo-American Association on Wednesday, Mr. Herbert Morrison, Home Secretary in the British Cabinet, gave expression to a full-blooded defence of imperialism. The fall of Malaya and Burma, he said, was not exactly discreditable to Britain. If the local peoples there were not armed, this was not because they were kept disarmed out of imperialist sloth and negligence but out of the best Wilsonian principles. "Our intention was to defend Burma and Malaya," he went on, "with our own military resources but when the pinch came, they or the vast bulk of them were engaged elsewhere." Mr. Morrison's modesty is unbecoming. No one charges Britain with keeping colonial peoples disarmed out of sloth and negligence. The complaint is lack of trust and the consequent result that they lose to the enemy what they will not allow others to defend and cannot defend themselves. Even on economic progress, Mr. Morrison has come to the conclusion that outside the Empire there are worse territories than within the Empire. Thus has this stalwart of the British Labour Party become an echo of Mr. Winston Churchill and Mr. Amery.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, October 9, 1943.

## INDIA AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

A writer who prefers to hide his identity behind the pseudonym "Sutlej," has propounded in an Oxford University Press pamphlet (anna 8) a scheme to end the political deadlock with the alluring title, "How to Secure Indian Independence." At the outset he dismisses Dominion Status as unsuitable to India. For twenty years ever since the Montagu Declaration was made, *The Reformer* has urged this view. For the greater part of this period, its voice was almost a cry in the wilderness. The grounds for the view are plain, India is not a daughter-nation like most of the Dominions. Ireland which was given Dominion Status, has rejected it. South Africa is not very easy about it. Even countries like Canada and Australia are wavering between full-fledged nationhood and the status of a British Dominion. India, with a population ten times that of Great Britain, with a culture extending back to many centuries before Britain came to the world picture, with no ethnic or religious ties, can never be a Dominion except in a purely legalistic sense. Mr. Amery himself had suggested that the Austro-Hungarian Dual monarchy might be a more appropriate model for Indo-British relations than Dominion Status. But latterly he has praised Dominion Status as approaching the Kingdom of Heaven. In India, too, we have some veteran Liberals clinging to Dominion Status of the Westminster type as the most immediately practicable, if not entirely suitable, object of Indian aspiration. "Sutlej," in summarily dismissing Dominion Status as inappropriate, has cleared the air. "It is absurd," he writes, "to expect public support for any move to include in the British Commonwealth a country like India, where the British racial element is not 1 per cent. The only possible objective of India's political development is not Dominion Status within the Commonwealth but complete independence outside it." We are not prepared to accept the writer's opinion that the only alternative to Dominion Status is complete independence. An Indo-British Commonwealth in which India can develop on her own lines and yet retain her connection with Britain, is a conceivable alternative suggested in these columns. The future of humanity lies by way of progressively greater synthesis and not by severing existing ties.

The fundamental mischief of the Government of India Act of 1935 was that, instead of consolidating existing solidarity, it deliberately set out to divide and disunite. Burma was separated from India and Burma is lost to the Empire at least for the time being. The Indian provinces were made autonomous and began to think of themselves as separate countries. Government Members began to speak, and still think, in terms of deficit and surplus provinces. Not even the disastrous Food situation has awakened some of them from this dangerous delusion. Lord Linlithgow, as one of the principal architects of the Act, has clung to it with obstinate loyalty. After seven years and a half, he leaves the country in a condition which he would not like to retain among his memories of his Indian career. "Sutlej" concedes Pakistan in letter and in spirit. Only in defining its area, he would go by districts while Mr. Jinnah calculates by provinces. Provinces, "Sutlej" holds, do not represent any geographical or economic units. They are administrative conveniences. But districts are geographically and culturally recognisable units. Therefore, Pakistan would be better defined in terms

of districts than of provinces. Pakistan by districts in principle is not less objectionable than Pakistan by provinces, especially, as "Sutlej's" observations are much less true of the Punjab and Bengal, the two main provinces of Pakistan, than of other provinces of British India. The one would as surely wipe India out of the map as the other, and India cannot be wiped out. The Duke of Gloucester, after his inspection tour in India two years ago, declared that the defence of India can only be organised for the country as a whole. Lord Linlithgow has stressed the obvious, namely that India is a geographical unity. The Food situation, as it has developed, has emphasised in a distressing way the economic unity of India and the danger of breaking it up. These considerations do not find even a passing mention in this pamphlet. The writer bases his plea for a partition of India on the single ground that Hindus and Muslims are two different races with different manners and customs. He writes:

It is an anthropological (ethnological) fact that the Muslims, at least in North-Western India, are racially distinct; and there is no getting away from the philological fact that, throughout India, the Muslims speak one single distinctive language 'Urdu' which they write in a script derived from Arabic. Moreover as every one knows in India, they dress differently, eat different food, observe a different era and calendar, and are forbidden by their religion to intermarry with Hindus. There is thus no doubt that there are two major races in India—Hindus and Muslims, divided by religion, and to an appreciable extent by blood and language.

Strange to say, the writer enters into these details after protesting that he is not concerned with the niceties of the anthropologist and the philologist. No Indian writer, except a Muslim League propagandist, would have made the sweeping statements in the above passage. The doctrine of complete distinctness never occurred to any Muslim leader five years ago. Sir Syed Ahmed knew nothing of it. Even the Aga Khan who led the famous deputation to Lord Minto, only demanded that Muslims should be given preferential treatment as a minority, because of its historic importance as having once been rulers of India. Mr. Jinnah himself, during the greater part of his life, was completely unaware of these anthropological and philological reasons.

Let us examine closely some of them. First, as to the ethnic reason. The overwhelming mass of Indian Muslims are descendants of converts from Hinduism. A considerable proportion of them still retain Hindu titles, beliefs and practices. Mr. Jinnah's own sect believes in the ten Avatars or incarnations of the Hindu Pantheon. The upper class Muslims do not eat beef. The late Begum of Bhopal records in her Autobiography that the remarriage of widows was looked on with disfavour among Indian Muslims of Afghan descent. Until a few years ago important sects of Indian Muslims followed the Hindu law of inheritance and succession. The Moplahs of Malabar still do so. Muslim rulers married Hindu wives and, what is more, intermarriages between Hindus and Muslims are today legally sanctioned in Hyderabad, Deccan, and only there in all India. As for script, Kemal Ataturk abolished the Arabic script and substituted the Roman almost overnight. Many Hindus also write in the Arabic or Persian script. Muslims in the provinces speak the provincial language—Tamil in Tamil Nad, Bengali in Bengal, Marathi in Maharashtra, Gujarati in Gujarat and Telugu in Andhra. The All India Radio broadcasts are not relayed in Hindi at the Calcutta and Dacca stations. As for dress and diet, if "Sutlej" had been in the districts, he would have found that there is more in common between the diet and dress of the two communities than there are differences. Muslims wear dhoti and their women wear the sari, as frequently as pyjamas.

The North-West Frontier Muslims, are Aryan in race; so are the Afghans. The recent by-elections in the Frontier Province only prove that the easiest way of winning elections is to detain your opponents in prison with or without trial. Ethnical and philological reasons for Pakistan are wholly fanciful.

Incidentally, "Sutlej" remarks that Burma should be independent because a British Burma would be a menace to free India. This, no doubt, led to its separation from India years ago.

#### THE REHABILITATION OF THE FAMILY.

Some months back it was stated in the newspapers that the Government of the Australian Commonwealth has been obliged to pass a law making it an offence for owners of houses to refuse to let them to tenants on the ground of their having too many children. In his "Politics of Food", George Darling in advocating the need for family allowances in Britain points out that the main factor in bringing families within the poverty line is children. He writes:—

The need for them (family allowances) becomes obvious when we realize that the most important single factor in forcing families below the poverty line is the size of the family. A social survey of Bristol carried out by the University of Bristol in 1937 discovered that the percentage of families living below the poverty line increased as the size of the family increased. The percentage of childless families whose incomes were insufficient to keep them on or above a human needs standard....., was 8.34 per cent. But 51.3 per cent of families with four children were living below the none-too-generous standard. Wage rates in every industry are determined without any relation to varying family needs. In some sheltered industries standard wage rates are sufficient to keep a large family in relative comfort, but in most industries a wage-earner with four or more children takes home a pay-packet which is not enough to keep his family well-fed and in full domestic comfort.

This is an aspect of industrial civilization which is seldom referred to in India. The mere suggestion that the State should provide family allowances to make the lot of the Indian workers' families tolerable, would send Government into shivers. And not Government only. Families with four or more children do not earn enough to keep themselves above the poverty level. Therefore children are prevented from being born by means of birth control and, when born, they are doomed to live sickly lives or to early graves. It is the modern materialist civilisation which is responsible for the paradox that, while the administration, defence and industrial production are based on the assumption that an inexhaustible supply of men and women who can be bought cheaply, is always available, it severely discourages, by economic and social sanctions, families having children. In the continent of Europe it has been sought to remedy this evil by means of family allowances. In Britain the idea of family allowances is still frowned upon. Darling says that the principle of fixing a wage for the job, irrespective of the workers' families, has been accepted as the basis for Mr. Ernest Bevin's big labour supply programme. In India, while the State demands of sacrifice on the part of its subjects have been steadily increasing, very scant attention has been paid to ameliorate the conditions in which they live and work, except to some small extent in the army. Even as to the Army, when Lord Wavell speaks of the alarming increase of India's population, he may be reminded that but for it, two million men could not be recruited—it would be a financial impossibility—to defend the Empire on the most distant fronts—we fear to say at what wages. It has needed the deaths of scores of men, women and children by starvation in the streets of Calcutta to

awaken the conscience of the Government to the dangers of the policy of exploiting India in the name of the Allied nations.

The disastrous effects of the Industrial Revolution in disrupting family life, have taken a long time to be realised by modern States. In the continent of Europe where conscription for military service prevailed, the importance of conserving and safeguarding family life in the interests of the safety of the State, was early realised. Germany under Bismark led the way and was closely followed by other countries. In England and the United States, the deleterious effects of factory life on the family have been sought to be counteracted by patchwork reforms. The War which brought conscription in these two countries, has also brought home to them the need of far-reaching reforms amounting to a social revolution. In India we are experiencing nearly all the effects of the war on social life but as yet there is no thought of preparing for the future. There is no Beveridge Planning for India. Indian society is expected to take care of itself while the duty of the Government is to govern, meaning that the State should put down by force any manifestation of discontent with or disobedience to its orders. The numerous cases reported of children being deserted by their parents owing to want of food, from Bengal and other parts of the country, shows that the Indian family is being disrupted. Lady Linlithgow's milk scheme may save a few thousands of infants and nursing mothers but the prospect for them in after-life is by no means rosy. The system of Indian Government is out of date. Whether the Congress demands it or not, a radical change of system is imperative. British rule in India can not be overthrown by armed revolt even if Gandhiji should give up non-violence as so many Indians and Englishmen want him to do. The weak spot in the British Indian Empire is the people's belly. Economic collapse, Seeley foresaw, was the danger against which British rule in India had to guard itself. The attempt to rule India as conquerors, he said, would lead inevitably to imperial bankruptcy. Lord Linlithgow has attempted to rule thus, more than any of his predecessors.

#### HINDU LAW.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar concludes his brief Foreword to the scholarly edition of the Vyavahara Nirnaya published by the Adyar Library, with the observation that the value of a study of the ancient Hindu law-books to the practising lawyer grows less and less, owing to the increase of legislation and judge-made law steadily tending to render a study of the original works and digests superfluous. He adds that the time has now come for the codification of Hindu Law and the recent attempts of the Legislative Department of the Government of India are bound to be welcomed. While this is quite true of the practising lawyer, to the legislator himself the original works afford valuable guidance as regards the trends of social evolution, by conforming to which as much as possible present and future legislation may maintain the most precious characteristic of Indian evolution, continuity. The Rau Committee has wisely adopted this method in its draft Bills on marriage and succession. All Hindu law traces from a single source but, as applied to different parts of the country, it is varied by the interpretation of different commentators. Varadaraja, the author of Vyavahara-Nirnaya, is one of such leading authorities for Southern India. The Adyar Library has been fortunate in issuing this edition of the Varadarajiya.\*

\* Adyar Library. Price Rs. 15.



under the editorship of Professor K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, whose introduction deals comprehensively with and brings out all the important features of this work. Varadaraja's date is fixed by Professor Aiyangar between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Professor Aiyangar agrees with Sir Sivaswami Aiyar that the original works are now losing their importance. But, unlike Sir Sivaswami, the Professor rather regrets this tendency which he traces to bad decisions of the Courts. He is not altogether happy that Hindu law is fast coming within the ambit of the reformer and the enthusiast for social legislation. But he derives consolation from the thought that the loss of utility will not altogether be an evil, as the *smṛiti* and *nibbanda* literature can now be read for their own sake in an atmosphere of scholarly calm, by persons who are free from prejudice. "The insight gained by such a study of the cementing force of legal institutions which kept society from disintegrating in ages of invasions, wars, alien rule, and the aggressive impact of hostile cultures," concludes Professor Aiyangar, "will itself be no inconsiderable gain to the cause of truth." The Professor is primarily a historian and not a lawyer, and these ancient works are surely of great historical interest, especially because the variations in different schools of Hindu law most often represent adaptation to the usage and customs which prevailed in the districts in which the commentator flourished.

This is well brought out by Principal J. R. Gharpure of the Poona Law College in his edition of the *Dharma Dwaita Nirnaya* by Sankara Bhatta in two parts, with a learned introduction in English which covers a large field of Hindu Jurisprudence. The *Dharma Dwaita Nirnaya* does not profess to be an original commentary. It is a compilation of different texts bearing on Sapinda relationship. It is interesting to note how the same text has been variously interpreted and has given rise to the two main schools of Hindu Law. The Bengal School, known as the Dayabhaga, understands the term in a purely sacerdotal sense. The other school, the Mitakshara, gives it a physiological interpretation. Principal Gharpure thinks that the first interpretation had to be varied and modified so as to suit the expanding characteristics of Hindu society. He compares the Hindu Law in this respect to the Roman Law. There also, he points out, while, under the Civil Law, only the family, the agnatic relations, were recognised as having the right to succeed to an intestate's estate, the cognates, whose connection with the deceased was through a female, had no place in the scheme of succession. Nevertheless, there were wealthy Roman matrons who played an important part in national life. In the same way the physiological interpretation of Sapinda managed to include connection through a female also in the list of those entitled to succeed. It was thus a recognition of the position of women in civil life. Principal Gharpure is one of our highest authorities on Hindu Law and, therefore, one dissents from his view with considerable diffidence. The theory that the sacerdotal view of Sapinda preceded the physiological view, is not consistent with, for instance, the action of Yagnavalkya, in the *Bṛihadaranyaka Upanishad*, when he was about to adopt the hermit life. He proposes to divide his large estate among his two wives only, although he had a son or sons living. It would almost seem that Hindu society had not in Yagnavalkya's time fully emerged out of the matriarohal stage. Even apart from this leading example, the sacerdotal relation is, in the evolution of ideas, a later and more sophisticated development than the physiological one. To the student of social evolution, it would seem that the action of Yagnavalkya was the

one in accordance with the rule which prevailed among Aryan Hindus so long as they confined their choice of wives to women of their own class. When they began to take wives from outside, the law of succession was made less liberal and the right of succession was even entirely denied to wives or they were given only a limited estate. The change in law followed a change in custom. The deterioration in the position of women from the Vedic times is best explained as the result of the growing practice of intermarriages with tribes beyond the Aryan pale. There is a good deal of suggestive comment in Principal Gharpure's Introduction which students of social sciences can use with much profit.

#### THE "HITAVADA" AND THE C. P. GOVERNMENT.

The *Hitavada* of Nagpur, English organ of the Servants of India Society, published on August 21st an item on the resignation of Mr. J. R. Blair, Chief Secretary in the Bengal Government, indicating that Mr. Blair had been forced to resign owing to views adverse to the Bengal Government expressed in a letter written to a friend abroad. Since the item was published, Mr. Blair's retirement has been forgotten, and events have taken place which render superfluous any criticism of the Bengal Government since it stands self-condemned. However, the opportunity was too good for the sister provincial administration of the Central Provinces to let slip without blundering and Mr. A. D. Mani, the *Hitavada* editor, was served with a notice on September 28th, asking him to submit within three days the name and address of the person who supplied the information. The demand is made under the Defence of India Rules. The relevant section is Rule 116, sub-rule 1 which reads :

Without prejudice to any special provisions contained in these Rules, the Central Government or the Provincial Government may by order require any person to furnish or produce to any specified authority or person any such information or article in his possession as may be specified in that order, being information or an article which that Government considers it necessary or expedient in the interests of the defence of British India, the efficient prosecution of the war, or the public safety or interest to obtain or examine.

Sub-rule 2 lays down that the person who fails to comply with the request is liable to imprisonment up to three years or fine or both.

The Editor of the *Hitavada* has refused to supply the information asked for in a letter strongly protesting against the order. Mr. Mani protests on three grounds: In the first place, he regards the order as a breach of the agreement subsisting between the Government of India and the Editors' Conference, of consultation in all action affecting the press. Secondly, he points out that the order is an abuse of the Defence of India Rules in that it seeks to penalise an editor not for publishing something which offends the law but for not conforming to an order when conforming to it would for a journalist be ethically improper. Thirdly, he denounces the order as an attempt to impugn the honour of the profession. Mr. Mani will have the support of fellow-journalists throughout the country. But it is difficult to say what the C. P. Government may or may not do. The Defence of India Rules are the Magna Carta of all bureaucratic excesses and its provisions are framed with a vagueness which is useful to all except the law-abiding citizen. Like the activities of the boy scout it can with equal truth if not more be said of the Defence of India Rules that their scope ranges from chasing a German spy to catching a butterfly.

\* B. V. & Co., Vallabhbhai Patel Road, Bombay, Price Rs. 9.

Whilst this variety may be of merit in the boy scout, it is discreditable in an administration.

No journalist expects the Government to be mindful of the etiquette of journalists. The Editors' Conference will look to that and Mr. Mani's firm stand will have the fullest support. But that the great powers which the Government has taken to itself on the outbreak of war to defend the country against foreign aggression, should be perverted to police work and what in effect is espionage, is something which touches on the liberties of every subject. The Editors' Conference came into being to prevent just this tendency on the part of bureaucracy so far as journalists were concerned. We have always maintained that the Defence of India Rules so far as they relate to the Press, were set aside the moment the Governments, Central and Provincial, dealt with the press on a basis of consultation. And the Government, whenever it has accepted that view, has gained by it. When it has ignored it, it has had to retrace its steps. Where, as in some provinces, it has consistently and deliberately refused to accept that view, it has suffered and the public life of the province has deteriorated. The Civil Liberties Union ought to take up the matter and pursue it vigorously. The provisions of the Defence of India Act are practically taken from the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act 1939 and the Regulations made under it in Britain. Section 116 has its counterpart in Regulation 80A. Protesting against Government's attitude even in democratic Britain, the National Council Civil Liberties there presented a memorandum in which it declared :—

The stock answer of the Government in these matters has been, is, and will be, that the action taken is 'in the public interest' and there will be no possibility of pressing the matter further. This is, of course, the fundamental fault of the Act and the Regulations. The powers are intended to be used only in the interests of the public safety, the defence of the realm and the prosecution of the war, but the real judges of whether these powers or the exercise of these powers fall within the scope of this definition are the Government in general and the individual Ministers in particular. They are the great arbiters of what is 'public safety' and the 'public interest'—terms which are open to so many distorted meanings that it is extremely dangerous to leave their interpretation in the hands of one party and one class.

### THE FOOD CRISIS.

(BY SIR PURSHOTAMDAS THAKURDAS)

It may be urged that in asking for import of grain from abroad, I have not taken full cognizance of the difficulty of securing ocean freight for importing wheat from Australia. I am not unaware of this, but ocean freight is completely under the control of His Majesty's Government and, with their help, the Government of India can overcome this difficulty, in view of the seriousness of the position in the country. Indian supplies have been freely drawn upon for the last three years for military (and even civil) requirements. India will become even a more important base of military operations than ever before. Her grain requirements must, therefore, have the highest priority, both from the military and the civilian point of view. Fortunately we have supplies of grain available fairly near India, namely in Australia, Canada and America have also surplus wheat, but they are not so easily accessible. Besides, the monsoon has lately been favourable and Nature has hitherto been kind. In the circumstances, I feel that the

problem before the Government of India is not altogether insoluble. Apart from the immediate effect that such imports are likely to have on the country, from the point of view of the Government itself, the vicious spiral of rising prices will also be favourably affected, for it goes without saying that the Government would be in a position to distribute the imported grain at considerably cheaper prices than prevail at present. It would also mean a freer circulation of goods in the country, for the tendency to hold back supplies would be dissipated or substantially mitigated by the fact that supplies are coming in a steady flow, and can be replenished in the hands of the traders. If there is a temporary delay in imports or a setback owing to an untoward development in the War situation, if the people are assured definitely that the Government of India's policy, with the assistance of London, is to import sufficient quantity so as to make foodgrain available at a price fixed by the Central Government after an enquiry as indicated earlier, there would be valuable confidence restored. Hoarders will, after such an unequivocal declaration by the Central Government of their policy, be inclined to part with their stocks. For, indeed, no one wishes to hoard foodgrains at prices prevailing during the last six months except on the chance of an early rise in the price of foodgrains.

At the present stage the food question resolves itself into two broad divisions, procurement and distribution. Regarding procurement, I have dealt with the most important branch of it. Much of the trouble and confusion till now could have been avoided if it was clearly realised, and, acted on, that while procurement on an adequate scale could, to a large extent, be a solution of the problem of distribution, the best system of distribution could by itself be no solution of the problem of supplies. Without minimising the importance of distribution, I am convinced that the procurement of adequate stocks is very much more important than the rectification of any defects in distribution or distributive machinery.

The success of rationing in Britain is no index of its suitability here. It is clear that in Britain the spade work for a system of rationing had been completed and the administrative machinery perfected months before the outbreak of the present War. The U. K. Government had accumulated stocks of foodstuffs and has been paying huge subsidies for the Food Department. All these desiderata are admittedly absent in India. My colleagues are able to recommend rationing only in respect of urban areas with a population of a lakh or more, which means that over 90% of the people are excluded from what purports to be a scheme of fair, equitable and effective distribution. There is a serious danger that, in a country which has been economically living on the border lines of subsistence, rationing calculations may not only go astray but may actually have the effect of rendering the rural areas destitute and utterly helpless and driving the rural population to the towns, as has been recently happening in Calcutta. The problem, to repeat once again, is primarily and predominantly one of supplies, and then of effectively distributing them.

I should like to draw attention to the feeling of dissatisfaction prevailing in surplus Provinces, because they feel that, while they have to part with their surpluses at rates fixed by the Central Government, no reasonable check exists to ensure that such foodgrains are made available to the consumer in the deficit Provinces at cost plus necessary out-of-pocket overheads.

When they hear, for instance, that such grain may go in export through commercial organizations, particularly like the U. K. C. C., to foreign countries, where it is in demand, for the civil population of such countries, at unheard-of margins, they smart under the feeling that their interest is being sacrificed to the greed of either (1) influential export organisations like the U. K. C. C. or (2) middlemen in deficit Provinces without satisfactory machinery of Distribution. Intelligent agriculturists or their Ministers in surplus Provinces cannot be expected to tolerate what they regard as exploitation of the growers, not for their fellow-brethren in distress in India, but for the civil population abroad, or for the intermediary agencies in India. Total prohibition of exports for any but the most immediate needs of the Military abroad should be the definite policy of the Central Government without any equivocation. With this, if distribution in deficit Provinces is ensured through reasonably efficient machinery, either official or non-official, reluctance to release grain at reasonable rates, to be arrived at as indicated above, on the part of surplus Provinces, may well be expected to disappear. The existing tendency on the part of some surplus units to export their surplus to deficit Provinces, with an additional margin for Provincial Government, is wholly indefensible and has already shown its highly contagious tendency. It requires to be checked as far as possible by persuasion, and if it is done after conviction that the grower concerned is being treated equitably, and the price fixed as suggested above, it cannot, in reason, be objected to. Any slackness in enforcing the correct policy in this connection would obviously be undesirable and a proof of weakness on the part of the Centre.

I would like to add a word regarding the personnel, particularly that section which is responsible for the higher direction and formulation of the policy of the Food Department of the Central Government in respect of these extremely difficult and urgent problems. Without meaning any disrespect to any of the personnel hitherto charged with the administration of the Food Department, I would be failing in my duty if I did not emphasise the necessity for this being Indian, inspired by a spirit of service to their fellow-countrymen, and preferably with experience of Provincial and State administration.

A dispassionate review of the results of Government efforts to control food grains shows that the class of people which have benefited the least are the poorest section of the people for whom these controls were ostensibly instituted. The greatest beneficiaries, on the other hand, are the Defence Department, agencies of the U. K. C. C. and the well-to-do class who could afford to get their requirements from the numerous and flourishing 'black markets' where even the Government is reported to have frequently resorted, for procuring their own needs. These phenomena must be primarily ascribed to the extremely defective system of distribution operating in the various Provinces.

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## THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

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

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## NOTES.

**Lord Wavell Acts:**—Lord Wavell's visit to Calcutta did not last for three days. He reconnoitred the situation with the trained eye of the General on the battle-front and made his decisions and issued orders without delay. The net effect of his orders is that the Food front has become, as it should have always been, part of the war strategy. Two Major-Generals have been nominated, one Major-General to take charge of transport arrangements and the other Major-General to relieve the starving and the destitute by drawing upon Army stores. The destitutes are to be moved to rest-camps away from the metropolis, where they will be fed, clothed and medically attended to until such time as they are fit to be sent home to their villages. The assigning of the work of evacuating the destitutes to the relief camps raised a slight apprehension in recollection of the plague evacuation experiences at the end of the last century. But much water has flowed under the bridge since and the present situation is entirely different. In the plague operations people had practically to be dragged out of their homes to improvised camps, whereas now very little persuasion will be needed to draw the starving to camps where they are assured of shelter, food, clothing and medical attendance. The part of the army will chiefly be to furnish sufficient means of transport. We have heard it remarked that it is a wonder these simple measures did not occur to Lord Linlithgow who, notwithstanding a pressing invitation from Calcutta leaders, did not care to give a parting visit to the City where he spent several Christmas seasons. The reason is plain. The Government of India had inextricably got entangled in the snare set for Indian politicals in the shape of the communal electorates and provincial autonomy. Lord Linlithgow, as one of the sponsors of the scheme of the Hoare Act which he considered his sacred duty to salvage as much as possible in the situation created by the war, could not go against them. Some such consideration should have prevented the India Office from communicating to Lord Linlithgow the plan now put in force, which, a Viceroy's House spokesman recently stated, was drawn up in London before Lord Wavell left for India. Sir Jwala Srivastava and Sir Edward Benthall, Members for Food and Transport, have been left to meditate on the mutability of human affairs in New Delhi. The Government of Bengal has seen its provincial autonomy, which has proved

so ruinous to Bengal, go by the board amidst the applause of a relieved Empire. The redoubtable Sir Chhotu Ram has become apologetic and his Sikh colleague, Sardar Baldev Singh, has been left to defend the Punjab Government against the charge of dilatoriness in relieving the sister province which in its time has sent its best sons to the Punjab for service as officials, teachers and preachers. There is something Cromwellian in the Viceroy's methods including his confidence in Major-Generals. The whole country breathes a sigh of relief at the cessation of endless conferences without saving a single starving child. Only the Muslim League High Command makes a show of resistance.

**Lord Linlithgow in London:**—The same aeroplane which brought Lord Wavell and his party to Delhi, took Lord Linlithgow and his entourage to London. Lord Wavell was coming to take over the Viceroyalty, fresh and keen, after several months recuperation in his native land. Lord Linlithgow was going away after seven and a half years stress and storm, with little to show except starving thousands in different parts of the country, a tired and disappointed man. His remarks to a London journalist show that he did not enjoy altogether the hustle of his journey back home. He lunched with the King according to precedent but the Garter which is usually presented to a retired Viceroy, has been withheld this time perhaps, at Lord Linlithgow's own request, until better reports are received from India on the Food situation. It would have been incongruous to confer a mark of approval on the head of a regime whose close is signalled in the most unhappy way by scenes of starvation in the second city of the Empire. Even in Bombay we have felt the beneficent repercussion of the new policy. The Government of Bombay in announcing a 25 per cent reduction in the controlled price of rice, explain that this has been made possible owing, among other reasons, to the Sind Government accepting a lower price than that it originally demanded.

**Anti-Prohibition Intrigue?**—Madras, under the Congress Ministry, introduced Prohibition in four districts where a vigorous anti-drink propaganda had been working successfully for several years. According to all accounts the policy has been completely successful. The people have cordially welcomed it. Unlike in Bombay, Mr. Rajagopalacharya, the Prime Minister, had taken the precaution to amend the Abkari Act so as to remove all doubts as to the legal validity of Prohibition. Even as regards Bombay, the Federal Court had, in the course of its judgment on a reference from Bihar, expressly and definitely overruled the judgment of the Bombay High Court. The Bombay Government, however, has ignored the Federal Court's opinion although there was some talk at the time of an appeal to the Federal Court against the Bombay judgment. Hard on the heels of the rumour that the repeal of Prohibition is contemplated in the four Madras districts, Mr. M. Ratnaswami, Vice-Chancellor of Annamalai Univer-



sity, speaking at the annual convocation of Nagpur University, charged the Congress Government in Madras with having ridden roughshod over Catholic sentiments with regard to sacramental requirements. Mr. Rajagopalacharya has indignantly protested against the allegation. He points out that he, as Prime Minister, acted in this matter in consultation with the Catholic Archbishop of Madras and that in the Prohibition districts the priests have more voice in determining the quantity of wine needed for their services than in the non-Prohibition districts under the old Abkari Act.

**Princes and Indian Unity** :—Speaking at a Press Conference in New Delhi, His Highness the Jam Sahab, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, said that Indian Princes favoured Indian unity and were opposed to the vivisection of the country. But, if for any reasons it was decided to divide the country, the Princes would be unable to co-operate in the scheme or to join any of the divisions. On this point we think that the Princes will have the unanimous support of their people. Instead, however, of waiting upon events, Their Highnesses should throw the whole weight of their great influence against the division of the country into two, four or five separate units. If they do so, it is inconceivable that any scheme which impairs the organic unity of the country can make headway. Believers in India's unity should not waver in their determination that the country shall not be vivisected. They should not allow the thought of separation to flit across their minds, even as a possibility. The country is one, and shall be one for all time. This must be an article of faith and cherished as an article of faith.

**The Moscow Talks** :—The talks between the Soviet Premier, M. Stalin, the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Anthony Eden, and the American State Secretary, Mr. Cordell Hull, have been proceeding for over two weeks and have not still ended. Meanwhile it is announced that the results have been completely satisfactory. After all previous Conferences in Washington, in Casablanca, in Quebec, the same formula was used with regard to the conclusions reached. Yet after two or three months, it was found necessary to have another conference to clear up points not made sufficiently clear at the immediately previous conference. At Moscow the formula was accentuated by a Kremlin banquet, which according to those who have been guests, are remarkable for their sumptuousness and splendour. The Soviet leaders no longer observe the ascetic habits of Lenin. Mr. Cordell Hull who is somewhat of a recluse, excused himself from the hospitality of Moscow on the ground that he was reserving his energies for the talks. M. Stalin is reported to have been in a particularly hilarious mood. Well he might. The Nazis are steadily being pushed out of Russian soil. Winter is setting in and the invader is in for a very hard time. It is clear that the tripartite talks have proved more satisfactory than the visitors expected. This may be due to their having gone more than halfway to meet the Soviet objectives rather than to M. Stalin having abated his requirements. A Soviet organ said not long ago that the Allied invasion of Italy did not help Russia so much as it did the enemy who kept engaged in Southern Europe large Allied Armies which would materially relieve the pressure on Soviet forces if used against the German homeland. It is difficult to see how the Allies can now disentangle themselves from the positions they occupy in Italy. A new Italian Government which can take over the defence of Italy and let the Allies withdraw their troops to invade Germany, is not yet in sight. How the British

and American representatives have persuaded M. Stalin to acquiesce in the postponement of the invasion of Germany, remains to be seen. On the question of the post-war boundaries of Soviet Russia, it might be possible to avoid any definite commitments. Sir Stafford Cripps has been urging that China should be included in the Moscow talks. An announcement has been made that Chiang Kai-Shek has endorsed the Moscow agreement. This is apparently merely a formality as China is not concerned in the post-war settlement of Europe.

**Missionaries and Aborigines** :—The two names which stand out among devoted workers amongst the aborigines of India, are A. V. Thakkar and Verrier Elwin. Mr. Thakkar of the Servants of India Society has taken up the question of the aborigines as part of the Indian national question. His attitude is social and he sees the aborigines against the background of Indian society, just as he has dealt with the problem of the depressed classes through the Harijan Sevak Sangh where he is the leading personality. Mr. Elwin has identified himself with the Gonds among whom he has lived for years and he has made their cause his own. It is a case of unparalleled identification. Naturally the points of view of the two differ fundamentally on many questions. Both of them, however, have come together to protest against the educational policy of the Government of India in Mandla district. In a letter to the *Times of India*, signed jointly by the two, they state their case. The following extract gives the relevant facts :

Mandla District, an ancient kingdom of the Gonds, the classic home of the Baigas, is a Partially Excluded Area. But in the last few years, since the Government of India Act was passed, the missionaries of the Catholic Apostolic Mission in Jabulpore have been permitted to open some sixty schools in the District. Furthermore Government has now handed over the running of an aboriginal Teachers' Normal School to the same Mission, locating it at Sijhora in the Mandla District. It has made a grant of Rs. 20,000 for buildings and will, we understand, bear half the cost of running the institution. It has also made grants for a boarding hostel and a middle school in the same place. Not only has this very emphatic official support been given to missionaries in a Partially Excluded Area, but an official memorandum was issued about the school which did not say a word about the not unimportant fact that it is a missionary institution.

They point out, moreover, that the advice of Mr. W. V. Grigson who was appointed Aborigines Tribes Enquiry Officer, was for a Government run institution for aborigines teachers and that Government not only set aside his advice but in their prospectus omitted to mention that the training of teachers for the aborigines was being handed over to missionaries. The fact that the missionaries are Jesuites, makes the action more reprehensible. The national policy of this country is declaredly for Prohibition. Missionaries by definition seek to change the society in which they work. The aborigines stand more than other sections of the population to gain from Prohibition. The Jesuit-influenced section, as for example Mr. Ratnaswami, regard Prohibition as an offence to their religion. The exclusion of the aborigines from the control of popular ministers was intended not that they might be kept away from the stream of national life but that they should be protected against the evils of a too sudden transition. The exclusion was a mistake. The only weakness in the Thakkar-Elwin letter is their saying that they expected the exclusion to protect the aborigines from foreign influence. This was a forlorn hope doomed to disappointment. Only popular ministers can ensure this and the Viceroy's safeguarding power could restrain popular excess.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, November 6, 1943.

### OUTWORN ECONOMIC THEORIES.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the Labour Member of the Government of India, would be surprised to be told that some of the views which he expressed in his opening address to the Policy Committee of the Reconstruction Committee are out of date. We refer in particular to his statement that what he called a "rot" could stop only when agriculture is made profitable. Almost every plan of reconstructing the world after the disasters of the war, rests on the assumption, express or implicit that the profit motive will be eliminated or severely controlled in industry and here we have the Labour Member of the Government wanting to make agriculture profitable as the sole means of stopping an imaginary "rot." The full text of Dr. Ambedkar's speech will be published in the next *Indian Labour Gazette*, which seems specially intended to publicize his utterances. Subject to such amplification as may be found in the *Indian Labour Gazette*, one cannot help concluding from the newspaper reports of his address that he was much too casual in dealing with points of importance. We referred last week to his dictum that the present Food situation in India was the consequence of India being a predominantly agricultural country. Even Mr. Amery has not ventured on this startling paradox. If India were not an agricultural country, she would at this crisis have to import a much greater proportion of her food requirements from abroad and this would require many more ships than the comparatively few even which there is great difficulty in securing. The fact is that the present Food situation is not due to India being a predominantly agricultural country but in spite of her being so. The need of the moment is more food and more food should be grown not by establishing manufacturing industries but by extending cultivation, that is, agriculture. The present situation is due to the Government of India, at the instance of the British Government, pushing on with their war effort in complete negligence of the elementary interests of the civil population. This has been more than hinted at by Lord Wavell in his speeches in London when he said that more pressure on India might result in a break-down of her economic life. Dr. Ambedkar is not known to be particularly careful in his ex cathedra statements. He improvises his data to suit his arguments. His theory of the two sides of the pincers in which India is caught, is a good example. Increase of population is one side and the deterioration of the soil is the other, he says. Surely these are not two arms of a pincers but two aspects of the working of the British Indian political economic system which is directed to promote the consuming power of the country without adding to its productive capacity. The high birth-rate is directly the result of the high death-rate due to a deplorable neglect of the health and education of the masses. Nature for reasons of her own does not evidently wish India to be depopulated. She strives, therefore, to counteract the effects of a depressing regime which has banished the joy of life from the national temper. The population increases for the simple reason that there is no inspiring idea for it to strive for. Government wants chaprassis in increasing numbers as the Executive Council expands progressively. India is being reduced to a race of chaprassis. If we may adapt Dr. Ambedkar's simile, the country is caught between two sides of the Government pincers, one being the Members

of the Executive Council and the other being chaprassis who are an essential part of their equipment.

Apart from speculative theories, Dr. Ambedkar is blind to the lessons of the last depression which are likely to be repeated at the end of this war if his advice is followed. The most prominent fact was that the depression fell more fiercely and extensively on the highly industrialised countries like Germany, Great Britain and the United States than the less industrialised countries and least of all on predominantly agricultural countries where food crops had not been sacrificed for cash crops. The slump in the prices of agricultural produce was due to the closing down of factories throwing enormous numbers of the population out of employment. Some people are rejoicing over the industrial expansion in India owing to the war but before long they will be wringing their hands in despair when the war industries close down and demobilised troops add to the volume and danger of unemployment for large sections of the people. We have good reason to thank God that India is a predominantly agricultural country. Glib and ill-digested generalisations like those of the Labour Member cannot change the course of economic life any more than they can change the courses of the Brahmaputra or the Ganges. The first consideration in the industrial, economic and health policy of a civilised Government is to ensure adequate food to the people. That means a healthy and sound system of agriculture apart from its being profitable or not to the cultivator. If it involves loss to the cultivator the State must help to make it good.

Princes and lords may flourish or may fade,  
A breath can make them as a breath has made,  
But a bold peasantry, the country's pride,  
When once destroyed can never be supplied.

The prospect of seeing our people turned into a proletariat after the western model is not attractive.

No one in his senses can be opposed to industrialisation but to Dr. Ambedkar industrialisation means relegation of agriculture to the background. He sneers at agricultural conferences and cattle shows as useless for raising the standard of life of the people. In Soviet Russia, than which there has been no State more intensely bent on industrialisation, the programme included agricultural development side by side, and workers and peasants were asked to look upon each other as co-operators in the same patriotic campaign. The gravest objections to industrialisation have been removed by the extensive use of electric power which the Policy Committee had specially under consideration. Steam power meant concentration of workers at points where the power was generated, necessarily involving the creation of slums and the break-up of family life. Electricity can be carried to the villages and the workers' homes, ensuring cleanliness and comfort. Industrialisation with electric power can be made to conserve the freedom of the countryside with the amenities of urban civilisation.

### THE CHINESE IN AMERICA AND OTHER ORIENTALS.

President Roosevelt's message to the Congress which we printed last week, asked for the lifting of the ban on Chinese immigration. Because he wished to slur over the special prejudices of Americans against the Chinese, the President issued what he, no doubt, considered a tactful message. But President Roosevelt is by force of circumstances a world figure as well as the temporary head of the American States. It is unfortunate that he forgot

that aspect in commending the Chinese. For in doing so he has hurt other feelings. In his book on "Immigration," Prescott F. Hall devotes a separate section to Chinese immigration and justifies it by the remark that the Congress has always regarded it as a separate subject for legislation. The administration of the Chinese Exclusion Acts, until 1900, he says, was entirely distinct from that of the immigration service. It was only in 1903 that the laws were administered by the Immigration Bureau; till then they were put into force by the Customs division of the Treasury Department. Economic competition first roused aversion against the Chinese. Laws enacted against foreigners in general were enforced only against the Chinese. Hall himself shared the national prejudice. "The extent to which courts, government officers and the public," he writes, "were cheated and imposed upon by Chinese mendacity and duplicity passes belief. In 1901 nearly one-third of those professing to be exempt from the Acts were found to be fraudulent." Hall who wrote in 1906, did not expect an early repeal of the Acts. There has been a difference of opinion between manufacturers and employers, on the one hand, and labour on the other. "The tendency," writes the Encyclopedia Britannica (article on Migration), "is for the more laborious and less remunerative tasks to be left to immigrants." And the tasks being done, the people of the country do not wish to associate with the immigrants. The Chinese added to the prejudice by being peaceable, temperate and industrious and economical; and by not taking part in the civic, intellectual or religious life of the society in which they found themselves. The position is analogous to that of Indians who, as Carr-Saunders aptly puts it, "have played a large and little-recognized part in the development of the colonies and made some contribution also to the French colonial empire." President Roosevelt could not, in safety, go into the historical background of the Chinese Exclusion Acts without stirring up old animosities. But he need not have roused new ones. Perhaps when he spoke of the desirability of giving the Chinese preferential status over other Orientals, he had in mind the Japanese and the Syrians who are the only other Asiatics Hall mentions in his book. Of the Japanese, Hall makes certain observations which explain that President Roosevelt must have intended his remarks as an attempt at changing American prejudice. Hall writes :

It seems unlikely that the United States will ever adopt the same policy with regard to the Japanese which has been followed with the Chinese. The fact that it was the United States which opened Japan to western civilisation and commerce; the admiration of the Japanese for this country as shown by the Perry monument at the entrance to Tokio Bay, the Grant monument at Nagasaki, and the recent meeting in Tokio to celebrate the signing of the first treaty with America and last but not least, the fact that Japan has become a military power—all are likely to prevent the extension of the Exclusion Acts to the Japanese.

However, after Mr. Hall had written, prejudice had grown in America against the Japanese, largely owing to the fact that the Japanese conducted their immigration on an organized basis, through the agency of immigration companies and, as did the Chinese, they roused the antagonism of labour groups in America.

In his study on World Population, Carr-Saunders points out that India, China and Japan have not shown much enthusiasm for migration into another continent, seeking outlets for their surplus populations largely in Asia itself. The reason for this is primarily that there is no admission to other continents for Asiatics. The largest movement of Asiatic

population was the movement of Indians under the indentured labour system which proved profitable to all except to the emigrants themselves. The labour was unskilled but it is Indian unskilled labour which has contributed vastly to colonial development. Australia is the natural outlet for Asiatic excess populations but that is closed to non-whites. Chinese immigration into the United States was the largest among Asiatic peoples until the Exclusion Acts came into force. Now that those Acts have been condemned by American opinion and are being set aside, the new policy might as well be extended to all Asiatic immigration. The quota system which restricts the numbers, the various provisions of the Immigration Laws and the fact that in the New World conditions do not any longer prevail which require cheap labour, these are considerations which will necessarily influence the type of immigrant admitted. President Roosevelt's desire to confer preferential status over other Orientals on the Chinese is an emotional surge of sympathy. It is understandable. But how does it differ from the much ridiculed Nazi acceptance of the Japanese as honorary Aryans?

#### NAGPUR SUBSTITUTE FOR RATIONING.

Rationing food as interpreted in India is a wholly different thing from what it is understood to be in Great Britain although we are supposed to follow the British model and are advised by experts from England. British rationing has for its aim the maintenance of the civil population sound in mind and body by making the basic food commodities available at prices within reach of the lowest incomes in the social scale. This ideal has not been attained but a considerable measure of success has been achieved and improvements are being made every day. In this country, on the other hand, rationing is resorted to to prevent the insufficient quantity of food grains available from being cornered by speculators who sell at prices calculated to bring them the maximum of profit and the poorer classes the minimum of the means of subsistence. The idea of keeping the people physically fit and their morale unaffected by fear of starvation does not enter into the Indian official mind. Owing to this essential difference, rationing is a misnomer in this country. It has no deep understanding of the psychology of the people. Naturally, therefore, even educated men are under the impression that the same results can be obtained in ways other than rationing. One of these is Mr. Page, President of the Nagpur Municipal Council. Mr. Page observes not without truth that "the people in general get panicky at the mere mention of the word 'rationing' which presages to them some known and unknown hardships." But he is not right when he says that whether such panic is based on any substantial grounds or not is immaterial so long as its occurrence cannot be denied. That is to say, if a man mistakes a rope for a snake, it does not matter that the rope is not a snake and nothing should be done to dispel his illusion. In Bombay many people had similar apprehensions of rationing but experience has convinced them that there is nothing inherently harsh in the system and that in sympathetic hands it can even create in the public mind a preference for it in place of the recurrent haggling as to quality and prices with the grocer. The principle of cash payment in rationing has another advantage to the housewife who likes to pay as she goes. The fear of rationing is mainly the fear of official contact which in India more than in other countries is widespread even among educated people. Mr. Page's scheme

for attaining the same results as rationing (as he understands them) without using the name of rationing is an interesting revelation of Nagpur civic psychology. He observes:

It would be observed that the successful working of the scheme depends on the ability of the Government to maintain and supply sufficient stock of food grains to the shops. The requirements of Nagpur are estimated at 162 tons per day. This would mean that Government would have to purchase and keep in stock 59,180 tons of food grains for the year and invest approximately Rs. 160 lakhs for the purchase of grain at different periods when the grain is available, as there is only one crop for each kind of grain during the year. It is possible that the investment of such a large sum which would be re-paid in small instalments may represent a problem to Government. To reduce the locking up of Government capital for a large portion of the year it may be considered advisable to take recourse to the following measures: The Malguzars and field owners who reside in the city, may be permitted to retain stocks sufficient for their consumption and the consumption of their servants for one year. Such institutions, as Mills, Factories, Railways and Co-operative Societies which can afford to purchase the annual requirements for their workers or their members, may be permitted to purchase their annual supply on a permit to be given by the Government either from the Government stocks or from outside as may be suitable. These institutions and their members would be precluded from purchasing grain from Government controlled shops later.

Well-to-do persons who can afford to purchase grain for their annual requirements may be also granted annual permits based on the quota allotted by the Government to purchase the supplies of food-grains from the Government godowns or from outside as may be suitable. These persons and the members of their family would be barred from making purchases from Government shops during the year.

It may be stated that, while the present (Page) scheme indisputably secures most of the advantages of a Rationing scheme, there are no valid objections for its strict enforcement.—*Nagpur Times* October 24.

How Mr. Page who has risen to the position of head of the Municipal administration of the capital of the Central Provinces, can imagine that this scheme secures most of the advantages of rationing, it is difficult to understand. The object of rationing, as stated above, is to make available essential food stuffs at prices which the poorest family can afford. Mr. Page's scheme is designed to secure twelve months' supply to all who are able to pay for it. This even in Nagpur must be a small fraction of the population. But it will absorb a disproportionately large quantity of the food available as it is entitled to store its requirements for a whole year. This is the very class which rationing is needed to prevent from getting more than its proportionate share of available food. Mr. Page is silent about how the people who cannot lay in a year's store are to be provided. This is the most irrational system of rationing we have seen. It is really a scheme for encouraging rich people to hoard food when the poor are starving in the streets. An unrehearsed version of the Page scheme is being enacted in the streets of Calcutta. Hungry men do not respect rights of private property as much as they do when they have had a full meal. Mr. Page's scheme is more likely to incite food riots than to ease the food situation.

#### EXPERTS ON FOOD PROBLEMS.

Vera Anstey, "well-known woman economist of the London School of Economics who lived in Bombay throughout the last war," has given her opinion on the causes of the food bungle in India. In view of several factors known even to the layman in Britain by now, these laboured explanations of experts are as relevant and appropriate as clowns at a funeral. Some of the factors are: The evil of provincial autonomy and the incompetence of the Central Government to restrain the excesses of provincial administrations, already known and experienced in the political field and connived at; the apathy of the India Office authorities to conditions in India, partially produced perhaps by information withheld; and, it may be added, the lack of foresight on the part of the Vera Ansteys which cannot be compensated now by statements after the event. Vera Anstey's main contention apparently is that the agricultural population has been largely under-employed and that lack of industrial development has caused some of the trouble. To her credit be it said, however, that unlike our local economic expert, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, she does not pin her faith on industrialization alone but asks for improved agricultural methods. She has not unfortunately considered adequately the implications of the Linlithgow regime, already in process of rapid liquidation. Lord Linlithgow was, as chairman of the Agricultural Commission, specially equipped with knowledge regarding the conditions of Indian agriculture. To this was added the spur of war exigencies since he had distinguished himself as India's war Viceroy pre-eminently. A "Grow More Food" campaign was initiated and much energy and money was expended on it to make the public conscious of the food needs of the country. That, under his ægis, the conditions should have rapidly deteriorated as they had done, should surely give economists something to think about. If, with an agricultural expert at the head of its administration, a country ends up with food shortage, it is time people questioned the value of experts. It cannot be urged in defence of the regime that Lord Linlithgow's preoccupation with the war made him forget his agricultural knowledge, because, as at last the *Economist* has pointed out, in all other countries where the administration was run on common sense rather than expert knowledge, the provision of food is regarded as as important as the supply of munitions. This is what we have been saying for many months. Nor is it right to attribute Lord Linlithgow's failure to the political complications of recent years, since the last Viceroy as the chairman of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, was the one man who knew the Government of India Act 1935 inside out. Apart from his muddling up the political situation, there is no valid justification for his losing sight of the section giving special controlling powers to the Central Government which he allowed to rust.

The London correspondent of the *Times of India* is somewhat concerned lest India's claims in the matter of food should affect Europe's wants in the post-war world. In matters like this, it is sometimes a disadvantage to a writer to have been personally acquainted with Indian conditions and only possess an academic knowledge of Europe, unless a sense of proportion goes with it. We can think of no European city having to reach the verge of Calcutta before receiving attention from other parts of the world. When German-occupied Greece was suffering food shortage, the United States of America, then neutral, shipped wheat in agreement with Germany.

The United States is now an ally, one of the United Nations. Yet help to a member of the United Nations has been slow in coming. And the agitation in Britain to send aid to Bengal and other parts of India rouses strange fears in the hearts of men like the *Times of India's* London correspondent. He writes:

When publicists and economists tell us that India's future requirements demand millions of tons of wheat for years ahead, I reply that they should examine the world situation. Personally, I am appalled at the demands from every quarter for food—from Belgium, France, Yugoslavia, Greece. Consider the position of the Ukraine, the granary of Russia. Here alone the Russians have lost fifteen millions of people. India in the long term must develop her own resources to feed her population which has grown to gigantic proportions. Europe is going to be hungry for many years.

For sheer sentimental drivel, this stands unbeaten. Let the London journalist read Carr-Saunders' book on "World Population." Carr-Saunders observes:

Upon any computation Asia holds over half the population from 1650 onwards; Europe's share has increased from about one-fifth to about one-quarter. North America has steadily advanced its proportion.... It is the white peoples who have gained most. In 1650 they numbered about 100 millions; it is probable that persons of unmixed European descent now number about 720 millions. Since the population of the world has increased at most four times since 1650, it is clear that the white people have had a disproportionate share of the world increase.

From 1750 to 1933, Asia's share in the world population has decreased steadily from 65 per cent to 54 per cent; whilst Europe's has increased from 19 to 25. The white peoples alone, says Carr-Saunders, have expanded not only their territory but also their numbers; the vast extent of the areas beyond Europe settled by them is very great and there are other areas "under European tutelage." What is even more amazing is that Europe and the Europeans have to their credit most of the devastating wars of the past century and still they maintain their increase. The writer has some naive remarks to make on the surprising lack of desire to emigrate shown by Asiatics. Is it to be wondered at, seeing that everywhere the white man has put up barriers against non-white immigration? With as much reason might a casual observer at an Indian railway station express surprise at the absence of men travelling in women's compartments in contrast to the number of women seen in the general carriages.

We may have hoped that British writers would realise the special responsibilities of Britain to India compared to what she might feel inclined to do for France, Belgium, Greece, Yugoslavia and the rest of Europe. There is, however, some satisfaction in being generous; little in discharging a debt. Besides there is need to win the goodwill of European countries in the post-war period. Lord Linlithgow has shown that neither the goodwill nor the support of the people of India is necessary to rule this country, even at a time of great stress and strain. That lesson is not lost on Anglo-Indian journalists.

There must have been something pathetic in Indian appeals to people in Britain for funds for the starving here. India has become a creditor country overnight. She was not in need for money. Her trouble is like that of Midas who found himself surrounded with gold but with nothing to eat, except that India's gold is sterling securities. Nothing revealed the political immaturity of the Indian people and their unfortunate habit of becoming an imperial

nuisance than the appeals sent forth. The proper line to take was, "Send us the food and pay yourselves out of our credits." Then it would have been possible to attend to the question of prices to be paid. Now that South Africa, Australia and other parts of the Empire offer food for sale, we cannot look the gift horse in the mouth and it is not improbable that the transaction will be less advantageous to India. For if one thing is certain it is this: That the other units of the Empire are not giving up anything which they cannot spare, for India's sake. In the case of South Africa, the bitterness is all the greater because we have now to accept as an act of grace what we had declared we would not take as a matter of trade. It is barely six weeks since there was a demand for retaliation against South Africa for anti-Indian legislation. But that is one of the humiliations to which poor relations are subject.

V.

#### LORD LINLITHGOW AND THE PRINCES.

Sir,

Lord Linlithgow's admonition to the Princes was not only tactless as you say but historically incorrect. "It would be an injustice to Your Highnesses," he said, "were I to assume that any reasonable man amongst you would deny that the Crown's obligations to protect carry with them equally binding responsibilities to ensure, if need be, that what is protected continues to be worthy of protection." No one who is under the protection of another, likes to be reminded of his dependence. Moreover, the Princes now regard themselves as independent sovereign rulers. They have been encouraged and exhorted to do so. Some of them at least do not think that they are in need of protection. Some think that they are the bulwarks of British rule and that, so far from being protected, they are protecting British rule against British Indian politicians. Lord Linlithgow told them that the Crown must satisfy itself that the States "continue to be worthy of protection." Historically it is not true that the Princes were taken under British protection because they were "worthy" of protection. For a Ruler to be worthy of protection he must be an imbecile. To be worthy of protection in the case of a ruler is to be unworthy of being a ruler. Some of the States were taken under the protection of the British Government, represented by the East India Company, because they were effete and corrupt and could not withstand internal revolt or external aggression. But the more important States were forcibly annexed. They did not seek British protection by showing themselves worthy of it. The British policy was first and for a long time to annex their territories, later it was felt that these States might prove valuable auxiliaries in maintaining British supremacy. They were retained purely on the ground of policy, and as a foil to set off the merits of British administration. Then, again, it is absurd to say that the more backward States are less worthy of protection now than they were when they were brought into feudatory relation with the British Power. Some of them have made great strides. None of them is in the same primitive stage as it was when, for instance, the Maharaja of Travancore insisted, against his Dewan's protest, on making an illiterate favourite of his Chief Justice of the High Court. The Dewan put off making the appointment in the hope that the Maharaja would forget the matter but, when he found His Highness persistent and bent upon carrying out his whim, he called the favoured candidate and persuaded



him to request His Highness to excuse him for not wanting to be placed on the high judicial pedestal. The Dewan made the favourite Superintendent of the Temple Kitchen, a job agreeable to his tastes and talents. The story is told in the Life of Sir Seshayya Sastry by Kameshwara Aiyar. The book is one of the best biographies in the English language, by an Indian.

SCRUTATOR.

### RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE AND RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

Mr. Amil Home, Editor of the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, contributes an article of personal reminiscences of the late Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee during a period of over thirty years. Rabindranath Tagore and Ramananda Chatterjee were close friends. Yet their friendship did not impose on either a forced agreement of views on public questions. Mr. Home gives two instances in which the friends differed. One was with regard to the election of Dr. Besant as President of the Congress. The other was about the Bande Mataram controversy. Mr. Home writes:

"No one he loved and revered more than he did Rabindranath Tagore. Yet on two different occasions he differed from him and differed openly. The first was in 1917, over the choice of Annie Besant as President of the Calcutta Congress—a choice that the Poet not only approved but lent support to, by accepting the Chairmanship of the Reception Committee when the Moderates led by Surendra Nath Banerjea seceded from it over the issue. Rabindranath was anxious for Ramananda Babu's support, and before he finally threw in his lot with the Besantites, he went to see his friend, trying, if he could, to persuade him to his views. I had the privilege of accompanying him to Ramananda Babu's house—the old *Prabasi* Office. It was past ten at night, and the narrow lane had no light. As the Poet waited in his car, I went to fetch a lamp from the house. I found Ramananda Babu reading, and he came down with a hurricane lantern and showed Rabindranath in. Quietly we went up the narrow stairs, myself leading with the lantern. The poet opened the conversation. He gave his reasons for his support to Mrs. Besant; Ramananda Babu gave his for opposing her. Quietly the Poet listened to his friend and quietly he came away. The next day, or the day after, I do not remember exactly, his acceptance of the Chairmanship of the Reception Committee was in the hands of Mrs. Besant's supporters. I was the bearer of his letter of acceptance addressed to Motilal Ghosh, and when he gave it to me, he said that a load was off his chest now that he had been able to explain his position to Ramananda Babu. It did not matter now if they differed. The other occasion when Rabindranath and Ramananda differed was in 1938, over the partial scrapping of the *Bande-Mataram* song as a Congress anthem on the ground of its being offensive to the religious feelings of the Muslims. Ramananda Babu, as readers will no doubt recall, did not share the Poet's opinion on the subject and held forth against it in the *Modern Review* and the *Prabasi*. Yet, if I might say so, he worshipped the very ground the Poet trod."

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

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## NOTES.

**Strabolgi's Venture** :—It is always good to know exactly where we stand. Lord Strabolgi's motion in the House of Lords to introduce a Bill to confer Dominion Status on India by an amendment of the Westminster Statute, was opposed by Lord Cranborne, the Dominions Secretary, on the ground that the Westminster Statute can be amended only with the consent of the Dominions and, as Lord Strabolgi was not likely to have secured this, the Bill was inadmissible. The motion was rejected without a division though Lord Strabolgi said that it was not his intention to push the Bill through all stages. He only wanted it to be read for the first time so that it may be printed and circulated for opinion as a parliamentary paper. The rejection of his motion is an intimation to the advocates of Dominion Status that they have first to persuade the Dominions to be gracious enough to consent to India's inclusion in their august circle.

**Violence On Destitutes** :— Scarcely a week after the Viceroy announced his plan for grappling with the Food situation in Bengal, the work of moving the destitutes in Calcutta to rest camps outside the city was started. Not soldiers but the Police were put in charge. They seem, as the Police are prone to do, to have relied more on force than on persuasion to effect the transfer. The Bengal Minister concerned, in answer to the charge of using force, assured the Provincial Legislative Assembly that only the minimum of force was used by the Police to get the destitutes out of the city. How any Minister, responsible or irresponsible, can condone the use of even a small amount of force on starving people, passes our imagination. It is natural in the circumstances that the destitutes should have suspected that the object of Government was to get them out of Calcutta where their presence was attracting attention in India and abroad. The destitutes having themselves recently come from the districts could not easily believe that food and shelter could be got there. They were unaware of the speed with which the military can convey supplies and remove them from one place to another. Resistance was, therefore, to be expected from them. The simplest way of meeting the difficulty was to take a dozen or fifteen destitutes to the rest camps, show them the arrangements made to feed, clothe and shelter them and bring them to Calcutta to tell their comrades in misfortune of what they had seen. There would have been an immediate exodus to the camps without any further ado. There would

have been no need at all for any forceful removal. The use of even mild force would have confirmed the unfortunate people in their suspicion that they are being hoodwinked. The first thing to do in the circumstances is to establish faith in the Government's assurances and personnel. The Nazimuddin Government has a heavy responsibility before God to see that the starving people of Bengal are not exposed to additional misery by overzealous action on the part of the Police. Force was entirely out of place in dealing with destitutes. Sympathy, and an abundance of it, is what is needed.

**Has Provincial Autonomy Failed?**—A controversy which promises to become lively, has arisen between some provincial Ministers and the British publicists who have interpreted the Food situation in Bengal and the rest of India as the failure of provincial autonomy. What has failed is not provincial autonomy as defined in the Government of India Act but a travesty of it. As we have repeatedly pointed out, the Act expressly prohibits the passing by the provincial Legislature or Executive Government of laws or orders restricting freedom of movement of persons and commodities as between provinces. The root of the present mischief is that this express prohibition has been flagrantly violated with the connivance of, or in collusion with, the Government of India. Provincial Ministers have ignored the essential difference between autonomy and independence. Autonomy implies that the units are organic parts of a single administration or State and that there is implicit in autonomy the obligation to refrain from any measure calculated to break up the organic unity of the whole. Provincial autonomy, within its legitimate sphere, is a wholly beneficial expedient but it becomes dangerous when it transcends the limitations of its origin. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar happily described the Food situation as the result of provincial autonomy gone mad.

**Provincialism and Communalism** :— The debate in the Punjab Legislative Assembly on the Government of India scheme of price control and rationing brought out in broad outline the trend of political thought in that province, in some respects a key province. The idea of a nationality embracing all religious beliefs and territorial and linguistic differences, grew up slowly in this country during a hundred and fifty years of British rule, fostered by a uniform system of administration. The idea found expression in the Indian National Congress started in 1835. "Indians first" was the motto of the Congress until 1915. Sir Phirozeshah Mehta and Gokhale died that year and for a time Dr. Besant continued the old tradition. Her supersession in the Congress leadership by Lokamanya Tilak did not materially alter the principle of All India unity. Lord Minto's declaration that religious beliefs should be recognised in the franchise, had thrust a wedge into Indian political consciousness, but the Congress refused to accept it. When Gandhiji came on the scene in 1920, he accepted

the Minto doctrine and began to negotiate with Muslims as a community. In the Congress itself, he introduced the linguistic line of cleavage. The Gandhian Congress directly encouraged the idea of separatism and thus fell in line with official policy. Communal lines began to grow more and more deeply marked. The Government of India Act of 1935 further complicated the political issue by dividing British India in the name of provincial autonomy into eleven different Governments which bore the responsibility while real power in all essential matters remained with the British Government in London, the Government of India in New Delhi becoming a post office. In the Punjab Legislative Assembly, the communal line was erased and Hindus and Muslims joined in resisting the proposals of the Government of India to deal with the Food problem as an All India one. Two Communist members alone supported the All India view, "Indians First" which first gave place to "Muslims first" is now replaced by "Punjabees first." This from one point of view may be regarded as an advance but from a larger point of view it is a disastrous backsliding.

**Parliamentary Purlblindness:**—Nearly every Member who spoke in the debate on the Food situation in India in the House of Commons, stressed the necessity of the Central Government having full power of control. Some Members would confine this control to questions relating to food. But the Food problem is a part of the general administration, and the Centre to have power to control food should have power to control the administration generally throughout the country. Lord Curzon who had a clear view of the constitutional factors, recommended the reduction of the two Presidencies to Lieutenant-Governorships. The Act of 1935, on the contrary, raised the Lieutenant-Governorships into Governorships. The present Parliament contains many of the Members who voted for the division of British India into eleven autonomous provinces. If they did not foresee that the effect would be just what we see before our eyes, they cannot claim the political foresight with which the Mother of Parliaments is often credited. Our own opinion is that the Members, as well as the British Government, knew quite well that provincial autonomy must aggravate the difficulties of India in realising her goal of self-government, already much hampered by the recognition of communal divisions and weightages. In any case, the legal principle that a man intends the consequences of his acts, is as much applicable to law-makers as to law-breakers. The pretence that the House of Commons was sitting in judgment on the Government of India for doing or omitting to do what they were required to do, is ridiculous. That the speakers were subconsciously, if not consciously, aware of their responsibility, explains the half-heartedness, not to say the hollowness, of most of the speeches. Mr. Pethick Lawrence who spoke for the Opposition, was profusely apologetic and Mr. Amery acknowledged the mildness and moderation of his attack. The scheme of the Act has made the solution of the tangle created by it so hopeless that it had to be cut by the sword of our Field-Marshal Viceroy. We hope that the lesson will not be lost on British as well as on Indian politicians who will share the responsibility for replacing the Hoare Act by some new piece of constitutional reform for India.

**Where was the Prime Minister?**—If the Food debate in the House of Commons was regarded as a matter concerning India exclusively, the Secretary of State for India was the proper Minister to reply on behalf of the British Government. If, on the other hand, it was regarded as an Imperial occasion, it was the Prime Minister's duty to explain the Government

point of view. In either case, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was an intruder in the debate and, with Sir John Anderson's record as Governor of Bengal, an unwelcome intruder. His speech was perhaps the most cold-blooded one in the debate and we do not see any passage in it which would have necessitated the thumping on the box on the Treasury Table with which Sir John is reported to have accompanied his oration. Sir John, to justify his appointment as Chancellor of the Exchequer, did mention that some of the trouble was due to inflation in India. He pleaded, however, that the Government of India had not the experience which the British Government had of inflation evils and had erred on account of ignorance. About a year ago, Mr. Amery justified the retention of British personnel at the head of the Finance and Home Departments "not on the ground of race alone." There might have been some naive people in both Britain and India who thought that at any rate it was true of the Finance Department that for efficiency it was necessary to have a British Member in charge. Sir John has exploded that myth by his pleadings for Sir Jeremy Raisman. If an imported British expert has not profited by the experience of Britain, then need we go so far for a Finance Member? With an Indian the results could hardly have been worse. Two days after the above was written, the Prime Minister spoke at the annual Mansion House banquet. But he studiously avoided any reference to the Indian situation. Skeletons are not welcome at feasts.

**Royal Commission for Food:**—It is not clear what the advocates of the appointment of a Royal Commission to enquire into the Indian Food situation hope to gain by it. Mr. Churchill in his Life of his father has said that Royal Commissions are a means whereby Governments seek to divert attacks on a vulnerable point in their administration. The immediate effect of appointing a Royal Commission would be to prevent any further exposures of the blunders of the administration in the Legislature and to some extent in the Press. "We must await the report of the Royal Commission." will become the stock answer to all criticism. The Royal Commission will take two or three years to manoeuvre itself into the report stage, and then the Report will be discussed by the Departments for another year and finally shelved. The fate of past Royal Commission reports should be a warning. There is a feeling that a Royal Commission can compel the production by Government of information not ordinarily available to the public. This, no doubt, is the rule on paper. But the British system on paper is often very different from its working in practice. The Chairman of the Commission would be a Government nominee and will act in close consultation with Government. He will not ask for any information which it might be inconvenient for Government to supply. We have a vague remembrance that Charles Hobhouse who insisted on his rights as Chairman of a Royal Commission, was quietly superseded when the Commission resumed its enquiry after the hot weather. There is also the danger that, following the precedent of the Palestine Commission, the Food Commission might suggest that a division of the country would be the most appropriate way of warding off famine conditions arising again in India since there would be no India, only several 'stans' in the future. All things considered, we should like to have more convincing reasons than any yet adduced, for inviting the appointment of a Royal Commission at this juncture. The effect of the move immediately will be wholly dilatory.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, November 13, 1943.

## THE MOSCOW TALKS AND AFTER.

The situation arising out of the Moscow conference is apt to make one forget the causes which brought the three primary negotiators, Russia, Britain and the U. S. A., and the fourth signatory, China, into World War II. China was the first to find herself at war after Japan attacked her. As President Roosevelt put it, she waged her war single-handed. Even after Britain was drawn into a European conflict by the Nazis, the two wars, in Asia and in Europe, remained separate. Russia came in when Hitler marched his forces against the Soviet Republic. Even then the war in Europe did not mingle with the war in Asia. It was only when Japan attacked Pearl Harbour that the two conflicts developed into the global war of today. Britain's support of America in the Pacific won in return American support for the war in Europe; and China joined not only against the common enemy in Asia but also against the enemy in Europe. Soviet Russia kept out of the Asiatic entanglement. Though China's attitude both in entering on the European war and in signing the Moscow agreement negotiated by the three powers, is consistent with a view of the various conflicts as one war of ideas, in practice it does not affect the position since China sends no troops or material into Europe. It is significant that China's support to the Moscow conference has not so far been followed up by the support of the free European governments now functioning from London. On the other hand, the French Committee at Algiers has recorded its protest at not being consulted in matters relating to post-war Europe, and, a later message says, General Giraud has resigned. The position now appears to be a threatened rift between the allies which the accident of being common victims of Nazi-Japanese aggression have brought to Britain, and the nations which at the start of war were common belligerents by reason of a mutual assistance pact. As the allies of conviction are today collapsed and the allies of chance are powerful, the former fear evidently that the post-war world will be presented with a number of political blue-prints agreed on by the latter and asked to accept them. This will trouble the minds of the many ingenious world reconstructionists who will now realise that nothing very revolutionary is intended to take place. The position of the free governments is naturally not very strong in regard to the great powers of the day for the simple reason that they owe their existence to one or the other of them—mostly to Great Britain. The representative character of many of the men who head these governments is not beyond question—in fact, it is being questioned now even in the case of General de Gaulle, the most outstanding of them all, and the British Prime Minister in his Mansion House speech went no further than to say that the French Committee of Liberation was only a provisional government and that national and representative institutions would be established after victory. If this is the attitude of the British Government itself which was the first to "recognize" the de Gaulle Free French Government, one can well believe that Russia and America have less attachment to it. On the subject of de Gaulle, the American Government has specially uneasy feelings, having sponsored General Giraud. With most free governments established in London, Russia has little links, Sikorski's Polish free government having been a source of embarrassment in the recent past. These political systems, there-

fore, lead a precarious existence, knowing that "a breath can make them as a breath has made."

There is one other point arising out of the Moscow conference. The choice of venue in international discussions is always of great significance. The choice of Moscow for these talks settled that the questions to be considered would be confined to Europe. Stalin has been very wary in his dealings with his allies, not to risk embroilment with Japan. Therefore, he has not attended conferences out of Russia. When the British and American Foreign Secretaries went to Moscow, the countries they represented accepted Russia's position of neutrality to Japan. The fact that China has signified her acceptance of the three powers agreement, raises an important question. The pact is now a four-power pact, but it is still referred to by publicists as the three power pact, specially in Britain. The question is, does China's being given a voice in European affairs imply that Russia will equally be a determining figure in Asiatic affairs? This is a large issue which it might be thought inadvisable to raise now, like the subject of territorial adjustments in Europe. The fact that China's adherence was acclaimed as signifying the solidarity of the four leading powers among the United Nations, seems to indicate that that solidarity is to be kept up on all post-war problems. On the other hand, there is a difference between China and Russia: China has declared war on Germany, whilst Russia is neutral to Japan.

Russian neutrality is a curious feature in the present war. Whilst no one can with any reason express dissatisfaction with Russia's policy, in view of the contribution she is making towards the prosecution of the war in Europe, it is nevertheless true that her attitude to Japan introduces a certain reserve in discussions between the four powers on post-war settlement. There is a section of opinion in the U.S.A. which wants hostilities between Russia and Japan, and a strengthening of the offensive against Japan on the part of the Allies. This attitude, apparently logical in view of the United States having been drawn into hostilities on account of Japan's attack on her, has little support in the press. The *Protestant* in a recent number denounces the senators who take this stand, as appeasement-mongers and anti-communists. It contends that any dissipation of Russia's military strength now would weaken her and profit Germany. Nevertheless, apart from the motives which might have inspired these American senators, it is difficult to see why a demand in the U. S. A. for Russian action against Japan, even if it is only a declaration of war, should be more reprehensible than the Russian pressure on opinion in America and Britain for a second front.

**Truth About Orissa:**—Some months ago, Mr. A. V. Thakkar after visiting Orissa issued an urgent appeal for funds to relieve destitution in the Province. The picture he presented was entirely inconsistent with the attitude since adopted by the Chief Minister of Orissa, the Maharaja of Parlakimedi, who has been declaring that Orissa is a surplus province and offering to "release" large amounts of rice for the starving people of Bengal. We called attention to this discrepancy which, we may say, has been contradicted by other responsible leaders. We print today another appeal from the Orissa Relief Committee. The Orissa Prime Minister's bragging has made the task of the Orissa Relief Committee needlessly difficult.



### THE JINNAH CASE.

The trial of Rafik Sabhir Mosanghvi for the murderous assault on Mr. Jinnah came to a close last week in the Bombay High Court. The accused was sentenced to five years imprisonment by Mr. Justice Blagden on the unanimous finding of the Jury that he was guilty of the offence of attempt to murder. The proceedings in the High Court were characterised by a scrupulous avoidance of anything which, in view of Mr. Jinnah's position as a leading member of the Bombay Bar and President of an important political organisation, might have invested it with an interest beyond that of an ordinary criminal trial. The accused dispensed with the services of his counsel in the middle of the proceedings, and himself conducted the cross-examination of the prosecution witnesses and addressed the jury on his own behalf. This gave him a latitude which would not have been available to a professional lawyer and, though the judge intervened to prevent it from going too far, the accused had certainly no ground for complaint that he had not ample opportunity of stating his case. Briefly his plea was that he had gone to Mr. Jinnah's house to represent to him the sad plight of Indian Muslims, that he had no knife with him, that it was Mr. Jinnah who got impatient and pushed him out of the house and that the scuffle which ensued was due to Mr. Jinnah's provocation. The accused said that he had no personal quarrel with Mr. Jinnah and that, indeed, he regarded him as a great leader of Indian Muslims. Nevertheless, he alleged that Mr. Jinnah had launched his prosecution in order to increase his prestige. Mr. Jinnah admitted that there was no personal quarrel and that the accused had no personal motive in attacking him; and the Judge also allowed that this was a point, though the only point, in the accused's favour. That, of course, could not mitigate the heinousness of the assault which might have proved fatal but for the timely intervention of Mr. Jinnah's servants. The sentence of five years imprisonment is not in the circumstances unduly severe.

Mr. Jinnah had been receiving for some time before the incident numerous letters and telegrams urging him to meet Mahatma Gandhi and come to a settlement on points of difference between the Congress and the Muslim League. A manifesto had been issued from Khaksar headquarters suggesting this course. The altercation in Mr. Jinnah's house had also some bearing on this matter. Mr. Jinnah had not sought to meet Gandhiji, and the accused who was a Khaksar of some note, had made the attempt on him.

It is only a mind which had become unhinged by a overweening sense of its right to dictate to others, that could find in Mr. Jinnah's not meeting Gandhiji a provocation for violent crime. In the first place, Mr. Jinnah could not meet Gandhiji without the permission of Government who refused even to pass on the letter which Gandhiji had written to Mr. Jinnah, contenting themselves with merely indicating its contents. Mr. Jinnah had justified the Government's refusal on the ground that Gandhiji was not in earnest and was merely trying to embroil him and the Muslim League with Government. The point was entirely irrelevant in assessing the gravity of the offence of the accused. But it has an importance as throwing light on the attitude of a section of the Muslims, important enough to have incurred the suspicion of Government as favouring subversive activities. From a stray remark in the course of his address, it seems possible that the accused expected that Mr. Jinnah would refuse to prosecute his assailant as Gandhiji had done in regard

to persons who had assaulted him dangerously in South Africa and in India. Mr. Syud Hussain in his lectures on Gandhiji in the United States, which have been collected in a single volume, had made special reference to this trait in Gandhiji's character. "At least on three occasions during his career," writes Syud Hussain, "Gandhi has been the victim of mob assaults resulting in almost fatal injuries, but never once did he seek to have any form of revenge upon or punishment of his persecutors."

### A BANDRA DIARY.

"Principles of Economic Planning" is the title of one of "Eastern Economy Pamphlets" and has a foreword by Mr. G. D. Birla. The word "Planning" implies that the planner has all the materials needed for the thing to be planned ready at hand and that he is sure that they will all remain at his disposal until at least the structure planned is completed. No one, however expert he may be as architect or engineer, can plan a house unless he has available the stone, the timber, the cement, the steel and other materials needed for the building. Of course, any one can build a castle in the air with no material whatsoever. This is the case whether the structure planned is a residential house, a railway station, a stock exchange or a cenotaph. Shah Jahan built the Taj Mahal but, before the replica of it in black marble which he contemplated for himself across the Jumna, rose half-way from its foundations, he died, and his son and successor thought it wasteful to have a separate monument for his father, had the building stopped and made room for Shah Jahan's body next to his wife in the Taj Mahal. Planning and building have their use in the management of concerns which are controlled by individuals, villages and municipalities. But planning the life of a people strikes me as a rather fantastic enterprise especially so in India where the elementary conditions which ensure stability are absent. The first duty of Indian leaders is to secure those conditions before laying out plans for the future. That is my general observation as regards all planning, education, health, or industry.

"Economic Planning"—the mere phrase makes me shudder. This was first resorted to by the Soviet Government. As Mr. Birla himself points out in his Foreword, the second and third five-year Plans undid the results of the First Five-Year Plan as a measure of industrial prosperity. The causes which led to this catastrophe were implicit in the original idea and were not accidental, as many seem to think. The First Plan itself was made successful by the exercise of unimaginable cruelties. It is my misfortune that I have waded through the history of Soviet Plans by many writers, friendly and unfriendly to the Soviet. But I have found that there is general agreement among them all that the carrying out the Five Year Plan was attended by acts of oppression and coercion which even in Tsarist Russia would have been deemed inconceivable. Now many Indians who write and talk of planning, have either not read of the means used or think, as does Pandit Jawaharlal, that they need not have been used and that the results might have been achieved, and may be achieved in India by non-violent means. This, of course, is wishful thinking. The principles of Economic Planning are all right. But when you try to put them into practice—there is the rub. Mr. Birla rightly says, "For harnessing the resources and labours of the nation to produce more, and to feed more, there is needed the appropriate political authority. The absence of this upsets many of our appercarts." This is not all.

The industrial revolution in England came about under a *laissez faire* system, in which authority had merely to keep its hands off private enterprise. But when private enterprise had done its part, the State had to keep the sea route clear for exports in order to make the industrial revolution a mine of wealth to the country. Industrialization in the present world conditions implies the possession of a strong navy and army to protect international trade. This means militarization. And the openings of international trade are unlikely to be as many in the postwar period as before the war. Every country is industrialising herself or is being industrialized by capitalist countries. Reading between its lines, the Atlantic Charter aims at keeping certain countries unindustrialized as sources of raw materials to the existing industrial countries, chiefly Great Britain and the United States. I daresay "economic planning" for India might furnish material for interesting speculation, but I feel no interest in it as a topic of immediate importance.

It may seem paradoxical and even ridiculous to many readers that while I dispose thus summarily of economic planning, I should attach as much importance as I do to two publications which have been recently published—"Searchlight" by His Holiness Rajji Maharaj, the head of the Radhaswami Satsang, and the text and English translation of the Narada Bhakti Sutras with elucidatory notes by Swami Tyagisananda of the Vivekananda-Ramakrishna Mission. Both the books inculcate the importance of the religious outlook and life to individuals and nations. What has struck me and gratified me in these books is the wide range of study of modern authors and thinkers displayed by these two eminent personages whose lives are dedicated to religion. The head of the Radhaswami Satsang shows with considerable erudition that the religious outlook is the one thing for lack of which the world today finds itself plunged in bloodshed, misery and fratricidal strife to which there is seemingly no end. Much of his philosophic teaching is closely related to practical ends. Even industrialisation cannot be accomplished without crime and torture unless its leaders are deeply imbued with the religious spirit, which briefly is the love of God and the love of men. Western thinkers have come to realise that the placing of uncontrolled mechanical power in the hands of men who are no better than savages in spirit and morals, is the root cause of the world's woes, and that the immediate task of reformers is to concentrate on the moral and spiritual upliftment of humanity. With this view I fully agree. Even a national Government unless it has the humanitarian outlook can not solve India's problems. I, therefore, hail with delight the dedication of great spiritual minds to the task of making known the essential identity of ancient Indian with modern European and American thought. The Edition of the Narada Bhakti Sutras brought out by the Madras Ramakrishna Mission is one of the most noteworthy illustrations of this tendency in Indian life. Swami Tyagisananda is as much at home with modern thinkers as he is with the ancient Indian classics and Shastras. The Swami cites the early and mediaeval Christian Fathers as familiarly as he does his own Master, Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa. The universality of religion as demonstrated by the mystics of all religions is his constant theme. Whatever may be the cast of mind of other nations, so far as Indians are concerned, it is the cosmic approach which holds most prospect of solving life's problems, whether the problem is national or

communal, economic or political. That some of the finest minds of our country are seeking through this approach to qualify India to be the healer and helper of humanity is, to me, the most heartening feature of our time which otherwise is, God knows, full of gloom.

It is a mistake to think that only Hindu thinkers are engrossed with the idea that the salvation of humanity should be sought through spiritual channels. The same note is struck almost in identical words by Abdullah Allahdin in his "Divine Teachings regarding Peace and Happiness," (Secunderabad), published two years ago. While the Hindu writers range widely for their sources, European as well as Arabic and Persian, Allahdin almost exclusively relies on the Koran and the Muslim patriarchs for his inspiration and authority. But the conclusion is the same in both cases. His Holiness Rajji Maharaj and Swami Tyagisananda will endorse every word of Allahdin's thesis that no happiness can be lasting unless it is derived not from the fulfilment of our physical and mental desires which are perishable but from the achievement of our spiritual goal. "This goal" he adds, "is none else than a true and an ever-increasing knowledge of God and His attributes and realisation thereof." This insistence on the knowledge of God is common to Hinduism and Islam: Swami Tyagisananda insists that we must know before we love God. While the wrangles between the Muslim League and the Congress occupy much space in the newspapers, this identity of the two great creeds in the deepest things of life seldom attains news value. But in the long run it is this spiritual identity which counts more than the superficial differences on which the leaders lay most stress. Allahdin points out that, where knowledge and realisation of God are wanting, it is only the fear of God that deters a man from sin. He denies that Fear of God signifies that God is a dreadful being. "Rather it means the knowledge that sinful conduct will lead to forfeiture of Allah's unlimited bounties on man, and his fall, the Grace of Allah."

RECLUSE.

#### MME. CHIANG'S SPEECHES IN THE U. S. A.

Congressman Sol Bloom, Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, commenting on the forthcoming publication of Madame Chiang Kai-Shek's public speeches made in the United States by the Government Printing Office, declared in an exclusive interview with Central News that "this collection of Madame Chiang's speeches will serve as an inspiration not only to people living in this generation, but even more important to generations yet unborn." "I believe," he continued, "the thoughts Madame Chiang expressed will help to guide posterity in shaping the world of the future." Ten thousand copies of the book will be printed by the Government Printing Office within a week and should be available shortly afterwards. All arrangements for the publication were made by Congressman Bloom as a tribute to "the outstanding lady of our time." The book will be printed like an official document and will contain all Madame Chiang's speeches delivered in the United States, including all official proceedings incidental to her appearance in Congress which had been printed in the Congressional Record. Congressman Bloom said that Congress has been flooded by inquiries and requests from all over the country for copies of Madame Chiang's speeches. He himself has received innumerable requests for copies of the Congressional Record containing

the text of her address in Congress. He expects that he will receive many more requests as soon as the book comes out. "No foreign visitors had ever influenced the American public as Madame Chiang did during her three months' public appearances in the United States," Congressman Bloom said. "This book of Madame Chiang's collected speeches delivered in the United States," Congressman Bloom declared, "will not only be a bond between the United States and China, but it will influence all those who speak and read the English language."—*China Information Bulletin*.

#### DISTRESS IN ORISSA.

Sir,

The terrible and distressing situation in Orissa is too painful to be described in words. Men, women and children are practically without any clothing. Little children are all naked. But the sight of big girls sometimes going without any proper covering is most distressing. Women are wearing such tattered clothes that it remains a standing shame to any body who sees them. Can we not improve the situation? There are hundreds of philanthropists who can spare a part of their money for clothing the naked.

India is whole and undivided, any broken or rusted link in the chain will undermine the political, economic and social progress of the whole nation. Three districts of Orissa, namely Ganjam, Puri and Balasore, are in the grip of famine. The Orissa Relief Committee headed by Sri A. V. Thakkar who is its President, has been in the field for one year, since last year's cyclone of October 15, 1942. After the cyclone of October 1942, there was another cyclone in November 1942 and recently in last August all the rivers of Orissa rose in floods, which were the highest in Subarnarekha, Brahmani and Baitarani and devastated all crops and huts over half the district of Cuttack, Balasore and parts of Ganjam and Puri.

We appeal to you to clothe the nakedness of the people of the land of Orissa where a part of humanity is passing through a travail of pain and anguish, sorrow and death. May you be kind

L. N. SAHU,

*Secretary, Orissa Relief Committee, Cuttack.*

#### RELIGION AND PREACHERS.

A series of lectures on a variety of subjects—or "Jnana Satra" in the Sanskrit language—by the learned Maharashtrian Pandit Ahitagni Rajawade, is going on in the pandal of the Brahman Seva Mandal at Dadar. The lectures are exceedingly comprehensive—full of general information about the history, religions, material sciences and moral philosophies, of the entire ancient and modern world—rather of the Universe, since the lectures include even subjects like astronomy and metaphysics! Indeed, there seems to be no science or subject that escapes the vigilance of the versatile and volatile lecturer. The lectures are generally so intellectual, logical, instructive, and entertaining, that, those not completely comprehending the significance of the lectures, and those not completely agreeing with the theorems propounded by the lecturer, are eager alike to hear the lectures. Why should not the learned Pandit utilise his vast and deep knowledge of earthly and heavenly subjects for the solution of bigger problems or the achievement of higher goals? Is the main aim of his rambling lectures—*viz.* attainment of salvation or the "Higher" or "Brighter" state, by the observance of religious injunctions—a real fact or a mere poetic figment?

Is not the learned Pandit aware of the volume and

vehemence of the catastrophe that has caught the whole world at the present moment, and the dark and desolate prospect that is spreading before it? Is it not the duty of a man like the renowned Ahitagni to devote his extraordinary energy, knowledge, and logic, for the solution of such big problems? Of course, his present lectures are not totally abortive. Far from it. Indeed, they are highly instructive, interesting, useful—though often conflicting, confounding, misleading. As an example of confusion, let us take the problem of war. At one moment he blames the Western people for quarrelling and fighting like cats and dogs. At another moment, he praises wars or quarrels, as being essential for the exhibition and promotion of the spirit of bravery! And what is this bravery for? Obviously for fighting!

He seems to suppose that there is no other scope, or there are no other fields, for showing one's bravery.

His notion of bravery is so strange that he actually confessed himself to have been pleased whenever there was a communal quarrel between Hindus and Muslims—as being an occasion for showing one's bravery!

Now, as regards the vedantic part of his lectures, his contention is that:—

(1) Rituals are essential for man; because that is the fundamental difference between man and beast.

(2) More numerous and more elaborate the rituals, higher the religion.

(3) Since the Vedic religion has got more numerous and more elaborate rituals than any other religion it is the highest religion of all.

The first proposition is entirely correct. The second is partly correct; because elaboration and numeration can be carried to excess, and excess of anything is bad even according to his own opinion. The third proposition, which is based on the first two—one of which is partly correct though the other is fully correct—in other words, is based on a defective or faulty premises cannot but be incorrect—can never be absolutely correct.

I think that the mass and method of performance of the rituals has been carried to excess in the Vedic religion. Indeed, the rituals appear to be so many and so complicated that, completely and regularly to perform them, this single life would be insufficient: one will have to be re-born for it! And I also think that our material backwardness is due to this very reason. One could hardly get time to think about material welfare—or even to think whether it is a worth-considering problem—before this stupendous spiritual question!

Of course, our "highly skilful" Law-givers have given concessions, or made provision—not left "loop-holes"—to suit the convenience of every individual. So that, any dereliction can easily be condoned, and any shirker can have full field to vaunt as a strict observer of religion! That appears to be the beauty, or adaptability, of "our" religion—which has survived so many assaults as no other religion on earth; and that the wisdom of "our" religion-founders—or religious Law-givers!

Let us, however, dismiss this question of rituals, as a mere matter of formality or technicality—or a trick meant for the benefit of the common people. Let us suppose that this religion, if not for the above for some other reason, is superior to any other religion. And in my personal opinion it is. But even then, its superiority would only be "relative" *i.e.* as compared with "other" religions. What about its innate or absolute excellence? Has it got none such? Has it got no excellence or usefulness of its own? In other words, is this vaunted "Aryan" religion only "more" good than other

good religions—or “less bad” than other bad religions? If so, why praise and follow a complicate, intricate, exceedingly ritualistic, almost consuming religion—which has no excellence or usefulness of its own? Why not better be a straight, simple, honest heretic?

In short, this renowned Ahitagni also, like other average Pandits or Puraniks, simply talks—or gives “lectures”—about Soul, God, Salvation, Religion. That is to say, he, too, with all his erudition, has got no evidence or proof of these things to offer—other than the routine “sacred books” and “wise saints” and similar hackneyed maxims! But that is the case with every religion.—V. S. MUDVEDKAR.

**The Justice Party:—**The *Sunday Observer* of Madras reproduces the *Reformer* article on Sir Shanmukham Chetty's speech and comments on it at length. The *Observer* says—we are duly appreciative of its generosity—that it assumes that our analysis of the causes of the collapse of the Justice Party after it had held power and office for sixteen years is due to ignorance and not to malice. It denies that the failure was, as we thought and still think, due to lack of ideas, of which it says that Party has plenty and to spare, but to the failure of leaders, to the opportunism of the British element in the Madras Government, and to the machinations of Brahmins. All these causes, assuming them to have operated, would not have sufficed to bring about such a complete eclipse of the party if it was inspired by a single great idea. For, after all, ideas rule the world and the world, in fact, is idea. We should have been glad if the *Observer* had indicated some of the ideas of which it claims to have a surfeit. What, for instance, is its idea of India's future? Does it contemplate an India single and indivisible or is it prepared to compromise with those who dally with the fancy for cutting her up into several pieces? What is the party's idea of the future relations of India with Great Britain and the world at large? What is its idea of the place of religion in national life? What is the party's idea for removing economic inequalities or does it believe that they are immovable? These are some of the questions which agitate the world and a party which has ideas on them, cannot but occupy a dominant place in world politics. Leaders will not be lacking in enthusiasm, the British cannot afford to play fast and lose with the Party, Brahmin machinations will avail little against it, if it is entrenched in a great idea. Squabbling over jobs in the Government Service, is itself a great obstacle to the origination of ideas. But the greatest obstacle is the incapacity to regard each individual on his merits and to cherish prejudices against groups other than the one to which one imagines himself to belong. We are glad to be assured by the *Observer* that anti-Brahmin sentiment is no part of the basic principles of the Justice Party and that there are some Brahmins who are even members of the Party. We would suggest that the Justice Party should definitely renounce the fanatical and silly crusade against Brahmins as such and take its stand on broad principles of justice and humanity. That this it cannot do at present is evident from the remark of a correspondent in the same issue of the *Observer* that Ramaswami Naicker must be put on the shelf because his heart is in social reform and not in politics. This artificial distinction between social reform and politics belongs to a time which is long past. If one lesson stands out more clearly than another from the course of Indian history during the last thirty years, it is that politics and social progress must go hand-in-hand and that, if the one pushes much beyond the other, both are sure to come to grief.

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## THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

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

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## NOTES.

**China and the Moscow Pact** :—We are indebted to the *China Information Bulletin* published by the Chinese Consulate in Calcutta for the text of the agreement which China was invited to sign by the three powers representatives who conferred in Moscow recently. China was not invited to the Conference but we are told that the Chinese Government was kept in touch with the discussions in Moscow. The main subject of these talks related, as reported in the Press, to the European front and the Pact on this subject has not been considered as requiring the adhesion of China. The Pact which she has been invited to sign, is of a general character. The use of the phrase "respective enemies" in the document makes it a remarkable one in the annals of international agreements. It is intended primarily to cover Russo-Japanese relations. President Roosevelt recently declared that they could not require Russia to declare war against Japan. The central feature of the Pact is that none of the four powers can make a separate peace with their "respective enemies" which, in the case of China, means Japan. China is hard-pressed. She has, according to President Roosevelt's message to Congress on the Chinese Exclusion Bill, agreed to postpone her claims for Allied assistance until after the surrender of Hitler and to be content with such help which the Allies are able to spare meanwhile. The temptation to conclude a separate peace is, therefore, greater in her case than that of the three other Powers. Amidst her own troubles, China has thought of the Indian situation and decided to open a fund for the relief of starvation in this country. This is in the spirit of the widow's mite and India is grateful for it.

**Muslim League Working Committee** :—The Working Committee of the Muslim League met in New Delhi on Saturday and unanimously elected Mr. Jinnah President of the next session of the League at Karachi. This has now become more or less a routine and there was no need for Mr. Jinnah's challenge that, if the League members did not approve of his policy, they were free to discard him and to elect a more acceptable President. Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, Chief Minister of the North-West Frontier Province as well as the Chief Ministers of Bengal, the Punjab and Sind—all members of the League—attended by special invitation and renewed

their pledge to carry out the instructions of the League High Command. Aurangzeb Khan declared that he was a soldier bound to obey the orders of the League. Much is said of the totalitarian tendency of the Congress but the avowed and open totalitarianism of the League is never mentioned by British critics of the Congress. The fact is that all are totalitarians now under different names. Some call themselves democrats, but follow exactly the ways of the totalitarians. The Standing Committee of the Muslim League, it was expected, would make a pronouncement on the Food situation clearing up the obscurities in which the Bengal Government's methods have been involved but, beyond urging Government to take more vigorous steps to relieve the starving, the Committee abstained from expressing definite views. There was the usual scolding of the Government of India and the British Government for not accepting the guidance of the League in regard to Pakistan. Hindus were admonished that they would most readily secure freedom by agreeing to give up Northern India and confining themselves to the Deccan—for that is what Pakistan actually amounts to. Not a word was said to explain away the consensus of opinion that the Food situation has emphasised the economic unity of the country and the danger of breaking it up.

**An Obsolete Procedure** :—Pandit Shambu Dayal Misra, a member of the Central Legislative Assembly, who has given notice of an amendment to the Food resolution moved by the Government Member in charge of the subject, demanding the public trial of Mr. Amery, Lord Linlithgow and Sir John Herbert, late Governor of Bengal, is evidently ignorant of the elements of constitutional government. Warren Hastings was impeached because he was an employee of the East India Company which was distinct from the Government. Since the transfer of the Government of India from the Company to the Crown, this relation has ceased. The Government of India is now a part of the British Government. The British Cabinet itself is a Committee of the British Parliament, liable to dismissal when it ceases to command the confidence of a majority of the House of Commons. The constitutional position, therefore, is that every act of the Secretary of State, of the Viceroy and every official in British India, is an act having the approval and sanction of Parliament. As Parliament cannot impeach itself, the whole procedure has become obsolete. That is how, as we said last week, every member of Parliament is responsible for the situation in India, Food, political and economic, as much as the Secretary of State and the Cabinet. That is also why no effective criticism is possible in Parliament, especially now when there is a Coalition Government. The Pandit who has given notice of the demand, if he is, as he is expected to be, aware of the constitutional position, can have no higher purpose to serve than to impress schoolboys by his

downrightness. The President of the Assembly, who is an eminent constitutional lawyer, is sure to laugh the Pandit's amendment out of the agenda.

**Bombay Mayor's Warning:**—Mr. M. R. Masani, who was elected by a large majority to act as Mayor of Bombay in the place of Dr. Gilder who is a detenu, in his speech acknowledging the compliment, warned the citizens of Bombay that the scenes in the streets of Calcutta may be repeated in the streets of Bombay unless the authorities bestirred themselves betimes to avert the tragedy. The very next day, Dr. H. P. Dastur, writing in the *Bombay Chronicle*, reported the case of a Bhayya whom he found lying unconscious in front of his Dispensary and passersby trying to feed him with chappaties. The Doctor said that his object in writing the letter was to warn the public that only very light food should be given first to starving persons. Two other cases of persons dying of starvation, because they had no money to buy the food to which they were entitled on the ration cards found with them, are also reported. Two points in connection with such incidents may be noted. Many people are under the impression that rationing is a final solution of the Food question. Nothing of the kind. Rationing, unless the stock of food is sufficient to feed the people and unless the prices fixed are within the means of the poorest, is no solution of the problem. In Great Britain the basic food stuffs were made available to all, even the very indigent, the Government subsidising the producer to make good his loss. Some of the articles rationed were beyond the reach of not only the poor but even of the moderately well-to-do and adjustments were made from time to time. In India, local and Central Governments have not yet accepted the idea of making food cheap enough to be available to the poorest. They are still harping on a fair price to the producer. The other point is that the Government and some economists are pinning their faith to more taxation to overcome inflation. Taxation has already reached its maximum and any addition to it will, besides reducing many who are able just to pay their way, to destitution, dry up the springs of private charity. That this is already being done, is evident from the deaths reported in Bombay because of lack of cash to purchase rations. Deaths from starvation would have been far less numerous had not taxation taken away from the better class people the reserve usually available for charity.

**Civil Servants as Cabinet Ministers:**—Mr. Churchill's experiment with British Civil Servants as Cabinet Ministers is not working smoothly. Sir John Anderson as Home Secretary was a failure. He has now been made Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the London correspondent of the *Times of India*, a loyal Tory supporter of the powers that be, betrayed some trepidation in his comments on the appointment of Sir John to succeed Sir Kingsley Wood. The other British Civilian, sometime Finance Member of the Government of India and now Secretary of State for War, according to the London correspondent of the *Hindu*, is not very popular in the House of Commons. The correspondent quotes from a recent attack on Sir James Grigg by Mr. Quentin Hogg.

"Born and conceived in a pigeon-hole," he said, "swaddled in red tape, educated in the Treasury, achieving manhood at last in the War Office, the War Secretary will have upon his tombstone not an epitaph, but a Treasury minute, 'Passed to you for further consideration and comment.'"

**Narendranath-Dufferin Incident:**—In the leading article on the "Hitavada Affair" in the

*Reformer* (Oct. 30), reference was made to an incident between Narendranath Sen, Editor of the now defunct *Indian Mirror* and Lord Dufferin when he was Viceroy of India. It was stated that Narendranath Sen was a member of a deputation which waited on the Viceroy. As a matter of fact, Lord Dufferin who in a way was himself responsible for the birth of the Indian National Congress, gave a reception to the delegates of the second session of the Congress which met in Calcutta. Narendranath Sen was there in response to the Viceregal invitation and was the guest of the Viceroy. The Viceroy refused to shake hands with Narendranath because he had published a document intended to be secret and had upset the Viceregal appletart and temper. Dufferin quickly realised his mistake and apologised.

**Food Debate in the Assembly:**—The three and a half days Food Debate in the Indian Legislative Assembly produced only a single speech of conspicuous ability and practical significance. That was the speech of the woman member, Mrs. Renuka Ray. Mrs. Ray is in the Assembly by a mere accident. She was nominated to assist in the discussion on the Hindu Intestate Succession Bill and the Hindu Marriage Bill drafted on the lines of the Rau Committee's recommendations. Those Bills have now been relegated to an indeterminate future. But she was able after a visit to the afflicted areas in Bengal to speak with firsthand knowledge of the hardships to which the destitutes were exposed by the rough and ready manner in which they were being evacuated to the Rest Camps which have been set up in compliance with the orders of the Viceroy. Such inconsiderate treatment as she described, if it was at the hands of the military, would have been to some extent excusable. But we have been told that the Calcutta Police are in charge of the evacuation work and surely they might be expected to avoid separating families and rough-handling the destitutes. The Assembly rejected all the amendments to the Government motion recommending enquiries by different sorts of agencies. This was the right thing to do. When your house is burning, the first things to attend to, are that the fire should not spread to neighbouring houses and to put it out. Enquiry into the origin and plans for raising a new building, must wait until these are accomplished. We rather regret the Food Member's incidental remark that, when the time came, he would favour enquiry by a Commission of non-political complexion as suggested by the leader of the European group. When a European speaks of non-political men in connection with India, it invariably means persons biased against Indian nationalist aspirations. There is a deep political bias underlying the affected indifference to politics. Every Englishman, it has been said, is born either a Whig or a Tory. This may not be true at present but as far as India is concerned every Englishman is born an Imperialist. Even the British Judiciary who enjoy the reputation of being the most upright and independent in the world, is not above allowing the consideration of maintaining the Empire to colour its interpretation of justice. Of course, Sir Jwala does not expect that the Commission would be composed of non-British Members even partially. Not that that would be a perfect safeguard. The Imperialist bias is in separably connected with the white Man's bias against coloured people.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, November 20, 1942.

### THE LESSON OF THE LEBANON.

The Syria-Lebanon fragment of the Ottoman Empire fell to France in the last Peace. There was to be a single mandate over both. France created two. The reason for two mandates was that the French desired to follow different policies in the Near East. The Lebanon was their stronghold there. The Lebanese had a large Christian population and even the others were peoples who looked to France as their traditional protector. Syria was Arab with a strong tradition of independence; besides it was more British-influenced in its foreign policy. In August 1920, General Gouraud, the military administrator of Lebanon, brought into being the State of the Greater Lebanon. This maintained the Christian majority even though it reduced it from preponderance to a bare majority, and gave the new State control over the ports of Tripoli and Beirut which served practically the whole sea-borne trade of Syria. The State of Greater Lebanon, the Government of Latakia and the Sanjak of Alexandretta, all three administered by a French governor, shut off Syria from the sea. In 1936 the French negotiated two treaties with Syria and Lebanon, in which the boundaries of Greater Lebanon were tacitly confirmed. An agitation arose in Lebanon from the parties eager to revert to the pre-1920 boundaries but it was promptly put down and the constitution was ratified by the Lebanese Assembly. The mandate was to end three years after ratification but the French Republic did not ratify the treaties even two years after they were signed by the Syrians and the Lebanese respectively. In June 1941 Free French troops occupied Syria and Lebanon. Acting for de Gaulle, General Catroux proclaimed the independence of these countries giving them liberty to form separate States or to unite in one single State; the mandate had terminated. Taking the Free French at their word, the Lebanese drafted a constitution which was recently vetoed by the French High Commissioner. A conflagration ensued. The Lebanese have to go through the process of realizing that their independence was not an actuality. In this confusion Britain has intervened and there is a certain tension between de Gaulle and the British. Apparently General de Gaulle who felt a fellowship with the Lebanese national movement in the first days of his exile from France and was concerned to create sanctions against the Vichy Government by a bid for the support of the Lebanese and Syrians, no longer feels that he needs them. And as he is not recognised as the leader of France, he feels that the Lebanese too might wait till after the war. This is the direct legacy of the Moscow talks which led to the British Premier declaring that the various "free" governments were provisional administrations and in no way to be regarded as national movements until post-war Europe brought freedom to the peoples to constitute their own governments.

The difficulty arises from the apparent position that General de Gaulle has overestimated his strength. As a subordinate head of a "free" government, he is entirely in the hands of the three great powers—America, Russia and Britain, specially Britain. In short, he is no better than the Lebanese today, if not worse. For the Lebanese are on their own territory. America has a strong interest in the Lebanon where they have a modern University at Beirut. The Allies can afford to chop and change in matters of policy. De Gaulle cannot. So when once he had granted independence with the British guaranteeing it, he cannot withdraw that boon.

De Gaulle might feel that the position has changed with regard to him. Then he was recognized as the legal successor to the last constitutional Government of the French Republic. Now he is only the head of a provisional administration of the Free French. So what he thought he had the right to give as the legal French Government of the day, he feels he has not as a provisional administrator. But the Lebanese have no use for these constitutional niceties. Independence once conferred can only be withdrawn by the force of arms. The attempt is being made but it has met with no support from the Allies. The British, with the precedent of India, favour postponing independence till after the war. They cannot be expected to pull the chestnuts of the impetuous de Gaulle out of the fire for him. Two questions will decide the issue: Whether the Lebanese are more necessary for the allied cause than the de Gaullists. And whether the de Gaullists need the Allies more than the Allies need de Gaulle. Both are answered against de Gaulle. The whole Arab world seems to be with the Lebanese and it is necessary to keep the Arab world quiet now. And de Gaulle cannot afford to break from the Allies.

The position of Syria and Lebanon under the 1920 treaties was similar to that of Iraq on which they are modelled. The civil administration is practically left free to manage internal affairs while there is a military obligation to allow the use of airports and seaports to the French. This has rendered the withdrawal of independence difficult except by the military French force encroaching on the civil administration. For example, the Dutch East Indies were declared independent on the fall of Holland. But the whole administrative machinery remained in the hands of Dutch colonials. Had the Dutch Indies not passed into the hands of the Japanese, it would not have been a very great problem to revert the Indies to the old colonial position under Holland. For the indigenous population had little voice in the government. Moreover, the Queen of Holland remained the source of all power in Dutch East Indian politics. In the Lebanon the President was a Lebanese and his ties were only cultural with France. It has also to be remembered that Syria and Lebanon were not among the first French territories to rally to de Gaulle. Their first reaction was in submission to Vichy, and Free French troops had to occupy the territories to prevent their being utilised for the war by Germany. Having asserted their strength, the Free French had to win over the Lebanese by offering independence. There can be no question that the position in Syria and Lebanon at that time helped materially in checking Arab revolt. This war is being fought, we have often been told, for establishing the independence of small states. It has been argued that it was unwise to give independence during the war and the better part would be to promise independence later. Such a policy is bound to have an adverse effect on the peoples of the small states whose support is needed. One does not fight as vigorously for a hope as for a fact. The Lebanese position at the time of the Catroux pronouncement was very similar to that of Italy today, so far as the Allies were concerned. It was necessary to keep them from German influence. If the United Nations can recognize Badoglio and treat with him, why could not de Gaulle satisfy the Lebanese by fulfilling a long deferred French promise? Besides though now the unwisdom of that policy is attacked, then the British supported the declaration of Syria-Lebanon as sovereign states. De Gaulle's mistake was not made in June 1941 but in November

1943. The tragedy of it is that it makes for the weakening of French influence in world affairs, the last thing the Free French would want. For though the growth of differences between the leaders of the United Nations and the Free French is denied, it is bound to occur. Mr. Churchill can afford to indulge in talks of holding the Empire. De Gaulle is unwise in imitating his example as he has evidently done in recent speeches and in his action in Lebanon.

#### INDIAN ECONOMICS.

In one respect, "Our Economic Problem" by Professors P. A. Wadia and K. T. Merchant (New Book Company: price, Rs. 6/8/-), is unique. It is probably the only book on Economics which gets into religious matters. And it is all the more difficult to understand since the two authors are confirmed believers in planning and "long-range policies." "Can any of you by taking thought for the morrow, add a cubit to his stature," asked Jesus two thousand years ago. God's Kingdom, with which Messrs. Wadia and Merchant apparently are concerned, was not to be brought on earth by economic planning. And, although it has been specifically said that "in the resurrection there shall be neither marrying nor giving in marriage," there is no mention of economic planning. Nor is this the only mark of religion in the book. The conclusion refers to the sisters of Bethany, Martha and Mary. Mary, say the writers, represents the contemplative type. She sits at the feet of the master. Martha is busy sweeping and cleaning. Paradoxically, India is compared to Mary. Let us turn back to the opening pages. There, on the Atlantic Charter, we are asked if Indians are content to be suppliers of raw materials and foodstuffs to the industrial nations. Suppliers of raw material and food stuffs in the economy of nations are countries reduced to a colonial status with their peoples mere "hewers of wood and drawers of water." Mary was no hewer of wood. And no hewer of wood can be Mary. Mary had essentially the leisure to talk or to listen. Her time was her own. The attractions of Mary are not hard to understand. Everyone likes an audience; most men prefer a feminine one. But the world, and the economic world at that, moves through the Marthas who are generally ignored. Or did Martha make rather a fuss about her work and did Jesus see through it? Lenin was one of the few men who thought of making life free from drudgery for the housewife. Parables are a trap for the unwary writer. They had best be avoided. The authors rightly plead for vision in planning. Surely had they imbibed fully the lesson that they seek to preach, they would have seen the irrelevancy of the Martha-and-Mary story. For vision and planning imply that there must be a synthesis of both types. That is difficult for the individual but possible, more than possible, in a nation. To different peoples it has happened at different times that both vision and planning manifested themselves at one moment. A nation which sets out to be a Mary among other nations, must first see that it is able to indulge its fancies. The ruling classes the world over have provided more Marys than the working classes, the imperial powers more than the colonial territories.

In another direction too, the authors reveal too much bias to produce a purely scientific book as "Our Economic Problem" should be if it is to be a text-book on Indian economics. This is in their attitude to the West. Both of them are undeniably products of the Western impact on India. The Christian inspiration of their religious thinking alone

shows that; their attitude towards the population problem, to which we shall return, shows it too in another way. But for Western influence, this book would be very different. The influence of the West in the realm of ideas has not been such as can be brushed aside. This, the authors themselves in their chapter on the "Social Environment" acknowledge when they say that social institutions are in the melting-pot and that caste is being challenged by economic pressure on the one side and the force of new ideas and ideals from contact with the West. Yet a few pages later they indulge in the following:

.....the fact that whatever influence Western institutions have exercised in India has been exercised largely on the upper strata of society—the men living in the cities, the Rajas and Nawabs and the bourgeoisie of the towns, men in top hats and the women in short skirts and slacks, the cinema-goers and the cabaret frequenters.

On the population question, the two Professors accept the rather thoughtlessly publicised view that in Western countries the fall of the population has coincided with propaganda for birth control and, therefore, the wide birth control propaganda is responsible for it. As both supporters and opponents on other grounds of the movement for birth control are interested in using this argument, and being exceedingly vocal like all controversialists, there is no incentive for scientific study on the subject. In his book on "Population: Policies and Movements in Europe," D. V. Glass gives the obverse of the medal, when he writes that in Europe efforts to encourage the large family have not been very successful. "In one instance only," he says, "does there appear to have been any marked success—in Germany since 1933—and even in that single case the reasons for success are not clear, nor do we know if the results are likely to be of long duration." About birth control Glass states cautiously that there is not enough information to judge of the extent of practice of birth control. The use of birth control appliances is not, so far as one can judge, the cause of declining populations. A higher standard of living is what brings that about. The relation between housing and number of births is a subject which has to be gone into. It is unfortunate that the two authors instead of going into the economic environment of the question have strayed into the more facile spheres of religious objections, health implications, moral aspects and the status of the wife. And, ironically enough, they begin the subject with the semblance of scientific approach by dividing it into two aspects—controlling the population and improving the stock—and talk of approaching the subject from the objective view in so far as it bears on numbers. We are not quite sure either whether the political bias of the authors ought to have played so large a part in the writing of this volume. A book which aims both at educating the university student and informing the general public, ought to strive after greater detachment, after more consistent presentation of different points of view. The reader ought at no time to feel that ready-made views are thrust on him. It is also a defect that "Our Economic Problem" combines an amazing study of detail with an almost impossible idealism. For instance, it is curious in the middle of the bloodiest war in history for two economists, of all persons, to "look with equanimity and hope" to nations living in amity as members of a single family. It is strange to talk of "national" planning and to think of eliminating industrialists and manufacturers who think of industries as their private concerns. Whatever their defects, they have had experience in running industries. As the authors have in mind a radical

change in the political structure as well, it is possible that even the bureaucrat will be an amateur guided by other amateurs. Bureaucratic bungling there has been in this and other countries but it will be surpassed in the new order.

In other matters, the authors have been cautious, even modest, in their presentation. They have refrained from any attempt at planning themselves, remaining content with indicating what outlook is necessary for planning. This is a great degree of reticence for economists to observe. The reader will find a wealth of information in these pages, collected from such varied sources as the daily newspaper and the Geological Survey of India. There is a telling example of the way in which the mineral resources of India are neglected, taken from the Indian Science Congress Report for 1939: "Beryl is exported by a mineral contractor in Jaipur State at £ 13 a ton which is really aquamarine with a value of one shilling a gram." The section on agriculture and industry is a comprehensive study of the subjects and is amazingly up-to-date in its information. "Our Economic Problem" is a book which ought to be read by all who are interested in the problems of modern India. We congratulate the authors and publishers on the price which they have placed on the volume. It would be low at all times. Considering the conditions which have been brought on and particularly its effect on the cost of paper and printing, this is an economic achievement which deserves all praise.

#### URDU IN OOSMANIA UNIVERSITY.

Referring to the substitution of Urdu for English as the medium of higher education in the Nizam's Dominions with the establishment of the Oosmania University, *Hyderabad Information* for November adopts a tone markedly different from that hitherto in vogue. It tacitly gives up the contention that Urdu is the mother tongue or near mother-tongue of the population. It pleads that the change only meant the substitution of an Indian language for a foreign language which had been the medium of instruction of higher education until the Oosmania University came into being. Urdu is not, it argues, a foreign language to the non-Urdu speaking pupils in the same sense as English. It adds: "As the local languages were never used as the medium of general instruction, the change was therefore not from a local language but from English to Urdu." We appreciate the change in the tone of the apologia for Urdu. At one time, it was regarded as axiomatic which no one should dare to question. *Hyderabad Information* concedes the change from English to Urdu was not promoted by an educational preference for the mother-tongue of the pupil but from what can only be styled administrative and political reasons.

"It must be admitted," writes *Hyderabad Information*, "that even for pupils speaking Telugu, Marathi and Kanarese, Urdu is easier than English. Urdu or Hindustani is more widely understood than any other language and is gradually becoming the common language of India." This is an instance of how parts of Gandhiji's programme are used for their own purposes by people who otherwise are wholeheartedly opposed to his ideas. Hindustani, it is true, is more widely understood than English but this is only for purposes of the market place. Beyond it the language preferred is English. Even religious books use English in order to reach All India and world audiences. All important Congress journals are conducted in English and the Muslim League has been trying hard to increase its journals in the English language. The Oosmania

University by making Urdu the medium of instruction cut itself off from the main current of academic life and national. In no other part of the country has it been proposed to substitute Urdu for English as the medium of general education. Not even in Aligarh University.

We note with satisfaction some recent reforms in the matter of language medium in High Schools recorded by *Information*. Orders have been recently issued making the study of Urdu voluntary for non-Muslim girls up to class eight. Presumably it was compulsory up till now. "For non-Urdu speaking boys and girls in the lower secondary stage, the study of the mother language is compulsory unless they prefer Sanskrit to their mother-tongues." This may please Arya Samajists, but is educationally unsound. The mother-tongue should always be learnt in the Primary and Secondary stages.

We welcome the distinct tendency in this and other items in the *Information* to align Hyderabad with All India. Neither India nor the premier Indian State can develop on healthy lines in isolation from each other.

#### SASTRY'S PORTRAIT.

On Saturday last, Sir Venkatasubbarao, recently the Agent of the Nizam's Dominions with the Government of the Central Provinces and Berar, unveiled a portrait of the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastry in the Ranade Hall in Mylapore, Madras. Gokhale and Gandhiji with whom Mr. Sastry ranks among Indian political leaders of this century, obtained conspicuous public recognition at a comparatively early stage of their public careers. Sastry has had to wait longer because his work has not been so prominent in the public eye. The two events in his career by which posterity will judge Mr. Sastry are, his joining the Servants of India Society at its inception sacrificing an assured career of high distinction and security in the educational profession for which he is peculiarly qualified; and his acceptance of the office of Agent to the Government of India in South Africa at a time when the anti-Indian feeling in that country was much more intractable than it has since become, thanks largely to the deep impression which Mr. Sastry's personality made on the white population. It is not too much to say that Mr. Sastry's tenure of the office radically altered for the better the conditions of the struggle which the Indians there have still to carry on to establish their legitimate position as full citizens in the Union. Sir Gopalaswami Iyengar who presided at the function, referred to the abuse to which Mr. Sastry was subjected at one stage of his career. Gokhale, too, had to go through the same ordeal in a much more acute degree. The scars never altogether disappeared during his life. Gandhiji has had physical force used on him by men, some of whom were once his ardent followers. Mr. Sastry is not prone to harbour enmities and the warm tributes paid to him from numerous quarters at the Mylapore function, testify that at last his outstanding merits of character and public spirit have come to be appreciated by his countrymen all over the country and more especially in his own province.

#### A TRAVANCORE EPISODE.

SIR,—I am surprised that in your issue of the 6th November 1943, under the heading "Lord Linlithgow and the Princes," the following sentence occurs: "The Maharaja of Travancore insisted, against his Dewan's protest on making an illiterate favourite of his, Chief Justice of the High Court."



This is alleged to be a quotation from Mr. Kameswara Aiyar's Biography of Sir A. Seshayya Sastri. The statement is both inaccurate and misleading. From pages 155 to 156 of the book, it will be clear that the proposed appointment related to the place of a Munsiff and what is stated on page 156 is that the Maharaja appointed a Telugu Brahmin to the place and "sent the required Sadhanam to the Dewan to be granted to the nominee through the proper channel—the Sudr or Chief Court." This has been misquoted as relating to an appointment to the Sudr or Chief Court.

It is a great pity that in dealing with Indian States, the *Indian Social Reformer* should have singled out for adverse criticism a State whose standards of educational advancement place it at least 50 years ahead of British India and whose administrative record is certainly not inferior to that of British Provinces. I have noticed this with regret because until I read the note I thought that the *Indian Social Reformer* was a friendly newspaper—an opinion which I now have to revise.—C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYER.

We are obliged to Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar for his correction. We were not quoting from Mr. Kameswara Aiyar's book but only giving the substance of his narrative as we understood it. Sir Ramaswami's version is no doubt the correct one and we accept it and regret that the appointment of Munsiff was mistaken for the appointment of Chief Justice. We cannot help feeling at the same time that Sir Ramaswami has completely misunderstood the point of our argument. It was not only not unfriendly to Indian States or to Travancore whose progress in the last fifty years really led to its being "singled out" to support our argument. Lord Linlithgow said—we are giving the substance of his remark—that the protecting power was entitled to satisfy itself from time to time that the protected states continued to deserve protection. The word "continued" called forth our comment. It implied that the States when they were taken under protection had certain features which merited protection and that the protecting power had to see that these features were present to justify the continuance of the protection. In an earlier comment we had taken exception to the word "protection." In the early stages some states had to be protected from some others, but in the later stage all the states had to be preserved from the operation of the Dalhousian policy. Preservation rather than protection was therefore the right word. If the States as they were—say in the middle of the last century—were deserving of preservation, they cannot be less deserving of it now and in the future when they are all becoming constitutionalised. The process has already advanced far and nowhere more than in Travancore. The incident referred to occurred about seventy years ago and there is no danger of anyone judging presentday Travancore by it.—EDITOR.

#### FOUR NATIONS' DECLARATION.

(From the China Information Bulletin.)

On behalf of the Chinese Government Dr. P. S. Foo, Chinese Ambassador to the Soviet Union, signed the Moscow declaration on general security at 6 p. m. October 30, together with Mr. Cordell Hull, U. S. Secretary of State, who signed on behalf of the United States Government, Mr. Anthony Eden, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, on behalf of the British Government, and M. V. Molotov, Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, on behalf of the Soviet Government. The signing was done in the most cordial atmosphere and congratu-

lations were exchanged after the signatures were attached to the instrument.

It is revealed by authoritative circles in Chungking that when the Declaration was being drafted in Moscow, the Chinese Government was kept constantly informed of proceedings. After complete agreement was reached on the draft, Ambassador P. S. Foo was fully authorized to sign the document on behalf of the Chinese Government. The full text of the Declaration is as follows:

"The Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and China :

"United in their determination in accordance with the Declaration by the United Nations on January 1, 1942 and subsequent declarations, continue hostilities against those Axis powers with which they respectively are at war until such powers have laid down their arms on the basis of unconditional surrender ;

"Conscious of their responsibility to secure the liberation of themselves and the peoples allied with them from the menace of aggression ;

"Recognizing the necessity of insuring a rapid and orderly transition from war to peace and of establishing and maintaining international peace and security with the least diversion of the world's humanity and economic resources for armaments;

"Jointly declare

"1. That their united action will be pledged for the prosecution of the war against their respective enemies and will be continued for the organization and maintenance of peace and security.

"2. That those of them at war with a common enemy will act together in all matters relating to the surrender and disarmament of that enemy.

"3. That they will take all measures deemed by them to be necessary to provide against any violation of the terms imposed upon the enemy.

"4. That they recognize the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving nations and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security.

"5. That for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security pending the re-establishing of law and order and the inauguration of a system of general security they will consult with one another and as occasion requires with other members of the United Nations with joint action on behalf of the community of nations.

"6. That after the termination of hostilities they will not employ their military forces within the territories of other states except to complement the purpose envisaged in this declaration and after joint consultation.

"7. That they will confer and co-operate with one another and with other members of the United Nations to bring about a practicable general agreement with respect to the regulation of armaments in the post-war period.

"(Signed) M. V. MOLOTOV  
CORDELL HULL  
ANTHONY EDEN  
FOO PING-SHOUNG."

## COUPLAND ON INDIA.

The Report of Professor R. Coupland on Indian Constitutional Problems, under the auspices of the Nuffield College, has been published in three parts. The last part created a certain amount of dull interest by the suggestions it put forward for a regional division of India. Some odd copies of odd parts have trickled into this country and by chance a copy of the second part which deals with the political situation from 1935 to 1942, has come into our hands. We understand that the Oxford University Press here is publishing the three parts in an Indian edition.

Mr. Coupland was attached to the Cripps Mission. Mr. Coupland has had opportunities of seeing things at firsthand as few publicists or students of politics have had. Yet he fails to be clear on one point. Did Sir Stafford Cripps in his first interviews give the impression that there would be a National Government which would function as a Cabinet and that the Viceroy in relation to the Cabinet would occupy a position analogous to that of the British King to his Cabinet, as Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad said he did? Coupland admits that Cripps did. But he slurs it over by hurrying on to a setting forth of the virtues of the Cripps offer which is thoroughly irrelevant. "But, of course," he writes, "'analogous to' does not mean 'identical with'." This is the most fantastic piece of verbal quibbling which has been invented by even British word-twisting. Surely, "analogous to" means that the Viceroy would conform to British precedent? Mr. Coupland's contention that the leaders could have later on, in the event of a misuse of the Viceroy's powers, thrown up office is a repetition of the Cripps' formula. India can count herself fortunate that the quibble comes after the rejection of the Cripps offer, not as has happened in some countries after acceptance. The Cabinet at the Centre would have suffered the fate of Pir Allah Bux in Sind, and Fazlul Haque at Calcutta.

Coupland has a whole section on the Congress. The Congress, he says, is a totalitarian party and it desires to be the successor of the British raj. This, of course, is a presumption which British writers cannot tolerate. It is the curse of the times that the word "totalitarian" has sprung up and is associated with painful experiences in Europe. Anyone who wishes to damn an opponent, calls him totalitarian. It is useful propaganda—for consumption in the U. S. A. But none of these phrases describe any Indian party. The only democrats are the Liberals and they are not any of them democratic. Everyone else, including the bureaucrats, are totalitarian. We should have thought that a sense of humour would have prevented an Englishman from calling any Indian party totalitarian after the great Linlithgow achievement of rule by ordinances, some of which are challenged as to legality by the Federal Court. The history of the Congress has yet to be given in an unbiased form. On a long range, it is a struggle between the revolutionary and constitutional elements in a party, as exists in all parties. Timely concessions could have strengthened the constitutional element. But the Government was not gifted with vision, because it was not interested in anything more than holding the ring. The period dealt with by Coupland shows the tragic peak of the crisis. The Congress was pleading desperately since the break of the war for some concession, some excuse, to return to constitutional ways. It even went so far as to offer three times to throw overboard Gandhiji and non-violence and to accept the war as India's war. Linlithgow-Amery failed to seize the opportunity.

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

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## NOTES.

**Free Trade in Vice:—**While Provincial Autonomy has killed Free Trade in food, it has not affected the traffic in girls for nefarious purposes. The Bombay Prostitution Committee which investigated the conditions and extent of commercialised vice in the city twenty years ago, called attention to the interprovincial traffic in girls as a chief source. Conditions have not evidently much improved since. Mr. Justice Blagden in the Criminal sessions of the High Court last week disposed of a case which is typical perhaps of many others which escape the vigilance of the authorities. The accused, according to the prosecution, went to a village in the Punjab and by lavish gifts to the parents of a minor girl, ingratiated himself in their confidence and induced the girl to accompany him for an outing. She was taken to Lahore where the first accused ravished her while the second accused, said to be his wife, aided and abetted him in the act. The girl was forced to get drunk before she could be got to submit. From Lahore they took the girl to Karachi and thence to Bombay where she was taken to a brothel run by a Russian woman. The girl's story moved even the hardened heart of the Russian who reported the case to the Police. The Judge, in passing sentence of four and three years' imprisonment on the two accused respectively, revived the rather obsolete practice of addressing an admonition before passing sentence. His Lordship told the first accused that he was a foul brute and the second that she was a detestable character who did not scruple to betray one of her own sex. He also remarked that the woman was of an abnormal type as she did not seem to have felt any jealousy in helping her husband to seduce the girl. If, instead of a minor girl, Ali Mahomed Karimbux and Sha Bibi had taken a bag of wheat or rice from Lahore to Karachi and from Karachi to Bombay, they would have been stopped at the provincial boundaries and would have had their luggage confiscated. Women's organisations should organise visits by members to important railway stations, particularly junctions and get into touch with ignorant, helpless young women and girls who are either alone or in doubtful company. This kind of work used to be done in Bombay by agents of Rescue Homes and, if there has been any slackening, it should be toned up. The present unsettled conditions make such service of especial importance.

**Crusade against Prohibition:—**The Madras Government has repealed the Prohibition measure

which has been in force and, according to reliable testimony, has been a success in four districts of the Presidency. At a public meeting held in Madras, Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya who as Prime Minister introduced and got adopted by large majorities the measure in both Houses of the Provincial Legislature, tore to shreds the reasons given by the Government for their utterly arbitrary action. Referring to the first reason, namely, that there has been illicit manufacture and Government was unable to check it, he very pertinently asked if there were not a number of illicit transactions in the black markets in respect of food stuffs which Government has undertaken to control. The figures given by Government showed that the cases of illicit manufacture were few in proportion to the area and population of the four districts. Mr. Rajagopalacharya cited McCarrison's opinion as to the absence of food value in fermented toddy. After his thorough exposure, the Government stands convicted of a wanton exercise of authority in the teeth of an overwhelming body of public opinion. The Roman Catholics are the only section of the population who as a body may be said to be opposed to prohibition. The Governor of Madras is a Roman Catholic and he is now the Government of Madras. But the official hostility to Prohibition is not confined to Madras. Prohibition has been abolished in all provinces where Congress Governments had introduced it. Even in Bombay where Sir Roger Lumley professed not without justification to maintain continuity, a judgment of the Bombay High Court was made the excuse for a partial abolition of Prohibition which made the situation worse than ever. We say "excuse" because, when the Federal Court in the course of its judgment in a Patna case specifically referred to and expressed its opinion that the Bombay judgment was wrong, the Bombay Government did not avail itself of the opportunity to restore Prohibition which it could have done, if it was earnest about the prevention of demoralisation by drink. Indeed, the Bombay Government's omission to appeal against the High Court judgment, was itself proof of its anti-Prohibition bias. In Bihar and the United Provinces, Prohibition has been repealed. We have, therefore to seek for a reason which would cover all these cases. The only reason which does this, is that the Governments concerned are anxious to efface all traces of beneficent administration by the Congress Governments. In the bad old days, bodies of rulers who had temporarily displaced existing Governments were exhumed and exposed in public, to show that they were dead and damned. In modern times this would be too gross. Moreover, the Congress leaders are not dead; even if dead their bodies would be cremated and there will be only ashes to expose. The next worst thing, therefore, is to repeal everything which the public would appreciate. Behind this may be the feeling that Prohibition is a reflection on Western civilisation which is largely built up on the habit of drink. European domination of Asiatic countries unless it has a prestige basis, must suffer.

**Bombay Mayor on Food Problem** :—"In the multitude of words," says the proverb, "there wanteth not sin." Much has been said about food, too much. But what Mr. M. R. Masani said at a Progressive Group meeting about the cause of food shortage in Bengal being inflation was most inapt. No one has enough facts in his possession to assert that this or that is the cause. There is a body of opinion in the country which believes that it is necessary to have an inquiry into the causes of food shortage. There are many too who feel that the important thing now is to cure the evil and prevent its occurring in other parts of the country, rather than to find out why it happened. For anyone to assert therefore that inflation is the cause, is a sign of confidence in one's opinion which is not justified by facts. There has been inflation in other countries. It has not led to food shortage. On the other hand, Mr. Masani spoke of the Indian in the army being better fed than he was as a civilian as though it were a special feature of war economy in this country. That is true even of the United States of America where, in spite of shrinkage of food exports, there is a shortage of certain items of food on account of increased employment and better food being given in the army than was consumed in civilian life. The fact that this was a fairly general experience, led to the Hot Springs Conference on Food. If inflation were the cause, there is no reason to explain why Bengal should have experienced food shortage in the acutest form rather than other parts of the country. Mr. Masani would have been more correct had he said that inflation was one of the causes but that there were present other causes which aggravated conditions and that, had the administration been wide-awake there could have been inflation without starvation. In terms of economics, if it was necessary for the speaker to restrict himself to economic causes, the causes boil down to two: Firstly, failure to see the country as one economic unit and the creation of artificial unnatural smaller divisions. And secondly the undertaking of responsibilities and liabilities beyond India's capacity. Incidentally, it is curious that Mr. Masani should have misquoted Abraham Lincoln's classic sentence on a nation being half-free and half-slave as "You cannot have a nation half-starved and half-free." The merit about Lincoln's sentence, as it was spoken, is that it contrasted two related concepts. Since then, however, there have been vast Empires disproving the Lincolnian faith. Democratic imperialism has been a political system based on a mixture of free and slave in varying proportions. But that is beside the point. What is relevant is that Lincoln would not have spoken of starvation because in his time even less than now the United States knew no food scarcity. On the contrary, Henry George's famous rejoinder to Malthus was based on his American experience and it was built round refuting the theory that population increased faster than food production.

**Mosley's Release** :—British Democracy appeared in a strange and somewhat lurid light in the popular demonstrations against the Government's decision to release from detention Sir Oswald Mosley and his wife who have been held in duress since the outbreak of the war. Mosley was the leader of the Fascists in Britain. They do not seem at any time to have been a formidable number and Mosley's activities never went beyond a few foolishly pompous demonstrations. Still the British Government deemed it necessary in the interests of public security to shut up him and his wife, the latter for fear that she might try to carry on her husband's propaganda. The Home Minister has now decided to release both.

Mosley's health gives room for concern and the collapse of Mussolini has scotched Fascism mortally. There is no longer any danger to public security, in the view of Government. But the Labour Party has organised a protest against the release of the couple, which is contrary to the principle of Freedom of person, which, one believed, was the cornerstone of the Party. In India the people want the detenus released but the Government refuse on the ground that the menace of war still hangs on India though it has disappeared from Britain!

**Outside Indian Politics** :—Acting on the invitation of the Food Member in the Legislative Assembly, Mr. Parker, leader of the European group in the Council of State, moved an amendment to the Government resolution on the lines suggested by the leader of the European group in the Assembly. The terms of the amendment are as follow:

This House is of the opinion that at a suitable date an inquiry should take place to examine the whole question of the food shortage in India and in particular in Bengal. The inquiry should be conducted by a suitable body of the type of a Royal Commission and its personnel should be completely outside the field of Indian politics. Its terms of reference should cover a full examination of the present food shortage and the making of recommendations to prevent the recurrence of the existing distress.

This was accepted by Sir Jwala Srivastava on behalf of Government and was carried by 25 votes to 19. The majority of the Government's supporters were official and nominated members and the Europeans. The amendment, besides recommending an enquiry, leaves everything to Government. The Government will decide what the "suitable" time is and what would be a "suitable" body. A Royal Commission is not suggested but the "suitable" body should be "of the type of a Royal Commission." Here again the Government will decide what would be like a Royal Commission. On only one point is the amendment definite. The members of the "suitable body" should be "completely outside the field of Indian politics." We pointed out last week that there is politics behind this repudiation of politics. Sir Jwala, perhaps, did not see it. Strictly interpreted, it would exclude Sir Jwala himself who is a Mahasabhaite, from the body. It would exclude the whole body of Muslim Leaguers. It would, of course, exclude all Congressmen. Even Liberals will have no place on this wonderful type of a Royal Commission Committee. Dr. Ambedkar who holds that the elevation of the scheduled castes should be achieved through political action, should have no place in it. The European group professing to be entirely outside Indian politics would dominate the scene. What then? The "suitable body" meets and reports. Who will implement its recommendations? These very ostracised elements will have to do it unless the bureaucracy has a fresh lease of life. Will they accept the body's views in preference to their own? Sir Jwala, in accepting this amendment, has badly let down those who know most about the country and are working to ameliorate its condition, social and economic. This, perhaps, was to have been expected of him.

**G. B. S.'s Legacy** :—In the course of an interview with Hannen Schwaffer, Mr. G. B. Shaw intimated that, after all those who were getting pensions from him were dead, his estate will become an endowment for the invention of an alphabet in which every sound will be represented by one letter. There is already such an alphabet—the Devanagari in which the drudgery of spelling, so distressing in the Roman alphabet, is entirely absent. Yet there are people in India who favour the adoption of the Roman characters for all Indian languages.



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, November 27, 1943.

### INDIA AND WORLD AFFAIRS.

In ancient times India was in close and continuous touch with the world, East and West. For a thousand years she has been isolated and her contact with the world now is conditioned and limited by the British Power. In consequence the Indian people know very little of the rest of the world. They are induced and indeed encouraged to think of India and her problems as something unique, without parallel in modern or ancient times. The British, whenever other nations exhibit some interest in Indian affairs, warn them off by telling them that Indian questions are exceedingly complex and that they will only do harm by meddling with their handling of them. Providence has now broken down this isolation and the deaths by starvation in the streets of Calcutta have proclaimed to the world that the Indian situation has become a menace to its own well-being and that the British alone can no longer be left to deal with it as a domestic matter. But the large majority of Indians, even of the educated classes, live in complete ignorance of what is happening in the rest of the world. The medium of English books and periodicals which are the chief sources of information for us, has become less reliable than at any time previously because they are all tainted by the curse of propaganda. On our own side, the Gandhian preference for Hindustani, though it has not done much to spread the knowledge of that language, had created a prejudice against English and many political and social workers had given up reading English publications. There is happily a reaction. Indian leaders feel that they are handicapped in dealing with Indian questions by their want of knowledge of what is being done in other countries. The inauguration of a Council of World Affairs in New Delhi this week by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is an indication of this tendency and is of happy augury. The initiative in this project was taken by Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru, President of the Servants of India Society. Speaking at the inaugural meeting, the Pandit said that he had received much encouragement. Three hundred invitations were issued and he had favourable replies from over one hundred and seventy of the invitees. If the Council does nothing else it will at least arrest the disposition among a large number of our citizens to take "the rustic clamour of their bourg to be the murmur of the world." It will, if properly directed, do more. It will disabuse them and outsiders of the notion sedulously fostered by British statesmen, and sheepishly repeated by a class of our own men, that India is a freak creation and except the British nobody else know the secret of it and can hope with any measure of success to lead her on the path of progress. Properly conducted! The first thing for a Council of World Affairs to do is to provide facilities as ample as possible in the circumstances to members to study the history and keep in touch with current developments in all parts of the world. They can get the truth only by collating information from different sources collected and presented from different points of view. The significance of the Chinese situation today cannot be understood without a knowledge of the processes through which the Chinese Revolution has passed since its inception. So also with Soviet Russia. The British can afford to pass over the past because of the insistent exigencies of the present. But no Indian who wishes to obtain the right perspective,

should ignore the past because it furnishes the key to the present and future. Light is always welcome but the light which is most conducive to comfort is that which comes from above and from behind. The light from the front often serves to dazzle and confuse. A study of the stages through which revolutions have passed, need not necessarily lead one to depreciate their achievements. On the other hand, it will save us from the complacent generalisation that omelettes cannot be made without breaking eggs. Human lives are not exactly eggs and if a scheme or plan involves the breaking, the destruction, of many human lives, for that reason alone it should be discarded by civilised nations. When all is said the light which will help us to see clearly and walk warily should come from our own lamps. Indian economists who make great plans without reference to the past history of the country and the genius of its people, will find themselves ploughing the sands. The Council of World Affairs, it was decided, would carry on no propaganda. But surely it will have to counter propaganda which is being carried on so assiduously against India. Not less important than our acquiring knowledge of the affairs of other countries in their true perspective, is to make available to other countries knowledge of this country with the right background. Dissemination of information in the historical spirit is a service to the world of the highest importance. Indeed, it is a duty which one country owes to others. India has special difficulties in discharging this duty and it is to the interest of all countries to see these removed. The British Empire too owes it to itself that it should not stand in the way of right knowledge of any part of it spreading freely to every part not only of the Empire but of the whole world.

Holding these views as to the proper functions of the Council of World Affairs, we must confess to some misgivings in consequence of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's speech at the inauguration. His speech seems to suggest that it would be the object, or one of the objects, of the Council to convince the world that India can successfully manage the Parliamentary system, which he identified with Western Democracy. Slogans are bad, shibboleths are worse. Western Democracy is, we are sorry to say, now no more than a shibboleth. The Parliamentary system in Britain, as we have more than once pointed out, has been undergoing radical changes under the imperious influence of Mr. Winston Churchill. It will not be recognised if Mr. Gladstone came to life as the system which he knew. Even Lloyd George must be marvelling at some of the changes which his former colleague has made in the British constitution. The introduction of members of the Civil Service into the Cabinet is a far-reaching innovation. More recently the Prime Minister has taken to appointing, after the example of his friend, President Roosevelt, personal representatives at the capitals of foreign countries. The constitutional correctness of this extraordinary measure is not questioned in Parliament. It is meekly accepted or acquiesced in as the doing of a Minister who has acquired a sort of infallibility in British political life. It will be said that these measures are emergency measures and that the normal will be restored when the emergency has passed. This is a specious argument. Individuals and nations show themselves in their true colours only at moments of crises. When the ship is sailing on smooth seas, it is easy to play at democracy. But when a crisis, such as the present arises, democracy goes by the board and the banner of autocracy is unfurled. When the Council is to think of a new system, it should think of one which

will work without a hitch in fair weather and in foul. This the Parliamentary democracy has shown itself incapable of doing. The alternative to Democracy is not dictatorship. The word has been defined in various ways by various writers. Acton equated it with a reign of law. Other definitions which held the field for many years, have nowadays only a pious significance. We must steer clear of shibboleths, Democracy as well as any other. The Parliamentary system is not necessarily democracy. It existed under the Kaiser. The Tsar had a Duma, though only for a short period. Kemal Pasha tried it and found it did not work in Turkey. Neither Stalin nor Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek has had experience of it. If the Council takes it upon itself to frame a constitution for India, it should not tie itself down to any particular denomination.

#### A BANDRA DIARY.

On November 17 the fiftieth anniversary of Dr. Besant's arrival in India, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar unveiled a bronze statue of the late President of the Theosophical Societies in Madras. In his speech on the occasion, of which only summaries are published, Sir Ramaswami indicated the vicissitudes of popularity through which she passed. Her arrival in India synchronised with a period when educated Indians of conservative leanings sorely wanted a leader. Dr. Besant disappointed Indian admirers of her anti-religious propaganda in association with Charles Bradlaugh, and roused the enthusiasm of the conservatives by finding esoteric reasons justifying old customs which were tottering under the attacks of ardent young reformers. With the support of this class which counted some of the most influential men in the country, Dr. Besant established schools and colleges with a distinctively progressive outlook. These institutions have done and are doing good work. This is the period of Dr. Besant's greatest constructive work in and for India. The Krishnamurthi case lost Dr. Besant much of her popularity, a loss which was never fully recovered. She next turned her attention to politics and her Home Rule movement attracted many ardent young men to her side. She had an excellent Bill drafted for conferring Home Rule on India and had it introduced in Parliament. By the time, however, the Irish Home Rule movement had broken down. In India, too, nationalism was seeking out other leaders. Sir Ramaswami said that Dr. Besant was the pioneer of mass movements in India. That honour belongs to Lokamanya Tilak whose ideas and outlook had few points of affinity with Dr. Besant's. But Dr. Besant was not one to let go her leadership without a struggle. She came into fierce conflict with Swami Vivekananda in the religious field and with Lokamanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi in the political. I well remember the tense scene in the Excelsior Theatre when Dr. Besant was prevented from speaking by a howling audience. The Theosophical Society itself attained the zenith of its power and also reached its nadir during Dr. Besant's Presidentship. She was, Sir Ramaswami said, the one European who most completely identified herself with India. This is true. But Dr. Besant never acquired, nor did she seek to acquire, the deep insight into Indian life which Sister Nivedita achieved. Dr. Besant's mistake was that she wished to grasp Indian leadership out of Indian hands instead of working with and through them. Typical of her temper and method is her interpretation of a verse of the Bhagavad Gita. The Gita says that the man

who does not perturb the world and who is not perturbed by the world, is dear to God. In the edition of the Gita brought out by Dr. Besant and Dr. Bhagwandas, this is the meaning attached to the verse. But in the pocket edition issued under Dr. Besant's sole authorship, the words "shrink from" is substituted for the word "perturbed," completely reversing the meaning.

\* \* \* \*

The *Indian Messenger* concludes an article on the Theism of Pandit Sivanath Sastry with the observation that "he was stern against idolatry in any shape, yet God as revealed in his sermons was personal—as real to him as his own father or mother." The little word "yet" in the sentence calls for notice. In the opinion of the writer, Professor Brajasunder Roy, belief in a personal God has apparently a taint of idolatry in it. The Brahma Samaj objects to form but gives God a name and qualities. The Sikhs call Him Timeless but are obliged to accord the epithet of a Purush, that is a Being. The Jewish denunciation of Idolatry was the outcome of the degraded forms in which it existed in Asia Minor. In a remarkable article published by the *Hibbert Journal* some years ago on an imaginary visit of Socrates to Jerusalem, the Greek defends the erection of images of the Deity as a reminder to men of the existence of a Power Higher than themselves and recommends the practice to the Jews who were prone to forget that there is God. Tennyson in *In Memoriam* rebukes the intolerance of the intolerant idealist :

Oh thou that after toil and storm  
May'st seem to have reach'd a purer air,  
Whose faith has centre everywhere,  
Nor cares to fix itself to form,  
Leave thou thy sister when she prays,  
Her early Heaven, her happy views ;  
Nor thou with shadow'd hint confuse,  
A life that leads melodious days.

\* \* \* \*

More than once the question of the relation of the Brahma Samaj to Hinduism has been discussed by different writers. The following taken from an appreciation of the late Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee in the monthly supplement of the *Indian Messenger*, the organ of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj of which Mr. Chatterjee was an active member, is of interest :

He, a prominent and active member of the Brahma Samaj, was a Hindu of Hindus and sometime a President of the Hindu Mahasabha. Many consider these two facts as contradictory,—Ramananda Chatterjee being a Brahma and a Hindu together. They forget the historical fact that the neo-Hinduism of the nineteenth century was a direct product of the Brahma thought and culture. It was the *true* Hinduism, the progressive, reformist Hinduism, against the popular idol worship, against the *suttee* and the caste, against every other form or social evil,—in short, it was the "universal" underlying the Hindu culture. Ramananda, like Rammohun, the Maharshi, Pandit Sivanath, Rabindranath and others, was of that progressive type of the Hindu. And there is no contradiction between that liberal and universal type of non-idolatrous Hinduism and Brahmaism.

\* \* \* \*

The *Bombay Chronicle* announced this week that Mr. M. A. Jinnah has disposed of his property in Bombay and will be shortly establishing himself in the Punjab. The *Times of India* on Tuesday corrected the announcement in some particulars, but substantially confirmed it. Coming soon after the murderous attempt on him, it may be supposed that the incident has influenced him

in his decision. But this would be entirely out of keeping with Mr. Jinnah's character. Very probably the decision was taken long before the incident and was prompted by the sole desire to advance the cause which he has at heart, the division of India into Hindu and Muslim stans. At seventy, transplantation is a risky business. Habits have become crystallised, the environment has become part of one's mental and moral constitution, and new friends are not easily made. Mr. Jinnah must be aware of all these and only a compelling motive could have determined him to face them. But there is one other circumstance which he has not probably considered. Political colleagues seen only on platforms are often different in their native habitat. It could be said of few as it was said of Cobden that they display in their intimate circles the same agreeable qualities as they show to casual colleagues. Lecky in his *Map of Life* advises those who would cast the horoscope of a nation to follow its leaders across their thresholds. I am not, of course, suggesting that Punjab leaders are not model householders but only that Mr. Jinnah may find that they are not the same men in their provincial surroundings as they look to be once in three months or a year on public occasions. Although Mr. Jinnah's professed followers in Bombay may not be so numerous as in Lahore, and the air of Bombay is uncongenial to separatism of any kind, there are a large number here who, having known him from his early beginnings and worked with him in the high tides of his life, bear a sincere liking for him and would miss him in Bombay. Lahore is in many respects the antithesis of Bombay. It is, indeed, quite probable that residence in Lahore may clear his mind of the cobweb of Pakistan and he may return to Mount Pleasant Road to pick up the main thread of his career. Stranger things have happened.

RECLUSE.

#### MISSIONS AND ABORIGINES.

The Central Provinces Government has issued a long argumentative statement justifying its entrusting educational work among aboriginal tribes to a proselytising Christian Mission, the Prefecture Apostolic. In the letter in the *Times of India* which has called forth the Central Provinces Government's statement, Messrs A. V. Thakkar and Verrier Elwin had referred to the Mission as the Catholic Apostolic Mission. In our comments on the subject (*Reformer* November 6, 1943) we had assumed that it was a Jesuit Mission, as the writers had begun with a reference to the controversy over the conversions in the Sophia College as having a wider scope than college girls. A correspondent has informed the *Dnyanodaya* that the Catholic Apostolic Mission was the original and proper name of Irvingites as called after Edward Irving, a Scotch Presbyterian, who preached in London. Now that the name of the Mission is officially given as Prefecture Apostolic, the point becomes irrelevant.

The Central Provinces Government justifies its action on the ground that Christian Missions have been doing good work among aborigines all over the world for centuries, that they have been doing educational work in India for over a century, that their work has been highly praised, and that there is a conscience clause in the provincial Educational Code which is sufficient safeguard against unfair proselytism. We are not concerned at present with the work of Christian Missions all over the world,

but we may commend to the Central Provinces Government an illuminating essay by Pearl Buck who was herself for many years a missionary in China, for a candid estimate of mission work in that country. In India, while it is true that missionary schools and colleges have done good work, and have totally failed to make conversions, the principle of entrusting education of Indian children to missions having proselytising as their avowed object, has been consistently opposed by Indian opinion as a departure from the principle of religious neutrality. Whenever a stray conversion occurred, there has been public resentment, as instanced by the recent case of the Sophia College. The conscience clause was introduced only a few years ago as the result of strong pressure on Government and the missionaries.

Whatever might have been the case in the past, there is no basis for the belief that the influence of organized Christianity is necessarily beneficial to aborigines. Christianity has been the professed religion of Europe for over a thousand years. A tree is judged by its fruit. The failure of organized Christianity does not mean that the teachings of Jesus Christ are of no moral value, it only means that organized Christianity does not represent truly the teachings of the Teacher whose name it flaunts on its banners. The Churches have killed the Christ, wrote Lowell, the American poet. It is these very Churches which are at the back of the Missions. The main work of the Missions nowadays seems chiefly to make the Asiatic accept the domination of the White man as ordained by God. The Central Provinces Government may not be aware of this but there is not a single sentence in its statement to show that its action is inspired by the desire to prepare the aborigines to play their part worthily in Indian national life. Its sneer at anthropologists wishing to preserve primitive communities unchanged, only betrays the ignorance of whoever drafted the statement of the function of science generally and of anthropology in particular. Anthropology aims like other sciences at the search of the laws governing human evolution. It has finally disposed of the superstition that civilisation and barbarism are radically different. It has shown that the savage has many elements of culture and civilisation and that the highly civilised man can behave worse than savages when his passions are aroused. Apart from these general grounds, there is a special objection to the position of influence given to the Prefecture Apostolic at which the *Reformer* hinted in its comments. The Catholics, and for that matter Christians generally until a few years ago, were unconsciously functioning as propagandists for drink. When the Emperor Jehangir, worried by the protests of Muslim Divines, wanted to adopt a religion which allowed people to eat and drink without restrictions, he was told that Christianity alone permits such license. The association of Christianity with Drink has been a serious handicap to the former in India. It is probable that the only effect of the Mission which will remain among the aborigines, is to clothe their besetting vice with the garb of religious sanctity. The Central Provinces Government might at least demand that the Prefecture Apostolic should take a vow of total abstinence in the "Excluded Areas."

Mr. A. V. Thakkar writes:—

"I am thankful for the note that has appeared in the *Indian Social Reformer* of the 6th inst. about the Gonds and the Christian Missions. I wish to point out in that connection that the complaint from myself and Elwin was not against the Government of India

but against the Government of the C. P. It is the Provincial Government on whose head is the responsibility of welfare of the people of the Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas. At the same time Education is a provincial subject.

"I take this opportunity to mention that the points of view of us two—Elwin and myself—do not differ 'fundamentally on many questions.' The controversy that took place between him and me sometime back in the *Times of India*, was more with regard to the details of the question than on any fundamental matter. Moreover they are now narrowed down and the latest letter in the *Times of India* bears testimony to the same."

#### EDUCATION IN THE POST-WAR WORLD.

We publish this week an article by Maurice Cranston from the *Worldover Press* on education in post-war Europe. It gives in brief the ideas that are moving men's minds and the suggestion that there should be an International Education Office like the International Labour Office is fundamentally sound. The more solid side of international collaboration is to be seen in the work of the Labour Office and it is in quiet constructive affairs that co-operative work can give its best results. The main idea is that the university and academic life should be kept free from the political influences that periodically shake a nation. That is clear from the proposal to set up a High Commissioner of Education in Germany to see that Nazi influences are eradicated. The proposal is naive. Nazi influences will be eradicated by the Germans themselves who are the only persons who can do it, if Nazism is defeated in war. The example of Italy after Mussolini's fall is an indication. On the other hand, no outside power can do anything to put down ideas. Indian text-books are carefully pruned of everything that might create trouble. The preaching of disaffection to authority is certainly discouraged. Our teachers and professors generally are safe men. But that has not saved the educated from the main currents of political life. Even the being educated are affected by it. Moreover, after Nazism is defeated, the trouble will be not Nazi ideas and Nazi ideologies but others which might spring up, perhaps in other countries. It happened to be Germany before but it might as well have been any other country and it might be any other country. A sign of what might happen is to be seen in the release of Sir Oswald Mosley for the reason that he was only a Fascist. There are many reasons for releasing a political leader, the most valid reason being that by imprisoning him you do not root out the ideas he stands for. But the one given is the feeblest. But to release a man in one country because his political philosophy has worked itself out in the country in which it originated, is the poorest logic.

The duties of an International Education Office are not so much concerned with the things taught as with ensuring that no State shirks the duty of providing free and compulsory education up to a minimum standard for all its citizens and with international education in the higher spheres. The Labour Office gives a good analogy. It worked to ensure the restriction of work to certain hours in the week and to getting minimum norms of pay. It could have been side-tracked into laying down what each country should produce or manufacture and it would have failed. The Education Office similarly should confine itself with educational questions and not stray into the field of thinking out for what people should be educated. This

is less ambitious but it is practical and it is useful and necessary work. The need of securing free compulsory primary education is generally recognized. Its need in modern times is felt in industry, no less than in citizenship. The international side of higher education is less appreciated. If there is provision for men from the universities, both teachers and students, going outside their own countries, it will lead automatically to exchanges of ideas on all questions. And discussion has always been suppressed by systems which we seek to prevent from rising, whether in the political or economic spheres. In time, there may rise an international university which will not supplant the work of interchange of teachers and students but complement it. That in fact is also a necessity and the Education Office will be compelled to set one up. But the idea of Europe alone is too narrow and it will have to give place to a broader world concept.

#### POST WAR EDUCATION OF EUROPE.

Maurice Cranston writes in *Worldover Press* :

A report on education in post-war Europe has been issued by the London International Assembly and the Council for Education in World Citizenship. It is the result of many months of study by a joint commission led by Professor Gilbert Murray.

The most important suggestion contained in the report is that an International Education Office should be set up by the United Nations along the lines of the International Labour Office. Where Germany is concerned, the report recommends setting up a High Commissioner for Education, to be assisted by a commission drawn from allied and neutral countries, who will take charge of education, getting rid of Nazi Party schools, teachers, and textbooks and helping a friendly government find suitable new teachers from among those of the Weimar period or from refugees. In this way it is hoped to avoid the twin dangers of imposing an alien education and of allowing Nazi influence to continue after the war.

Mr. Victor Gollancz, the well-known Socialist publicist, once wrote that we must begin the reeducation of Germany by re-educating ourselves. One body of people to put this precept into practice in England is the Society of Friends. In a charming Georgian house overlooking the most pleasant of Bloomsbury's squares is the Friends' International Centre, the last "Quaker Embassy" in Europe. Scarcely a year old, it came into being to meet a wartime need. Its purpose, briefly, is to create a nucleus of people of all nationalities to pool their knowledge and share their experiences in a search for some common bases for the reconstruction of European Christendom. Warden of the centre is the young English Quaker leader, David Hodgkin. His assistant is an American Quaker, Jack Cadbury. Mr. Hodgkin, six feet three inches tall, went to Germany before the war with another outsize Quaker, Ben Greene, to help Christian Jewish refugees. "Big Ben's" dealings with the Nazis plus his belligerent pacifism got him interned here from 1940 to 1942. At the same time Mr. Hodgkin became secretary of a Friends' Committee to help British and foreign internees, and it was through this committee that Mr. Greene's innocence was ultimately proved.

Today, as warden of the Friends' International Centre, Mr. Hodgkin presides over some of the most valuable lectures and discussions on the future of Europe being held in London. People of every nationality meet under this roof. They meet to learn about each other's national problems, to study the politics, history, religion, and sociology of each

other's countries. They seek, most urgently of all, to rediscover that sense of moral unity which has gone from Europe and which must be brought back if there is ever to be ensuring peace.

**The Lebanon:**—The reasons given in a recent official message on the Lebanon, for British interest in affairs Lebanese are interesting. The first reason is that the British having guaranteed de Gaulle's recognition of Lebanese independence, they were standing by that guarantee. The second reason is that the situation in the Lebanon is important for the prosecution of the war and, therefore, settlement there is necessary in the interests of the United Nations. The first reason is the really relevant one because, while the second explains why Britain was interested, it does not explain why Britain is intervening on the side of the Lebanese. But what is still to be explained is why the British guaranteed the French offer of immediate independence in a country so close to a war zone when their own policy has been to postpone all political questions to the end of the war. The argument that constitutional changes cannot be affected during wartime, applied more to the Lebanese in June 1941 than to India, because war was more close to the Lebanon then. If the proximity of war is the reason, then it applies as much to India today. The Lebanese situation shows signs of settling down. The prestige of the Free French has suffered in the controversy. The Lebanon incident should constitute a precedent for all countries in which there is a clash between the imperial power and the colonial peoples—irrespective of whether any of the United Nations have guaranteed independence to the subject people or not. Such a guarantee does not create a right. It only recognizes it. The fact that such a recognition has not occurred, is no reason for ignoring conditions which need to be set right.

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Koregaon ( " " )	Sindkheda ( " " )
Tasgaon ( " " )	Nasik (District Nasik).
Wai ( " " )	Malegaon ( " " )
Ahmednagar (District Ahmednagar).	Satana ( " " )
Belapur ( " " )	Lasaigaon ( " " )
Rahuri ( " " )	Nandgaon ( " " )
Shevgaon ( " " )	Ghoti ( " " )
Koregaon ( " " )	Dohad (District Panch Mahals).
Pathardi ( " " )	Godhra ( " " )
Vambori ( " " )	Jhalod ( " " )
Bhiwandi (District Thana).	Akluj (District Solapur).
Kalyan ( " " )	Panvel ( " Kolaba )
Paighar ( " " )	Nadiad ( " Kaira )

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

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### NOTES.

**Mr. Divatia on Hindu Culture:**—Mr. Justice Divatia's address on "Hindu Culture in Modern Life" at the anniversary of the Bharatiya Vidhya Bhavan, illustrates the great change which has come over the attitude of Indians towards Western civilisation and culture during the last half century. The apologetic, almost self-accusatory, note has disappeared. In its place there has emerged a note of calm confidence which, but for the unaggressive temper of Indian culture, might easily have become virulent and domineering. Mr. Divatia covered the old grounds of criticism of Hindu institutions and culture but he did so not as if he was anxious to win a verdict but with the assurance of one who was merely rehearsing old forgotten controversies on account of their historic interest. Hindu culture, once regarded as effete, is now permeating modern thought. Its influence is sometimes acknowledged but more often passed over in silence out of deference to European pride or self-sufficiency. Hindu influence is perceptible not on one side or other of the Euro-American conflicts. It is felt on all sides. Influence acts in two ways—sympathy and revulsion. Gandhian ahimsa has been repro- bated by Soviet leaders and by Nazis. The latter's emblem is the ancient Indian swastika significantly inverted. On the democratic side, Mr. Winston Churchill is a determined opponent of Indian ideas and aspirations and is striving to put them down by methods which are a repudiation of the Magna Carta and every other principle for which the Allies are professedly fighting. India's opportunity is coming not so much through the co-operative action of her leaders as through the competitive differences of the dominating nations proud and overbearing because of their gold and silver. The challenge to Hindu culture from without has practically ceased. That from within had never much vitality. It was but a feeble echo of the challenge from without and with the cessation of the latter has ceased to count. The Indian Communists are the most recent example. They had no ideas of their own. They were pale imitations of Russian revolutionaries. Now that the latter have dissolved the Comintern and are working in co-operation with the capitalist nations, their Indian camp-followers are also singing to a different tune. What Hindu culture needs at present is thorough overhauling of its institutions in the spirit of severe self-criticism. For this there is plenty of old lights to guide it. The great danger to institutions like the Bharatiya Vidhya Bhavan comes

from the tendency to narrow provincial and political ideas. It is the universal aspect of Hindu culture and not its Indian nationalist aspect only which needs being emphasised.

**The Four Power Conference:**—Underlying and exceeding the issues which form the agenda of the Four Power Conference in Cairo, and somewhere in Persia, are others which call for no more than passing mention. China which but a few years ago was referred to by European statesmen—Mr. Amery was one of them—as a warning, is now invited as a great Power to sit round a table with Great Britain and the United States. Asia was long represented as the continent where women were regarded with scant respect. Today it is an Asiatic woman who takes part in the conclaves of the mighty for deciding the fate of the world. Madame Chiang Kai-Shek has no official position. She is only at the Conference as the amanuensis of, and interpreter for, her husband. That in fact she is much more cannot be gainsaid. Her speeches in the United States have been collected and published as by the Government under the authority of Congress. She has produced a profound impression on the American mind, so much so that a hasty law has been passed repealing the Chinese Exclusion Act which the President acknowledged to be a mistake. Madame Chiang is not a shadow of her husband some of whose past achievements have not been in consonance with the opinions she has expressed in her speeches. But now he and she are acting together and there is reason to think that their joint views may have a considerable influence in shaping the results of the Conference. The one point on which Madame Chiang has consistently laid stress in her pronouncements in America, is that the ensuing Peace should not be an imposed Peace but an agreed one. She has declared that victor and vanquished should meet on equal terms and agree on terms which will ensure the peaceable development of all nations. President Roosevelt has spoken in a different vein but American public opinion has widely endorsed Madame Chiang's plea which combines the deep sanity of her national character with the humaner dictates of her adopted faith. The Prime Minister of Great Britain has had to swallow a big pill in the leader of the Bolsheviks. Announcing the Anglo-Russian Alliance in the House of Commons, Mr. Churchill thought it necessary to declare that he adhered to every word of what he had said about the Bolshevik Revolution during the previous twenty-five years. What he had said will not be pleasant reading to-day. But he has had a bigger pill to swallow in China's leader. Mr. Churchill believes that the Anglo-Saxons are the chosen people. Next to that, he is an ardent apostle of Europeanism. He avoided as long as possible any reference to China as a great Power. Circumstances, the great God of Anglo-Saxonism, have compelled him to sit cheek by jowl with the

Asiatic leader. What is more he, an original opponent of women taking part in politics, will have to submit to be lectured to by a lady from China on the proper way of ensuring world peace. For Madame Chiang is no respecter of persons and she has thrice declined the Churchill Government's invitation to visit London. She may even tell the Prime Minister that, without India's willing co-operation, Chinese support cannot be fully enlisted for the new order which the Powers are planning. President Roosevelt will probably be more inclined to fall in line with the Chinese than with the British view. The day of miracles is dawning again.

**War Criminals:**—*Worldover Press* in its regular feature article, "Senator 97 investigates the World", has some very pertinent remarks to offer on the trial of war criminals. Theoretically, it says, the trial of war criminals is hardly questionable on grounds of justice. If those whose regimes brought on war, are not to be judged, why condemn other lesser wrong-doers? But it suggests that the victors themselves might object to such a trial. The Riom trial of Daladier, Blum and others was dropped because of startling revelations which embarrassed Vichy and Hitler. Mussolini and Hitler are, it is true, on the wrong side of the fence today. But they have had strange backers in the past and these men may not like to be reminded of the fact that the war criminals had been encouraged by them. Outstanding among them is the British Premier. We quote from *Worldover Press*:

Some British journals have been quoting Mr. Churchill's remarks on Jan. 20, 1927, in Rome, to the Italian newspapermen: "I could not help being charmed, as so many other people have been, by Signor Mussolini's gentle and simple bearing and by his calm, detached poise in spite of so many burdens and dangers...If I had been an Italian I am sure that I should have been wholeheartedly with you from start to finish in your triumphant struggle against the bestial appetites and passions of Leninism."

There was more. Continued Mr. Churchill, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, "I will, however, say a word on the international aspect of Fascismo. Externally, your movement has rendered a service to the whole world...Italy has shown that there is a way of fighting the subversive forces which can rally the mass of the people, properly led, to value and wish to defend the honour and the stability of civilized society."

Peace is more important than Justice. Justice becomes uncomfortable unless the judge chooses the time from which actions are to be judged. Two thousand years ago, a mob in fury was checked with the words, "Let him who is sinless cast the first stone." That it was so checked speaks well for the sensitiveness of the men composing it, a fact too often forgotten. A group which sets out to establish a better world, can scarcely start worse.

**Count Sforza in Italy:**—The statements made from time to time by Count Sforza and the messages cabled about his movements by Reuter do not convince one of his being the best choice for leadership in post-war Italy. Writing in *Foreign Affairs* for April, Luigi Sturzo discussed the future of Italy and who would be its leaders. His conservatism is shown by his remark that chief reliance will have to be placed on the middle class. He is very doubtful of the utility of trusting to generals or to civil servants. He looks to the re-education of those who had grown up under the fascist system because he regards the Italians as very adaptable. Having said that, he adds:

Those who for twenty years have fought Fascism, either openly, risking imprisonment and the concentration camp, or secretly and indirectly, will be in a position to make a fresh start and to put their administrative and political capabilities to work again. The same will be true of the political exiles. If they are

not too rash or too proud—and very many are not—they will be able to join forces with their brothers at home.

Count Sforza even by this standard, has not shown himself at his best. After twenty years exile, there seems to be some lack of proportion in the message which mentioned his negotiations with the Italian King, at "his villa" in Naples. It is true that a man has to live somewhere and theoretically there is nothing wrong about a villa. But it would have been more becoming had the leader of future Italy operated during a devastating war from humbler headquarters. Nor is that all. Instead of building up a national centre with everyone looking up to it, Count Sforza has been casting doubt on the good faith of everyone who could be used or useful. In doing so he is making things difficult for the Allies. Unfortunately too, he is tending to create the very conditions which led to the rise of Fascism before in Italy. That is one of the dangers in trusting the leadership to exiles which have to be guarded against.

**New Deal for Colonies:**—A detailed scheme for the better handling of the colonial problem in the post-war period has, according to *Worldover Press* in a London message, been drawn up by the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society. The programme aims at securing freedom of speech, press, religion and meeting. Then, it says, annexation of any territory by war must cease. The interests of an indigenous population are not to be subordinated economically or politically to those of a minority belonging to another race, however important in itself that race might be. There is to be no discrimination against any country which signs the peace treaty whether it owns colonies or not and all signatories are to have equal economic rights with the state administering the colony. No trade monopolies are to be granted; the workers are to have the right of forming trade unions; cooperatives are to be encouraged and colonial development is to be related to a planned economy. All this will not apply to India which, India Office will tell us, has long passed beyond the colonial stage. But, apart from the colonies, it will, if adopted, create complications in the Empire. Take the case of South Africa, for instance. "The domination of an indigenous people" by a minority belonging to another race, does not become justifiable because the territory is called a Dominion and not a colony. Can the United Nations accept a policy and not apply it to one of its member-nations? General Smuts, the South African Premier, is now busy extending his sphere of influence. He has ambitions. He is not content with pressing for an exception being made in his favour in South Africa. He wants the South African policy to be enforced all over Africa.

**China and Inflation:**—The Chinese way of avoiding inflation is to reduce the use of currency to a minimum by returning to the method of barter. Land taxes are collected to a large extent in kind. Private transactions are also conducted by barter. This is due to prices having risen phenomenally, sometimes the index figures having risen 4,000 per cent. The *Chinese Information Bulletin* of a recent date contained the information that Chinese authors, hardpressed by the cost of living, have started an agitation, to compel publishers to pay them about 17 pounds of ice for a thousand words. The authors—dramatists, novelists and poets—are quite willing to take the equivalent in money but they insist on something better than the present rates which are about one-half the rate demanded. Even the most prolific and successful writer, it is added, could hardly live at the present rate.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, *Uscember 4, 1943.*

### SIR SULTAN ON THE PRESS CENSORSHIP.

The Indian Press since the outbreak of the war has been working under a system of censorship. Since the declaration of war, there has been a large administrative machinery known as the Press Adviser's Office with central control from Delhi. The Editors' Conference came into being in November 1940 out of a Conference convened to protest against governmental interference. From time to time the Conference has issued statements, published resolutions and on one occasion has declared an All India suspension of publication for a day. Apart from all this, a section of the press went out of service for a considerable period. In some provinces, too, there were indications that on the administrative side as well there were break-downs in the consultative machinery. Considered on a long view, the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference in its three years of existence has done a difficult job well. It has made consultation with Government possible by recognising realistically that the Indian Press is not a free press; at the same time, it has not left its responsibilities to the public undischarged for it has not only indicated that it works under restrictions but even shown what the restrictions are under which it works. Without the Editors' Conference, this could not be done. For Government believes that it is, as Sir Sultan Ahmed said in the Legislative Assembly in answer to questions recently, "not in the public interest to reveal details of censorship policy." More than that, Government began by wishing not even to reveal the general principles of that policy. Now, no individual editor could challenge that position. But the editors jointly have shaken it considerably. The All India Newspaper Editors' Conference in the three years of its existence has kept up the fight for freedom of expression. Where it has suffered a set-back, it has at least achieved the result that the absence of such freedom is not concealed. This is not a small gain. Considering the position of the press, it is a gain won at the sacrifice of self-interest. The knowledge of there being suppression in any one sphere of news spreads distrust of all news. The fight for liberty is a strange fight, strangest in the struggle for free speech. Petty skirmishes may get publicity; the major encounters are unrecorded. For when free speech is won, the elimination of censorship is so complete that the people do not know it created any problem. And when it is lost, the people naturally are kept in ignorance. Added to this, the press when it writes in its own defence, has to observe reticence. Where the issues are fought by other parties, the press is there to publish the recorded facts, to unearth the hidden. The whole subject of Government-Press relations has to be seen against this background to arrive at an appreciation of the questions and answers in the Central Legislature exchanged between Mr. K. C. Neogy and Sir Sultan Ahmed, the Information Member in the Government of India.

Sir Sultan Ahmed's replies give the public a further insight into the working of the advisory system. At the outset he said that the Press Adviser does not give orders; that any advice he gives is in answer to questions put to him; that he may have given advice voluntarily when he thought it necessary but the press or news agency was not bound to follow his advice; "they are absolutely at liberty to do anything as they please." Now the editor is a responsible person who has, or at any rate thinks he has, more experience, wisdom and common sense than any official. We may

assume that he has his own interest and the interest of the business in which he is engaged, more at heart than anyone else. The mere fact that, according to the Information Member, the editors "put questions" to the Press Adviser, rouses interest and creates the suspicion that the press is not functioning normally. The giving of voluntary advice is, if it is remembered that the subject on which it is given, is the publication or otherwise of news and statements on the news, further evidence of what lies inside the velvet glove. What, after all, is advice? It may range over all the wiles used by human beings to persuade others to their point of view, from begging to threatening. In each case what it is, is determined by the relations subsisting between the two parties. Let it not be forgotten that "what the sovereign permits, he commands." If the editor is advised by a lawyer, however eminent the lawyer, that publication of a certain item would bring down on him the wrath of Government, the editor may ignore the advice and still have a chance of enjoying immunity. But if an official of the Government, specially in a department created to advise on such matters, "advises" an editor that the item infringes a provision of the Defence of India Rules, however petty that official may be, the editor who ignores it, places his head on the block and has only to wait for the guillotine to descend. The situation is rendered all the more precarious because the Defence of India Rules waive judicial processes and because the Government is always inspired by considerations of maintaining prestige at all costs.

In these circumstances, to talk of the liberty of the editor to do what he likes, to accept or ignore advice, is to play with words. The freedom of the editor under a war system in comparison to the ideal is somewhat like the power of a Government Member in comparison to that of a Cabinet Minister. The control from the top, never absent however disguised, overshadows the responsibility to the people below. It was to change this that the elaborate machinery of consultative committees was devised. It has changed it in many ways. But it would be idle to pretend that the control has been eliminated altogether. The Press is realistic enough to admit the position. Why are the Government reluctant? Sir Sultan Ahmed himself, in his speech to the Standing Committee of the Editors' Conference at Bombay, put the matter beyond debate by appealing for the co-operation of the Press on his terms. That these terms were not acceptable, leave alone ideal, was shown by the decision last month of that Committee at Delhi to dissociate itself from his Publicity Board. Sir Sultan has been long enough in his office to appreciate the position. Unfortunately, his whole legal outlook obscures his vision. What is needed, even for keeping up a certain minimum of good relations between Press and Government, is a recognition first of things as they are. The first impediment to this is the bureaucrat who thinks the sole duty of a government is "to govern;" and the second is the lawyer who is out to make out a case from the worst position. India has suffered too much in the past at the hands of both these, acting in combination. If, at a time when the political sky was at its darkest, the Press was able to function as it has done, it was largely because the All India Editors' Conference kept steadily before it the realities of the situation. Because of this, Central and Provincial Governments were compelled to face the facts—and so for that matter were the extremists of the other side. The credit for this goes largely to Mr. K. Srinivasan of the *Hindu*, the first President of the Editors'

Conference, whose patience, tact and tenacity have gone into making the Conference a force in the public life of the country.

### G. B. S. LOOKS BACK.

George Bernard Shaw has given Hannen Swaffer what is described as a "farewell interview." I dislike this business of last words, except on the stage where they belong, where the curtain ensures that there is finality. Farewells sometimes turn out differently to what they appear on their face. Acton describes his parting with the aged Ranke who at eighty, he thought, had finished with the things of this world. He was pleasantly surprised to receive two years later Ranke's monumental "Universal History" completed after the parting. Not so pleasant was the French politician's survival after delivering his last message, "I die that France might live," on the duelling-ground. It is strange that Shaw who prides himself on his essential common-sense, should have slipped so badly as to fall a prey to the human weakness of seeking a striking exit and then, too, to talk of "awaiting his turn with serenity." The serenity he revealed is one to which discontent would be preferable. It is significant that the interview was given after the death of Mrs. Shaw. It bears traces of the mood in which Tennyson was when he wrote :

Calm and deep peace in this wide air,  
These leaves that redden to the fall ;  
And in my heart, if calm at all,  
If any calm, a calm despair.

I hope Shaw is wrong in thinking the words final and I wish Hannen Swaffer or his editor had had the delicacy to suppress the journalistic impulse to publish a scoop. The message itself is painful reading. It is doubly so when it comes in the evening of his days from one who has so indubitably left his mark on the many facets of British life. Shaw has been a force for progress, however feeble he may feel it was. And it is not helpful to progress when one who was essentially a fighter, tells the world that the fight has been all in vain. As Leon Feuchtwanger says in "The Devil in France," there lies a special duty on the optimists of this world never to yield to despair. Strangely, it does not matter so much that Shaw should have felt that Fabianism had failed in that power and resources were still in the hands of those who were more concerned with their own interests than with national advancement. It is good to have a distrust of governments, specially of the ones you have worked to get into power. Nor is it particularly painful that Shaw should feel that trade unions were not yet the perfect associations they were expected to become. The worst thing for men happens when they survey the world they created and find it good. Nor, again, is it very much a matter for regret that Shaw should conceive of survival after death as an extinction of personality. The conception of surrendered individuality is sometimes valuable, and it has an importance in Western thought today. What is tragic is Shaw's loss of faith in his own work. At a younger age it would not have mattered very much, this loss of faith ; for then one can cease from persisting in futility. But it is a pretty desperate state to reach when one "is awaiting one's turn in serenity." "This is the way world ends—not with a bang but a whimper."

And yet, I suppose, it was only now that Shaw could have admitted to the world that he did not count for much, that

I have said a lot of things which everybody ought to know but nobody apparently does know or care about.

We go on telling people a lot of things. That is very nice but nothing ever happens.

Had he said this earlier, he would naturally have had to desist from talking. Had he honestly seen it, he would have had to tell the world. So Shaw kept down any doubt that stirred within him. He had to tell people a lot of things in order to stifle doubt. There is a story of a religious man who kept up a continual praying to God till he himself tired of it and kept silent. What was the use of praying, he said, if God in no way noticed what he was doing, gave no sign? And in the silence, he heard the unmistakable Voice say, "Your perpetual noise shut Me out." And so it has been with Shaw. The doubt was present. Tanner in *Man and Superman* is deflated in a long speech by Anne saying, "Oh, he is only talking." And in other plays, the doubt was creeping in as much. But no one thought of applying it to the author himself. Glibness of tongue is undoubtedly the most envied of the gifts of the gods. But often in the mouths of men it turns into a curse. For it intoxicates the possessor as much as those who listen to him. In the last interview, Shaw does not utter one shavian paradox. That shows how much he feels what he has spoken. Had he observed a similar restraint earlier, he would have surely got his ideas more noticed.

\* \* \* \* \*

Of Wilde, Shaw himself said that his style had not enough matter to carry. There is Karl Marx, on the other hand, whose style has tended to kill the philosophy he would have had the world know. These are the two extremes. The age we live in has produced men who have both style and thought. Prominent among them are Havelock Ellis and Bernard Shaw. But Shaw's brilliance was his bane. The world at large distrusts brilliance. Lesser men console themselves for the lack of it by equating it with instability and, when it is accompanied by a sense of humour, with irresponsibility. Most men can reconcile themselves to a new idea if it is clumsily presented. All of them can enjoy good writing if there is no thought within it. Was it not Richard Burton who said that in a democratic society, the greatest sin was to be born with brains?

\* \* \* \* \*

The influence of Shaw on the times is difficult to gauge. It is impossible to say of any one man that he changed the ideas of his period, except in obituary notices. But of Shaw one thing is certain : That many of the things which were shocking when he first uttered them, are now become current coin. Some of them have even become out-of-date. The reason why Shaw is taken more seriously now is that the paradox of yesterday has ceased to dazzle, has almost ceased to be a paradox. The medium of the stage and the number of plays put out by Shaw both enabled the public to grow familiar with his style. And humour was the element which caught and held public attention. It is a moot point whether the humourist achieves anything beyond amusing his hearers and readers. There are many who hold that to get people to laugh at their own foibles is the best way to restore them to normality. On the other hand, the man who starts getting people to laugh with him at their follies, often ends by being always laughed at himself. The man who would set his mark on the world, must be capable of rousing people to an emotion less balanced than laughter. Humour is, after all, a sense of proportion. Shaw himself has said this often. When one sees things clearly, one is apt to refrain from action because one has lost that singleness of purpose which inspires all action. "I go



to my goal," says Hitler, "with the certainty of a sleep-walker." Schiller was a failure in politics because, where the independent-minded would have seen two sides to a question, he saw several sides. The humourist starts with this initial disadvantage. When he sets up as a critic of everybody and everything, he practically gives up all chances of becoming a prophet or a preacher. Shaw's great achievement is his establishing and popularising the view that any proposition, and equally its opposite, can be maintained. As Benoy Kumar Sarkar puts it, Every time two men are engaged in an argument and one gives in, truth has been sacrificed. And it carries within itself, the cause of Shaw's feeling that his influence has been small. For with men like these one may agree or one may differ, one cannot argue. And the feeling of having influenced people comes only to him who has converted others to his view.

S.

#### A BANDRA DIARY.

We are in the midst of the cricket season in Bombay. The depth to which the communal consciousness has penetrated is shown by the revival of the Pentangular matches after their having been in suspension for some years as the result of the feeling against communalism in sport. That is by the way. In view of the remarks of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru at the Council of World Affairs last week, it is interesting to note the close analogy between the game of Parliamentary politics and the game of cricket. In Parliament there are two sides as in the sport. The Government is the wicket, the Cabinet ministers and their supporters constitute the batters, and the opposition the field and the bowlers. The Speaker is the umpire. In place of the ball, words are hurled in Parliament. Many of the speeches throw little light on the measure or policy under debate. Mostly they are epithets of party and personal reflection. We Indians have mastered the sport sufficiently to be included in Test matches. There is no reason to think that we cannot play the closely analogous parliamentary game with equal distinction. As a matter of fact, there have already been Indians recognised and admired as masters in the parliamentary game. The maintenance of an official block in the Legislature is proof that the official cannot hope to defeat the non-official in the logomachy of debate.

The question, however, is whether the capacity to work the parliamentary system is conclusive or even presumptive evidence of capacity to govern for the good of the governed. The parliamentary system in England evolved historically as a check on the authority of the King and his ministers against encroachments on the rights and liberties of the people. Today it is not only no check but a strong bulwark of authority. As for liberty, the Mosley incident shows that Members of Parliament are enemies of civil freedom while the Executive Government stands forward in vindication of the constitutional rights granted by the Magna Carta. There is a stronger case for protective detention of Mosley and his wife against the fury of public antagonism to them than for preventive detention. In India where the constitutional temper is yet a tender plant, the Parliamentary system is liable to similar abuse. With full consciousness of this possibility, Indians nevertheless demand Parliamentary institutions and demonstrate their ability to work them, because that is the only way in which they can satisfy the British of their ability to govern themselves.

The assumption underlying the parliamentary system, that the affairs of a nation are best directed by a majority of votes, is directly responsible for the demand for the protection of minorities for which no satisfactory scheme has yet been formulated. To discard the majority rule immediately eliminates the minority problem. The value and importance of discussion of public questions cannot be underrated. But it must be possible to secure this without calling in hundreds of persons who are not competent to take part in such discussions. I am rather attracted by the Chinese system which, beginning with a few household units, builds up through progressive stages a constitution in which the social and political phases of national life reinforce each other. I am also attracted by the Japanese institution of Elder Statesmen who, by their age and experience, can advise with disinterested detachment. The party system which is supposed to be essential to democracy, has proved to be a great hindrance to sound administration. The search everywhere is for a national party which will envisage all questions from a national and international point of view. This is not a party system like the totalitarian system but one which eliminates partisanship and promotes the helpful co-operation of all citizens for the common good. If the affairs of a nation are guided by certain recognised fundamental principles and do not depend upon the caprice of the ballot-box, the majority-minority conflict ceases to exist. These are vague and general suggestions but the future constitution not only of India but of all countries must be designed so as to eliminate party politics and majority domination. The Council of World Affairs should begin with a clean slate using past and present systems only for the purpose of avoiding their mistakes.

I take the following from the current *Aryan Path* as having a bearing on this issue:

"Three years and a half ago Mr. H. G. Wells's draft Declaration of the Rights of Man provoked wide-spread discussion. It was not perfect but it offered a spring board to world-reconstructive thought. We are glad that his ideas are still fermenting. A Committee has been working on them. We have received from its 'secretarial co-ordinator' a statement explanatory of the rephrased demands now summed up under 'the Universal Rights of Man.' A commendable attempt has been made to make this formulation even broader-based. It was realised that the former political article followed too closely 'the western parliamentary systems, which have never been effective east of the Rhine.' And

"as we discussed this idea with men of remotely alien outlook and traditions, we realised more and more how western and provincial and conventional many of our assumptions and phrases were and how necessary was a much more searching consideration of social relationships."

RECLUSE.

#### COLOUR AND COLOUR PREJUDICE.

I wonder if there is such a thing as a colour prejudice. I mean is it the colour of the man's skin that matters or is the colour merely a symbol or pretext for the prejudice? A French writer says in "Coloured Men and White Women" that the white colour was regarded as a sign of beauty long before the white people began dominating the world. I do not know how far this is true but it seems likely that the white colour is associated with the dominant race. It is a symbol of power. If the black people were to rule the world, black colour may be the object of envy throughout the world. Women would

use black powder even as dark women today use white powder, though they thereby look grotesque. I have often heard that white people, who are not otherwise colour-prejudiced, prefer a dark skin. I am told a tanned complexion is sought for in Europe by many women. That would show that there is no intrinsic merit in white colour. White races have been dominant in almost all continents for over 300 years. The white colour is everywhere a symbol of power and strength. I have heard Indian journalists complain that men like Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru are partial to Western American journalists. One journalist bitterly complained that the "*Times of India*" representative can get special interviews which are denied to nationalist papers!

Now I, too, have a partiality for the white skin—whether in an Indian or European. Though a brunette myself, I love men with fair skins. I would not feel attracted to a man with dark skin as much as to a white man. This is a real colour prejudice. The colour as such affects me. Is this the case with the Europeans who are said to have colour-prejudice against the black and yellow races? Colour is the most striking thing in a man. If you put an Englishman beside a Negro, you would first be struck by the contrast in colour. Then the Englishman finds some things disagreeable in the Negro and the colour of his skin gets associated with the disagreeable things. If every time you give a meal to a hungry dog you show him a white man, the very sight of the white man will induce the flow of saliva in a dog as if a meal had been served to him. If later you make a black man remove the meal repeatedly, the mere sight of the black man will then acquire a colour prejudice! Again we find that colour prejudice is stronger in white men who reside in Asiatic or African countries than in the white men in their own lands. It is also greater in the colonies and in places where the white man rules over the coloured man. In Africa it is acute. In China it is very mild. In India it is less than in Africa. In India the white man has much less power over the coloured man than he has in Africa but much more than he has in China.

Why does the coloured man affect the white man so disagreeably? Is it because the coloured man's way of living is so different from his? The standard of living of the coloured man is lower than that of the white man as a rule. The coloured races have also not as much regard for social conduct as the white ones. In Africa the dirtiest areas belong to the Indians. Even in India men spit in the trains, trams and walls of buildings as if it was their birth-right. Gandhiji himself was distressed by the unclean anti-social habits of Indians in Durban and Natal. Much of the prejudice or the excuse for a prejudice is acquired in trains and boats. A man with clean habits would find it most trying to travel with Indians. But, perhaps, the most potent cause of the dislike is the economic rivalry between the races. The coloured races have a simpler standard of living and can sell goods cheaper than the white man. They can also work for a lesser salary. So can the Asiatic races beat any industrial country and manufacture goods cheaper than any white country. That was one reason why Japan was hated so much by all white countries.

Once race prejudice is cultivated, other subsidiary causes spring up. Thus the fear of the negro male is great in the white male. With his greater virility, he is a dangerous rival. The negro in America will be better treated as he becomes less virile. In Africa, we are told that it is an offence for a negro to marry or mate with a white woman.

ITHURIEL.

## URDU AND HINDI.

Sir,—Your article on "Urdu in Oosmania University" in the *Reformer* of November 20 maintains the journal's standard of critical acumen, and is a most timely utterance. Let me only take this opportunity of calling your readers' attention to one or two commonsense considerations, which should be obvious to every educated Indian, but which unfortunately our countrymen lose sight of only too commonly, in regard to Urdu, Hindi and Hindustani. A few months back I had occasion to ask a Gujarathi Musalman, posted as Civil Surgeon at the headquarters of our District, how he made himself intelligible to his numerous patients in North Kanara. He said, he knew no Kanarese and but little Marathi, but could make himself understood in English in his dealings with English-knowing people and in Urdu with the rest. I had to take him up on the point and tell him that *there was no such language as Urdu*: "Urdu padhna, Urdu likhna, — Hindustani bolna" (i.e. 'You write Urdu, read Urdu, — but *speak* Hindustani'.) Urdu and Hindi are only two literary styles of what is only one language, which is best named Hindustani. As to the name Hindi, I say, if all India is *Hind*, all Indian languages are Hindi. The Hindustani language, whether in its Deccani form (which was one of the earliest forms—if not the earliest form—in the literary development of the language), or in its North-Indian form (which is now recognised as the standard form of the language), is a language written in two principal scripts, one called the (Deva) Nagari (of Hindu origin) and the other named the Urdu (of Perso-Arabic origin). The grammar and the basic vocabulary of the literature produced in both these scripts are the same. The difference in style may be likened to the difference in Dr. Johnson's Latinised English and the poet Morris's Anglo-Saxonised English. One can imagine Morris composing not in the accepted literary English of his day but preferring to clothe his Nordic or quasi-Nordic or pseudo-Nordic thought in a fabric of revived Saxonisms or 'Teutonic ghosts,' as the vocabulary of some of his poetry was dubbed in his time, and further reducing it to writing not in the accepted Roman characters of the English language of his and our own times, but in the pre-Roman runic (or futhorc) alphabet. But could Morris's poetry on that account be said to be in a language other than English? Obviously, no. Let Urdu then be the name only of the Perso-Arabic script and (at most) of the Perso-Arabised style of the Hindustani language. To use the term for the language should be regarded as an egregious misnomer—as it is also rather derogatory to Hindu self-respect, if you but consider its etymology, reminding us of the marauding Tatar 'hordes' of ancient days.—K. D. Sanzgiri

## NEEDED TWO BILLS.

Sir,

There is the greatest need for the introduction of two bills in the central legislature with a view to eradicating two great social evils under which Hindu society is labouring today.

The lot of the Hindu widows and Hindu deserted wives baffles description. So many of them are compelled to lead a life of shame; not a few of them are forced to desert their religion; and a good many of them commit suicide. The Hindu Widow Remarriage Act was passed as early as 1856 but widow marriages are still the exception rather than the rule. The lot of the deserted is even worse, whereas a Hindu widow can legally remarry, a deserted Hindu wife cannot do so.

Divorce of Hindu Deserted Women's Bill moved in the legislature so that when the bill becomes law, these unfortunate women may obtain a divorce and be entitled to remarry. It should be noted that we are demanding divorce not as a general principle, but under very special and restricted circumstances.

Law passed whereby widowers beyond the age of 30 should not be allowed to marry virgins. This would greatly help the cause of and popularise widow marriage.

It should be seen that the demands are pre-eminently reasonable and the reformers who introduce the suggested bills should not find it difficult to enlist popular support.

RADHA BEHARI,  
Secretary, Widow Marriage  
League, Lucknow.

### FREE TRADE IN VICE.

Sir,—On reading your editorial note with the above heading in last week's *Reformer*, I was left wondering what had become of the girl who was the victim. What generally happens in such cases is that the parents refuse to take back the girl even if, as seldom happens, she is willing to go back to them. In this case, the parents, even if they are willing to take her, are not evidently competent to maintain her and help her to forget the horrible past. It often happens that the victim is thrown on the streets. The newspaper reports do not say if the Judge who tried the case, applied his mind to this aspect of it, or assured himself that the girl would have a fair chance of rehabilitating herself. There are several Homes in Bombay for the care of deserted women and the girl has no doubt been entrusted to one of them. The fact might well be included in reports of such cases.—*SCRUTATOR*.

## THE ARYAN PATH.

Editor: SOPHIA WADIA

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THE MODERN DEMOCRATIC STATE	<i>P. Mauret.</i>

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

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## NOTES.

**Post-war Reconstruction and India:**—There are many direct and oblique discussions on post-war reconstruction. The most important ones are from Britain and America. In these the tendency is to ignore India and, if possible, Asia and Africa. It is unfortunate that these discussions should come at a time when lethargy has overcome the political-minded after intense activity. When schemes for world reconstruction are put forward, the defects in them should be pointed out. It does not help if people who are expected to contribute their share, take up the attitude that nothing can be done by appealing to the controlling powers and India must rely on her own strength. Independence of mind is a good thing—but not in its negative aspect. When everyone is talking loudly, it is foolish for one who has a point of view to put forward, to discover suddenly the virtues of silence and the futility of talk. Those who think that Europe alone cannot be settled right and that the world as a whole has to be taken into consideration, should not keep silent now. Habits of non-co-operation have taken deep roots within us. Certainly they are helpful to those who are exclusively occupied with the problem of preserving Europe's ascendancy.

**The Three Powers and Turkey:**—It seems mysterious that Soviet Russia should have stayed out of the discussions with Turkey which were initiated by the three great powers of the United Nations. The new diplomacy—that it is a change of technique rather than a basic change is shown by the Teheran communique's reference to the discussions between Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin being carried out with the assistance of diplomatic advisers—expresses itself in communiques instead of treaties. Is this because the sanctity of treaties is still respected or because the too frequent repudiation of treaties has led to the United Nations devising another method? The answer to that will depend on the representative character of the signatories to these documents. In a treaty one knows that the country is speaking through the man who represents it. Here the representative is speaking for his country. The difference is elusive. It is not new. An analogous difference is seen between the position of an ambassador and a plenipotentiary in the diplomatic world. Does Russia's keeping out mean that the terms of the agreement reached between Anglo-America and Turkey are already covered by the understanding which both Turkey and Russia have claimed, exist between them? This is the most

likely explanation. They probably fall short of the understanding.

**Raghavendra Rao and Sir Stafford Cripps:**—The late Mr. E. Raghavendra Rao was a Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council when Sir Stafford Cripps brought the proposals of the British Cabinet to New Delhi for presentation to Indian leaders. He was invited to discuss the proposals by Sir Stafford. There were rumours that the discussion between them was stormy and it was even hinted that Raghavendra Rao was practically shown the door by Sir Stafford. The Right Hon. M. R. Jayakar unveiled a portrait of Raghavendra Rao, who was an Andhra domiciled in the Central Provinces, in Madras last week. In his speech on the occasion he revealed the nature of the discussion between Raghavendra Rao and Sir Stafford Cripps. Mr. Jayakar himself was in New Delhi at the time and was staying with Raghavendra Rao. He had the information from Raghavendra Rao directly. Raghavendra Rao urged Cripps to call together the Indian leaders and lay his proposals before them instead of holding discussions with them individually. Mr. Jayakar said that there were great variations between what Sir Stafford said to different persons or at least what different persons understood him to say. Later when President Roosevelt's personal representative, William Phillips, adopted the same method, *The Reformer* pointed out the serious disadvantages incidental to it. Without any intentional duplicity, it is not strange when two men who are perfect strangers to each other discuss questions, public or private, that differences often arise in their interpretations of each other. Some one has observed that when A and B talk to each other, it is not two but six persons who are participating in the talk. There are the two men as they think themselves to be; then there are two as they understand each other to be; and there are the two men as others know them. In the case of Sir Stafford there is a further complication. An admiring biographer has presented to the world Sir Stafford Cripps as an Advocate and a Rebel. With his interviewers in New Delhi he might have alternated between the two characters. We can not bring ourselves to believe that Sir Stafford deliberately expressed himself to his Indian interviewers in different ways. We find it easier to attribute their misunderstanding to his dual personality. The Cripps Mission to New Delhi has produced a vast literature. Mr. Jayakar's speech at the unveiling of Raghavendra Rao's portrait in Madras adds a new chapter. Mr. Jayakar is reported to have said that, if Cripps had stuck to the text of the Cabinet document, no trouble would have arisen at all. The proposals would have been rejected without discussion by the Congress which Cripps was specially anxious to propitiate. Gandhiji's first words on meeting Cripps were said to have been, "Have you come all the way from England to offer us these proposals?"



**Princes and the Paramount Power :—**Lord Linlithgow's declaration of the right of the Paramount Power to satisfy itself from time to time that Indian States continue to deserve protection, has found swift and sharp illustration in the order of the Crown Representative on the report of the Commission which enquired into the charges against the ruler of Rewa. These charges included murder and bribery. The Commission by a majority found the charges not proved, while a minority held that they were all proved. The Crown Representative has accepted the majority opinion as regards the graver charges but has held the ruler guilty of attempting to secure confidential information by bribing an official of the Political Agency. He has imposed conditions which practically reduce the ruler to a nonentity, for his returning to his State and his gadi. The ruler has accepted the conditions, the chief of which are that the Prime Minister and the head of the Police should be nominated by the Crown Representative. We have been eagerly looking forward to the reaction of the Princely Order to this decision of the Crown Representative. Incidentally, it has been suggested with reference to our observation of the inaptness of the term "Protection" in Lord Linlithgow's address to the Princes that "Protection" from their own subjects is as much protection as from outside aggression.

**Small States and Big States :—**A full bench of the Chief Court at Ajmere decided that the notification of the Crown Representative attaching some small Indian States to bigger States in their neighbourhood, was *ultra vires*. The Government of India Act defines the powers of the Crown Representative which do not include the forcible annexation of them to other States. In International Law no distinction is recognised between small and big States. Luxemburg had the same status as France. The British Empire had no higher status than Switzerland or Belgium. Applying this principle to Indian States, the political status of each State is entirely independent of the extent of its area or the amount of its revenue. The States have been very jealous of their treaty rights. A Treaty is a treaty whether made with a large State or a small one. If the Crown Representative can attach a small State to a big State, he can with equal legality attach a big State to a small one. Hyderabad may be attached to Sandur, for example. The effect would be the same. If the States, big and small, can be persuaded to unite not only with each other but also with British India, it would be a great and beneficent achievement. But it should be done in a legal way. Lord Linlithgow's ukase has been declared by a Court to be illegal. The illegality will, no doubt, be cured as it has been in other cases by another order declaring the attachment to be retrospectively valid. Indian opinion has looked on the Crown Representative's action with apparent acquiescence as Indian opinion, or the more articulate part of it, desires nothing so much as the extinction of the Indian States as simplifying the Indian problem. A future National Government would use Lord Linlithgow's ukase as a precedent and attach bigger States to British India or to a smaller State which is able to secure its goodwill. The policy is calculated to drive a wedge between the bigger and smaller States.

**The "Hitavada" Case :—**The Central Provinces Government has withdrawn its order on the Editor of the *Hitavada* of Nagpur, asking him to reveal the source of information published in that newspaper about the Bengal Chief Secretary's resignation. The reason given for it is that the Editor has written a letter to the President of the Editors' Conference stating that there was nothing to justify the

impression that there was a leakage in the censorship. This reason is as good as any other irrelevant reason might be. Now that the affair is ended, nobody would wish to rake up the past. Yet we should like to point out that, even if the leakage had occurred through the censorship, the Government had no justification for its order. This is not a question of the Editor's privileged position with his correspondents—not so far as the Government is concerned. The Editor's relations with his informants are a matter of internal arrangement in a newspaper office. The Editor's Conference is the authority to settle the points arising out of this and the resolution of the Standing Committee on the *Hitavada* at Delhi lays down the etiquette when it says that the Editor must protect his informant. The Government, on the other hand, has a general principle to consider: Newspapers are not criminal conspiracies. The Editor of a newspaper takes the full responsibility before the law for everything he prints in his pages. If Government has any cause for complaint, it should proceed straight against the Editor, instead of adopting dubious methods of coercion to find out who else was responsible for the news coming to light. The C. P. Government seems to suggest that had there been leakage in the censorship, it would have been justified in the action it threatened. From this to feeling satisfaction at having threatened action because it has cleared the censorship is a short step. It would be a downward step. The Defence of India Rules and their penal clauses should not become substitutes for departmental inquiries. If the Blair incident shook Government's confidence in the censorship office, the remedy was not to try to bully the *Hitavada* Editor into unprofessional conduct but to investigate its own side. There is another aspect. All this confusion has arisen because the C. P. Government failed to make use of the consultative machinery set up by the All India Editors' Conference and the Central Government. The confusion vanished the moment the machinery came into play. The moral is obvious.

**The "Examiner" Explains:—**The *Examiner* of December 4 has two notes which throw much light on how it looks on Christianity. The first of these has been provoked by a paragraph in Mr. K. M. Munshi's *Social Welfare* attributing Bernard Shaw's sense of futility to utter disillusionment. The *Examiner* uses the occasion to preach a brief sermon on Christian humility which, it says, a Hindu can hardly understand. Many Catholic Editors must often, in its opinion, sympathise with Shaw's feeling that one says a lot of things but nothing ever happens. Christian humility, as ordinarily interpreted, is difficult to understand, and not only for Hindus. It seems on the occasions on which it manifests itself, to be another form of vanity. It is a contradiction in terms. There is a surprising naivete in the *Examiner's* retort to *The Reformer's* remark that organised Christianity has not necessarily been a beneficial influence on aborigines. It narrates the story of Americans cast adrift when their ship was torpedoed. They were approached by a Gilbert Island savage with a knife in his hand. As he had been converted to Christianity, he rescued the men instead of slaughtering them as he might otherwise have done. This, says the *Examiner*, left the sailors at any rate in no doubt as to whether Christianity was beneficial to the aborigines. Strange comment, very strange, indeed. We should have thought even the *Examiner* would have realised that the sailors were the beneficiaries and not the aborigine.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, December 11, 1943.

## "WORLD FAMILY OF DEMOCRATIC NATIONS."

The Cairo Conference between Chiang Kai-Shek, Churchill and Roosevelt has been succeeded by the Teheran Conference between Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin. As all four had agreed after Moscow on certain general principles, the Cairo meeting was restricted to the three Pacific belligerents where Russia is neutral; and the Teheran meeting dealt with Europe where Chiang cannot do much. Each conference has been followed by a statement. The Moscow talks led to a communique declaring the policy of the United Nations; the Cairo conference gave the blue-prints of the war in the Pacific and the peace to follow; and the Teheran statement dealt with Europe after the war. Each of the two war statements contains one item giving a hint of what is to come. Cairo promised independence to Korea, after some time. Teheran resulted in a separate negotiated pact with Iran guaranteeing the independence of Iran and economic assistance to it. In some ways Cairo went further. It announced the restoration to China of all territories ever taken from it by Japan even before World War I. That is China's reward for postponement of the all-out fight in the Pacific. Russia, on the other hand, has been given the bird-in-the-hand. Zero hour for a super second front, says Reuter, has been reached.

Before passing on to the more serious issues raised by these statements, it may be well to take notice of the gossip cabled out to us. At Cairo Chiang Kai-Shek was offered the centre seat in a group photograph by Roosevelt who gave it because it was Chiang's first appearance at a conference of world leaders. Chiang refused it and gave it back to Roosevelt. Aesthetically speaking, the slim figure of the Chinese Generalissimo would have been better placed between the ample forms of Churchill and Roosevelt. At Teheran, Stalin has monopolised the limelight without anyone offering it to him. But publicity does not mean power and for all this Stalin might have been a cipher at Teheran. There are many reasons for Stalin's popularity. It is the first time the Russian leader has stepped outside his territory. Stalin is, besides, the least publicised man so far. Moreover, he is to date the hero of World War II. Also it is useful now for the United Nations to inflate Stalin. So we are told that his hair has gone steel-grey and that the war has brought on his face lines of care. We are told also that he dominated the conference, his moods ranging from "vivacious merriment at nightly banquets to moments of impenetrable impassivity." Stalin's banquetting mood is the one side of him that is well known. Rumour has it that he is accustomed to end his diplomatic dinners with party chiefs with drinking parties where all save one are put under. Then Stalin unburdens his mind to the survivor. Apparently at Teheran that stage was not reached. If it has been and we are not told of it, Churchill and Stalin would have strange tales to tell. This, however, is a matter for imaginative writers. We would merely point to Europe's innate disbelief in American political capabilities as a probable line of talk. Incidentally, the news that Stalin dominated the conference is, if true, not very reassuring. There have been many reasons assigned for the success of Russian resistance. Some have given the credit to Communism. Others have complimented the Russian spirit of nationalism which has lived

through Bolshevism. But these have been writers outside Russia. To Russians the success of their country is the success of Stalin's policies. And whatever they may have been at different times, they have all had one quality about them: Distrust of one's collaborators. Whether this spirit will see Europe into a better world, is doubtful. The failure of Wilson was the defeat of idealism. The future of Europe will begin not with the spread of Stalin's policies and methods but after these have exhausted themselves. Stalin is *par excellence* the one representative of the post-1920 world. Those who hope for better things, must look beyond him. But there is nothing in the statements released by the three leaders to show that Stalin has been the dominating figure at the Conference. In fact, Stalin is not given to generalities and these are all generalities. The style is more related to that of Roosevelt whose four freedoms began the enunciation of peace aims even before the U. S. A. entered the war. For any touch of authentic Stalinism, one must go not to the documents but to the manner of dealing with other nations begun with Iran and continued with Turkey since the above was written. The three powers, negotiating separately with other countries instead of facing all at a common conference, might be the high mark of Soviet diplomacy. Says Ciliga in "Russian Enigma":

The method by which representatives of the Russian Communist Party hold the reins of the Comintern is that of entirely isolating the various parties. Each of them knows only his own Party and the Russian one .... When they showed interest in the doings of other national sections, it was only to uphold the propositions of the Russian Party.

This is a point to be noted. It may go far to decide the nature of post-war Europe and the post-war world.

Korea and Iran are the two keys to future policy. What the United Nations promise Korea is the least they can give countries like Burma, Malaya, Siam and Indo-China. The difference is that Korea was occupied decades ago and Burma only yesterday. Any discrimination against Burma would imply that, when all is said and done, Korea under Japanese rule had progressed more politically than Burma under Britain. This would be a manifest absurdity. The three great powers, China, Britain and the U. S. A., are "determined that in due course Korea shall be free and independent." Obviously the words mean that the three powers guarantee to take up this responsibility and to work together to this end in Korea. Then with Iran, the communique issued by the three great powers, Russia, Britain and the U. S. A., and one small one guarantees the territorial integrity and independence of Iran in consideration of help rendered in the war. The help was rendered after a period of, shall we say, obstruction. India played some part both in bringing about the changed attitude and in keeping Iran going for a time. India surely is entitled to as much as Iran. The Iran treaty—for that is what it is in effect—is valuable mainly because it commits Stalin to the Atlantic Charter. The last words read, "They (the governments of the U. S. A., the U. S. S. R. and the United Kingdom) count on the participation of Iran, together with all other peace-loving nations, in the establishment of international peace, security and prosperity after the war in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter to which all four Governments continue to subscribe." Does this show that Stalin has dominated the conference? Or does it not rather prove that he has been put into the "centre seat" and, unlike

Chiang, did not refuse it? The more propaganda there is honouring him like this, the more tied up will Stalin find himself in the policies of his allies. Possibly his "impenetrable passivity" is caused by fits of introspection when he is asking himself whether he was wise to go into such a conference. For a long time Stalin owed his dominant position to his silence. Then he started speaking and he lost some of his reputation for sagacity. Then he still owed something to his not attending conferences. Now he has started attending them and his influence seems to be on the wane.

Apart from their determination to wage unrelenting war against the German armies the three leaders declare their intention to establish permanent peace. Their statement explains how they propose to do this. We quote:

We recognise fully the supreme responsibility resting upon us and all the United Nations to make a peace which will command the goodwill of the overwhelming masses of the peoples of the world and banish the scourge of the terror of war for many generations.

With our diplomatic advisers we have surveyed problems of future. We shall seek the co-operation and active participation of all nations large and small whose peoples in heart and mind are dedicated, as are our own peoples, to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance. We will welcome them as they may choose to come into the world family of democratic nations.

It is too early now to consider what this means. There is a further bit about people living their own lives, untouched by tyranny, according to their varying desires and their own consciences. A measure of this has been achieved in Britain where the Communists are allowed to carry on, save in emergencies. No one can be an advocate of capitalism in Russia. Are political minorities to be exchanged as well as racial minorities? The paragraph quoted above gives the outlines of the successor to the League of Nations. On the one side, the nations joining must choose to join it. What happens to those who do not so choose? On the other, they have to qualify themselves by being fit to join. Their heart and mind must be dedicated, as with the peoples of the three governments, to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance. This will, we presume, be decided by the three powers. Those who do not wish to join, may be assumed to be not so dedicated in heart and mind. Therefore not fit. Therefore, proper objects for "education." That will solve one problem. The other may be got over by rejecting their applications and placing them under a period of tutelage, as is being done with Korea. To call this a "world family of democratic nations" is to play with words. The Teheran manifesto is a war manifesto. It should have avoided these vague and empty generalisations on peace reconstruction. If this was all they had to say, the three leaders might well have kept silent. As a matter of fact, the three themselves could scarcely be expected to agree on the meaning of the words used by them.

**Calcutta:**—The news that Calcutta has stood the Japanese raid of last Sunday well, is heartening. Coming as it does on the heels of the recent food shortage and the sufferings of the citizens, the raid was a fresh ordeal which the citizens have endured, according to published accounts, with fortitude. This is a unique instance of enemy attacks following on dislocation of civic life on a large scale. The authorities have done well in releasing casualty figures promptly.

#### SMUTS ON POST WAR-EUROPE.

Readers of Lloyd George's "War Memories" know that General Smuts' estimates at various stages of the first World War were more often wrong than right. But they were always positive, absolute. His discourse on what he thought would be the position of Europe at the end of the present war, should be judged in the light of that experience. The General thinks that Europe will be quite a different continent then. This everybody sees. But how it would differ from the pre-war Europe, is a different matter. General Smuts said that three great powers, France, Germany and Italy, have either disappeared or would have disappeared from the map at the end of the war. Russia will be the colossus straddling the continent. Great Britain will regain her glories as the missionary of freedom but will be a poor country from the material, economic point of view. She can maintain her power, however, by getting the smaller western democracies, which cannot stand by themselves, to pool their resources with herself and her dominions. By the smaller western democracies General Smuts evidently meant Belgium and Holland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden. Whether he included France also in the category, is not clear. Whether France which, on the eve of her collapse, refused Mr. Winston Churchill's invitation to coalesce with Great Britain, would agree to do so when she has ceased to be a great power and must acquiesce in a subordinate role is a matter of speculation. France was Great Britain's buttress against Germany. It was in deference to French insistence that the British agreed to the devastating terms of the Treaty of Versailles. If they had their own way, the British would have framed more moderate terms both because the British temper is disinclined to extremism and because there was a considerable body of British opinion kindly disposed towards the Germans who were closer to Britain by race and history than France. General Smuts speaks confidently of Germany becoming and remaining a cypher in European life. Germany's position was hopeless enough under the Treaty of Versailles. Yet she surmounted all her difficulties and emerged as the strongest military power in the world in less than ten years. Would this people remain extinguished because General Smuts wants them to do so? Who will keep the Germans down and at what cost? General Smuts obviously expects Russia to undertake the job. But Russia has clearly expressed herself against any post-war arrangement which would deny the German people legitimate opportunities of national regeneration without endangering the freedom and prosperity of her neighbour. This Russian attitude is the outcome not only of statesmanlike prudence but also of Russia's distrust of other Powers. The only reference General Smuts made to Asia is that Japan too will be wiped off the map and will cease to exercise any check on Russia. He did not deign to speak a single word about poor China. He evidently does not seriously take the adulation lavished on China as a great Power. Perhaps he would say of her as he says of France, "We may talk about her as a Great Power but talking will not help her much." On the same day that it was announced that China had signed the Three Power Pact at Cairo, the Chinese Minister of Agriculture proclaimed that his country would require vital assistance from the United States to develop her agriculture and industries. The United States has been generous to China in the past and will no doubt be so in the future. But the role of

a great Power without the resources of a Great Power is hard to sustain.

General Smuts' address was delivered at a private meeting of the British Empire Parliamentary Association in November. It was not published for two weeks and it was published at General Smuts' own request. Evidently the General regards it as an important pronouncement which should not be allowed to languish in the cold air of a coterie of friends and admirers. The publication has led to questions in Parliament and to the repudiation of General Smuts' views by the British Government. In particular the British Government does not relish the General's forecast of the future of France. The British Government with the American Government has repeatedly declared that France would be restored to her position as a Great Power. When the General says that this is highly improbable at least for a generation, the French both outside and inside the occupied area are sure to become suspicious of their Allies' intentions especially after their forced retraction of the raid on the independence of the Lebanon. Another point in General Smuts' disquisition which the British cannot swallow, is his prediction that Britain will be a morally great but materially poor country. Moral greatness with material poverty is reserved for India as part of the British Empire. The Englishman does not appreciate this high role. He has always liked to be materially wealthy and to be considered to be also morally unapproachable. The prospect of poverty does not appeal to any class of Englishmen. It was the Communist freelance Member of Parliament, Shinwell, who declared in Parliament that, despite General Smuts' forecast, Britain intended to continue to be a wealthy country. Why did the General make the speech and insist on its being published? The explanation lies at the end of the address. Behind a cloud of words the General's object is easily discernible. He has, from the beginning of the entry of South Africa into the war, hinted more than once his purpose to be to make the South African Union the paramount power over all Africa. He wants to dominate the dark continent. What it will mean to the native Africans needs no great prescience to foresee. Turkey has protested that General Smuts' idea is identical with that of the Nazis

#### RURAL WORKERS' TRAINING COLLEGE.

The prospectus and programme of the Rural Workers Training College at Pohri, Gwalior, a copy of which has been sent to us, begins with the announcement that the institution is founded as a nucleus of the Rural University of the future at Pohri with the object of establishing an All India seat for the training of rural and constructive national workers. The association of the words "rural" and "constructive" as practically synonymous seems to narrow down constructive work to ruralisation. But this is not evidently what is meant. The College and the University when it comes into being, will, we are told, follow "the elemental process of self-unfolding, in harmony with the principles of the "World Order and the four freedoms that it envisages for all peoples in all lands." The prospectus proceeds:

With this great vision of the world that is to come, of which India is an indispensable part, this Training College will strive to build up traditions, adopt methods and systems, and train up the type of constructive workers that may suit the needs of post-war national reconstruction.

From the qualifications for admission to the College listed in the prospectus, it appears that the promoters and conductors are strongly influenced by the Gandhian ideology, though no

reference whatever is made to it in the pamphlet. This is evident from the two conditions that the candidate should be a habitual wearer of Khadi cloth produced at the institution and he should be a non-smoker. Total abstinence from alcoholic drinks and intoxicating drugs is not expressly included in the compulsory rules of observance but it is no doubt implied in the strict observance of discipline which is required of the student.

The Rural Workers' Training College is an offshoot of the Adarsha Seva Sangh founded twenty three years ago. The life members of the Sangh have been engaged since then in work of rural reconstruction. Raj Rajendra Col. Maloji Rao Nrisingh Rao Saheb Shitole has endowed the Sangh with several buildings in which are housed the Adarsha Vidyalya run on the Wardha system; the Gram Kala Mandir (Cottage Industries Institute), surrounded by several model villages created by the workers trained by the Sangh. The College gives theoretical instruction as well as practical training and has a hostel for 100 students. Graduates in Arts or of equivalent qualifications are alone eligible for admission. The training at the College is free. Each student should deposit Rs. 10 for the library which will be returned when he leaves the institution after completing the course. The College opens on the first January. Students wishing to join should apply before December 15 with necessary papers.

#### A BANDRA DIARY.

The term "Vedanta" comprises the philosophical treatises attached to the Vedas, particularly the Upanishads. Post-Buddhistic Hinduism is based on the Upanishads, with the Brahma Sutras and the Bhagavad Gita which are systematised and synthesised presentations of the teachings of the Upanishads. All the three schools of Hindu religious philosophy are Vedantic because each of them is developed in commentaries on these three authoritative scriptures. Specifically, however, the term Vedanta is understood to denote the monistic philosophy of Shankaracharya not only by Hindus but also by European scholars, like Prof. Deussen. The central teaching of this school is that God is the only Reality and that all else is illusory and transient. Among English Poets, Shelley and Wordsworth and, perhaps, Keats, were distinctly Vedantists in this sense, Shelley's description of Life as a "dome of many-coloured glass which Death tramples into fragments" is a very close approach to the monistic view. Wordsworth glimpsed "the gleam, the light that never was on sea or land, the consecration and the poet's dream." But Robert Browning was surely not of these. He had too robust a faith in the world and action to be a Vedantist. "This world to me is no blot nor blank: it means intensely and means well; to know its meaning is my meat and drink." "The sin I impute to each frustrate ghost, is the unlit lamp and the ungirt loin." I was surprised and interested, therefore, on seeing the headline in the current *Prabuddha Bharatha*, "Browning, the Buddhist and Vedantist." The Vedantist will indignantly repudiate kinship with Buddhism. Shankara aimed his sharpest shafts at Buddhism. To be a Buddhist and Vedantist at once is like being a Muslim Leaguer and a Hindu Sabhaite at the same time. Several of the passages which Mr. D. M. Desai quotes from Browning's poems have no point of similarity with either Buddhism or with the Vedanta.

Impressions and opinions about a country so large as India may and must differ. But I wonder if they

can differ so widely and fundamentally as mine do from many of those expressed in Mr. Madan Gopal's article in the current *Aryan Path* with the headline "India's Problem of Problems; the Fixed Attitude." My own anxious concern for some time has been not "the fixed attitude" but the want of any definite attitude, the general state of flux, the yearning for compromise, the lack of faith in anything and in oneself, which are distressingly evident in so many spheres of Indian life. If I should seek a headline for an article on India's problems, it should be the very opposite of Mr. Madan Gopal's. "Want of a fixed attitude: Lack of faith." Just because of this general unsettlement and instability, leadership in India (and elsewhere) inevitably falls to men and women who exhibit in their lives some little measure of steadiness and consistency, who do not lightly drift with every passing breeze, who take their stand on principle and refuse to be diverted from it by tempting shadows. Even stupid obstinacy often gets mistaken for talent for leadership. Human nature, Mr. Madan Gopal laments, is conservative. On the other hand, I am glad that human nature inclines to stability. It is conservatism which gives stability to society. It is curious that Mr. Madan Gopal should inveigh against conservatism when all the world is panting for security. In my college I learnt that the West had progressed from status to contract. To-day it seems to be groping its way back to status, because all the so-called Security plans are plans to assure individuals of economic and social position. Let us examine some of the illustrations which Mr. Madan Gopal gives in support of his thesis. Indian society, he says, gives one complete freedom of thought but closely restricts it when it comes to putting ideas into practice. The complete freedom of thought in Indian society is to its credit while it is not the only society in which freedom of action in accordance with one's ideas is restricted. In Soviet Russia which is, I suppose, the most advanced country today there is neither freedom of thought nor of action. Oswald Mosley would not agree that there is freedom of opinion—let alone action—in the land of which one of its poets laureate wrote as "the land which sober-suited freedom chose, a land where girt by friends or foes, a man may speak the thing he wills." "You are not expected", writes Mr. Madan Gopal, "to strike a new line." As a matter of fact I have often observed that the youth of the present generation is far less eager to "strike a new line," whatever that may mean, than the youth of my generation. Mr. Madan Gopal avers that, if an Indian acted on his own ideas, he would find that his daughter will not find any one to marry her. Many men who have strayed from the beaten track without the excuse of any original idea, have had no difficulty in finding men to marry their daughters, if they had attractive dowries. Some of the "age-old meaningless traditions" are discovered to be better than their modern substitutes. A friend of mine who suffered from piles went to London and consulted a specialist. The doctor advised him, among other things, to stick to his national habit of using water for purposes for which the progressive Englishman used paper. When I was Bishop Fisher's guest at Ann Arbor, he showed me the arrangement of his bath in the Indian fashion instead of wallowing in a tub. Many European women who envy the Indian sari, dare not wear them instead of their own clothes for fear of social disapprobation. These are trivial instances but they are typical of more serious affairs, which I may illustrate on

another occasion. Mr. Madan Gopal unjustly asperses his society which in most respects is freer, more tolerant, more indulgent than society in most other countries.

RECLUSE.

## IS PHILOSOPHY AN ANACHRONISM?

(BY M. A. RUCKMINI, MADRAS.)

### I

Notwithstanding the fact or the drawing-room-comment that public and political memory is so short, it is not likely that people would have forgotten the loud professions, protestations, and claims that were vigorously and vociferously voiced after the world-war of 1914-1918 to the effect that it was the "War to end all future Wars" and "War to make the world safe for democracy" and so forth. There is no doubt that certain prominent political personalities and moulders of world-thought, good, true, and pious folk, did their best to adumbrate schemes on paper to perpetuate peace in the world and goodwill to all fellowmen. To-day the whole world knows that all those pet paper-peace-proposals have flown down the current and perished in the Ocean of Time like so many petty paper-boats! Without growing nervous and sentimental, the thinking section of mankind stands to-day aghast at the colossal destruction of men, money, and materials brought about by some few war-mongers. Plato may or may not have been right when he said that all philosophy began in wonder. One must face Reality as it is. It is cowardly to seek to fly from the hard and stubborn realities of life however ugly and unpleasant these may be. Is all this colossal waste, this hatred and mistrust, this merciless destruction of hospital ships and civilians, women and children, understandable in God's world? Is it compatible with His Mercy and Goodness? What philosophical justification or explanation can be afforded of all this as *ex post-facto* rationalisation, and as some guidance for the future? Or, may it be that philosophy has fled to brutish beasts, it has no longer any serious survival-value? To put the matter direct, Is Philosophy today an anachronism? In the following paragraphs I propose briefly to discuss the problem and indicate some solution to the extent it may admit of any at all.

The tendency has been deeply ingrained in man (it is too tragic to think of him as Homo Sapiens of creation) not to remain idle or rest content merely with the satisfaction of physical cravings which he shares with animal creation, (as the well known Sanskrit dictum has it—Aahara-nidra-bhaya-maithunam-cha .. Food, Sleep, Fear and Sex attraction are shared by man and animal alike.) Thinking man strives to wrest the Fundamental Truths of Existence with the aid of his keen and supreme intelligence denied to animals, in virtue of which the claim is sometimes urged he is the lord of creation. Straight from the primitive times when man nomadic, struggling for his very existence, and groping in cosmic darkness, began his explorations of natural environment and Reality, right-up to the present days of civilisation and progress when man has compelled Nature to reveal her secrets and effected numerous discoveries which have bridged space, spanned time, and otherwise added to the endless amenities of existence, an esoteric or subterranean craving has persisted and is still persisting in the minds of men and women to get an insight into the mysteries of the world-order or the cosmic show. Side by side with the prayer "Give us this day our bread,"



is also uttered another—"Give us this day our *Supernatural bread.*"

In course of the march of ages this innate craving has been rationally rectified as it were and rendered articulate in the different systems and patterns of philosophy. Originally doubtless philosophy in the sense of wisdom embraced practically all intellectual pursuits like the positive sciences of economics, politics and physical disciplines and Aristotle effected a discrimination and assigned a separate or independent place for "Meta-physics" as he styled pure philosophy.

Be that as it may, *two* views of philosophy deserve especial mention. Philosophy means a set of ideas involving plan, program, procedure and goal which must precede all action according to well-established principles of psychology. Thus, a habitual criminal has a philosophy of his own. So has an economist, a politician, and financial speculator and so forth. This too general and comprehensive sense is of no use. It is the second, specialized sense of philosophy that matters most. In this pragmatically restricted connotation, philosophy means systematic inquiry into the nature of the universe, its Creator, and finite selves and their inter-relation.

This latter inquiry has been subject to the same laws of sociological evolution as any other phenomenon. Mystery faced primitive man wherever he turned. Earthquake, Thunder and Lightning, even seasonal periodicity, and the uniformity of natural phenomena stimulated inquiry. Even civilised man of the present-day cannot altogether repudiate the sense of mystery. Inquiring minds were kept in a state of perpetual tension. Different theories were formulated. Each served as a working hypothesis. None could be final. No one could assert, "This is the truth and nothing else."

In this manner, philosophical ideas and systems have evolved from primitive times, through the hey-day of prosperity in Greek thought, subsequent lapses into obscurity and obscurantism of the dark and the middle ages until the scientific revolution necessitated a reorientation and readjustment of the concepts of philosophy. A mere glance at the systems of European and American speculative philosophy would convince one that philosophy as a rational methodology is just the product of evolution. Their germs lie in ancient Greek thought. They had to pass through some inevitable vicissitudes before final crystallization. The Dark Ages with the domination of the Church and Ecclesiastical Dictatorship prevailed. Subsequently, there was the dawn of the glorious scientific era.

In India too more or less the same story has been screened on the philosophical canvas. From the Vedic time of nature-worship, through the dark ages of sacerdotal ritualism, to the Atman-Brahman philosophy of the Upanishads, there has been witnessed only an evolution of concepts. There is one difference. In European thought during the days of the domination of the Church, philosophy had been made the handmaid of the clergy. At the time of the scientific advancement of the 18th and 19th centuries, philosophy had to stand before the bar of laboratory disciplines. In India philosophy succeeded always in holding its head high, and is luckily free from the complications of the struggle between science and philosophy as on Western lines.

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Islampur ( " " )	Nandurbar ( " " )
Kirloskarwadi ( " " )	Shirpur ( " " )
Satara ( " " )	Shahada ( " " )
Shirala ( " " )	Sakri ( " " )
Koregaon ( " " )	Sindheda ( " " )
Tasgaon ( " " )	Nasik (District Nasik).
Wai ( " " )	Malegaon ( " " )
Ahmednagar (District Ahmednagar).	Satana ( " " )
Belapur ( " " )	Lasalgaon ( " " )
Rahuri ( " " )	Nandgaon ( " " )
Shevgaon ( " " )	Ghoti ( " " )
Kopergaon ( " " )	Dohad (District Panch Mahals).
Pathardi ( " " )	Godhra ( " " )
Vambori ( " " )	Jhalod ( " " )
Bhiwandi (District Thana).	Aklot (District Sholapur).
Kalyan ( " " )	Panvel ( " Kolaba ).
Paigwar ( " " )	Nadiad ( " Kaira ).

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## THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

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

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## NOTES.

**South African Indians:**—No one who has followed the trend of events in South Africa for the last forty years, could have dreamt that a Minister of the Union Government would make a public pronouncement in favour of admitting Indians to municipal and parliamentary franchise, as the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Clarkson, made early this month. *The Reformer* had suggested on the results of the recent general elections giving a decisive majority to General Smuts' Government that the General may utilise the trust reposed in him to revise the anti-Indian policy of successive South African Governments including his own and place it on a footing more in harmony with his character as a philosopher. Mr. Clarkson's speech to some extent is a realisation of this hope. The Minister of the Interior said that the Indian population was nearly equal in number to the population of European descent, that it was growing in economic and educational status, that as practically the great bulk of it was South-African born, it was absurd to think in terms of repatriating it, and that the just and statesmanlike course was to accord it full citizenship. We do not like Mr. Clarkson's suggestion that the Indian franchise should be communal but until we shake off this incubus in India, we cannot, with any chance of being heard, insist upon a common roll in South Africa. This change of attitude on the part of the Union Government—Mr. Clarkson would certainly not have spoken without prior consultation with the Prime Minister—may be due to the strong attitude of the Government of India and the wisdom and moderation with which Indians in South Africa have met the crisis caused by the Pegging Act. The possibility of Lord Wavell's friendly gesture on the arrival of General Smuts in London having influenced Mr. Clarkson's pronouncement cannot be ruled out. Anyhow we welcome the speech which we are glad to see has been well received by the South African Press. Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan, High Commissioner in South Africa, on his return from leave in India, made a speech which caused some disquiet in India. He was reported to have said that Indians in South Africa should not look to the Indian Government for support but themselves settle their differences with the local white men. We have not so far been able to do this in India with all our advantages of number and organisation and it is certainly too much to ask of the Indians situated as they are in South Africa. Sir Shafaat on a reference from the Overseas

Department of the Government of India, has declared the report to be totally misleading. The policy of India, as more than once authoritatively stated, is that, so long as Indians are denied full citizenship in any country within or without the British Commonwealth, it cannot divest itself of responsibility for their protection. But wherever they are accorded full citizenship India has no further responsibility for their political and economic future. The cultural tie will, of course, be cherished and strengthened in every way possible.

**India and Burma:**—The Hon. Dr. N. B. Khare, Overseas Member of the Government of India, is holding a Conference in Bombay on the subject of the position of Indians in Burma. Their position just before the outbreak of the war was not of the pleasantest. The Burmese Government had made humiliating conditions which were regarded by Sir Girjashankar Bajpai as the best obtainable in the circumstance from a Burma just parted from India. The outbreak of the war suddenly changed the situation. Indian troops were rushed to the defence of Burma as if she still remained a part of the Indian Empire. The Government of Burma withdrew and established itself in Simla. The Japanese overran the country and established military control. Recently they have proclaimed Burma to be an independent country and got the Burmese Government to declare war on the Allies. That the Independence of Burma is no better than the independence of Lebanon granted by the Free French, is evident. It may be revoked unilaterally as was done by the Free French on the slightest sign of the theory being reduced to practice. Nevertheless Burma can not after the war be treated as a dependency of Britain or India. The United Nations will have to decide on her future status. India as one of the Allied Nations will, of course, officially follow the lead of Britain. Non-official Indian opinion is opposed to imperialism in any form. India's relations with Burma will, therefore, have to be a matter of mutual agreement. Indian opinion will not favour the acquisition of any rights in Burma by force. Even rice so urgently needed in this country should be secured through the regular channels of honest and honourable trade. Those Indians who had invested capital and acquired property rights in Burma at the invitation of the British Government, should look to that Government for compensation. India can never be willingly a party to the Burmese being coerced after the expulsion of the Japanese from Burma.

**Bengal Victims:**—The destitute and the starving are not the only victims of Bengal's evil star. Two of her Governors within five years have succumbed to stomach disorders. Sir John Herbert died last week after a painfully prolonged illness aggravated by political dissensions and economic disaster in the province over which he ruled for four years. The sanitary and dietetic arrangements of Calcutta Government House will no doubt be investigated and, if need be,

overhauled by the appropriate authorities. Apart from the idiosyncracies of individual Governors, Sir John Herbert had made his task more strenuous than it was by his attitude to his Ministers. It is evident that the Bengal province, as at present constituted, is too heavy a burden for one man even with greater experience and a more equable temper than the last incumbent. Lord Curzon realised this and his idea of distributing the responsibility between two men was sound. His manner of giving effect to it was more responsible for the agitation which has since continued to poison political life than the Partition itself. Also the lines of partition were not carefully determined and Curzon himself disclaimed responsibility for the shape it took. The strain of Bengal administration has been enormously increased by the emergence of the Muslim League. Recent events have convinced all but the most inveterate provincialists that a strong Central Government whose writ runs through the length and breadth of India, in the words of the Chairman of the Madras Chamber of Commerce, is the prime need of the country. The establishment of such a Government will be greatly facilitated by a re-distribution of Indian provinces into forty or fifty administrative units with approximately 10 or 12 millions each as the maximum population. Bengal will fall into four or five such units. The present provinces do not represent any rational principle of decentralisation. Provincial autonomy has been interpreted to mean virtual independence. Nothing but a radical redistribution of provinces will enable a Central Government to be set up with authority, moral even more than statutory, to control the administration in the interests of the country as a whole.

**The Hindu Mahasabha :—**The re-election of Mr. V. D. Savarkar to the presidentship of the Hindu Mahasabha by 16 votes against 6 for Dr. Shyam Prasad Mukherji, is somewhat puzzling. Mr. Savarkar resigned the office which he had filled with distinction for several years, some months ago on the ground of poor health and was persuaded to continue until the next Standing Committee meeting at which his resignation was accepted. Dr. Shyam Prasad Mukherji was nominated for election in his place. Mr. Savarkar seems to have recovered his health sufficiently to go back on his decision to retire. If Dr. Shyam Prasad was appraised of this change, he would probably have withdrawn his candidature. If he was informed that Mr. Savarkar was standing for re-election and still did not see fit to withdraw, it can only mean that there are differences on points of principle between Mr. Savarkar and Dr. Shyam Prasad. It has been evident for some time that Mr. Savarkar's attitude to the National Congress and the Muslim League did not coincide with that of Dr. Mukherji. Mr. Savarkar has somehow conceived it to be his principal duty as spokesman of the Mahasabha to attack the two organisations in season and out of season. Dr. Shyam Prasad, on the other hand, has been working so as to promote co-operation with these bodies as far as possible and, where there were insuperable differences, to deal with them in a conciliatory spirit. That Dr. Mukherji's policy has the support of prominent Indian leaders was shown by the advice given by Mr. M. R. Jayakar in a recent speech in Madras to the Mahasabha leaders to cease inveighing against Congress and the Muslims and to concentrate on the promotion of the broad, tolerant principles of Hindu culture. Mr. Jayakar's advice has drawn forth a lengthy expostulation from the *Mahratta* which nowadays functions as the organ of the Mahasabha. The *Mahratta* appreciates Mr. Jayakar's advice but points out that,

owing to differences of ideology especially as regard communal franchise and weightages, the Mahasabha spokesmen are obliged to attack the Congress and the Muslim League. But surely ideological differences are best expressed in ideological terms without descending to offensive imputations of motive.

**Duty of Hindus :—**The issue of the *Mahratta* which contains the comments on Mr. Jayakar's speech, also prints what appears to be a manifesto by the President to electors in some forthcoming elections. Almost the whole of it is an exhortation to the electorate and others to demonstrate that the Congress is the enemy of the Hindus and that to vote for a Congress candidate is to vote for Pakistan. This is surprising because the attitude of Mr. Savarkar himself to the Muslim League demand has been neither consistent nor clear. He has had interviews and talks with Mr. Jinnah which surely he would not have had if he had definitely rejected Pakistan which Mr. Jinnah has made the main plank of his platform. The Congress has no doubt taken sides with the Muslim League and has weakened its opposition to Pakistan by postulating the vesting of residual powers with provinces, but it has declared itself opposed to the division of the country on communal lines. In any case, it is preposterous to claim that the Hindu Mahasabha has more Hindu adherents than the Congress. Many of the leading members of the Mahasabha including its founders, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. C. Vijayaraghavacharya, have been and are Congress leaders. Dr. Shyam Prasad Mukherji, although not actively associated with the Congress, is working in co-operation with it. Lokamanya Tilak was the principal promoter of the Lucknow Pact. The Congress method of solving the communal problem has not been happy. Neither has the Hindu Mahasabha been very happy in its method. The basic fact to be borne in mind by all Hindu spokesmen, is that the Hindus as the oldest, largest and most influential section of the Indian people, have a duty to protect and advance the legitimate rights of all other sections of the population. It is a duty which has devolved on them by inheritance. Patience, forbearance, and toleration alone can enable Hindus to discharge this duty. We trust that Mr. Savarkar will inaugurate his new regime by adopting a more cordial attitude to other movements.

**Dr. Moonje on Indian Unity :—**Dr. B. S. Moonje during a tour of the affected districts in Bengal spoke at Naihati. He called attention to the reports that young girls of between 12 and 16 were picked up from streets in famished condition and hurried away. 'It would be no exaggeration to say,' he added, 'that a kind of slave trade is just showing signs to grow up.' He concluded that 'this famine has vividly brought out one thing and it is that India is one single country, and one single nation and that, without one strong central Government, India cannot hope to be able to meet emergencies of the kind in the shape of famine that is waging Bengal at the present moment. I hope the lesson will be rubbed deeply in the minds of all.'

**Mr. Jinnah and Punjab Leaders :—**Mr. Jinnah's disillusionment of his Punjab friends would seem to have already begun, according to the New Delhi correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* who writes that Mr. Jinnah has lost all hopes of the Punjab knights and Nawabs.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, December 18, 1943.

## "THE WAY OUT."

## I

Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya's "The Way Out" (Oxford University Press, as. 8) is an invitation and an exhortation. It is an invitation to the British Government to reopen negotiations with Indian leaders who are not under detention on the basis of the proposals embodied in the document which Sir Stafford Cripps brought with him last year and which was rejected by the Congress and the Moslem League. It is an exhortation to the Indian leaders out of prison not to be carried away by any sentimental feeling of loyalty to the leaders under detention and to accept the Cripps scheme which Mr. Rajagopalacharya represents as the best which His Majesty's Government could have framed. "It is not possible," he says "to improve upon the precision and the completeness of the declaration that the object of the plan is the creation of a new Indian Union which shall constitute a Dominion in a common allegiance to the Crown, but equal to them in every respect, in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic or external affairs. This declaration was clarified so as to explain that the Indian Union, having initially been constituted a Dominion, could at its will and through the appropriate constitutional procedure secede from the British Commonwealth." Mr. Rajagopalacharya quotes Mr. Amery to the effect that the Cripps scheme is still open though Cripps himself said before leaving New Delhi that it was withdrawn. A few days ago in reply to a question in the House of Lords the Government spokesman declared that the Westminster Statute could not be extended to India without the consent of the Dominions. We do not remember that Cripps gave any inkling of this condition in his talks with Indian leaders. Mr. Rajagopalacharya's impressions of the Cripps pourparlers in New Delhi differ materially from those recorded by nearly all other writers. Most of all they differ from those which Mr. Jayakar, at the unveiling of Raghavendra Rao's portrait in Madras the other day, conveyed as having been entertained by that gentleman as the result of his own interview with Cripps and of other Indians who had similar opportunities. Raghavendra Rao, said Mr. Jayakar, felt that Cripps had found that Indian leaders were not the gullible persons he had taken them to be. However that may be, Mr. Rajagopalacharya's opinion that Indian leaders should have accepted the proposals on their face value, will not be assented to by people who are acquainted with the controversies over the exact meaning of the Hussain-MacMahon correspondence, of the Balfour Declaration about a National Home for Jews in Palestine and of Mr. Montagu's declaration about the goal of Indian reform.

It is not ungenerous doubt about the *bonafides* of the individual negotiators but the constitutional distrust of authority which is at the root of all constitutional Government, which makes it the inescapable duty of all negotiators, especially of those who represent subject nations, to scrutinise the terms proposed with the utmost care and caution. As a matter of fact, no great scrutiny is needed to discover that the Cripps' scheme might have easily proved to be a trap for Indian nationalists. It might not have been intended as a trap. The British Government might have been actuated, as Mr. Rajagopalacharya holds, by the sincerest motives. Some who know Mr. Churchill's attitude to Indian freedom and Mr. Amery's record at the India Office

may hesitate to believe that a document which had the imprimatur of these statesmen, might not conceal a pit somewhere to disconcert India expectations. But, unknown it may be to His Majesty's Government and totally unintended by them, was a dangerous provision in their scheme. This was the liberty given to the provinces to choose whether they would come into the new Union or not. When the provinces were separated and united as autonomous ones under the Government of India Act, they were not free to decide whether or not they would join the federation. They have not the right under the Act to withdraw from the Union. The Cripps proposals are silent on this point. But, if the option to accede is in pursuance of the principle of self-determination, as Mr. Rajagopalacharya contends, the liberty to withdraw also follows as a matter of logical necessity. In any case the option to accede opens up a wide field of speculation. Mr. Rajagopalacharya assumes that Madras, Bombay, Bihar, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Orissa will join and "the law of political gravity must inevitably bring others into the fold, provided the Union has patience and goodwill." This is typical of Mr. Rajagopalacharya's dialectics. There is no "law of political gravity." If there were, its operation will not depend upon the goodwill of the parties. Japan must have been drawn into the orbit of China and Germany into that of Russia. Britain must have been submerged in the European system. The invocation of an imaginary law to allay legitimate apprehensions of a speculative proposal, is a favourite method of the ex-Madras Prime Minister. Apart from that, Mr. Rajagopalacharya should know from his own not very pleasant experience that the moment the Cripps scheme was agreed to, Andhra would insist on being separated from Tamil Nad, Maharashtra will likewise demand separation from Gujerat and an amalgamation of the Maharashtra districts of the Central Provinces. A general redistribution of the provinces will have to precede any attempt to implement the scheme. Each of the new provinces may insist on its being a separate Dominion.

## II

The Cripps's scheme, unless radically modified, will not be a "Way Out" of the present position but a "Way In" to further and more complicated ones. We do not know what the reasons were which led Gandhiji to indicate to Sir Stafford at their first meeting that the scheme was not worth his travelling thousands of miles to present it to Indian leaders. But the option given to provinces—an option which they never had and do not have now—is a fatal defect and, if accepted, would do irreparable injury to India's future. "Self-determination" is a catching term. It appeals to men's self-esteem. But as a principle of social and political action it is altogether illusory. Abraham Lincoln, perhaps the only really democratic President the United States has so far had, did not recognise it as compatible with "government of the people, for the people, by the people." He declared repeatedly that he was fighting the South not to abolish slavery but to maintain the Union. Wilson in all his "points" never once thought that they might have an application to his own country. When such a possibility was brought home to him by the Japanese amendment of his most equalitarian "point," for racial equality, he unceremoniously ruled it out. In the most serious matters of life, men have no "self-determination." We do not determine who our parents should be, in what social environment we are born, in what religion we are brought up. Mr. Rajagopalacharya could not determine to continue



in office when his party decided that he along with other Congress Ministers should quit it. Whatever doubts might have been entertained of the wisdom of this decision at the time, events have made it perfectly plain that if Congress Ministers had not resigned they would have been forced to do so at no distant date. Mr. Rajagopalacharya would have been dismissed like Allah Bux or compelled to resign like Fazlul Huq. However ardent Indian Ministers might be for the early and successful prosecution of the war, they could not, without forfeiting their character as Indian statesmen, have acceded to all the measures adopted as being essential to the war effort. Some of these are now, tacitly if not expressly, admitted to have been in excess of the actual requirements and are being utilised for relief of starving populations in different parts of the country under the orders of our Field Marshal Viceroy. The Government of India Act had provided for the contingency of ministerial recalcitrancy. In a section headed, "The Conditions of the Struggle," Mr. Rajagopalacharya speaks in the very language of Mr. Leopold Amery. Mr. Amery's text that the Indian problem is one of infinite and many-sided complexity is faithfully reproduced and even improved upon by the ex-Premier of Madras. In support of his views Mr. Rajagopalacharya offers quite a number of generalisations most of which would crumble under a moment's scrutiny. British Imperialism, he holds, will yield democratic grapes under adequate pressure. "On the other hand," he writes,

"Indian nationalism is not the irresistible longing of a homogeneous and united people ready to sacrifice their all in the thirst for freedom. We should not be misled by the strength of feeling that may gather on a local or temporary focus. The politically conscious section of the Muslims have set up a rival feeling to nationalism based on religion which has the widest appeal among the Muslim masses. Indian industrialists, while shedding copious tears for nationalism, are making their piles by quiet and uninterrupted services at the call of a bureaucratic Government. The poverty and illiteracy of the masses are heavy drags even while they serve as convincing arguments for condemnatory propaganda against the existing order. The States and the zemindars and the innumerable castes and sectarian jealousies pull in favour of the *status quo*. There are more people than we imagine, who express extreme opinions, but who thrive on the conditions now prevailing and therefore oppose any compromise that may disturb them. Ultra-radical nationalism and even the language of pacificism are often resorted to as a cover for the maintenance of present conditions."

All this should come as balm to the souls of the authorities in Britain and India. But these are no new discoveries of Mr. Rajagopalacharya. They were the grounds on which the initiation of non-co-operation and civil disobedience was opposed by many seasoned Indian political leaders. Mr. Rajagopalacharya plunged into the flowing tide and about twenty years of strenuous service in the Congress camp brought him to the top as the Prime Minister of the Congress Government in Madras with a massive majority. He began well and great hopes were entertained of his administration. But he early succumbed to the corrupting influence of power by forcing Hindi on Tamil and Telugu children and by his deviation from his own declared policy of working for the opening of temples to the scheduled castes with the approval and support of the conservative and constitutional minded Hindus.

#### INDIA AND THE U. S. A.

The people of the United States of America have never had better opportunities for forming an opinion on India. There have been a number of American correspondents in India covering political events; there have been several war correspondents who have not been exactly idle in the absence of war activities on the Eastern front. There have been the five globe-trotting Senators who, despite their avowed intention to abstain from interfering in Britain's imperial concern, have given some impressions. Intense official propaganda has been directed at the American in India, even members of the Viceroy's Executive Council finding it necessary to explain the intricacies of the Indian position to the distinguished guests. And as though all this were not enough, men have been sent out to the United States to lecture to the Americans. Mr. H. S. L. Polak has just returned to London after a "fourteen months unofficial tour" of the U. S. A. Sir R. S. Sharma is now in London before starting on an official tour of the United States. The *Times of India* published in its issue dated Monday, December 13, two reports—one of Mr. Polak's talk to the India and Burma section of the Royal Society of Arts; the other Sir R. S. Sharma's views on India's future contributed to the *Sunday Dispatch*. The distinction between official and unofficial is immaterial, particularly in war time. Mr. Polak's tour would not have taken place had the India Office disapproved of the line he was proposing to follow in his talks in America. There is no need to go into the subject any deeper, though there are many questions which do rise out of the simple fact of a tour of fourteen months, undertaken at this of all times, with a view to educate American opinion, on India. Indian nationalist opinion need not fall into the same error as British official policy—of assuming an utter absence of intelligence in Americans. Indian nationalist opinion has not so far fallen into it and the Congress under Gandhiji's leadership has definitely rejected all proposals of sponsoring propaganda abroad. It is interesting to note that at one time Mr. Polak was himself the staunchest champion of setting up an Indian office in London for Congress propaganda. What Indian propaganda there is in America, is negligible. It is surprising to hear Mr. Polak say in the circumstances:—

Much of the criticism (of Britain's policy in India) is the direct result of anti-British propaganda carried on almost unanswered, for many years by self-exiled Indian nationalists, good patriots in principle but badly informed—and then almost entirely from Congress Party sources—of the more recent developments in India.

Mr. Polak indicated in outline the points on which American opinion was not enlightened. Presumably these were the points on which he spoke during his tour. He hinted that the argument that America had also had her own racial problems and had not succeeded in solving them any more than Britain had in India, might be left to Americans themselves. That is obvious since a British propagandist, even an unofficial one, cannot hope to persuade Americans of Britain's virtues by arguing that the Americans have been worse. As a matter of fact, that is no justification for the U. S. A. has a tradition of race policy which certainly is not the standard for judgment. One of the results hoped for from co-operation with South and Central America is a broader vision on race issues. "We must face," says Waldo Frank in an article in *Foreign Affairs*, "our failure in race democracy. We cannot expect confidence in the American republics, so long as we continue to discriminate

against a minority as important as the Negro, and to make of him an inferior nation within our nation." If Mr. Polak could have argued that Britain failed in India because the race problem is one which no country has solved, then there is some force in the argument as a plea for more sympathy, tolerance and understanding. But why bring up the Negro and Red Indian submersion in the U. S. A. system and ignore the striking assimilation of Negro culture in Cuba; and the high Indian influences of Mexico, Bolivia and Peru? Mr. Polak's reference to what Britain has done for Dr. B. R. Ambedkar is offensive in the highest degree to both Dr. Ambedkar and to the Americans. He said:

Few if any of the critics have observed the astonishing advance in political self-consciousness of the Depressed Classes and its timely recognition by the British as symbolised by the inclusion of Dr. Ambedkar in the Viceroy's Executive Council as an equal member. There is, I believe, no Red Indian counterpart to this.....

His seemingly imposing list of men from India who have figured on the international scene, is similarly distorted. All this has been done, not to develop the Indian elements but to reinforce British policies. Mr. Polak should have told the Americans what these Indians contributed to world affairs, instead of merely stating that they were there, on the scene. More than one of them has bitterly complained of the nullity to which they were reduced. We are surprised that Mr. Polak, of all persons, should have lent his name to this kind of propaganda.

#### A BANDRA DIARY.

Whenever I am in Delhi I try to find time to visit the tomb of Nizamuddin Auliya, a few miles from the city. The tomb is venerated as a shrine. But I am especially drawn to it by the tomb of the Moghul Princess which is in the same edifice, a simple structure of white stone bearing the inscription, "Let nothing be grown on my tomb but the common grass." The injunction is strictly observed—only the common grass grows over the tomb. The humility and the beauty of the spirit which inspired this last injunction of the Princess, moves me whenever I think of it. On one of our visits, my daughter wished to place an offering on the Saint's tomb. As she approached the door to the shrine, the keeper very courteously took it from her hand and himself placed it on the shrine. He explained that it was not customary for women to step into the inner shrine. I was surprised as my study of Islam—a very cursory one—led me to think that the monastic idea was alien to it though I knew there are several Orders of devotees among Muslims. The incident which happened some years ago, came to my mind on reading an article in our current *Vishvabharati Quarterly* by I. C. Bhatnagar headed "An Irridescent Institution of Islamic India." I may suggest in passing that flamboyant titles are out of place in periodicals devoted to cultural studies. In this particular instance, there is nothing in the article to justify the heading. Mr. Bhatnagar begins by saying that monasticism was forbidden by the Prophet of Islam. He quotes in support of this opinion a tradition that Uthman ibn Masun came to the Prophet with the request that he might retire from society and become a monk. The Prophet replied, "The retirement which becomes my people is to sit in the corner of the mosque and wait for the time of prayer." Bhatnagar adds that, in spite of this interdiction, this irridescent institution thrived in all the countries where the armies of Islam penetrated. This would indeed be strange if it was the fact that the Prophet forbade monasticism. I am

inclined to think that the reply to Uthman was meant only for him and persons in his stage of religious attainment. Otherwise, it is inconceivable that so many religious Orders of Fakirs should flourish in opposition to the Prophet's express prohibition. Then, Mr. Bhatnagar says that these Orders thrived in all the countries penetrated by Islamic armies. At the same time he suggests that monasticism was a special feature of Indian Islam. Throughout the article the writer confuses mysticism with monasticism. The most famous of the Muslim mystics came to India from Syria, Persia and other countries of Western Asia. They settled in this country and their influence would seem to have been very great in bridging the gulf between Hinduism and Islam. Mr. Bhatnagar quotes the following from Sir John Marshall on this point:

Seldom in the history of mankind has the spectacle been witnessed of two civilisations, so vast and so strongly developed, yet so radically dissimilar as the Muhammadan and the Hindu, meeting and mingling together. The very contrasts which existed between them, the wide divergence in their culture and their religions, makes the history of their impact peculiarly instructive.

The common ground on which they met was, the monism of the Vedanta and Sufism of Islam. Last week I quoted a fragment from Shelley as illustrative of his affinity to the Vedantic idea. Here is the fuller passage which brings this out with great force:

The One remains, the many change and pass;  
Heaven's light for ever shines. Earth's shadows fly;  
Life, like a dome of many-coloured glass,  
Stains the white radiance of eternity,  
Until death tramples it into fragments.

That Light whose smile kindles the Universe;  
That Beauty in which all things work and move,  
That Benediction which the eclipsing curse  
Of birth, can quench not, that sustaining Love  
Which, through the web of being blindly wove  
By man and beast and earth and air and sea,  
Burns bright or dim, as each are mirrors of  
The fire for which all thirst.

It is in a philosophy of this kind that humanity can realise its solidarity.

RECLUSE.

#### IS PHILOSOPHY AN ANACHRONISM? II.

From the brief survey last week it would easily be seen that, so long as human nature continues to be what it is, some speculation or another is bound to be on the ultimate problem of man and his destiny. Such a speculative pendulum has oscillated between extremes violently frequently. At one extreme stand the *Charvakas*, the downright materialists, and positivists of Indian thought analogous to the materialistic monism of scientists like Ernst Haeckel. At the other extreme stand the pious folk believing in the Vedanta, shocked by the evil, wars, pestilence, etc. that are stalking rampant, unable to *do anything* to stop, check, or control them, and praying for light and favour.

Most, if not practically all, our troubles are directly due to the fact that some few leaders at the top of nations and governments are thoroughly saturated with philosophy in the first sense—a set of ideas negative and destructive which drives them on along lines of nihilistic activity carrying death and destruction on a colossal cosmic scale. They—the leaders at the top—are so megalomaniacal, so strong and self-willed that the many are rendered helpless victims and slaves relishing or submitting to the much-

denounced slavery under the illusionistic garb of democratic freedom. In the last analysis the problem is one for psychology to solve if at all a solution be possible.

In all Axis countries as they now put it, there must be rational sensible thinkers who must be feeling the utter senselessness of war, aggression, and the concomitant destruction. If, in spite of their existence, their words do not carry any weight (as it must be) with the War-lords and War-mongers at the top, one has to turn to philosophy willy-nilly in the second specific sense of the term!

Should an answer be searched for, proceeding on philosophical lines of investigation, the admission is forced on one's mind that the phenomenon of the War-mongers having all their own way, albeit temporarily, can be adequately explained only on a Theistic basis. The general tendency of European and Indian systems of thought is towards Theism as Ethics, Morality, and Moral Discipline require some solid and substantial lean, support, or basic foundation. As a celebrated thinker is said to have put it pithily-(Voltaire): "If there were no God we ought to invent one." (1) Belief in the affairs of the Cosmos being under the governance of a Supreme Creator, (2) countless lives to be led in transmigration, (3) Karma individual and collective, and (4) Freedom full and unalloyed from the evil of existence—are the essential constituents or ingredients of Theism.

Evil in its most comprehensive cosmic connotation, and in its limited manifestation of destructive world-wars would then find the most satisfactory explanation available on any rational evaluation. It must be taken that God or the Supreme Ruler of the Cosmos tolerates Evil in those forms, the concomitant destruction, loss, devastation etc. being traced to *Karma*, individual and collective, which is nothing but *causal potency or potentiality* for evil based on evil deeds done in earlier lives. On a Theistic basis then God wills these wars, He and He alone would will the peace when He thinks fit. In a well-known context of "*Bhagavatha*", the Lord Himself is said to have observed addressing the *Devas* discomfited by the *Asuras* that the former would win when the proper times come. Even the Lord has to bide His Time.

On this Theistic foundation are built the Indian Darsanas and European systems. Strict orthodox laboratory scientists can have nothing against the Theistic systems. When scientists are unable in ultimate analysis to explain the behaviour of cosmic constituents like electron, proton, photon; positron, etc. even to their own satisfaction they may find some satisfaction in Theism. Illustrious scientists like Eddington, Whitehead, and others are coming to terms with philosophy and philosophers and are in search for a common platform from which synthesized and harmonized truths can be proclaimed for soothing afflicted mankind. Science and philosophy are both indispensable. Science without philosophy would end in just perishing values of life. Philosophy without science would end in airy nothing unsubstantiated by verified facts of concrete experience.

When modern thinkers sorely grieved and perplexed throw up their hands and exclaim, Is the whole civilization crashing to chaos and vanishing into the Devil's Dance of destruction?, the correct or valid answer cannot be expected from only one part of our experience that is Science. The other complementary part of philosophy has also to be examined for an answer. For it is the latter that is concerned with the spirit with its immeasurable capacity for self-fulfilment and for climbing up to

the dizzy heights of Truth, Beauty, and Goodness. Then we find the proper and correct answer. When the time for the appearance of the Evil strikes, the War-mongers have their own way. The Lord is a *passive spectator*. Evil must run its malignant course just as certain toxic fevers have to. It then automatically exhausts itself. Then strikes the hour for the triumph of the Good. Peace and goodwill are re-enthroned as it were. In some such philosophical explanation alone the truth must lie.

I then answer the question posed by me thus. Philosophy can never be an *Anachronism* at all. It is a live agency especially in its specific restricted connotation of search for an explanation of the real relation between the cosmos and its Maker. As Herbert Spencer is said to have observed, "We are ever in the presence of an Infinite and Eternal Energy from which all things proceed." That was just what the author of the *Vedanta-Sutras* centuries ago said in that striking aphorism—"Janmadyasya-yatah". (That is Brahman from which proceed creation etc. of the cosmos). It is easy to revile philosophy as capable of baking no man's bread or as a search for a black cat in a dark room which is not there. But, a little thinking just would convince even the dullest that such reviling has a philosophy behind (*i.e.* in the first sense of the term). It is the deeper philosophy of search for explanation of the mysteries of life that confronts one sooner or later in life.

There is no escape from philosophy then. Mere arm-chair theories of metaphysics are of no use. Nor is there any use of equally irresponsible scientific theories of lotus-eating laboratory-wallahs. Each system of philosophy is an attempted solution of the riddle of the universe. Each is a partial picture. *Pro tanto* each is true, but, none final or conclusive. So are the different systems of science. (*i.e.* those that talk of Wave-theory of light and those that advocate corpuscular theory). Each is a partial explanation of observed data. Such partial systems cannot be allowed to sit in judgment over systems of philosophy and suggest their rejection. As between a partial system of philosophy and a partial system of science the former is preferable as it is corroborated by mystic vision and psychic experiences, and as the latter lacks such corroboration. Modern educational system should foster and spread the genuine philosophical spirit side by side with the scientific. Respect for both should be taught. Whether the Poet's dream of a parliament of man is ever destined to be realized on earth one cannot dogmatise on. The conditions of culture and civilization now obtaining preclude such a hope. That need not disturb or disconcert honest thinkers. When the Lord wills a complete eradication of Evil then would the war-drum throb no longer. Mankind must have faith in this theistic solution. Such a faith will never go unrewarded. When Science and Religion shake hands on a co-operative task of singing the glory of the Lord and exalting the life of peace, good-will and service to fellowmen the ills of mankind are bound to disappear. That however seems music of the distant drum. The theists of the world, those who walk the Noble Path, should unite in a common federation to spread the gospel of theism, peace, goodwill and unstinted service to fellowmen.

M. A. RUCKMINI.

### RAO MISTAKEN FOR SARMA.

May I be permitted to correct certain amusing inaccuracies that would appear to have crept into the omnibus review published in *The Indian Social Reformer* for the 16th of October, 1943, under the title "Four Books on Hindu Philosophy," (I state from memory as I have not before me the issue in question) to which my attention was drawn recently. "Though he professes to shrink from expressing an opinion on Dvaita," writes your reviewer,..... "shows with sufficient clearness he himself is not one of its votaries." The Adyar publication under reference was reviewed by me in the literary columns of the *Hindu* dated 11th July. Your review contains the following amusing inaccuracies: (1) Jayatirtha's "Vaadavali" has been done into English by Mr. P. Nagaraja Rao, M. A., who is now working as research-Fellow in the Hindu University at Benares. Dr. R. Naga Raja Sarma, M. A., L. T., Ph. D. who is a comparatively humble individual knows nothing of the sort of research that is accomplished in modern Indian Universities that have completely killed Indian Philosophy! (2) The writer of the "Foreword" is Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon) Reader of Sanskrit at the Madras University who is perhaps not a votary of Dvaita. (3) Grave injustice is done me in the sentence cited above. Far from shrinking of the type attributed to me by your reviewer, I have always written and spoken in support of Dvaita which I claim to be the soundest and most rational system of Indian thought. I am proud to be counted among the votaries of Dvaita-Darsana. It is surprising how Mr. Rao came to be mistaken for Sarma, and the review as it stands is a perfect specimen of a comedy of errors in respect of relevant personalities and of philosophic judgment about the latter of which, however, I do not feel called upon to say anything in this communication. I hope you will have the fairness to publish this note in the earliest issue of *The Indian Social Reformer*. I make this appeal because, for the last 25 years, I have found the daily newspapers, Indian and Anglo-Indian, anxious only to print the shockingly reverberating rant of politicians just to keep their circulation and advertisement revenue intact without the fairness to publish corrections of the countless palpably preposterous statements of politicians and titled innocents of Indian States and British India.

Madras.

R. NAGA RAJA SARMA.

We print Dr. Sarma's letter and apologise on behalf of the reviewer for mistaking him (a distinguished scholar whose name is familiar to us) for Mr. Rao of the same name. As regards attributing to the writer a bias towards Advaita, the reviewer says that he had the following passage in the Introduction to "Vadavali" in mind:

The central doctrine of Advaita is the illusory nature of this universe. The term, "mithya," means illusion characterised as indeterminate either as real or as unreal...It is this indeterminate nature of the universe in terms of the real and the unreal that is connoted by the term, "Maya." It is not non-existence. It has practical efficiency. Why, it alone has practical efficiency. Maya has for its jurisdiction everything except Brahman and absolute non-existence.

The reviewer pleads that the above exposition of the Advaita could not be improved upon and that its interpolation in the Introduction to a treatise on the Dvaita doctrine, struck him as a remarkable instance of intellectual assent on the part of a writer who was introducing a classic of the opposite school. Dr. Sarma's onslaught on the Press is altogether irrelevant, in the context. We print it in deference to the writer's feelings.—EDITOR.

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

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Regional Federations.

## NOTES.

**The Hindu Mahasabha** :—The Hindu Mahasabha began its sittings on Saturday. A presidential procession on a grand scale was on the point of starting. It had started with the President and the Chairman of the Reception Committee seated in a howdah on a gaily caparisoned elephant. The local Police authorities came on the scene and barred progress. Their reason was that the licence to take out the procession had two conditions. The volunteers who accompanied the procession, should not wear a uniform likely to be mistaken for an army uniform. They should not carry weapons. The Mahavir Dal volunteers wore the khaki uniform which has been long part of their equipment. Some of the volunteers carried drawn swords. The Chairman of the Reception Committee met the authorities and told them that the Mahavirs had withdrawn from the procession declining to cover the khaki tunics with a coat of a different pattern. The procession re-started, after this assurance. It was suddenly stopped and dispersed. The President and the Chairman of the Reception Committee both aver that there was a lathi charge in which several were injured. In the Karachi procession for the Muslim League there were volunteers who wore what the *Sind Observer* describes as "army uniforms." There were two volunteers with drawn swords standing guard behind the President in his car. Nothing happened. Sir Ghulam Hussein Hidayatulla was in the procession. Perhaps that was why no notice was taken of this infringement of the law. After what happened at Bhagalpur in Bihar where the Hindu Mahasabha was to have held its sittings two years ago, the Police action in Amritsar can only be interpreted as the outcome of a considered policy to harass the Hindu movement on the part of officialdom. The responsibility for the behaviour of the Police is technically with the Punjab Ministers. We cannot believe, however, that the Premier or the Home Minister would have ordered the Amritsar Police to act as they did. The Prime Minister was at Karachi for the Muslim League and the Home Minister was also probably with him. However that may be, this is a matter which should engage the personal attention of Lord Wavell. The patience of the Hindu leaders all over the country is being sorely tried by incidents of this kind. Dr. Shyam Prasad Mukherji declared that the forcible dispersal of the Hindu Mahasabha procession was an insult to the Hindu race. The Hindu race is much too entrenched in its own integrity to feel insulted by such vagaries on the part of men clothed in brief authority. More than the feelings of Hindus,

the honour of Government is involved in such unprovoked outrages. Lord Wavell has shown that he can rise above petty expediencies in the discharge of his duty to deal even-handed justice to all classes and communities.

**The National Liberal Federation** :—The National Liberal Federation held its 24th session at Bombay during the week, with Sir Maharaj Singh as its President and Sir Cowasji Jehangir as the Reception Committee Chairman. As a political organisation the Liberal Federation has been growing in maturity since it was formed when the Congress became Gandhian. It is composed of veterans in Indian politics; and it has not added to its numbers. The Liberal creed, according to the President, was more than a political philosophy. It was a habit of mind or outlook on life. Sir Maharaj Singh proceeded to describe who was Liberal. "Every political-minded Indian," he said, "who is not a full and active member of the present Congress, Muslim League or Hindu Mahasabha, is a Liberal however much he may wish to disown this appellation." Liberalism by this generous gesture has included the Communists, the Royists, the Kisan Sabhas, at one end, and, at the other, the National Frontists, the bureaucrats. The advantage of this definition is that every failure on the part of the Congress, the Muslim League or the Mahasabha can be claimed as the success of the Liberals. The *Times of India*, in effect, does say this, in its leading article on the Liberal party meeting. The Liberalism of the Maharaj Singhs and Cowasji Jehangirs is not a fighting creed. Moderation preached to the members of this party is totally unnecessary. What was said of a very timid American politician is true of most of these veteran leaders, "He has the snaffle and the curb all right. But where's the bloody horse?" That is one reason why so much of the public pronouncements of Liberals is addressed to the Congress, to the Muslim League or to the Mahasabha, sprinkled with loud lamentations at Government's failure to heed the voice of Indian Liberalism. Unfortunately for the Liberals that voice is not a united one. The President in his address uttered a plea for releasing Congress leaders unconditionally, in the hope that the Congress leaders agree to treat the August 1942 resolution as a dead letter. Sir Maharaj Singh denounced the detention of political leaders in jail without trial. He might have added as well that the detention had been under bad law and that the unconstitutional act of Lord Linlithgow's regime was rectified only by an ordinance. He asked for a shelving of the differences between the Congress and the Muslim League and for concentrating on general dissatisfaction with the Central Government.

**The War and Indian Politics** :—Sir Cowasji Jehangir in his address as chairman of the Reception Committee, wanted the war effort to be used as the basis for national unity. The ground for believing that war can unite people, is not seen here in India.

The political parties might all be agreed in not wanting the Axis to win but the fact that the positive reasons which inspire other nations to fight against heavy odds, are absent, weaken the effect of war as a uniting force on the Indian people. In brief, it is not war which unites but the emotions roused by it. The creation of artificial enthusiasm has been tried in vain by the National Front and other organisations. The case of China is not relevant. China was herself attacked and her struggle is a struggle for bare existence. The example of Britain and the U. S. A. is also out-of-place. There the peoples are fighting for the four freedoms. Russia has found her inspiration in nationalism, having discarded international communism. The issues in the present war, as defined by responsible statesmen, have no content to them so far as India is concerned. India has been excluded from the beneficial clauses of the Atlantic Charter. As for the Cripps offer on which Sir Cowasji Jehangir dwelt at fond length, Professor Coupland has admitted that Sir Stafford Cripps had agreed to the Viceroy's position in relation to the Indian Cabinet being analagous to that of His Majesty the King in relation to his Cabinet. When Sir Stafford later objected that this would mean that the majority would impose its view on the minorities, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad immediately replied that that would naturally depend on the manner in which the Indian Cabinet was constituted and offered to discuss the question. Cripps' reply was to pack up and leave. These facts have been lost sight of by British commentators but there is no excuse for Sir Cowasji's ignorance or evasion of them. The most astounding part of Sir Cowasji's address was his appeal, after a long disquisition on the sins of the Congress, for the adoption of tolerance, 'let the dead bury the dead.' That can only mean that he does not want anyone to answer him. Politically, the appeal is rendered the more painful by the fact that Congressmen who might wish to reply are all locked up. They are buried in jails. In the circumstances, one would have thought it an elementary act of decency, apart from Liberalism, to refrain from attack. Sir Cowasji's fulminations, however, are primarily of interest to his party colleagues and we may leave them to deal with them. The desperate clinging to the Cripps offer revealed by Sir Cowasji Jehangir gives the reason for the failure of Liberalism as a political creed. It has never been able to look beyond a British offer. Whatever was held out to Indians was acceptable—from Dominion Status to Cripps. That this view is not shared by others in the party was shown by Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru's speech in proposing Sir Maharaj Singh to the chair. Though Pandit Kunzru's views have greater support in the country and even in the Liberal Party than the views expressed by Sir Cowasji, the Federation is unable to shake off the influence of the latter. That is one reason why the Party has been ploughing the sands.

**New Bengal Governor:**—The appointment of Mr Casey to the vacant Governorship of Bengal has evoked some protests in the Indian Press. The main reason is that Mr. Casey is an Australian. It would be more correct to say that he *was* an Australian. He was something in Australian politics which as a rule do not attract worldwide attention. Changoing to meet Mr. Winston Churchill in some railway journey, he struck him as a suitable recruit to his personal entourage. He was so impressed by Mr. Casey that he made him Minister of State in Egypt and Member of the War Cabinet in London, provoking a protest from Mr. John Curtin, the pugnacious Prime Minister of the Australian Commonwealth. Mr. Churchill has now posted him to

Bengal on the ostensible ground that the Middle East situation no longer requires a man of Mr. Casey's capacity and that Bengal is the sphere where his talents will find adequate scope. It is generally safe to assume in the case of British political appointments that the reason given is not the real reason. Mr. Casey has played up to this convention by declaring to the Press that he wanted to retire and devote himself to the rural life but felt that in the present state of the world it would be wrong on his part to withhold his vast and varied knowledge and experience from the service of mankind and that he thinks Calcutta Government House would be the most suitable avenue for such service. When he comes to Bengal Mr. Casey would soon realise that his scope there is strictly defined by circumstances and the Services, and it will be as much as he can do to keep his digestion unimpaired and sign on the dotted line of documents presented to him by Secretaries. Apart from the Indian sentiment against Australians, Dominion citizens are not much regarded by Englishmen in this country. There is no use making much fuss about Mr. Casey's nomination. Mr. Churchill might have sent his butler, if he chose, as Governor.

**Brighter Food Situation:**—In his presidential address to the Hindu Mahasabha on Saturday last, Dr. S. P. Mukherjee referred to the enormous rice crop of Bengal which has brought hope and cheer to the grievously afflicted people of the province. The Government of India communique issued a day or two later reported that the rice produced this season in India exceeded that of any year during the past fifteen years. The food situation has thus been relieved. Nothing but crass stupidity on the part of the administration will repeat the terrible strain of the situation during the last six months. Incidentally it may be stated that such swift recoveries are possible only in predominantly agricultural countries. Those who, like the Labour Member of the Government of India, decry agriculture and want the country to be industrialised outright, may thank their stars that their advice has not been heeded. We are glad that in the pronouncements of responsible leaders on Indian industry, stress is laid on Agriculture as the basic industry receiving the maximum attention.

(Continued from page 133.)

of a mighty flood. The Gita also proclaimed a simple religion open to all, Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, Sudras and women. The essence of this religion was the performance of one's duty in a spirit of disinterestedness. We have a feeling that many educated Aryas actually believe in the Gita religion rather than in the Karma Kanda of the Vedas. In any case, the Satyarth Prakash is not and cannot be a sacred book of the Hindus because it rejected all the basic principles of Hindu religion and philosophy. The Hindus, therefore, have no special interest in the book. All the same, its proscription either as a whole or in part should be condemned by all intelligent people who value freedom of speech and writing in religion as well as in other spheres of knowledge. If you start proscribing books that contain passages objectionable to sectarian sentiment you will have to start an Index like the Vaticans. To be placed on the Index often results in a work becoming a best seller and even devout Catholics are led by curiosity to devour the excommunicated volume. The English version of the Satyarth Prakash by Ch. Bharadwaja does not do justice to Swami Dayanand. It abounds in such crudities as "gentlemen are called Aryas while rogues are called Dasyus." A revised edition is badly needed and in it the criticisms of other religions may be omitted with advantage.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, January 1, 1944.

## THE MUSLIM LEAGUE.

The session of the Muslim League held at Karachi was a magnificent pageant. It was inaugurated with a procession which started in close proximity to the home in which the President, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, was born and spent his boyhood. The *Daily Gazette* describes the scene in glowing terms. The whole route was brilliantly beflagged and was thronged on either side by spectators eight to nine deep. The procession was led by Gilani on horseback. He was followed by formations of National Guards in grey uniforms. Sindhi horsemen and camelry were prominent features in the procession. The President's carriage was drawn by 31 camels. The President, dressed in sherwani and wearing a black cap, was seated in a car, guards with drawn swords standing behind him. At some points people from the balconies of houses showered silver coins on the President. "It was a great show," observed Malik Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana, Premier of the Punjab. That it certainly was.

The power and vitality of a movement cannot be judged by the size of the crowds it draws. When a friend called Oliver Cromwell's attention to the huge crowds which greeted him on his return to London after the crowning victories of Dunbar and Worcester, the Protector grimly remarked: "More will come to see me hanged." Mr. Jinnah's presidential address, stripped of its criticisms of the Congress and Government, contains very little substance. Of course, Pakistan is there. But the Pakistan issue has been cruelly swept out of practical politics by the sudden eruption of the Food problem. There is practical unanimity today that the Food problem can be solved only by taking India as a single economic unit. That the country as a whole can be defended only by regarding it as a single strategic unit, has also been admitted on all hands. These two premises point irresistibly to the conclusion that for taxation and administration, India must be a single unit. Professor Coupland has declared that the Government of India Act of 1835 is dead. It only awaits a decent burial as soon as possible lest it stink. The British Government is not at present in a position to form a considered judgment on any matter. Needs must when the Devil drives is the order of the day. This is almost comically clear in its treatment of inflation. Petrol is being pumped on one side into the conflagration, and on the other spurts of water and any other non-combustibles that come to hand to extinguish it. The possibility of the country being divided in a rage of appeasement is there. If the question depended entirely on the British Government, the odds are about even that Mr. Jinnah will get his Pakistan. But the question does not depend solely upon the British Government. There are other forces at work which render it virtually impossible for the British to take Mr. Jinnah's advice to divide and quit. What these are must be plain to everyone who has followed the course of events culminating in the Conferences with China, Russia and Turkey at Cairo and Teheran.

There is one important matter on which Mr. Jinnah has been obliged to temporise. It has been said that the great achievement of Mr. Jinnah was that he eliminated the influence of Moulvies and Maulanas from the control of the Muslim League. In Karachi these elements were prominently in view. Mr. Jinnah after worshipping at a mosque had a talk with the

Pir. We reproduce the report from the *Dawn*, Mr. Jinnah's journal (December 26):

A spokesman of the Pir told Pressmen that the Pir had pointed out to him (Mr. Jinnah) certain aspects of co-education in schools and colleges and urged that the League should immediately take steps to open separate colleges and schools for girls and boys. The Pir further advocated the observance of 'Purdah' by Muslim women and requested Mr. Jinnah to prevent women from sitting on the 'dais' in the open session of the League.

Mr. Jinnah, it is learnt, assured the Pir that he would do his best to preserve Islamic tenets and carry out religious principles.

The Ulemas will bring forward at tomorrow's sitting a resolution urging upon the League to put an end to co-education in League provinces, it is learnt from Ulemas circles.

The Address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. G. M. Syed, was an ambitious performance. Its text was that Sind and Hind were two separate countries and that Sind originally covered all the territory now claimed for Pakistan, that it had been reduced to its present restricted area by political machinations and that the demand for Pakistan was only a demand for the restoration of Sind to its original dimensions. Alas for this pretentious theory! Hind and Sind are not two but one. Very little knowledge of comparative philology is needed, to see that this is the fact. The Sanskrit sibilant *s*, in Zend which is old Iranian becomes the aspirate *h*. The Vedic Asuras become the Avestic *s* Ahuras, the Vedic Soma is Homa in Avestic, and the Sanskrit sapta is hapta in Avestic. The phonetic changes between the two languages follow a sort of Grimm's Law in the case of Anglo-Saxon and High German. Mr. Syed's elaborate thesis collapses like a pricked bubble in the light of this simple philological fact which every educated Indian is expected to know.

## A TIMELY PUBLICATION.

"How Britain is Governed" by R. McCallum (Oxford Pamphlets on Home Affairs, Oxford University Press, 6d.) should be read by all those in India who entertain an almost superstitious faith in the Parliamentary system of Great Britain. McCallum clearly brings out that the Parliamentary system in itself as practised in Britain is a hopelessly unworkable mechanism and has been kept going because it is adapted to the British temper and has grown with it. During the greater part of its life, it was not democratic in the sense of equality of all citizens. Until the famous Reform Bill of 1832 the Parliamentary franchise was on a traditional basis. Freedom was its watchword. "During this long period," writes McCallum, "Parliament had successfully asserted its supremacy over the Church, over the Crown, over custom and common law, failing only in one thing, to maintain its supremacy over the colonies of North America." Since the extension of the franchise which is now practically granted to all adults, Freedom has been less important than equality. Equality, indeed, has been sought to be secured at the expense of freedom. The Trades Unions which have grown in strength and political influence, have done so by restricting the freedom of their members in respect of their right to work on terms of their own choice. This tendency to relegate freedom to a secondary place has been manifested in its worst form by the Labour agitation against the release of Mosley and his wife as it was no longer necessary, in the public interests, in the opinion of the responsible Minister, to hold them in captivity. McCallum concludes:

One thing at least may be said about living under the rule of universal suffrage. It used to be feared that under extreme democracy the masses would ask for nothing but bread and circuses and would shrink from sacrifices. Yet, in the financial crisis of 1931, it was the Conservatives who proposed to lower wages, raise taxes, and reduce doles and were swept into power in triumph, while it was the Socialists, who promised to preserve all these good things, that were left complaining of mass hysteria and popular fallacies. And during this war it is the Ministers who have asked for most sacrifices that have been the most popular. Blood, toil, sweat and tears, is not the slogan that would formerly have been considered a good cry for a demagogue, but politicians vie with each other now in offering these commodities. Indeed, historians in the distant future may be hard put to it to decide whether our system of government in this epoch is more to be blamed for the fact that this war with a recently defeated and disarmed enemy ever began, or praised for the qualities that have enabled us thus far to endure it.

McCallum for no intelligible reason overlooks the fact that the same Parliament which fawns on Mr. Churchill, shouted him down when he opposed the appeasement policy of Mr. Neville Chamberlain when he read out Hitler's message as a pledge of "peace in our time" to an enthusiastic House. McCallum's is not the right way of putting the issue which the future historian will be called upon to decide. The masses, the common people, always respond readily to the call for sacrifice. The Germans and the Italians, though they were under Fascist Government, responded as readily as the British under a democratic form. The Japanese under a feudal system are no less responsive to the call of sacrifice. In India it is Gandhiji's call for suffering and sacrifice that has evoked most response from the people. Further the British people know well that Nazi victory would bring them to the same state as the British blockade brought the Germans in the last war. The Germans were not defeated on the battlefield. They were starved into surrender. The system of Government, it thus appears, has little to do with the resistance of the people. As a matter of fact, the system at present functioning in Britain can be called democracy only by convention. The present parliament was elected eight years ago on an insincere slogan. "In foreign policy," observes McCallum, "they (Ministers) had to speak in terms of the League of Nations and collective security, without really believing in these things or, indeed, in the case of many of them, knowing what they meant." Democracy, in this case, was used to dope the people.

McCallum brings out the fact that the British are not a homogeneous people. He says that anyone speaking of the Welsh as English will not get a welcome in that country. As a Scotsman he claims that England did not conquer Scotland. She was inherited by James VI of Scotland who became the First of England. They have all agreed to live together because they could not do otherwise. If, as General Smuts and Lord Woolton suggest, Britain will be a poor country after the war, the Welsh and Scots may begin to think differently.

McCallum's pamphlet should give much food for thought to adorers of Parliamentary democracy. It brings out among other anomalies the fact that the majority in the House of Commons may and has often represented a minority of electors.

#### JINNAH-PIR TALKS.

The following Press Message appeared in *Dawn* of December 27: "Apropos of the report that the Pir of Bharchundi had talks with Mr. Jinnah regarding co-education and the observance of, 'purdah', Mr. Jinnah's Secretary informs the Press that the interview between Mr. Jinnah and the Pir was merely a brief personal meeting and there was no discussion of any topics of the kind reported."

#### A BANDRA DIARY.

Some days ago I came across quite by accident the Divali number of *Kalki*, a Tamil periodical. I was struck by the high standard of get-up, quite on a par with journals conducted in the English language. The contents were even more striking. The stilted literary Tamil was nowhere in evidence. Instead all the writings were in the easy style of Tamil, as it is spoken by cultured men and women in ordinary everyday life. Sir Shanmukham had parodied this Tamil in an article in which, except for propositions, pronouns and conjunctions, the whole of the dialogue consisted of English words and phrases. The parody, however, was but an exaggeration of an actual process in daily operation. This process of Anglicising the vocabulary is not confined to Tamil. It is in operation in all vernaculars though perhaps more in Tamil than in many of the others. The reason is that the Tamil sounds and alphabet are more like the English than those of any other Indian language. It is not only English vocabulary, however, that has entered largely into current Tamil. The English way of thinking, especially in political and administrative spheres, has been better assimilated by the Tamils than by other linguistic groups in India. Bagehot described the special characteristic of British politics as "animated moderation." This quality is more general in the Tamil land than anywhere else. As a consequence there is far less animus against British rule in the Tamil Nad though the urgency of constitutional reform is nowhere more insistent. Sir Sivaswami Aiyar whose eightieth birthday is to be celebrated by a presentation at the Model High School which he founded and has been supporting in his native village, Tirukattupalli, is the fine flower of Anglo-Tamil-Sanskritic culture.

To return to *Kalki*. The Divali number opens with a short story by the redoubtable ex-Premier of Madras, Chakravarty Rajagopalacharya. Some one has sharply criticised Rajagopalacharya for arrogating to himself the title Chakravarty which in Sanskrit means Emperor. The critic hastily assumed that, like Lokamanya, Lokabandhu, Lokasevak, and other honifics popularly bestowed on politicians, Chakravarty was annexed by Rajagopalacharya. As a fact, however, it is a family prefix denoting perhaps high social and spiritual status of a near or remote ancestor. The ex-Premier to his many accomplishments adds that of an inimitable story-teller. His story in the *Kalki* is a realistic picture of the transition within the Hindu family, its stress and strain and the adjustments and adaptations, which are incessantly going on in it as a result of the impact of modern ideas. An educated girl from a family in which the drudgery of household service has been mitigated, is married to an educated youth in a family which has not emerged from the severe regime of the old type mother-in-law who resents any relaxation of the hard ways of her own early life in favour of the daughter-in-law as a reflection on her personal dignity. The young husband tries to protect his wife from the unaccustomed drudgery which the mother-in-law feels it her duty to impose, by himself acting as a substitute without the knowledge of his mother. But this is found out and filial obedience conflicting with conjugal affection, the girl is sent to her parents' home for a spell of rest and recuperation. During the young wife's absence the mother forces on her son a second wife, a near relative of hers. The first wife becomes a trained nurse. The missionary who runs the training institution, pesters the girl to be baptised. (This actually happened to Mrs. Athavle in America

where she was engaged to wash dishes in a home for retired Christian Missionaries, in order to earn her living.) But she refuses explaining that her misfortune is not to be imputed to her religion in which she finds ample solace. I did not read the story to the end because the plot of it was a familiar one as enacted in many households. And also because I was attracted by another article in *Kulki*.

The article was by Ambujammal, daughter of the late S. Srinivasa Aiyangar, President of the Gauhati Congress, Deputy leader of the Swarajist Party in the Indian Legislative Assembly to Pandit Motilal Nehru with whom he never got on, an eminent Jurist and lawyer, whose death at the age of 60 caused wide-spread sorrow among a large circle of friends. The daughter is and has been a devout follower of Mahatma Gandhi. She has served terms of imprisonment in the Civil Disobedience movement. Her father was Advocate-General in the Pentland administration. Srimati Ambujam refers to it as the Willingdon regime. Srinivasa Aiyangar was ill at ease and eventually resigned the office, and threw himself heart and soul into the Congress movement. He tried to spin and learn Hindi but after two or three days he gave up the attempt as more hampering than helpful to the course of public life which he had planned for himself. Then came the break over the Nehru Report. Srinivasa Aiyangar had at a previous Madras Congress got adopted a formula for Hindu-Muslim collaboration which had been accepted by the Muslims. In the Nehru Report he found it was given the go-by. He was disgusted. He resigned the primary membership of the Congress. Gandhiji wrote him a stiff letter which Srinivasa Aiyangar bitterly resented. Ambujammal says that, if Gandhiji had not been unusually caustic in his tone, her father's breach with him would not have been irreparable. The extent of the estrangement may be judged from the opinion expressed by Srinivasa Aiyangar that so long as Gandhiji was at the head there was no hope for the Congress. The daughter continued her adherence to the Gandhian movement. Srinivasa Aiyangar was cold to her for two years. When she wanted to court imprisonment, he argued with her. He told her that it would be wrong to go to jail merely as an encouragement to others or in order to win popularity. He himself thought that more good work could be done by working outside than moping inside the prison walls. But if she felt that she must go from a sense of imperative duty, she might do so. She went to prison and Srinivasa Aiyangar was regular in his fortnightly interviews allowed to prisoners. Then, later, she wished to go and spend some time in the Wardha Ashram. By then her father had grown completely antipathetic to the Gandhian ideology. Nevertheless he himself took her to the Ashram. I was specially interested in the part of this beautiful filial tribute where the writer refers to C. R. Das's visit to her father at Bangalore to enlist his support to the Swaraj Party which he had just then formed. I happened to be connected with that party in Bombay and had heard a report of what occurred between the two men. Ambujammal's account, therefore, was of special interest to me. She says that in expectation of Das's arrival they had prepared food for him in the northern India style. Deshabandhu arrived at five in the evening. The two men immediately got into argument and from the women's part of the house the ladies heard their voices growing louder and angrier. The discussion was evidently heated. Suddenly Das left the house for the railway station. Srinivasa Aiyangar who reported everything to his wife, told her that the man, Das, behaved like a child. Ambujammal adds the

comment, "Das, indeed, had the face of a child." Srinivasa Aiyangar followed him to the station and in about half an hour the household was delighted to see the two men returning laughing and chatting together in the most amiable temper. May I suggest that Ambujammal should write a full life of her father? This article exhibits a talent for biography which is rare in India.

RECLUSE.

#### SATYARTHA PRAKASH.

The Hindu Mahasabha at Amritsar passed a resolution to the effect that proscription of the whole or any part of the Satyarth Prakash or the Light of Truth written by Swami Dayananda Saraswati, the Founder of the Arya Samaj, would be regarded by Aryas and Hindus as an unwarranted interference with religious freedom. This was a counterblast to the resolution of the Moslem League at Karachi calling for the proscription of the book. To expect in these days any book, however sacred, to be exempted from critical study, or even to wish for such exemption, reveals a state of mind sharply at variance with the modern spirit. Truth is a torch, the more it is shook, it shines. This old adage is as true today as it ever was. Nervousness about a critical discussion of any published work implies acute fear on the part of objectors that they have not absolute faith in their cherished work. If they had, they would not only not oppose but would actually court criticism of it. The resolution of the League at most can be enforced only in Pakistan when it comes into being. The Muslim scriptures will be studied in the same reverentially critical spirit by scholars all over the rest of the world. It will not be possible to prevent the conclusions of historical research from filtering even into Pakistan. For the human mind will never be content to accept ideas on trust. So much for the League resolution. The Mahasabha resolution is even more incomprehensible. The gentleman who moved the resolution, is reported to have quoted Mr. Savarkar that the Satyarth Prakash was the religious book of the Hindus. We wonder if the titular President of the Mahasabha has looked into the Satyarth Prakash. Swami Dayanand, of whom we wish to speak with the respect due to a teacher who is held in reverence by a considerable section of the population in Upper India, besides expounding the sanhita or sacrificial part of the Vedas in his own way, devoted a section to criticism of all other religions in the light of his own understanding of them. His understanding of none of them will be accepted by independent scholars, not to speak of those who follow those religions, as profound or even reasonably accurate. It may even be said that his presentation of other religions is a travesty. No religion has been more cruelly and ignorantly scarified in the Satyarth Prakash than Hinduism in all its many sects. Saivism, Vaishnavism, Buddhism, Jainism, have all come under his lash. Comparatively, Christianity and Islam have received greater consideration at his hands. How Mr. Savarkar could proclaim as a sacred book of the Hindus, the Satyarth Prakash which rejects the Upanishads, the Gita and the Brahma Sutras which form the tripod of Hinduism which has survived and is professed by the vast majority of Hindus, we are unable to understand. Rejecting these canonical scriptures, the founder of the Arya Samaj adopted as his authority the sacrificial part of the Vedas, putting his own interpretation on the texts, which few Hindu scholars have accepted as correct. This part of the Vedas has been reverentially set aside by the Gita as about as useful as water in a tank in the midst

(Continued on page 130.)



## SATYAGRAHA.

Gandhiji's idea of satyagraha arose from his struggles in South Africa. The satyagraha was most effective in the sense that his demands were substantially granted at the time. This is the only occasion when satyagraha on a mass scale was successful. In India, it has failed on all the occasions on which it was tried. In his account of satyagraha in South Africa, Gandhiji distinguishes satyagraha from passive resistance. For him satyagraha is a spiritual faith. It is not directed against your opponent but against yourself. It is a method of self-suffering which softens the heart of the opponent.

The application of satyagraha in South Africa does not bear out this interpretation that Gandhiji claims for it. I am relying on Gandhiji's own account given in his book, "Satyagraha in South Africa," for drawing this or any conclusion on the subject. Satyagraha was directed against the South African Government. Gandhiji tried it for a number of years. Numerous workers went to jail but gradually it became confined only to a few workers of his ashram (Tolstoi Farm) who may be called professional Satyagrahis. The Government did not turn a hair. Smuts did not seem to care a rap. A hundred satyagrahis in jails would make no difference to the smooth working of the administration. Then Gokhale went to South Africa and came to terms with Smuts. I believe it was the influence of his great personality and the backing of the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, that turned the scale.

Any way Smuts did not abide by the agreement and then Gandhiji changed his tactics. Women were asked to break the law and go to jail. That too had little effect after the first shock. Then came the strike of the indentured Tamil labourers. Thousands of men left the plantations. Work came to a standstill. The big bosses first tried to bully Gandhiji into submission. Later they brought pressure on Smuts and the Government. It was easy to keep a few men in jail indefinitely. It would be hard to house and feed, however badly, over 5,000 men. The spirit of revolt once spread may affect the Negro races who outnumber the whites by four to one. Gandhiji himself suggests that the willingness of so many to go to jail and the actual cessation of work in the plantations paralysed the Government. They capitulated to Gandhiji.

I do not see that Smuts was moved by pity for the sufferings of Indians. If he was, he would not have repeatedly gone back on his word. He was simply cowed down by the strike of so many workers. That did the trick. I am surprised that Gandhiji should think it was soul-force or satyagraha that wrought the magic. I am not belittling or criticising Gandhiji's methods in South Africa. For unarmed and helpless men what other method is left? Violence would have been foolish. Men are willing to go to jail in large numbers under the stress of a noble emotion or inspired by the justice of their cause. But men in large numbers will not let themselves be shot. Violence being ruled out, it is to Gandhiji's credit that he devised new ways of resistance.

There is no more spirituality about a strike or a fast than there is about shouting down your opponent in an assembly. I agree that by believing and making others believe that this form of resistance has the merit of religion in it, he can get more men to participate in it and with greater determination. That they suffer willingly and feel elevated is natural but not unique. A soldier fighting for his country suffers as much, if not more, and feels as heroic.

But the danger of deluding oneself of the superior merit of this kind of fight is that it produces

a breed of hypocrites and fanatics who poison the roots of public life. In South Africa satyagraha was never tried again. In India it has been tried again and again. Politics was never in so sad and disreputable a state as in India after thirty years of satyagraha.

ITHURIEL.

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS  
FOR LATIN AMERICA?

A. Fabra Ribas, Technical Director of the Institute for Co-operative Studies, University of Cauca, writes in *Worldover Press*:—

Regionalism is steadily gaining ground in Latin America. Of course there is as yet no precise formula generally accepted for this regionalism, but throughout Latin America there is a very clear trend of opinion which holds that things cannot remain as they are; that the increasingly popular Good Neighbour Policy will not have a very large chance of success if the United States of North America continues to be confronted by the disunited states of South America.

There are few illusions about the possibility of federating all of the 20 Latin American countries. That is not considered a practical solution, at least for the immediate future. However, a workable solution is seen in the setting up of regional blocs which would facilitate the development of continental co-operation.

This trend of thought in Latin America is something relatively new. Despite the dreams of Simon Bolivar, regionalism has not always found such a degree of support. For instance, it was scarcely a dozen years ago that Sr. Alfonso Lopez, President of Colombia, proposed, in a famous report, the reconstitution of the Grand Colombia of Bolivar's day, but on the basis of modern requirements. The report met a chilly reception in the countries concerned. But today the fate of the small European countries in the second world war has convinced many of the necessity of building up larger units, either in the form of blocs, federations, or simple alliances.

Among the proposed groupings which appear most natural, the so-called "Bolivar" group takes shape very clearly. This group includes the countries of Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia. People here are talking more and more of this bloc. Public opinion in each of the countries appears to view the idea very sympathetically. And it seems obvious that the recent reciprocal visits of the chiefs of state of the five countries were in accord with a clearly thought out and well established plan. The last of these visits was made by President Medina of Venezuela, who, after having travelled through the "Bolivar" republics, declined an invitation extended by Argentina. This act clearly indicated the significance of his trip, and underlined its common purpose with the trips recently completed by the presidents of Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia.

Sr. Luis Alberto Sanchez, the well-known Peruvian writer, foresees the formation of several such blocs. He believes that Brazil, with its vast territory and 45 million people, and with its Portuguese language, forms, so to speak, a world apart. However, the fact that it is located in the Amazon basin obliges it to live with Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and also with Bolivia, "to whom she has drawn so much closer during these recent times." To the south, he finds Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and Paraguay, watered by the River Plate, and supporting a population of 24 million people. To the north he finds the "Bolivar" republics, with 28 million people, rich with oil, minerals, "and a formidable altitude."

Between the "Bolivar" group and the River Plate group, Sr. Sanchez believes, there are very few outstanding questions to be decided. All problems of boundary limitations have been solved. There are now only the common ties of history and interest.

The Peruvian writer sees in the setting up of these blocs the means of establishing a "policy of equilibrium and balance." He explains: "We would no longer be at the mercy of a single person or a clique when it came to grave issues of peace or war. Whenever a group in any given country wanted to divert the criticism of its own people by undertaking dangerous warlike manoeuvres, as has happened so often in the past, the associates of this country would cry 'Halt!' In other words, active co-operation would be established among the associated countries."

Missing from this outline is, of course, a place for Mexico, Cuba, and the countries of Central America, which, together with Colombia and Venezuela, might form a Caribbean group. But this is not an attempt to approve or disapprove of the outline. It is merely intended to call attention to this latest declaration in favour of regional groupings as a means of rendering more effective the Good Neighbour Policy, written by a man who enjoys unquestionable influence throughout Latin America.

In any case, the thesis of Sr. Luis Alberto Sanchez—who is a sincere supporter of democracy—differs from geo-politics, especially from the interpretation and application which Nazism has evolved from that doctrine. It is much closer to the geo-economics as it is understood by the economists of that school and as it has been described by Mr. Lewis Lorwin in his most recent works, especially in the study published by him in the January, 1943, *World Economics*.

Regionalism, according to the geo-economic version, may lead to various forms of political and economic integration. In some cases, several nations might form a larger union in order to pool their sovereignty and to enlarge their economic possibilities without relinquishing their distinct cultural pursuits. In other cases, a political combination of two or more nations would not be needed for the purpose, and economic interests might best be served by regional groupings which would include parts of larger national entities. In still other cases, several countries might form regional associations for limited purposes, to develop a common resource or to undertake a specific developmental project.

An interesting aspect of the development of regional plans in Latin America is the active role being played in it by the leaders of the Co-operative Movement. By way of offering a practical method of approach to regionalism, the Institute for Co-operative Studies of the University of Cauca, in Popayán, Colombia, recently proposed the idea of setting up a "Bolivar" Co-operative League, the purpose being to prepare the ground for an economic integration, beginning with the "Bolivar" countries and gradually extending into the Caribbean area. It would be an attempt to encourage economic inter-Americanism such as was proposed by Vice-President Wallace in his study entitled *Inter-American Agricultural Co-operation*, published in the May, 1940, issue of *Foreign Agriculture*.

The initiative taken by the Institute of Popayán won the immediate support of the Centre for Co-operative Studies of Medellín, Colombia, and of the Centre for Co-operative Studies of Caracas, Venezuela. The visit just completed by Dr. Alfredo Caballero Escobar, Rector of the University of Cauca, to the United States, when he talked with many leaders of the North American Co-operative Movement, and the first National Co-operative Congress scheduled to take place in Medellín, Colombia, in September, may well advance the proposed programme considerably.

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

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## NOTES.

**Baroda Back-Sliding:**—It was our painful duty two years ago to comment on the second marriage of the Maharaja of Mysore during the lifetime of his Maharani who sat by his side at his Coronation ceremony. Mysore which had risen under the administration of a high-minded ruler and Ministers to the proud position of the Model State, received thereby a serious set-back. Deterioration in public life must make itself felt in the administration especially in States where the ruler's personality is the most conspicuous feature of public life. Baroda is another State which, during Sir Sayaji Rao's regime, made rapid strides in all phases and not the least in reforms in social life. The late Maharaja was indeed a pioneer and leader of social reform, of All India repute and prestige. Several legislative measures in advance of other parts of India were adopted on the initiative of His late Highness. The example of Baroda has been an inspiration to social reformers in British India. Most important of all, Baroda has led the way by prohibiting polygamy among Hindus. This Act was passed in the time of the present Maharaja and received his assent. It, therefore, came as a shock to read in the *Times of India* of January 1 under the heading, "Baroda Ruler Weds," that "His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda was married in Bombay to Princess Sita Devi, third daughter of the Maharaja of Pithapuram on Friday." The Maharaja cannot plead even the conventional excuse that his first marriage was barren of issue. He has a family of several children and the Maharani has been recently taking part in public functions in Baroda. Public opinion throughout the country will deeply deplore this backsliding on the part of the ruler of the most socially progressive State in India. The irony of the event is aggravated by the fact that the Maharaja of Pithapuram, one of the biggest zemindars in the Telugu country, has been as a Brahmo the most favoured friend of the late Sir Venkatratnam Naidu. That he should have approved of his daughter becoming a second wife during the lifetime of the first wife, if he did approve it, must cause acute distress to many who held him in high esteem as a social and religious reformer. *The Reformer* has more than once claimed the great progress made by the movement for the upliftment of Indian women as the feature of the British connection which outweighs many other serious drawbacks. In similar circumstances Lord Hardinge refused to recognise the second marriage of an ex-Indore Maharaja. It will be interesting to know what the attitude of Lord

Wavell is to such aberrations on the part of Princes. As Crown Representative, His Excellency's responsibility is more direct than was that of his distinguished predecessor as head of the Government of India. The Baroda ruler's impulsive action—to put it mildly—makes him a breaker of his own law. This makes his position, as head of the State, untenable morally. It will be difficult to get men of high character and principle to fill the position of Minister. Outside, the Princely Order as a whole will find its claims considerably weakened by the vagaries of important members in the eyes of the civilised world in which women and Indian women are destined to play a part more important than any which they have filled in the past.

**Factory Workers:**—Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the Labour Member of the Government of India, has appointed a Committee of three to enquire into and make recommendations for ameliorating the condition of factory workers. These form a small fraction of the population and the idea that their condition can be materially improved in isolation from the general population, is an idle fancy. If the object is more to harass the employer than to benefit the worker, there may be something to be said for it. The classification of factory workers as an independent group is arbitrary and out-of-date. The classification adopted by some recent writers of primary, secondary and tertiary industries, has the advantage of stressing the close inter-relation between all productive activities. Factory labour in India has assumed an importance far in excess of its position in the national economy owing to the pressure of British manufacturers who wanted to deprive Indian manufacturers of the advantage, largely imaginary, of cheap labour costs. The growth of the Labour movement in Britain and its political influence lent a fictitious importance to the Labour movement in this country which represented, unlike in Britain, but a small fraction of workers. A Department was created for the benefit of this small proportion of India's working population, which, under Dr. Ambedkar, is pursuing a policy which has no relation to and is antagonistic to the interests of the largest class of producers in the country. The rational course is to group the portfolios of Agriculture, Industry and Labour in one, so as ensure a balanced economic policy.

**A False Analogy:**—The storm of criticism over Mr. Casey's appointment to the Governorship of Bengal—the Liberal Federation passed a resolution last week condemning it—has evoked a semi-official explanation that the appointment is a wartime one like Lord Wavell's to the Viceroyalty. The analogy is false. Lord Wavell is a Briton. Casey is an Australian. The English attitude to Indians until it was infected, as it has been rather badly during the last thirty years, by the Dominion race and colour prejudice, was uniformly kindly and courteous. Indians who visited England for study, business or pleasure came away with the

feeling that they received better treatment from the Briton at home than from the Briton in India. There has been considerable deterioration but even now the English attitude to Indians is the very opposite of the Australian attitude. Lord Wavell, whatever his personal feeling, can not officially look upon his Indian fellow-subjects except as his equals. While Mr. Casey, who looks forward to returning to Australian politics, must, whatever his personal feelings, regard Indians as a people who cannot enter his country except under conditions hurtful to their national self-respect. We deprecated last week making a fuss over Mr. Casey's appointment. It is, therefore, well to make it clear that it is not because there is no good cause for being worried over it. Mr. Casey himself seems to think that Australians should be attached to the British Commonwealth by being given more jobs outside their country. He evidently regards his own choice as the beginning of this new policy of appeasement. Australians are at present drawn rather strongly towards the United States. Mr. Casey evidently thinks that jobs outside Australia would serve as a counter-attraction. Mr. Casey has been indulging in fancies about what he will do in Bengal, which ignore the fact that he is a provincial Governor and Lord Wavell has made it clear that he means to take an All-India view of his duties as Viceroy. We may add that some recent experiences have not made the Australian name smell sweet to Indians.

**Mr. Churchill on His Illness:**—Prior to leaving the place where he has been staying for "an unknown destination" to spend a few weeks convalescing, Mr. Winston Churchill issued a statement which is a thinly-veiled rebuke to those who were in a hurry to find a successor during his absence to assume the responsibility of the Prime Ministership. He says: "I did not feel so ill in this as I did in the last. I have not had at any time to relinquish my part in the direction of affairs and there has not been the slightest delay in giving decisions which were required from me. I am now able to transact business fully. I have a highly efficient nucleus staff and am in full daily correspondence with London and though I shall be resting a few weeks I shall not be idle." All this would have been superfluous if not out of place had not the Prime Minister found it desirable to indicate to the public that the move to replace him was not made at his desire. It also suggests that Mr. Churchill would not have been pleased if a successor had been nominated.

**Evolution of Daily Press:**—The English Indian dailies are passing through the same stages of evolution as the British and American Press. It was stated last week that the *Leader* of Allahabad was being taken over by the Dalmias. If this happens, another prominent Indian journal will cease to derive its influence from the personality of the Editor. There are only two Anglo-Indian dailies of importance now, the *Statesman* and the *Times of India*. The *Statesman* by its independent attitude in the Bengal famine was chiefly responsible, with the powerful personality of Dr. Shyam Prasad Mukherji, in quickening public sympathy for the sufferers. Among Indian dailies conducted in English the two oldest, namely, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and the *Hindu*, are family concerns. The *Bombay Chronicle* is owned by a Parsi merchant who also owns the *Sun-inel*. The *Tribune* of Lahore like the London *Times* is managed by trustees—of Dayal Singh. The *Hindustan Times* and the *Searchlight* of Patna are Birla concerns. The *Hilavida* of Nagpur is owned by the Servants of India Society. Daily newspapers nowadays partake

more of the nature of an industry than of a profession. This is surprisingly confirmed by the repeated exhortations of the President of the Newspaper Editors' Conference, Mr. S. A. Brelvi, to journalists to organise themselves as Trades Unions. In the same breath Mr. Brelvi has been insisting that journalists must be men of strong convictions. Trades Unions are not more tender than capitalist owners to convictions and Mr. Brelvi's advice involves contradictory requirements. The Indian dailies conducted in English, whether family concerns or capitalist, are now the principal organs of nationalism. They are generally Congress-minded, though none of them claims, like the defunct *National Herald*, to be an organ of the Congress. What the colour of the *Leader* will be under the Dalmia regime it is difficult to say. Some months ago, Mr. Ramakrishna Dalmia, the head of the firm, circulated a prospectus for the formation of a Society to be named One, to bring all mankind in a single mission to establish the Brotherhood of Man. He declared his intention to retire from secular activities and devote himself entirely to this sublime purpose. Nothing has been heard of the project since and probably the acquisition of the *Leader* is a step towards its accomplishment.

**Bar-Wheat:**—The Bombay Government announced last week that from next Sunday, Bar-Wheat instead of wheat will be supplied to ration-card holders. Bar-wheat is a combination of barley and wheat in the proportion of one to three. The official statements were confusing. The broadcast on Wednesday by the Rationing Controller, Mr. Samarth, was evidently intended to clarify them. If so, Mr. Samarth succeeded to some extent but the effect of his clarification is to expose the arbitrary and unfair character of the scheme. Mr. Samarth said that the Gregory Report had recommended import of food stuffs. The first food grain which arrived in the country was barley. And, therefore, the Government of Bombay had decided to make the people of Bombay who are unaccustomed to barley, eat it in substitution of wheat partially. If the first consignment was grass not barley the Government would perhaps have put that on the ration. In Britain the people have been provided with the food to which they are accustomed. Very great care has been taken to ensure that their ordinary dietary remains undisturbed. Here in India Governments have gradually come to think that they can ask the people to do anything and the people have to and will obey. It is our duty to warn Government that the path they are treading is a dangerous one. Even a national Government under personal rule will not think itself entitled to dislocate the life of the people in the way the Government are doing. Mr. Samarth said that the success of rationing in Bombay was due to the co-operation of the people and hoped that it will be forthcoming to bar-wheat. When you ask people to cooperate, you should make it possible for them to do so by adapting your measures as far as possible to their disposition and habits. Here you are completely ignoring them. You are asking Indians to do what you have carefully avoided asking your own people at home to do. The inference is clear. It is not soothing to Indian self-esteem. The assumption seems to be that a subject race should cherish no self-esteem. Has the Government considered that the cooking temperature of barley and wheat are different and when mixed in flour the dish would be part cooked and part only partially done? Mr. Samarth dwelt at length on the nutritional value of barley. This might be very high but, if the people do not digest it, it will all be wasted. And the food to which the people are accustomed is the result of a process of natural selection and is the food which they can digest. Is it intended to supply bar-wheat to the Army also?



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, January 8, 1944.

## LORD WAVELL'S FIRST BROADCAST.

On Monday the Viceroy opened the session of the Indian Science Congress at Delhi. Prior to the Congress beginning its proper business, a meeting of the Royal Society was held under the authority of the President of the Society by its Secretary, Professor A. V. Hill, at which two Indian Members, Professor Homi Bhabha and Sir Santi Swarup Bhatnagar, signed their names in the Register brought by Professor Hill. Lord Wavell's speech on the occasion was well composed and well delivered. His Excellency has a hearty voice and manner, that is to say, he does not seem to speak with his lips only. It was cheery in tone and was complimentary, without being fulsome, to Indian contributions to science. Professor Hill had referred to the fact that the Viceroy's grandfather and great-grandfather were members of the Royal Society in their day. Lord Wavell said that his great-grandfather had discovered a mineral which Sir Humphrey Davy named after him. As regards his grandfather, Lord Wavell was not able to find out what his scientific achievements were. But in the early nineteenth century members were admitted to the Royal Society on the strength of their father's proficiency and his grandfather who was a soldier and served in India and the Spanish Peninsula under the Duke of Wellington, might have gained admittance to the Society that way. Turning to India's part in scientific advancement, His Excellency thought that it originated in contact with the West. This is not quite correct. In Mathematics, in Medicine, in Astronomy, in Chemistry Indian scientists had made valuable contributions long before the West started on its career. The West has made a distinction between inductive and deductive logic and the experimental method and that of abstract reasoning. The distinction is, like all such distinctions, illusory. Induction cannot go far without calling in deduction to its aid. Newton saw one apple fall to the ground. He might have seen a hundred apples do the same but certainly he did not see all the apples in all the ages past and future fall to the ground before he deduced his law of gravity. Pure Induction requires this as the indispensable test of scientific truth. Nor did Newton allow for the fact that things lighter than air are not subject at all to this law. Only things which are heavier than air, come to the ground. Air, therefore, has something to do in the matter. The real difference between Eastern and Western Science which, as Lord Wavell said, is Knowledge, is that, while the East has continued to think of the Universe as a whole, the West has left out the realm of Spirit and concentrated on the realm of Matter. Nothing is good in its conception which is not good to eat or to supply other material needs of the human being. The Eastern view, on the other hand, is that the cosmos is one whole, that the same identical laws rule in the realm of Spirit as in the realm of Matter, that in fact Spirit and Matter are not different and separate entities but are two forms of the same cosmic force or substance. We think that this view is gaining ground among moderns also and the day is not far off when the West will also rediscover by its own experimental method that there are many things between Heaven and Earth which are not dealt of in its philosophy.

The few Indian Fellows of the Royal Society who have been admitted so far, owe much to the philosophic background which is their heritage. Sir Jagdish Chander Bose for one openly avowed his debt to the ancient Indian philosophy of the unity and

universality of life. Though others may not be conscious of their debt, their achievements have been possible because they had in the highly disciplined mind which they inherited, a tool of incomparable delicacy and power. The absence among the Indian masses of a widely diffused scientific interest to sustain and stimulate steady advancement in science, is a handicap which these men have overcome. The State itself in India is a very unscientific and crude contraption put together from time to time according to the exigencies of British commerce and politics. A nation can exert its full powers only in perfect freedom. Liberty to rise is meaningless unless it mean liberty to fall also. Milton puts this as an argument in Satan's mouth, but it is nonetheless sound. To hold that the Indian people must compose all their differences, reform all their customs, must, in a word, have reproduced Heaven on Earth before the British take their hands off the helm of Government, is as absurd as it is insincere. Lord Wavell asked India to co-operate in adding to the world's scientific achievements. How can it do this so long as Britain keeps it behind a purdah and allows only so much of its voice to be heard as conforms to its policy and its interests? India wants nothing so much today as free access to the warm waters of international life. Britain bars the way. She herself incurs a great risk in doing so. Some one asked Stevenson what would happen if a cow happened to cross the line in front of his steam engine. "So much the worse for the cow," was the reply. It will be so much the worse for Britain if she stands in the way of India's making her contribution to the world's knowledge and well-being. Already the cry is rising from different sides, "We want India." Britain will consult her own interests as well as those of India, if she herself invites India, takes her by the hand and presents her to the world. At present, India is asked to make bricks without straw. And the wonder is that she does it to the extent she does. Lord Wavell said that India's outlook is pacific and progressive. Her pacifism is the outcome of a deep-rooted conviction gained as the result of ancient experience that the might of arms is illusory and that moral force is the only force which permanently prevails in human affairs. If, as the result of the pressure which is being put on her, India (and China which had the same outlook) become militarized the world will suffer worse, worse than the worst it has so far suffered, and the responsibility will not be hers. As for progress, the Indian idea of progress is different from that of the West. Materialism now dominates Progress, unless controlled by moral elevation, is a curse. India has aimed at moral progress and at material progress as a secondary not the primary objective. In the words of the Poet whom Lord Wavell quoted, material progress.

Is the second not the first.

A higher hand must make her mild, and guide.

Her footsteps, moving side by side

With wisdom like the younger child.

## Ceylon Governor's Wife Commits Suicide:—

While the social and economic effects of the war are patent, the deep psychological disturbances in many thousands of which it is the cause are not so readily understood. We can attribute the following report only to it:

COLOMBO, December 31: The death occurred suddenly at Nuwaraeliya this morning of Lady Caldecott, wife of the Governor of Ceylon. An official statement says: "An inquest has been held. The cause of death was a fall from a window during a state of temporary mental depression due to insomnia and neurosis."

## THE SARGENT SCHEME.

Mr. John Sargent's report on Education, with its elaborate scheme for post-war extension, is not easily available. This is difficult to understand. The report is printed in India. It deals with a vital problem and it has to be studied by all interested in education in the country. Mr. Sargent spoke on Thursday at the Science Congress on Educational Reconstruction. The speech presumably was a summary of his report. At any rate it may be assumed that it does not differ materially from the Report. Mr. Sargent's outlook is totalitarian in the best sense of the term. Either the whole thing has to be put through or not at all. "There can be no halfway house between what is and what ought to be." The whole scheme is to cost Rs. 417 crores annually. Mr. Sargent has somewhat naively entered on a discussion on how the money is to be raised. That is a question he might have left to the Finance Member. He thinks that with the new world order there need be less spent on defence and defence funds may be diverted to education. Unfortunately India which has always enjoyed the paraphernalia of an international great power and the status of a dependency, will be asked to contribute in money for the international police. Possibly as it will be considered derogatory to the Whites to police European countries with Indians, India will be relieved of that work and more money will have to be paid by India—naturally, as those countries not giving personnel will have to pay. Sargent says that education is more important than politics but the second source of his income is to be religious funds which only an Indian Government can touch. This he admits himself. The third source is international credit. A strong case, he argues, can be made out for India receiving help in education funds on the same scale as devastated countries. This is a curious phrase. If he ever intends to make out that case, Mr. Sargent would be well advised to study the Defence of India Rules. Unless international credit is on a new basis in the new world, we would rather avoid it. No country can take international loans and remain free and self-respecting. World finance, it is true, has not allowed any country to develop without thrusting its finger in the pie. Iran tried hard and for a brief while succeeded. Abyssinia was a prey to exploiters. Liberia has been tossed about by American finance. The whole of South America has felt the strong hand of economic imperialism. If that was the case with industrial development where the progress can be measured and concrete assets set off against loans, then what will be the position in a sphere like education? Mr. Sargent's scheme is excellent on paper. But it will remain on paper. He observes that if money can be spent like water on destruction, it should not be held back from nation-building work. It is a laudable sentiment, extremely so when it comes from an official in the midst of a colossal war. But is it more than sentiment? Otherwise, the Government would have thought twice before taking on its present liabilities in the war; it will think several times before accepting what in the future it will be asked to accept.

The money part of the Sargent scheme is not the important one. What is necessary is to rouse the feeling that the extension of education must be done. The supply of teachers can be obtained, if need be, by a method of recruitment. Mr. Sargent deplures, as all of us do, the fact that teachers are taken on for less than Rs. 10 a month. But he neglects to note that the very fact that they can be had for that wage, means there is something which draws people to teaching. No one will accept a lower pay if he can get more, in any profession. But he may accept it in one

profession rather than go to another because he feels that there are compensating conditions in it. The much attacked weakness of the existing system with its academic bias has resulted in a premium on teaching. This should not be thrown aside but worked on. The Hindu social system met the difficulty of providing education by a caste withdrawn from the general trend of making money. We publish today an article on the "Industrious Rich" which, somewhat extravagantly, maintains that in all professions money-making leads to sharp practice. From this for long ages the Brahmins were taken out. With the collapse of the system Brahmins went into all walks of life, deserting their posts in education. It is not possible to go back but unless the spirit which inspired the old ideal is retained, it is not possible to go forward either. As Guy Wint and George Schuster observe in "India and Democracy":

It is at this point that the special tasks and opportunities for national governments in India become clear. To organise the broad educational drive which will be necessary for any real and lasting improvement in the condition of the rural masses, to inspire the enthusiasm and devoted service by which such a movement alone can succeed, represent tasks in which they will have clear advantages over a British bureaucracy.

If the heart of India is in such a movement there need be no difficulty about finance. It must be carried on as a crusade by men who will be satisfied to live simply and to get their reward mainly in the satisfaction of doing service.

Mr. Sargent wants to do without nationalism inspiring the men and women working his scheme. So he has to budget heavily to offset this deficit.

The actual details of the scheme are comprehensive. Mr. Sargent holds that six years of age is too late to start basic education, specially from the physical point of view. But physical fitness is different from education and comes under quite a different category. There are educationists who hold that, from the mental point of view, six is too early to begin and in this country more harm has been caused by early education than late. What Mr. Sargent has put down as educational needs, is no doubt very necessary. But it should fall under public health. At the other end, the employment bureaux suggested by Mr. Sargent are likely to impede the beneficial effects of the scheme. For instance, Mr. Sargent thinks that these bureaux will help institutions "to restrict the intake where it is clear that the labour market is incapable of absorbing the output." Except the legal profession, there is no sphere in which, whatever the numbers today produced, there is likely to be an excess in the post-war world. That is, of course, on the assumption that there is to be planning and more active initiative on the part of the State. Teaching, as Mr. Sargent shows, needs more persons. Public health, if organised on a national scale, will absorb numerous doctors. Engineering will provide an increasing field for employment. The idea of regulating output by the demand or market, is to introduce economic norms into education. The needs of any economic system are for a large body of men without initiative, without enterprise, without ambition. An educational system which wishes to meet those needs, will concentrate on the production of clerks. Is that what is wanted? The defect of the Sargent scheme appears to be that it is far too much concerned with money and with fitting educational products into the economic system. This is an entirely wrong approach. So far as the idealism underlying the plan goes that too is limited in vision—to bringing India up to the standards of other countries before the war. The educational

optimum is lost sight of. The aim of any plan must be to make the Indian deft with his hands and quick with his brains. And no amount of money spent on this can be held wasted.

#### MONOGAMY IN BARODA

Sir,—Baroda State is regarded as one of the most progressive in these parts of India and in particular its social legislation is in fine contrast with similar legislation in other parts of India including Indian States. According to a law at Baroda passed by His Highness the late Sir Sayajirao Gaikwar anyone entering into matrimony during the lifetime of his first wife from whom he has children, is liable to criminal prosecution. Under this Law one Mr. Chinubhai Patel who had the temerity to contract a second marriage during the lifetime of his first wife who had children, was prosecuted and was sentenced to six months imprisonment and Rs. 300/- fine. This appeared in the issue of the *Doonamitra* for the 29th December 1943.

In sad contrast with the above, appears the following in the *Times of India*, for the 1st of January 1944, "His Highness the Maharaja Partapsingh Gaikwar of Baroda was married on Friday the 31st of December 1943 with Sita Devi the princess of Pithapuram." This item of news, if true, creates an amount of confusion and despair among those who have been regarding Baroda as a Model State. Before, however, offering any further comment, it is advisable to wait for a confirmation of the news especially that relating to the marriage of the Maharajasahib. Will any of your readers have the goodness either to contradict or confirm it?

CONFUSED.

We take the following note on "Bigamy by Hindu Husband" from the Baroda Administration Report for 1942-43:—"In April 1942, Section 116 of the Code of Hindu Law was amended so as to make re-marriage of a husband during the life-time of his first wife illegal. One complaint was filed by wife in the Navsari 1st Class magistrate's court against her husband for contracting a second marriage. The complaint was of the offence under Section 491 (bigamy) of the local Penal Code. The magistrate convicted the husband of the offence and sentenced him to undergo rigorous imprisonment for three months and Rs. 500 (five hundred) fine. The legislation making monogamy obligatory has been well received and public opinion supports the law."

—EDITOR.

#### GANDHIJI AND THE LIBERALS.

Sir,

I should like to correct a little mistake which has crept up in your editorial notes in *The Reformer* of January 1st. Referring to the National Liberal Federation, you say that it had "been growing in maturity since it was founded when the Congress became Gandhian." The National Liberal Federation was started after the publication of the Montagu Chelmsford Report and after the Congress had met in a special session in Bombay in August 1918. Gandhiji refused to attend the Congress because he said that the Montagu Chelmsford Report was good and satisfied as much of the Indian demand as India could absorb. Be it noted that Gandhiji was the only one amongst the Indian politicians, not excluding Sastri, Sapru, etc, who said that the Report was satisfactory. The difference of opinion amongst some of the Congressmen and Liberals was that whilst the Congress wanted to reject the Montford Report, the Liberals wanted, after criticising it, to suggest

improvements within the frame-work of the report. Gandhiji, therefore, did not attend the Congress and it was rumoured that he would attend the session of the newly formed National Liberal Federation. It is not, therefore, correct to say that the Liberal Federation was started when the Congress became Gandhian. So far as I remember, Gandhiji did not attend the Delhi session of the Congress in December 1918 which, in spite of Besant and Jinnah, decided to reject the proposals made by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India. Gandhiji shot up into prominence in the Indian political field only when the Rowlatt Bill was under consideration and the satyagraha movement was mooted by him.

May I also be permitted to refer to the notes in the "Bandra Diary", very interesting reading always. Referring to the late Srinivasa Iyengar, "Recluse" has rightly referred to the personal differences between Srinivasa Iyengar and Motilal Nehru. It was unfortunate that the Nehru Report was called the Nehru Report. It did lead to jealousies and personal bickerings. I was present in Calcutta in December 1928 on the platform with Dr. Besant when the Nehru Report was being considered at the All Parties Conference. Gandhi, Besant, Sapru, Jinnah, Nehru, C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Sarojini Naidu—what a powerful combination—were all there on the platform fighting for the adoption of the Nehru Report which had asked for full Dominion Status and also made for full communal settlement between the Muslims and the Hindus. Srinivasa Iyengar wanted independence instead of Dominion Status. There was much more a personal element in this than a question of principle. Dominion Status would have won the day, but Gandhiji allowed himself to be influenced by Srinivasa Iyengar in spite of the fact that he knew that the latter's quarrel was more a result of his personal difference with Motilal Nehru than his zest for winning complete independence for India. Without consulting Nehru, Sapru or Besant, Gandhi made a compromise with Srinivasa Iyengar that if Dominion Status were not won or promised during the year 1929, Gandhiji himself, would ask for independence in December 1929. Gandhiji's compromise upset Sapru, Besant, Jinnah, etc., but they were powerless against Gandhiji's influence. Then Jayakar attacked the communal adjustment, suggested in the Nehru Report and this was the second and last nail on the coffin of the Report.

The result of Gandhiji's compromise with Srinivasa Iyengar led to the resolution of independence passed at the 1929 Lahore Congress, with Jawaharlal Nehru as its President. This was followed by the Dandi March in February 1930. And so the story goes on. Politically we are back in 1860 today and our leaders are still indulging in the luxury of quiet jail life and the rest of them who are out, go on making speeches making the situation worse every time they open their mouths.

KANJI DWARKADAS.

The remark that the Liberals formed the Federation before the Congress was taken over by Gandhiji, is mere hair-splitting. Gandhiji's passive resistance influenced Indian politics ever since his return from South Africa. If a view more than superficial is taken of the non-cooperation movement, it begins not with the launching of civil disobedience but with the rejection of the Montford Reforms. For the first time in Indian politics, the ideology of refusing to have anything to do with political institutions on an organised scale was accepted when the Congress rejected the Montford Report.

EDITOR.

## CORPORAL PUNISHMENT.

Corporal punishment has been abolished in most schools and it seems as if even the parents will be deprived of their right to administer it to their children in a decade or two. It is possible that in schools caning has been abused by incompetent or cruel teachers. I am, however, concerned with the question if it is justifiable at all. A. S. Neill who runs his school on the principle that children must be allowed to do almost anything they wish to, has no use for corporal punishment. But, as almost all schools and homes are run on the principle of denying the wishes of the children, we need not concern ourselves with Neill. But it must be confessed that the abolition of corporal punishment can logically be defended only on Neill's principles. If the pupil refuses to study or will chatter in the class or will ask for impossible things, some control will have to be exercised. If your child is ill and is forbidden to eat but demands some eatable, what are you to do? You may argue socratically for a life-time but you fail. You may then appeal to the child's love for you, you may caress and fondle and you may bribe him with the promise of better eatables after his recovery. But the child still wants to eat. A little spanking may make all the difference. Later on, you need not actually spank but the threat of it will be effective. The threat of spanking is, of course, useless if the child knows it to be an idle threat. If it is permissible to spank sometimes, total abolition of corporal punishment is wrong. It is more difficult to run a school than a couple of children in a house. But in school a variety of punishments can be tried. You may give imposition or exile the child to a corner or 'sentence' him to wear a fool's cap or stand on the bench or you may 'deport' him from the class. But assuming that all these are effective, I am not convinced that they are better modes of punishment than caning or slapping. The caning does not hurt or annoy the child more than the other forms of punishment. It is as humiliating to have to wear a fool's cap as to be caned. I have not experienced it but I have cried when sent to a task-class for not being ready with my answers in history. I was filled with shame and anger but never again lapsed in my work. I am not sure if boys do not feel less ashamed to be caned than to be made to write lines or stand on the bench. At least it required some guts to stand the beating. The same considerations apply to whipping for grave offences where it is effective. The whipping must be painful but not cruel. There is a lot of sentimentality about whipping. But then ultimately it is the same sentimentality that clouds the subject of corporal punishment. To keep a man locked up in a jail is as painful and humiliating to him as whipping him.

Allied to this is the question of what is called "summary justice" or taking the law into one's hand. Very many matters are more happily and satisfactorily solved by the fist than by the law. It is often better to take the law in your own hands than leave it in the greedy hands of the police or the greedy hands of the lawyer. And there are many matters which can never go to the law courts. The bully who persecutes helpless men, the scoundrel who blackmails an innocent victim or the ungrateful wretch who breaks your home can only be dealt with by the stern argument of the stick. But it is a criminal offence to thrash a man howsoever guilty of any offence. He who takes the law in his own hands, must be sure that he is obeying a higher law.

SAVITRI.

## THE INJUSTIOUS RICH.

On reading any socialistic and communistic literature specially of the last decade, I am struck by the harsh language used against the capitalists. Lenin calls them burglars and scoundrels. Other writers are more liberal in their epithets. Inhumanity and dishonesty are invariably attributed to them. No doubt the capitalist deserves some censure for his methods of making money. But I wonder if any man who amasses great wealth can do so honestly. The capitalists are only one class of rich men. Great fortunes cannot be made if you have excessive scruples. Wealth that is earned by the sweat of your brow or the exertion of your mind, is slow to accumulate. But wealth gives so much power and respectability to its owners that no-one likes to think of rich men as dishonest or shady. As Douglas Reed observes:—"Prophets may not be honoured in their country; but profiteers invariably find themselves in the Honours lists of their country."

Take the case of the wealthy trader. He has to boost his goods, grease the palm of corrupt officials, he has to give secret commissions. Or, take the contractor. Unless he cheats you by giving bad value to your money, his margin of profit is cut down. I wonder if there is a strictly honest merchant who has amassed a fortune. I am not excluding even professional men from this charge. The lawyer who earns like a tradesman, has at some stage or other connived at many frauds, if he has not committed them. It is almost impossible for a lawyer in a city like Bombay to rise to the top unless he breaks every rule of the profession. I get all this information from the lawyers themselves. Take the successful doctor. He must scamp work if he has to earn a fabulous sum every day. He cannot possibly treat more than twenty cases a day if he is to do real justice to each patient. That should bring him Rs. 200/- a day or about Rs. 6,000/- a month. A doctor who earns more than that, is not earning money honourably. Then, like lawyers and traders, some consultants give "secret" commissions to the ordinary practitioner.

In our times most fortunes are won on the stock exchange. A big operator has to spread false rumours, tell lies, obtain secret information by corrupt means and do a thousand tricks to make the market rise or fall at his convenience. Making money in the share-bazaar is not less immoral than keeping a brothel. It is making money, out of nothing and promoting no useful activity. It is like gambling on the race-course. To get something for nothing is surely a dishonourable thing to do. Similarly one ought to be ashamed of winning on a bet on a horse. The man who loses is less dishonourable as he at least does not profit by his immoral activity. Yet you find the most successful and otherwise respectable men betting on horses. The man who begs in the streets, is despised. The man who bets on the race-course is honoured. The Governor patronises the race-course. The hungry man who steals is sentenced to jail perhaps by the very magistrate who is not ashamed to make something out of nothing on the race-course.

I can well understand why Plato and Socrates had such a contempt for the merchant and trader. The wealthy men set our standards of morality. No wonder that our standards are so deplorable and our values so cheap and contemptible.

ITHURIEL.

Correction:—Owing to inadvertent, the date line on the first page of last week's *Reformer* appeared as January 1, 1943. It should read January 1, 1944.

**Kharkov Trials:**—In the very brief reference which was all we had space for in *The Reformer* on the trial of War criminals by the Soviet tribunal, we could barely indicate the vague uneasiness felt about its correctness. An eminent judicial authority in England has written to the *London Times* suggesting a better way of trying war criminals. He points out that the invader has not accepted, and does not come under, the law of the invaded country and is not subject to it. He may be shot without any legal formality as an act of war but, if you follow legal forms, Soviet law has no application to German soldiers who surrender and who are entitled to be treated as prisoners of war. He suggests an international tribunal to try war criminals. The Nazis are not likely to be disturbed by legal scruples and they have already retaliated by hanging some of the Russian prisoners in their hands. A Soviet newspaper which is nowadays cited in preference to the familiar *Izvestia* and *Pravda*, replies truculently to the legal doubts felt about the Kharkov trials. It says in effect that the Soviet Government will pursue its own course indifferent to outside criticism. The Soviet Government has recently shown in more than one way that it cannot afford to remain indifferent to world opinion. The abolition of the Comintern is the most conspicuous incident in the Soviet approach to British and American sentiment. If the method of judicial administration in the case of foreign subjects followed by the Soviet regime jars, on the world's conscience, it cannot conduce to the harmonious cooperation with the Soviet though immediately nothing can be done. A distinction is drawn between shooting and maiming in the course of fighting and the same done when fighting is over. How can a soldier distinguish between orders given in the battle-field and in a city captured as the result of the battle? In either case he will be liable to be punished if he refused to carry out the orders of his superior.

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

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## NOTES.

**Dr. Row:**—We had the other day much spoken in appreciation of the work of Indian scientists at the special session of the Royal Society held under viceregal auspices in Delhi. The Indians so far admitted to the Society are all workers in the field of pure science. Applied Science is evidently not within the purview of the Society. Dr. Raghavendra Row, as an article in the November number of the *Physician* recalls on his seventy-fourth birthday, has a long and distinguished record of research in Medical Science. In the midst of the overpowering claims of a busy and successful professional career extending over fifty years, Dr. Row has found time to carry on research in some of the common diseases of India and has made valuable contributions to the treatment and cure of these diseases. "His contribution of seventy published papers on several medical subjects," writes the *Physician*, "has been the outcome of patient investigation voluntarily undertaken, at no small self-sacrifice, at his own expense and under the very limited resources of his private laboratory, from the clinical materials he was able to gather and study in the intervals snatched during his hard private practice." Dr. Row, unlike many successful professional men, retired from private practice leaving the field clear for younger men. He has since devoted himself wholly to research and to the direction in an honorary capacity of the P. G. Singhani Hospital founded largely through his influence and the vast Tata Trusts for Medical Research.

**Difficulties of Scientific Work:**—The *Physician* observes incidentally:

Scientific work in India and especially in Bombay, is fraught with extraordinary difficulties and the local atmosphere is such as to nip in the bud any attempt at original work rather than nourish it. The reign of mammon is supreme in Bombay and the main desire of the medical profession is to be severely left alone to worship in peace at its shrine unmolested by promptings of enquiry, idealism or service.

This is rather hard on medical men in Bombay among whom there are many who devote themselves to service to the poor without expectation of gain. But the criticism that original work finds no encouragement is true. Only it is true not only of Bombay or India but of all countries. The "Citadel", an autobiography in the form of a novel, by Dr. Cronin published a few years ago, brings out in lurid terms how an enthusiastic young doctor had to endure hardships and to remain poor so long as he was true to his professiona

ideals. He became rich and fashionable when he temporarily yielded to the siren of material advancement. At the height of his success, his wife, a woman of conscience and capacity, points out to him that they are sacrificing their souls in this mad race for gain. He returns to his scientific work, is put to many difficulties and is eventually called upon to defend himself before the Council of the Medical Association for violating the conventions of the central trades union of the profession. Pursuit of truth in any walk of life is never paying not only in Bombay and today but all the world over and in all ages. It is well, therefore, that those who want to undertake this pursuit should make up their minds to forego material success. If it comes, as it has in Dr. Row's case, well and good.

**British Subject Casey:**—No Indian expects that Mr. Winston Churchill will depart at this stage of the War from his fixed idea that to yield an inch to the protests of Indians, however reasonable, spells the liquidation of the British Empire. But he may consider the fact that talks of Mr. Casey to the Press on his appointment show that he has a very inadequate, not to say perverted, appreciation of the constitution of the British Commonwealth and of the position of the governor of a province in India. An interviewer called his attention to the exclusion of Asiatics and Indians as part of them, from eligibility for Australian citizenship and the obvious anomaly of an Australian accepting a high post in India. Mr. Casey's answer was that he comes to Bengal not as an Australian but as a British subject. What is a British subject? It has been decided at Imperial Conferences that there is no such thing as British citizenship and that each Dominion is entitled to lay down whom they will admit to their citizenship and whom exclude from it. Mr. Casey's own case is an instance in point. He has declined to be knighted, as governors of provinces usually are before they come to India, because he expects to go back to Australia where all British titles are taboo. But he does not mind receiving the emoluments—"just adequate" he considers—attached to the Governorship of Bengal. As regards the constitutional position, he seems to hold that he is directly responsible to the Secretary of State for India, ignoring the existence of the Viceroy. He expects to consult Mr. Amery at the end of his first year in Calcutta. In an earlier interview he said that his business was to smooth the path of Lord Mountbatten. This he has since acknowledged was a mistake. He will have nothing to do with Lord Mountbatten and Lord Mountbatten will have nothing to do with him as Governor of Bengal. To send out a man with such queer ideas to govern Bengal, the most difficult to govern of Indian provinces, at this critical period is to tempt Providence. When Sir John Dill's appointment to the Governorship of Bombay in succession to Sir Roger Lumby was announced, there was criticism not half as vehement as that which has greeted Mr. Casey's selection. The Prime

Minister found a place for Sir John in Washington and dropped him out as past the age limit for the Army. Mr. Churchill is convalescing at an unknown place but he is in close touch with London and might have, unless Mr. Amery choked off all news of India, some idea of the feeling in this country over the appointment of one who is an Australian on one side and a British subject on the other, to the Bengal Governorship. He may have at least noted what an Australian Minister had said of Mr. Casey's appointment to a post in India.

**Singh Case** :—The Sessions Judge of Lucknow sentenced Mr. B. P. Singh, a member of the Indian Civil Service and Secretary to the Provincial Government, to six years' imprisonment for culpable homicide not amounting to murder. The accused was charged with the murder of a servant girl. The jury unanimously found Singh not guilty but the Judge disagreed and convicted him of the lesser offence. This is the first time, so far as we can remember, that a Member of the Indian Civil Service has been convicted by a Court of Law. With the legal aspect of the case, we are not concerned. But there are one or two comments bearing on social conditions which fall within the purview of the student of social evolution. One of the witnesses for the defence testified that the servant, Bilasia, had been "married to Mrs. Singh" at a tender age. The newspaper reports which we have seen, do not show that counsel or Judge sought an explanation of what this meant from the witness. Perhaps it is a well understood phrase in Lucknow. In the context it seems to mean that the girl was handed to Mrs. Singh as a permanent domestic retainer.

**Darkness in "Dawn"** :—Noticing a recent address of Sir Azizul Haque at Aligarh in which he pleaded that the history of Islam in India should be rewritten as current histories were prejudiced, *The Reformer* pointed out that modern historians cited Muslim historians and chroniclers in support of their statements and, unless these quotations were shown to be wrong, Sir Azizul Haque's plea can only mean a plea for propaganda in the guise of history. The *Dawn* (January 9) attempts a laboured defence of Sir Azizul. The explanation offered by the *Dawn* on the wholesale destruction of Hindu temples, however, cannot but provoke ridicule. The fact of such destruction is attested by English historians, Vincent Smith among them. The *Dawn* makes out that Aurangzeb destroyed only old temples and new temples only when they violated his building regulations. The *Dawn* solemnly observes:

An investigation of the evidence proves that old temples were destroyed largely as a consequence of a rising and new temples were demolished only in those cases where their construction was forbidden by law.

We agree with *Dawn* that historical characters should be judged by the standards of their own time. That there was quite a different standard in Aurangzeb's time is evident if we turn a few pages of Vincent Smith's History of India. *Dawn* may also ponder the following statement of Aurangzeb's Court historian, Kafti Khan.

He (Shivaji) made it a rule that, wherever his followers went plundering, they should do no harm to mosques, the Book of God or any one's women. Whenever a copy of the Holy Koran came into his hands, he treated it with respect and gave it to some of his Mahomedan followers. When the women of any Hindu or Mahomedan were taken prisoners by his men, and they had no friend to protect them, he watched over them till their relations came to buy them their liberty.

Either Shivaji was much above the standards of his time or Aurangzeb was much below it.

**Deadset Against Srivastava** :—The disingenuity of the deadset which is made in Muslim League circles against the Food Member of the Government

of India, Sir J. P. Srivastava, does not need much effort to be exposed. The demand is for taking Food out of his hands or to abolish the Department. This latter demand is made by Sir Ziasuddin, Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh University and Member of the Indian Legislative Assembly. It may be recalled that the Food portfolio was transferred in the middle of a debate in the Indian Legislature from the hands of Sir Azizul Haque who had declared that the first thing to be done was for the Central Government to have its own machinery in the Provinces for executing its direction, to Sir Jwala Srivastava who through the Secretary of the Department insisted the next day in the Council of State that the Provincial Agency alone should be entrusted with the duty of carrying out the Central Government's measures. Sir Jwala has consistently followed this policy and even the last statement of his Department, we were obliged to characterise as half-hearted and lukewarm. It is the Viceroy's emphatic declaration at the Associated Chambers of Commerce that he would not hesitate to take drastic steps to enforce the Government's mandates which put body into the hitherto fluid views of the Food Department. Like the Punjab Premier, the Food Member has become convinced of the rightness and necessity of the Central Government's policy but even then he has been extremely careful not to hurt the susceptibilities of the Bengal Government. The attack on him on the ground that he is prejudiced owing to his being a prominent member of the Hindu Mahasabha is not only disingenuous but disreputable. While the Muslim League Ministers attended and took prominent part in the League proceedings at Karachi, Sir Jwala did not even show his face at the meeting of the Hindu Mahasabha at Amritsar. Whatever his drawbacks, Sir Jwala is certainly not carrying out the mandate of the Mahasabha in the administration of his Department. The policy he is carrying out is the Viceroy's policy. If the League wants to attack anybody it is Lord Wavell whom it should attack. But this evidently it has not the pluck to do.

**The late Mr. Shinde** :—We deeply regret to have to record the death of Mr. Vithal Ramji Shinde. He died on January 2 in his home in Poona. The appreciation which we print elsewhere from one of his closest associates in the Depressed Classes Mission, finely brings out the earnestness of Mr. Shinde's character and the enthusiasm with which he threw himself into the work of raising the condition of the scheduled castes as they are known at present. In the Depressed Classes Mission he had the support and sympathy of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, President of the Bombay Prarthana Samaj. The Samaj had, from the first accorded equal status to the untouchable castes with the caste Hindus in its services and social functions. In the Prarthana Samaj all were equal. The Depressed Classes Mission thus started with a spiritual background and all its activities were dominated by the religious motive. Mr. Shinde's aim was to do away with the disabilities, mostly social, of the Depressed Classes as members of the Hindu community. He had no idea whatever of setting them up as a separate and hostile group. It is significant that he was not a party to the Poona Pact apportioning seats in the Legislature to its representatives, although he was in Poona. The work of the Depressed Classes Mission has gone somewhat in the background since Dr. Ambedkar with his secular ideas came on the scene. But the time is not far off when the work will be resumed with added strength on the lines which Shinde and his co-workers had planned with much sagacity. Shinde's name will ever be associated with the movement for the reform not so much of the Depressed Classes as of Hindu Society.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, January 15, 1944.

## THE ALL INDIA NEWSPAPER EDITORS' CONFERENCE.

At Madras last week, Mr. K. Srinivasan, Editor of the *Hindu*, handed over the Presidentship of the All India Editors' Conference to Mr. S. A. Brelvi, Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*. There is something appropriate in the place. Mr. K. Srinivasan has been the architect of the Editors' Conference. For three years, he has devoted his energies to the task of building up the organisation. Now when he hands over control, what venue could be more fitting than his own home town?

The three years have been trying years. When the editors met in November 1940 at New Delhi to protest against the repressive policy of the Government of India, no one dreamt that a permanent organisation could be created out of that gesture of protest. There were not present the ingredients that make for permanency. The press in India was divided. At Delhi there were many editors who later dropped out, who did not keep up their interest in the organisation. These have, most of them, come back. The representatives of the Anglo-Indian press were brought in afterwards, only Arthur Moore who was drifting away from Anglo-India, being present. Mr. Srinivasan himself as President of the protest meeting began his speech with the words, "The wind has been taken out of our sails," and announced that the Government had withdrawn the order that had provoked the protest. Few who were present on the occasion, can forget the confusion which hid the history of the moment. Yet out of that confusion the general feeling asserted itself. The withdrawn order was but the last straw. Had it never been promulgated, the Editors' Conference would not have come into existence. But it had roused the editors to the precariousness of their position. The need for an organisation which would watch over their interests, was vital. But it was only vaguely felt. Little groups discussed it. There was not very much hope. The immediate necessity was for resolutions to protest against Government's arbitrary ways. Luckily resolutions cannot be drafted amid a babel of voices. A drafting Committee was formed. And from the Committee emerged two resolutions—the first creating the Conference, the second transforming the drafting Committee into the Executive Committee of the Conference with powers reserved to the President to take in additional members. The open Conference which accepted the resolutions, met only for a few minutes. Certainly no one of the members realised the importance of these two resolutions. When, after the Conference dispersed, controversy arose, it was over issues which seem trivial today. Freedom of the press is a great objective. But greater still is the creation of an organisation to fight for it. To Mr. Srinivasan's credit be it said that he was the one man whose every conscious and unconscious act was directed to building up that organisation. There have been temporary sacrifices to the ideal. It is futile to deny it. At times it has even threatened disruption to the Conference. Extremist editors have strained at the leash, not prepared to pay the price of unanimity. But the realisation that without the Conference or with two rival bodies the editor's individual position would be worse, has slowly been driven into the consciousness of every editor. Today the Conference stands out, unchallenged in its position as

the representative of the Press in India. The three years and more that have passed mark the triumph of moderation, the first triumph moderation has won in Indian public life. That this should have occurred at all is creditable; and it is doubly so because it was won at a time when the political horizon was the darkest in Indian history. The credit for this goes in large measure to the first President, Mr. Srinivasan.

## FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

Addressing the third open session of the Editors' Conference at Madras, Mr. S. A. Brelvi dwelt on the two necessary tasks facing the Conference. The first of these was that of getting all members of the profession within the Conference. Today the All India Editors' Conference can appeal to those who have stood out so far or dropped out, to join it. For today the Conference has something to show. It is a solid body with a record of no mean achievement. However much extremists may condemn its policies, there is no editor who can seriously question the fact that editors as a whole are better placed in relation to the Government than they were ever before. The second need is for extending the consultative machinery which is the peculiar achievement of the Conference. There have been some provinces which have not welcomed the idea of consultation. There have been in most provinces some occasions when the bureaucracy thought it convenient to ignore the consultative machinery. In the latter, the realisation of the mistake has been very quick. What is needed is to spread the consultative spirit and to get it working in provinces where it is not today seen. The Central Government in the past few weeks has shown itself more ready to assert itself. We trust that it will take as strong a line in regard to Government-press relations as it has done in food.

Mr. Brelvi spoke at length on the freedom of the press. The principle of consultation on which the Conference is working, makes the subject of freedom difficult to dwell on. There has to be a certain measure of give and take; and the very fact that the Editors' Conference asks the Government to be reasonable, postulates a corresponding accommodation on the part of the press. The press in India is not a free press. It never has been. It is because editors accept that position that the consultative machinery has been agreed on both by the State and the profession. There is no need for consultation if the press is free.

There seems to be a great deal of confused thinking on this subject. Freedom of the press cannot be equated with the country's freedom. By doing so there are two errors into which people can fall. The first is that the struggle for freedom of expression will cease with the attainment of political independence. The other is that freedom is not possible unless there is a free state. There is an illuminating study of administration by Woodrow Wilson published some sixty years ago, which should be carefully read by all students of politics. Wilson was struck by the advance in administration made by autocratic countries compared to the conservatism of democracies. He gives the logic which led to that:

The countries of Europe..... would have diverted revolution by softening the asperities of absolute rule. They sought so to perfect their machinery as to destroy all wearing friction, so to sweeten their methods with consideration for the interests of the governed as to placate all hindering hatred, and so assiduously and opportunely to offer their aid to all classes of

undertakings as to render themselves indispensable to the industrious.....They made themselves too efficient to be dispensed with, too smoothly operative to be noticed, too enlightened to be inconsiderately questioned, too benevolent to be suspected, too powerful to be coped with.

Of the other side of the picture, Wilson wrote :

It has long and successfully studied the art of curbing executive power to the constant neglect of the art of perfecting executive methods..Government has gained strength but it has not acquired department.

The ideal he defined as being both free in spirit and proficient in practice. In this country the Government has vacillated between the one ideal and the other. When it regarded itself as absolute, irremovable, it tried, as far as the English political genius would allow it, to soften the acerbities of administration. When it entered on constitutional reforms, it tended almost by a reflex action to harden in its administrative side. That explains why the consultative system of the Editors' Conference grew under the absolute rule of Lord Linlithgow. When Mr. Brelvi asked the Government of India to set about solving the political deadlock, he in effect demanded a renewal of the struggle of the Press. For the Government of India can only enter on negotiations with political parties if it regards itself as a transition Government. And to quote Wilson again, "once a nation has embarked on the business of manufacturing constitutions, it finds it exceedingly difficult to close out that business and open for the public a bureau of skilled, economical administration." Freedom from irritating administrative interference can be achieved easily under autocracy through extending the consultative method. Under a free government, the struggle will have to be resumed. It may probably have to be fought out bitterly. What the politician seeks is easy to understand. Even the Right Honorable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri advised the Conference to fight for a change in the political situation. To them a free press is a secondary need, if a need at all. But we of the press have to be more careful. We are not suggesting that the press should hold aloof from the national struggle. That it has not done and it cannot do. But let it not be unaware of the problems which it will have to tackle in the future. The Editors' Conference has a great part to play in post-war India. It must prepare itself for that part.

#### MR. BRELVI ON NATIONAL LANGUAGE.

Mr. S. A. Brelvi's address at the Convocation of the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Pracharak Sabha, Madras, bristles with fallacies, historical and linguistic. To begin with, he should have written his address in Hindustani if his contention is true that Hindustani is the national heritage of Hindus and Muslims. That he made it in English shows that, whether national heritage or not, today the English language is the language of inter-provincial intercourse. As a matter of history, Hindustani is not a national or even communal heritage. Before the British came to India, said Mr. Brelvi, Urdu or Hindustani was the lingua franca of India. Lingua franca was the name given to French as the language of international intercourse, that is to say, communications between sovereigns, foreign ministers and diplomats. In India before the British came and for several years after their advent, Persian, not Urdu or Hindustani, was the lingua franca in this, the only correct meaning. Persian itself was made the court language and the language of administration by Raja Todar Mal the famous Revenue Minister of Akbar. Before that and for several centuries under Muslim rule Hindi not Urdu was the language in which accounts were kept in and about Delhi. Over the

greater part of India the local language was commonly used. At no time was Urdu or Hindustani the medium of intercourse either among officials or among cultured people. The Hindus had Sanskrit for their cultural medium. Pandits from all parts of the country discoursed in that language which is still far from being a dead language in the sense that Latin and Greek are dead languages. The masses had no occasion to speak any language but their own. Two hundred years of British connection has meant more for Indian culture and history than a thousand years of Muslim rule or the Hindu rule that immediately preceded it. The English language has established itself as the language of inter-provincial intercourse. The Congress has not only not been able to dislodge it from that position but has had to carry on its propaganda for Hindi itself in that language. The attempt of the Rajagopalacharya Ministry to force Hindi on middle-school children contributed more than any other single measure to the revival of the Justice Party in the South. English has now been formally adopted as the language of international intercourse. It is thus most conveniently placed for being the language of inter-provincial use also. Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, in a much misunderstood speech at the All-India Universities' Conference at Hyderabad (Deccan), expressed a curiosity to know how the the Nizam's Education Department made adequate provision for teaching children their mother tongue for use at home, Urdu for use in the administration and as an interprovincial medium and for English as the international medium. Among the items which have gravely impeded the Congress programme is the tad for making Hindustani the national language, which, Mr. Brelvi asserted, must be rooted in the soil. Is English rooted in the soil of the United States, or Spanish and Portuguese in the soil of the South American States? The figures given by Mr. Brelvi about the results of the Hindi propaganda in South India speak for themselves. A few hundred students are given a smattering of what is called Hindi every year which they soon forget for want of occasion to use. The sooner this conceit about a national language is given up the better it would be for progress. English is far too deeply established as the language of cultural and commercial intercourse to be dislodged. The growth and decay of languages follow well-defined laws and are not subservient to the chances of propaganda by political organisations. The hold which English has obtained over India is only partially due its being the language of the administration. The passion for freedom, the motive force of history, is the inspiring principle of English history and literature is the main reason for its rapid spread in this country and the world. Many Indians who pay lip service to the Congress propaganda on behalf of Hindustani never seriously intend to acquire it themselves. English has the double advantage of enabling persons in different parts of India to communicate with each other and of providing for Indians a medium of the widest international intercourse. This part of the Congress programme has been propped up by large financial assistance from some Marwari magnates and has no root in the soil to use Mr. Brelvi's phrase.

**Russia and Poland:**—The controversy between Russia and Poland which has been a disturbing element in the amity of the United Nations, has broken out again. Russia has offered to abide by Curzon line plan of 1919 and the Polish Government in England and Polish leaders in America are being asked to accept it. The Polish Cabinet is conferring with Mr. Antony Eden, Britain's Foreign Secretary.



## INFLATION IN RIGHT PERSPECTIVE.

It was well that the All-India Economists, who met in conference recently in Madras, fixed their attention mainly on the all-important issues of India's war economy. More than the other debates, the discussion on Inflation alone is bound to prove enlightening and useful. It was full and frank; every possible view or suggestion found a place in it. And, though it might appear that the economists themselves were divided in their analysis of the problem and the ideal solution they would commend, it was clear that, behind this apparent divergence in their approach, there was a vivid appreciation of the elements of the problem and that they were at least unanimous in the view that this rot of inflation must be stopped at any cost.

Perhaps the most notable contribution to the entire discussion came from Dr. Madan of the Reserve Bank of India, Bombay. It was refreshing to see him get down to some fundamental thinking and put his finger unerringly on the root of our troubles. Speaking of the controversy as to whether the rise in prices resulted from the general scarcity of goods in relation to demand or from the expanding monetary circulation, Dr. Madan struck the right note when he declared that "this controversy appeared to betray a confusion of thought resulting from the fact that the problem of rising prices was viewed alternatively from two different angles, which disclosed opposite facets of what was essentially and fundamentally the same phenomenon." Recent discussions have tended to draw a somewhat artificial distinction between the two strands of thought in the country each shifting the emphasis to a particular aspect of the phenomenon of inflation. In Dr. Madan's words, "the supposed antithesis between the two explanations—the one that inflation is due to the abnormal currency expansions in the country, the other that it is the result of scarcity of consumer's goods—is artificial and unnecessary." The view that the present constitutional currency mechanism has led to grave abuse resulting in inflationary tendencies has found a much greater following in the country than the other view. The economists and businessmen who emphasise the part that the monetary mechanism has played in bringing about the present trends, are right up to a point. Few will deny the truth that the degree of inflation has been unnecessarily rendered greater than it would otherwise have been owing to the highly objectionable methods of finance adopted by the Government. But in shifting the emphasis too much to the side of the connected monetary phenomenon, there is the mistake that the factor of scarcity of consumers' goods is nearly overlooked in one-sided discussions.

Nor does the other explanation give the whole truth. Of course, it is idle to deny the effect of scarcity of goods on our economy in the present emergency. Mr. Birla and his associates have done a service in focusing public attention on this aspect of the problem; but his understanding of the matter rests upon a narrow conception of the inflationary forces in the country. Shortage of consumers' goods in wartime is a very natural phenomenon; of course, the degree of shortage is governed by the effective demand. But to explain inflation in terms of scarcity of goods alone is to miss the other aspect of the question—the money aspect.

Now, in talking about inflation, it is essential to remember that the fundamental fact of war finance is the abnormal economic activity in the country and the enormous expenditure incurred by the State. The pressure of this ever-increasing expenditure on the country's economy threatens to be more than the country can bear. The great expansion in currency is directly attributable to this increasing

State expenditure on the war, both on its own behalf and that of the Allied Governments. However much we might object to the present methods of India's war finance, the expenditure on war is bound to grow, more so with the establishment of the South East Asia Command. And India, obviously, cannot evade her share of the total burden. Mr. Birla's suggestion that the augmentation of production of consumer's goods and capital goods is the only feasible solution of our present difficulties, arises from the feeling that the expenditure on war is bound to be of immense magnitude and that the mischief wrought by abnormal currency expansion can be undone only by increased production. There is much truth, however, in that suggestion and it points the way, too, to a healthier national economy. But, as things are, it is difficult to believe that production could be increased overnight, particularly in view of the Government's pronounced antipathy to India's free industrial development, even to tide over the present crisis. Still the force of that suggestion cannot be lost upon the Government which has allowed the country to be bogged by inflationary forces.

Increase of production is not the last word in the strategy. Much has to be done on the monetary side too. The suggestion has been recently made that the rupee should be delinked from sterling, if we should be spared the horrors of inflation. It is a seemingly radical suggestion; but almost everyone in the country feels that the present methods of the Government's war finance are highly detrimental to India's true interests. Leading economists in the country have recommended the adoption of measures such as the liquidation of British assets in India, rupee loans by Britain, payment to India in gold or durable assets. The Government, for their own reasons, haven't yet seen their way to the adoption of any such policy; nor is there any indication that they will modify their methods in response to public opinion. The truth is that they are supremely content with their present achievement. It was a comfort, however, to witness the recent statement of the Finance Member that "we have arrived at a stage when the pressure of increased purchasing power on a continually diminishing volume of goods and services should be relieved by making available more goods for consumption." But beneath this statement there is the tacit assumption that the present undue expansion of currency is both natural and inevitable. Our patriots have merely questioned the validity of this assumption. And their loudest cry is ignored because the Government cannot afford to listen to them. The pity of it is that the political climate in the country is far from ideal. It would appear that the Government delight in flouting public opinion and will depend on their own ability to improvise, no matter whether the co-operation of the people is forthcoming or not. The Government have not yet chosen to enlist the highest patriotism of the land in the fight against inflation, not to speak of far greater issues. It is small wonder, therefore, that with apathy and a sense of bitter frustration and helplessness stalking the land, the Government find that all their frail palliatives defeat themselves. Professor Gyan Chand only mirrored the enlightened opinion in the country when he declared at the Madras Conference that "the greatest anti-inflationary measure the Government can take is to resolve the present political deadlock; compared with that measure, every other is of secondary importance." It is an illusion to suppose that Government can ignore public opinion and yet combat inflation; and that illusion is incalculably dangerous.

## ABANDRA DIARY.

Mr Kanji Dwarkadas in his letter in last week's *Reformer* has brought out the interesting and important fact that Independence as India's political goal was first advanced by the late Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar some years before the Congress formally adopted it and that Gandhiji and others had been opposed to it and stood for Dominion Status. Ambujammal in her article in the Devali number of *Kalki* mentions this as a point of outstanding difference between her father and Gandhiji, the others being, Gandhiji's subservience, in her father's opinion, to reactionary Hindus, the spinning wheel orders, courting of imprisonment, and the mixing up of religion and politics to the confusion of both. But the immediate cause of Srinivasa Aiyangar's breach with the Congress and Gandhiji, according to her, was the Nehru Report. In 1928 after the Madras Congress Srinivasa Aiyangar went on an extensive tour in Europe. By the time he returned, the Nehru Report had been published. As he found that the Report had entirely ignored the views expressed by him, he was disgusted. He exclaimed that there was no way thereafter to Hindu-Muslim unity. He accused Gandhiji of siding with Nehru against himself. His differences with Gandhiji, repressed thereto, were inflamed. He felt that his labours and sacrifices on behalf of the Congress had been wasted. This was the chief reason, Ambujammal says, why her father severed his connection with the Congress. Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas suggests that the differences between Pandit Motilal Nehru and Srinivasa Aiyangar were personal. He might have gone further and called them traditional. In Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* there is a pre-historic legend of a conflict between Dravidians and the Nagas of Kashmir. The Dravidians—in Sanskrit, the term has a territorial and not a racial connotation—had drained away the water from the valley where the Nagas dwelt. The latter complained to the King who requested the Dravidians, who were supposed to be gifted with magical powers, to let the water back into the valley and settled them in a city which he built especially for them near his capital!

RECLUSE.

## THE LATE MR. V. R. SHINDE.

The death of Mr. V. R. Shinde which took place on January 2, 1944 at his residence in Poona, deprives the nation of a first-rate worker in the field of religion and social reform. Mr. Shinde's name will be forever associated with the uplift of the untouchable classes for the amelioration of whose condition he laboured incessantly for the last forty years. Born in a well-to-do family at Miraj, his secondary education took place in the high school in his native town. The family fortunes, however, underwent a change for the worse and Mr. Shinde had to struggle hard to complete his college education in Poona where he graduated from the Fergusson College. His association with the leading members of the Poona Prarthana Samaj turned his attention to religion and, with the help of his friends and the aid of a unitarian scholarship, he joined the Manchester College, Oxford, for the comparative study of religion. After completing his studies he returned to India in 1903 and was immediately appointed its Missionary by the Prarthana Samaj of Bombay. In that capacity he served the Samaj for seven years and in 1910 resigned the post to devote himself entirely to the work of the Depressed Classes Mission which he had founded with the help of the members of the Prarthana Samaj of Bombay in 1906, for the improvement of the condition of the untouchables of India. Heedless of rain, heat, and cold, he toured the

whole of the country establishing centres of work wherever he went and succeeded in creating an awakening among the depressed classes to their unenviable condition, in a degree the like of which was never witnessed before. He also secured the sympathy of the Government and the educated classes for the cause. It was because he had inherited a robust physique that he was able to stand the rigours of the work to which he had devoted himself. In 1916 Mr. Shinde had the satisfaction of enlisting the sympathy of the National Congress to his cause. In its Calcutta session in that year the Congress adopted a resolution making the cause of the depressed classes its own. Since then many institutions have identified themselves with this great problem but it must not be forgotten that the pioneer work was Mr. Shinde's. Mr. Shinde was emotional by nature and threw himself into the Satyagraha movement and went to jail. The result, however, was disastrous. His constitution which was already undermined by incessant work and constant touring, broke down. For the last three years he was ailing and hardly moved out of Poona. Up to the last, however, his interest in the question of the untouchables and the spread of the Theistic faith did not flag. I have no doubt there are many among the depressed classes who will cherish Mr. Shinde's memory as that of one who spent all his life to secure for them the rights of human beings—rights which were denied to them and of which they had lost sight, from ages immemorial.

V. S. S.

## BARODA MARRIAGE LAW.

Sir,

Your note under the caption 'Baroda Backsliding' indirectly contained a reply to the inquiry of "Confused" about the truth of the rumour about the second marriage of His Highness the Maharajasaheb Pratapsing Gaikwar of Baroda. Your note makes a reference to the second marriage of the Maharaj of Mysore and also contains comments on that event. The present tragedy, however, involves serious consequence both from the general point of view and personally to the Maharajasaheb also. It appears to be the general notion that the king is above the laws, but, so far as Hindu traditions are concerned, it is established beyond doubt that according to our laws and traditions the king was never above the laws. Indeed not only that he was never above the laws, but discriminating rules are found under which while an ordinary citizen would be awarded an ordinary punishment, the punishment for the king has been laid down to be a thousandfold. I am referring to the well-known rule in *Manu* at Chapter VIII-36; and the following two verses develop further the principle underlying the above, so that the higher the status of the individual, the greater the responsibility and obligation upon him to meticulously observe and obey the laws and their importance, and the greater the severity of the punishment meted out upon such infringement. In the case of the Baroda Ruler marrying a second time while his first wife is still living and has presented him with as many as nine issues, with a further promise of many more, this is indirect contradiction of the very sound rule laid down under ancient texts according to which "if a husband marries another wife while the first one is living, who is obedient, is diligent in her domestic duties, and has presented him with issues, male and female, the penalty for him would be one-third of his property to be given to the wife."

According to the Legislation passed by the Baroda Government after the accession of his Highness

the Maharajasaheb Pratapsingh to the Gadi, a man marrying in the Baroda State a second time, when his first wife is living, is liable to be criminally prosecuted and under this legislation persons infringing its provision have been sentenced to rigorous imprisonments which they are at present undergoing. Several important issues arise as the result of this unfortunate step by the Maharajasaheb.

(1) Is not the Maharajasaheb a subject of the Baroda State? If so, is he not liable to be proceeded against under the Laws of the State?

This question can only be solved by an application to the court by one of the subjects of the State for a Rule against the Maharajasaheb to show cause why proceedings should not be started against him for the breach of the State laws. There is the local States Peoples' Association. One should consider this as a proper occasion for putting the matter to an acid test. It would rebound to the credit of both the subject and the Sovereign if the matter is put to the test. Your readers need not be reminded of the well-known story of the Cobbler and the Prince in *Rajatarangini IV & VI*.

(2) The second point which would arise is in connection with the smaller States which the Baroda State has claimed to be amalgamated into that State. No doubt the recent decision of the Agent's Court at Ajmer, has put the correctness of the decision of the Crown Representative in this matter under a doubt but that could be solved by an amending Order. Still the important question would be that when a State claims to have other States amalgamated into it, it gives a guarantee in terms that the affairs of these amalgamated States would be guaranteed strictly in conformity with the Rule of Law; and such a rule of Law necessarily assumes no discriminating application of its provisions. Having deliberately sought confederation with members of his own order, it is not open to him to act detrimentally to the implications of such a confederation.

(3) In this respect the episode of the Duke of Windsor stands in good contrast. When his marriage was in contemplation, he was plainly told by Mr. Baldwin, the then Premier representing the conscience of the British People, that His Majesty could not have both; he could not marry the lady selected by him and at the same time retain the throne, and one could not but admire the mind which elected against the throne over which 'the Sun does not set' in favour of a step to which he thought he had committed himself irrevocably. In the present case a gentleman of the calibre and foresight of Sir V. T. Krishnamachari could not but have given his master the correct advice.

(4) If his Highness the Maharajasaheb had set his heart upon this marriage, the best course open for him was to abjure his connection with the Baroda State as otherwise his entry within the jurisdiction of the State would certainly mean a defiance by himself of the Laws which he was pleased to sanction.

LEX.

**A Durable Peace:**—In his message to the Congress, President Roosevelt spoke of a just and durable peace. An enforced peace may be just, it cannot be durable. It would have been wise to have left all differences for a post-war settlement. Mr. Roosevelt, however, has publicly congratulated himself and the other big-power leaders on settling down to consider peace problems in the midst of war.

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

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## NOTES.

**Custom and Convention** :—The *Charal Dharma* of Madras publishes an address by the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastry broadcast from the Madras Radio Station on "Freedom from Conventions". Mr. Sastry defined conventions as :

Those understandings that create expectations of conduct or behaviour so that we know that in certain conditions certain persons or bodies of persons will do certain things, and we regulate our conduct accordingly. Conformity with these conventions has no legal sanctions behind it. Violation cannot be punished with fine or imprisonment. Still the man that ventures to violate them does not enjoy complete immunity. The disapprobation of his fellows, the frown or censure of those for whose good opinion he cares, the boycott of society which in serious cases may culminate in excommunication—these wait round the corner for the social rebel and secure society from repetition of his offence.

When conventions are enforceable by law, said Mr. Sastry, they are better known as custom. Whether custom or convention, the man who breaks it in the interests of social justice as essential to social integrity, is regarded with admiration. Buddha, Jesus, Mahomed have all been breakers of conventions. Custom and convention are necessary to keep the wheels of social life turning smoothly but equally necessary is it that men should rise from time to time to break up the rut into which they may get stuck. To refuse to bend the knee to custom, even if it be only on an impulse of eccentricity, J. S. Mill observes, is in itself a service to society. In Indian society there are many customs but few conventions such as prevail among Europeans. Particularly free are Indians who have not adopted western manners from the conventional lies of European civilisation. If a man is really at home he does not say he is not at home. In fact it is impossible for him to say so because the Indian home has not the necessities or conveniences which make it easy for the European to adopt this practice. In this respect Indian life is more sincere than European life. The European habit of talking incessantly while eating is responsible for many conventional lies. A friend who prided himself on having perfect manners in the western sense, had several note books in which he jotted down all the comic stories he came across. Before attending a dinner party in the western style, he would spend some fifteen or twenty minutes, in addition

to the time spent on putting on the appropriate costume, in conning over these note books. As the other guests too might have such a record of funny stories, it was inevitable that many of these convivial anecdotes are known to some of them. It was a convention that if a guest who happened to recognise a story familiar to him, should not say that it was an old story. He must pretend to have heard it for the very first time in his life. The existence of these conventions more than caste restrictions make social intercourse with Europeans utterly boring. It is devoid of the sincerity which is the very salt of friendly intercourse. As for customs, in India they take precedence of the written law.

**Lord Erskine on the Constitutional Question** :—Speaking at the East India Association London, Lord Erskine, former Governor of Madras, observed that there was no pact between the Congress Governments and provincial Governors about the use of the special powers of the latter for the protection of minorities. Those powers were used when occasion arose. He added :

The unfounded belief of many Muslim League leaders that provincial Governors by means of these reputed agreements had abandoned Muslim populations to the mercies of the Hindu majority, might well be of the main reasons for the uncompromising attitude they had adopted in recent years. The first requisite for further political progress was the discovery of some constitutional method where by the great Muslim community might be satisfied that it would not be dominated and oppressed by the Hindu majority.

It is difficult to follow Lord Erskine's logic. He says that the belief of many members of the Muslim League that there was a pact between Governors and Congress Governments would unfounded and that the special powers of the latter were used as contemplated. In the same breath he speaks of discovering constitutional method for assuring the Muslim leaguers of fair treatment on the part of the Hindu majority. If people are determined on holding an unfounded belief and making it the basis of their demands, it is obviously impossible to satisfy them. The Sudeten parallel is much in point. The Germans in Czecho-Slovakia had no important grievances. Their original demand for constitutional reforms had been mostly conceded. This did not put a stop to agitation. It is very difficult to devise machinery to satisfy people who are determined not to be satisfied with anything less than separation. Lord Erskine holds that separation is undesirable. He thinks that it is impossible to go back on the provincial autonomy of the 1935 Act. He suggests that there would be autonomous provinces with a centre with well-defined limited powers. That is what we had and that is what has led to the disastrous failure of the Government to avert the Fowl famine in Bengal and other parts of the country. The only point in Lord Erskine's speech worth noting is that, in his opinion, the responsibility for finding a solution for the deadlock does not rest solely with the



people of India. Britain has her share of responsibility. He did not say how Britain can discharge her share. On the whole the ex-Governor of Madras did not make a very helpful contribution to the debate in the East India Association.

**Release of Detenus :—**Mr. Srinivasa Sastry's earnest plea for the release of Gandhiji and other detenus as a first step towards solving the deadlock, at a tea party given by him to which the members of the All India Editors Conference were invited in Madras, has been criticised with unnecessary heat by some Anglo Indian journals. Many persons who do not belong to the National Congress and do not share the views of the Gandhi school would, like Mr. Sastry feel that no effective response would come from Indians to an appeal for co-operation unless the detenus were released. The detention of a large number of men and women, who are held in high respect by millions of people, without trial and sentence by a judicial tribunal, is contrary to the elementary principles of British jurisprudence and till the wrong is righted, no mediation is possible. Mr. Rajagopalacharya's invitation to Congress men out of jail and non-Congressmen to formulate a plan to enable the formation of coalition ministries, has fallen flat just because of this reason. The meeting between Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the Viceroy at Lucknow, may be expected to open a new door to negotiation. The meeting, it has been said, is of no political significance. If nothing more was intended than the interchange of commonplaces about the weather, there is no reason why Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru of all people should have been invited by the Viceroy during his short visit to Lucknow. Sir Tej is an outspoken public man and he may be depended on to place before the Viceroy the situation in the country without any colouring. It would be strange if the Viceroy, missed this opportunity of getting a plain, unvarnished statement of the public feeling from Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru who belongs to no political party and has no personal axe to grind.

**Rajagopalacharya Defamation Case :—**The Madras High Court has upheld the appeal of the local *Observer* against the conviction of its editor and printer by the Presidency Magistrate on a charge of defamation brought by Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya, ex-prime Minister of Madras. Mr. Justice Kuppaswamy Aiyar who heard the appeal held that the editors' allegations were made in good faith, in the public interests and after adequate enquiry. That they were as a matter of fact unjustified did not affect the issue. The proper way for Mr. Rajagopalacharya to clear himself was by the publication of a letter which he wrote to Gandhiji deprecating the Civil Disobedience campaign. We think that the High Court's decision is the right one in the circumstances. The Press has a public duty to perform and if after due enquiry it criticised a public man, the latter had it in his power to rebut its allegations either by writing in the paper itself or by publishing his version in any other manner. Speaking for ourselves, we were not at all impressed by the *Observer's* diatribes, their very extravagance if its own antidote with it. A public man should not be inordinately sensitive to criticism. We were surprised when we saw that Mr. Rajagopalacharya had taken the matter to a court. The High Court judgment leaves the reputation of Mr. Rajagopalacharya untarnished while safeguarding the legitimate rights of the Press.

**Pithapuram and the Brahmo Samaj :—**With reference to our remark in the editorial note "Baroda Backsliding" a correspondent writes, "The Maharaja of Pithapuram was no doubt the most favoured friend

of Sir Venkataratnam Naidu whom he called his Guru but the Maharaja himself was not a Brahmo and never called himself a Brahmo. The Maharaja is a caste Hindu who calls himself "a Vellama of the Vaishnava sect" which were his caste and religion by birth. He is at best a social reformer with strong sympathy for the Brahmo Samaj. It is not proper to call him a Brahmo in the interests of the Brahmo Samaj." Our correspondent says that the second marriage of his daughter was not approved by the Maharaja.

**The late R. S. Pandit :—**We deeply regret the untimely death at the age of 51 of Mr. R. S. Pandit of Allahabad. A gifted member of the Pandit family of Bombay, the deceased was a man of ripe scholarship in Sanskrit. His English translation of Kalhana's Rajatarangini is in some respects superior to that of Sir Aurel Stein because of the deeper insight into Indian history and literature of Mr. Pandit.

**Singhani Hospital :—**Dr. R. Row writes to correct a wrong impression which might have been conveyed by our reference to P. G. Singhani Hospital and the Tata Trusts in juxtaposition in the editorial note on his career in the last issue of the *Reformer*. He says that the Tata Trusts have nothing to do with the founding and management of the P. G. Singhani Hospital. We wished only to indicate that Dr. Row is devoting his years of retirement from practice to collaboration in the management of the two institutions.

**Hindu Law of Marriage and Succession :—**We welcome Mrs. Hansa Mehta's booklet on "Woman under the Hindu Law of MARRIAGE and Succession," Pratibha Publication No. 2. It is a clear, dispassionate statement of the status of Hindu women. Mrs. Mehta has placed the facts relating to important matters before the public without any spirit of partisanship. The full text of the Hindu Intestate Succession Bill now before the Indian Legislature, is printed as an appendix and greatly adds to the value of the book as a work of reference.

(Concluded from page 159).

In India also men often commit suicide when dishonour stares them in the face. Thus Indians who have been unable to pay their debts, have preferred the bullet to bankruptcy. So have many wives and husbands died on discovering the infidelity of their spouse. Here suicides are honourable. They are also convenient to the erring spouse and shows heroism on the part of the injured party.

It is common to call such a man a coward. But too great a courage is required to take one's life except perhaps in Japan where tradition blunts the keen desire for life. It is hard to leave this warm world, for the cold grave. Never to see the sun never to smell the flowers and shake your friends by the hand, never to meet one's parents or children—what hard prospect! Death is shrouded in mystery. To take the risk of greater misery beyond requires courage of the highest order. Gandhi says in his autobiography: "I realized that it was not as easy to commit suicide as to contemplate it. And since then whenever I have heard of someone threatening to commit suicide it has had little or no effect on me." But the hardest consideration is not always the giving up a life that has lost its charms but the idea of leaving in grief those who love you most.

I am sure that consideration alone has deterred many sensitive souls from taking the final step, and those who contemplate suicide are very sensitive men.

ITHURIEL

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, January 22, 1944.

## NEW WAR PROBLEMS.

India may join in the cordial welcome which greeted the return of the Prime Minister to London after his convalescence. He did not come to India, as we had hoped he would, but spent the period in Morocco. We are assured that he has completely recovered his health and went straight from the Railway Station to the House of Commons. To a question whether he would re-arrange his routine so as to lessen the strain on his strength he replied that he had no idea of doing so at present. It is not, however, a question entirely for his choice. Two attacks of pneumonia within twelve months is not exactly an incentive to persist in a method which suited the robust manhood of the Prime Minister. Although he may not feel it, the bodily weakness cannot but tell on the mental. Quick and sudden decisions have to be taken. The unity which was created and maintained in the height of the struggle is already showing signs of disintegration when the victories in Africa and Italy have relaxed the tenseness of the suspense preceding them. The Teheran Conference between British, America and Soviet Russian Chiefs, was proclaimed to have smoothed all outstanding differences and laid firm the foundation of complete solidarity between the three Powers. Within a few weeks of the Conference, however, differences which may easily become acute have arisen. The Polish Russian dispute is an ancient one. When Germany invaded Poland, Soviet assistance was offered to defend the country. But it was accepted with a condition which practically meant its rejection. Poland was willing to accept materials but would not allow a single Soviet soldier to step on its soil. Poland's heroic defence excited the admiration of the world but it was futile against the overwhelming might of the Nazi Power. In the short period when Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany were allies the Eastern half of Poland had been occupied by the Soviet Power. This was taken by Germany on the outbreak of the present war along with the territory under Polish rule. The Polish Government fled to Britain and has been functioning from London.

Now that Russian troops have taken possession of Poland the question arises where the boundaries of the new Poland should be drawn. The Polish Government in London naturally wants the whole country as it was before the German invasion including the Russian occupied portion. Russia is equally naturally unwilling to give up what she had acquired. Poland, it may be recalled, did not abide by the settlement of the Versailles Treaty which fixed the Curzon Line as its eastern limit. It invaded and took possession of territory which was not assigned to it in defiance of the authority of the League of Nations. Russia now offers to abide by the arrangement of the Versailles Treaty. Poland is evidently reluctant to accept the offer. An American Polish spokesman said that to accept the Russian proposal would mean national suicide for Poland. Earlier, the Polish Government in London had charged Soviet Russia with atrocities during its occupation of some of its towns subsequently occupied by Germans. The Soviet Government indignantly repudiated the charges which it declared was trumped up by the Nazis. The affair has still to be settled. The relation between Soviet Russia and the Polish oligarchy is steeped in mutual distrust and it will require all the tact and influence of the British and American Governments to prevent a breach in the Allied ranks. We may add that the tone of the Soviet press

which is Government-controlled has been increasingly truculent. It betrayed intolerance of very moderate criticisms of the procedure adopted at the Kharkov trials, asserting that Russia will pursue its own way regardless of what others thought or said. For the moment neither Britain nor the United States are in a position to advise Russia with a reasonable chance of being heard.

Now comes the charge of the *Pravda* that the German Foreign Secretary, Von Ribbentrop, had a secret meeting with two British representatives and that a separate treaty with Germany was the object of their meeting. The British Government has emphatically denied the allegation. The *Pravda* which made it is an official organ and it could not have indulged in such dangerous speculation for a pastime. The deep-rooted antipathies between the Conservative Government in Britain and the Soviet Government can not be dispelled by a magician's wand. The *Pravda* outburst is but the precursor of further complications. The British Prime Minister has an arduous task in dealing with the problems which the prospect of an early end to the war is throwing up. Mr. Churchill's qualities as a great War Minister will be rather a handicap in this task. He is an improviser like Lloyd George. He has no grasp of principles. The task of peace making, however, needs men who have a firm hold on principles and are not given to let circumstances dictate policy. The need for a re-arrangement of functions in the British Cabinet is overwhelming. At the same time it is difficult to point to any single statesman in Britain who can share the supreme authority with Mr. Churchill.

## THE LIBERALS CREED.

Sir Kanji Dwarkadas' plea for Dominion status in the year of grace 1944 as shown by his regret that Dominion status did not win as against Independence at the All-Parties Conference of 1938 is simply astounding and pathetic. The National Liberals are reputed for dispassionate study of problems balanced judgment, and dignified expression of views. It is a pity that a march of world events has had no effect on their political outlook. Time was when the mere mention of independence as the goal would come under section 124-A of the I. P. C., and so the colonial self-government or Dominion status as the aim of our national aspirations was considered reasonable, practical and legitimate and constitutional. When the independence movement gained strength in the country, the National Liberals pleaded that, as the Dominions enjoyed complete autonomy and the right of secession from the Empire at will their political goal should satisfy the independence-wallahs, too. Now the course of events has amply demonstrated that as the grant of Dominion status to India has to receive the assent of the Dominion Government, according to the British Government's statement on Lord Strabolgi's Bill, Independence is easier to attain than Dominion status. Even this global war in which Indian soldiers have played a heroic part has not effected a change in the attitudes of the Dominions to India. India's national self-respect which was stressed by the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri at the last Liberal Federation should vindicate itself. The Congress resolutions have explained that independence does not mean isolation, but participation as a free and equal partner in the world-federation. Independence does not preclude honourable relationship with Great Britain. Independence has been granted by the British Government in the Cripps offer. I appeal to every Liberal to consider whether the time has not come for changing their political creed. I wonder why they should cling to a formula, conceived 5 years ago, now meaningless impracticable of attainment and dwarfing the political stature of our countrymen.

R. SRINIVAS IYENGAR.

### ARYA SAMAJ AND BRAHMO SAMAJ.

The Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj are two important religious reform movements of the last century. The Brahmo Samaj was the first in point of time. Its founder, Raja Ram Mohun Roy, was a learned scholar in Arabic, Sanskrit and English. He was also the father of modern literary Bengalee. The founder of the Arya Samaj was a Kathiawar Brahmin of the priestly class attached to temples. He knew Sanskrit and Hindi. His knowledge of the culture of non-Hindus was limited and defective. The Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj had many points in common. They both eschewed image worship. They both disavowed hereditary caste. But there were also important differences. The Brahmo Samaj rejected any infallible revelation. The Arya Samaj claimed the sacrificial part of the Vedas as infallible and revealed. As a direct consequence, the Brahmo Samaj's attitude to other religions was one of toleration and reverence. That of the Arya Samaj, as evidenced by the section in the Satyarth Prakash criticising other religions, was one of intolerance. The attitude of the Brahmo Samaj is set forth in the Trust Deed of the first place of worship dedicated in Calcutta to "the worship and adoration of the Eternal Unsearchable and Immutable Being Who is the author and preserver of the Universe but not under any other name or designation or title applicable to any particular Being or Beings by any men or set of men what-soever." It provided at the same time that

in conducting the said worship and adoration, no object, animate, or inanimate, that has been or is or shall hereafter become or be recognised as an object of worship by any man or set of men shall be reviled or slightingly or contemptuously spoken of or alluded to either in preaching, praying or in the hymns or other mode of worship that may be delivered or used in the said message or building and that no sermon preaching, discourse, prayer or hymn be delivered, made or used in such worship but such as have a tendency to the promotion of strengthening the bonds of union between men of all religions, persuasions and creeds.

All Brahmos are not mindful of this express injunction of the Founder nor do all Aryas share the prejudice of the Founder towards other religions. The Arya Samaj has exhausted its mission and is now merged in the main stream of Hinduism. The Aryas in the Marriage Act passed a few years ago for their special benefit insisted on being statutorily recognised as a class of Hindus and are now working under the flag of the Hindu Mahasabha. The traditional Hindu attitude to other religions is defined at more than one place in the Bhagavad Gita. It is the same as that of the Brahmo Samaj and is entirely opposed to the method of the Satyarth Prakash. The Gita, while recommending devotion to Sir Krishna declares that devotion to other manifestations also are of equal efficacy and that devotion to the Unmanifested is equally meritorious but it is difficult for men to follow. Devotees of the Unmanifested are described as those engaged in advancing the well-being of all beings. The antipathy to other religions of the Satyarth Prakash is un-Hindu and should be given up.

Every scripture should be approached with reverence and with the assurance that new light will be found in it, however much it may be obscured by extraneous matters and the idiosyncracies of the prophet or promulgator.

### A BANDRA DIARY

In *The Reformer* (December 1) I commented on an article by Mr. D. Desai in the *Prabuddha Bharata* headed "Browning, Buddhist and Vedantist." Browning, I pointed out, had a robust belief in the world in which he lived which was neither Buddhist, nor Vedantic. Incidentally I took exception to the implied identification of Buddhism with the Vedanta. In the *Buddha Prabha*, the Journal of the Buddha Society of Bombay, Dr. V. M. Kaikini, Honorary Secretary of the Society, has a learned article identifying Buddhism with Vedantism. The Sunyata of Buddhism, he maintains, is the Maya of the Vedanta. Dr. Kaikini quotes Nagarjuna's dictum that the meaning of the word Sunyata does not correspond to the meaning of the Abhava ('non-entity'). Sunya is zero which added to any integer multiplies its value by tens and hundreds and thousands. Zero is thus a very potent and positive dynamic. But it is not Maya which is illusion. Maya in the Vedanta is not Ultimate Reality but the veil which hides Ultimate Reality. That the Vedanta as developed by Sankara was profoundly though not sympathetically influenced by the writings of Asvaghosa the great Buddhist commentator, was shown in a learned paper read by Narmadashankar D. Mehta at one of the meetings of the Buddha Society in its early years. The similarity between Sankara's teaching and Buddhism led to his being stigmatised as a concealed Buddhist by the exponents of later schools of Hindu religious philosophy. But that he himself considered his philosophy to be a repudiation of Buddhism, goes without saying. Dr. Kaikini accepts Professor Das-Gupta's view that Gaudapada the preceptor of Sankara's preceptor Govinda, and author of a classical commentary of the Nadukya Upanishad was a Buddhist. But Gaudapada himself towards the end of his Karika expressly denies that his views were the views of the Buddha.

Many explanations have been attempted of the revival of Hinduism and the disappearance of Buddhism in India. One of the reasons no doubt was that which Professor Joshi of Baroda College gives in the same journal for the popularity of Sanskritas compared with Pali among students. He writes:

While the Sanskrit Professor is waxing eloquent over some amorous stanza from a dramatic work of Kalidasa to an enraptured class of boys and girls in their teens, his Pali brother has to dictate notes on the tedious Noble Truths, four Jhanas and the four stages of sanctification to an unintelligent and tired out group of boys.

Professor Joshi suggests changes in the Pali curriculum of the Bombay University which may make the study of that language more attractive to students. But more than changes in the curriculum, the personality of the professor is an important factor. Surely Buddhism which inspired the artists of Ajanta and author of "The Light of Asia," has ample materials to stir the enthusiasm of youth. The life of the Sakyamuni himself is a high romance if that term is not, as it should not be, restricted to what Professor Joshi calls amorous texts. The Life of Buddha was an epic of Compassion more thrilling than the epic of war and chivalry.

### BARODA HINDU CODE.

Sir, "Lex" in his letter published in the last issue of *The Reformer* has omitted to refer to the amendment made in the Baroda Hindu Code two years ago. I reproduce the section in the original Gujarati:—

"११६ पति के पत्नी प्रथमतः लय कायस उतां फरवार लय करे तो ते फरवारुं लय निरर्थक छे.

One would like to know from "Lex" whether this section has application to the present case. INQUIRER.

### CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS IN BARODA.

The Madras correspondent of the *Tribune*, Lahore writes under date Jan. 12.—A constitutional crisis is developing in Baroda State, following the Ruler, Sir Pratap Sinha, marrying a second wife, Sita Devi, the third daughter of the Maharaja of Pithapuram, one of the leading zamindars of Madras. Baroda State has prohibited bigamy since 1942. A Hindu cannot take a second wife while his first wife is alive under the Baroda Law and any violation of this social reform legislation is punished with a fine of Rs. 500 and 6 months' rigorous imprisonment.

It is stated that the Maharaja himself has violated his own legislation by marrying Sita Devi while his first wife, Shanta Devi, is alive. The Maharaja has 8 children by his first wife. His eldest son, the heir-apparent, Fateh Sinha, is aged fourteen. It appears that the Dewan and other State officials submitted for the Maharaja's consideration that both for public and administrative reasons, the Maharaja should not contract this marriage, but the Ruler ignored their advice.

I learn that the Dewan and two other officials have tendered resignation of their offices. The Paramount Power's intervention is also reported to have been sought to prevent any likely disorder out of the above developments.

### SOME LEGAL ASPECTS OF BARODA MARRIAGE.

Legal Aspects: and how it affects Social and Political Ideals and Reforms.

I would have remained silent if this marriage was purely a personal matter relating to Maharaja Saheb or to the Royal family but it has far reaching consequences in law, politics and society and affects moral and social, religious and political ideals and aspects of the people in the State and outside and hence I mention below the points that arise for mature consideration of the leaders and thinkers and workers.

(1) That the royal family is governed by the Hindu Law in matter of marriage, succession, inheritance, adoption and dissolution of marriage.

(2) That Princess Sita Devi had married under Hindu Law, the married gentleman is still living, she embraced Islam for a very short time, got herself reconverted to Hinduism and thereafter this marriage was performed in Bombay.

(3) Change of religion or loss of caste does not operate as a dissolution of Hindu marriage, not even the fact that wife has deserted her husband: Mulla's Hindu Law. Where persons, not governed by Mahomedan Law, contract or celebrate a valid marriage in accordance with a system of law other than Mahomedan Law, the marriage and its dissolution will be subject in British India, to the provisions of that other system of law notwithstanding that one of the parties to the marriage has after being so married become a convert to Islam: Mahomedan Law, Tyabji. It means if Hindus celebrate a valid marriage, conversion to Islam of either party does not dissolve marriage, and dissolution of marriage is governed by Hindu Law and change of religion from Hindu to Islam does not help him or her and the status continues. Mulla's Mahomedan Law says that the conversion of a Hindu wife to Mahomedanism does not *ipso facto* dissolve her marriage with her husband. She cannot, therefore, during his life time, enter into a valid contract of marriage with any other person.

(4) It seems that the facts are that Sita Devi called a Kazi and embraced Islam in November and therefore called upon her husband to embrace Islam. On his not complying with the demand, she filed a petition in the Madras High Court for divorce and J. Shahabuddin gave a decree for divorce. Opinion cited above in para 3 is from Madras High Court Judgment published in 26 Mad. L. J. In 1941 Calcutta High Court holds the same view and further states that the rule must be regarded as obsolete and opposed to public policy. I fail to understand how in twentieth century such a judgment is given by the Madras High Court, granting divorce under the circumstances of this case.

(5) Baroda State Hindu Law lays down that husband or wife who when the first marriage is subsisting marries again, the second marriage is null and void, except in case of leprosy, lunacy and such diseases.

Baroda Law recognises that if the wife embraces Islam, husband can claim divorce through Court but there cannot be a marriage unless the decree absolute is passed six months after decree nisi.

(6) The Baroda Court have held second marriage of one having a wife an offence under local Penal Code and convicted and passed sentences of rigorous imprisonment and fine, and the last Administration Report says that Legislation making monogamy obligatory has been well received and public opinion supports the law.

(7) Is religion a mockery? That a Hindu can be a Mahomedan one day and reconvert himself to Hinduism and do that which Hindu Law prevents from doing.

(8) Is the marriage valid and legal, according to Hindu Law in force in Baroda State?

Does Sita Devi get the status of a Maharani?

Does the Baroda Administration accept this marriage as a valid marriage?

Should the people accept it as a valid and legal marriage?

(9) It seems necessary in the interests of the Baroda State subjects that the Baroda Administration should make a declaration regarding it.

In Bombay Presidency there have been many marriages in so-called educated and rich people who preach moral on all occasions and to put a stop to any such occurrences, Baroda State legislature and the Government had passed monogamy obligatory for both husband and wife.

It has shocked all classes of people in the State and Maharani Shanta Devi Saheb and Princesses in particular and heart-felt sympathy is expressed everywhere in the sad plight of the Maharani Saheb.

I believe from the facts reported until now that this marriage is a great blow to the social fabric so beautifully built up by many years' labours and sets back the wheel of progress and reform in all directions.

C. J. SUTARIA, B.A., LL. B.,  
Ex. M.L.A. (Baroda)  
President,  
Baroda Raj Praja Mandal.

Baroda,  
January, 15th.

## A PLEA FOR SANSKRIT.

## I

Sir, I note in your last issue your remarks on the speech of Mr. Brelvi as the President of the All India Newspapers' Conference at Madras, and I particularly note your reference to that portion of his speech which relates to the question of a common language for India. It has always been occurring to persons like me that instead of carrying on the profitless struggle for a common platform through a modern language, it would be much better to return to the original language *viz.* the Sanskrit, which is the mother of all the modern languages; and I was much interested in this connection to note a very powerful support contained in the speech of that accomplished lady in Sanskrit *viz.* Mrs. Kshamabai Rau at the Oriental Conference held at Trivendram. The speech is fairly long, but I send herewith a few extracts of the original Sanskrit and the translation of a few passages of these extracts. These will give your readers the substance which he supported by practical arguments.

Yours truly,

J. R. GHARPURE.

## II

Mrs. Kshama Row has for many years been a fluent advocate of the development of Sanskrit into a spoken language. As a supplement to her latest Sanskrit poems, she has summoned up her arguments, for the following English translation of which we are indebted to Mr. Gharpure.

After the preliminaries, she says, "I had never even dreamt that there would be scope for a speech of a person like myself in this assembly which is full of eminent Pandits, for my speech may sound like a child's babble on account of many defects, still the audience will generously look to the substance by regard to the importance of the subject under consideration.

"How can this language which is almost dead be revived? What worldly gain would be secured thereby? It would be a profitless undertaking." So babble forth thousands of people who boom themselves as patriots. This indeed is a misfortune of this country. These people who have so much intense regard for the local language, how can they forget Sanskrit which is the primary source of all these. It is not necessary to stress the importance of the Sanskrit language in any details before this assembly of the learned, but it is only the learned men who can bring about such a state of things, so that even common people would be familiar with this language. The orbit of extent in application of a language entirely depends upon its common use.

The helpless condition and the pecuniary position of all the learned Pandits is well-known. Therefore to begin with, it is necessary to give encouragement to the Pandits. In the Educational Institutions the instructions in Sanskrit can be easily imparted even to children by the Sanskrit Pandit alone. Those who have learnt a little of Sanskrit side by side with the English language, are hardly competent to teach Sanskrit in Sanskrit because they are not able to carry on their ordinary transactions in Sanskrit. Those alone, therefore, who are competent to carry on their ordinary transactions in Sanskrit should be engaged for the education of children. Here some might object that the Pandits do not know the modern methods of teaching which those who are educated in English language alone know and therefore they alone should be employed. It does not appeal to reason for the knowledge of English language

does not become helpful in the matter of teaching Sanskrit. That Sanskrit should be taught in the Sanskrit language alone is the best way. Even among the Western countries, the instructions in modern languages are given in those languages, and it is on account of this that their proficiency in that language is secured to a very high degree. From their childhood the children should be taught Sanskrit along with the vernacular language so that before even twelve years they should be able naturally to speak and write in Sanskrit and this mode not only deserves to be introduced into the Sanskrit schools but also in all University Institutions. The same energy and propaganda which has been resorted to for the spread of Hindi should be adopted in regard to the Sanskrit language. Here I am aware that many who have spoken of the difficult nature of the Sanskrit language will be opposed but really speaking, it is the method of teaching that is the responsible for its difficult nature. By a proper mode of imparting instructions the difficulty of Sanskrit will be cast far off and in this respect our National Leaders and the Pandits should work in union for its spread.

Sanskrit has such a rich vocabulary that it can easily find expression for foreign scientific terms in appropriate corresponding Sanskrit words, and I have a strong faith that every kind of composition such as poetry, drama, etc., can be expected of people with even a limited knowledge of the language. In speech also the communication would be easier. Therefore by resort to this method of teaching in Sanskrit all the children of this vast peninsula would be adepts in that language within twenty years and I strongly hope that within that period, it would be possible to have modern Kalidasas and like big poets as also modern Patanjalis and modern philosophers. Whether in the matter of writing or of speech, there would be no difficulty for attaining efficiency. Therefore attempts should be made in such a manner that in course of time Sanskrit would become the National language. It should not be supposed that this is utterly impossible. It may take a long time but there is no doubt that the accomplishment of the result would be secured.

Therefore I would humbly and respectfully request all my fellow countrymen that they should introduce Sanskrit as the modern language as a medium in every household. This divine language should not be abandoned nor should it be forgotten even for a minute but it should be always and assiduously attended to. Much of the wealth of this Bharata Varsha has become almost extinct. We have only one kind of wealth which has survived and which is Sanskrit. That wealth is worshipped by the wise in the whole of the world. In those countries whatever little respect, the people have for India, that is due to the Sanskrit language. Therefore, I again and again request you that attempts should be made for its revival by all means.

The Sanskrit language is not really dead as some ignorant people are in the habit of prating, but it is a living language and can never become fagged. On the other hand it will always maintain its youth. It is the language of the imperishable Gods and it will always exhibit its characteristic nature, ever continuing wealth and imperishability. It is rather we, who are almost as if dead on account of our lacking the vigour of its pure vocabulary through our neglect.

We do not also realise the importance of Sanskrit. This is certainly not the fault of the Divine language. In this connection the Reverend Yaska observes, It is not the fault of the pillar that the blind cannot see it.



### THE CORONER'S VERDICT.

Life is dear to men and animals. The instinct of self-preservation is perhaps the sharpest of all instincts. Men prefer to live in misery and with very little to live for rather than die. Maccenas, a great statesman, is reported to have prayed: "Make me a cripple in hand, foot and back; make me a hunchback and toothless; while life is in me, I am well. Keep me alive, even on the Cross." This is an indecent craving for life. But it expresses in an extreme form, the lust for their living that all men possess in some measure.

Yet, there are plenty of suicides in the world every day. The authority of religion has been cast against suicides which shows that life is after all not so dear to men. Isadora Duncan says in her autobiography that, if men can put themselves to painless death by swallowing a capsule, all intellectuals would perish. Some of the finest minds have at some time or other contemplated suicide. Bertrand Russel writes that when he was young he thought of committing suicide. So did Napoleon and Gandhi. In civilized countries an attempt to commit suicide is an offence which indicates that a deterrent punishment was required to check the spread of suicide. Religion, law and morality have condemned suicides.

But is that censure justified?

Religion loses its opposition on the ground of the sacredness of life. What God hath given, let no one take away even from himself. But God has no more given life than He has given death. Besides if He hath given life, so hath He given death. Law and Morality condemn suicide on social grounds. You have no right to take your life because it belongs to society. The State can, therefore, call upon its young to give their lives in wars. But this is clearly going beyond reasonable limits. The State is not paralysed if some of the citizens die, no more than when some of them emigrate abroad. If large numbers of men emigrate or commit suicide, the State may then interfere. But even then the correct thing to do would be to remedy the disease rather than force men to live or reside in the State. Life must be made so attractive that death would be avoided and not courted by men. In Soviet Russia alone, so far as I know, you are not allowed to leave your country. It is no compliment to any State that its citizens have to be forcibly prevented from leaving it. But I wonder if suicide is an offence in Soviet Russia. Life is too cheap in Russia for such a law. The correct principle should be that when your services are indispensable to State, you may not leave it or die. This can be said of very few people. No man is indispensable. If utility were the test, the State may equally decree that old and useless men should be put to death. A man should have a right to judge when he should quit the world. But I go further and say that in some cases it is the man's duty to commit suicide. When you are "sick in soul and body both" and are likely to be a life-long burden to your family, it is better to try your luck beyond the horizon, or if by giving your life you save more valuable lives, you may give yours—like Lady Mary in Wells' "Passionate Friends" who died so that her husband's, lover's and perhaps her children's lives may not be ruined.

Japan is perhaps the only state in the world where suicide is not only permitted but praised. When you have dishonoured or are likely to disgrace your family, you must die. "Then you hear a Japanese lady describe the dagger her father gave her as a wedding gift, so that she may kill herself if she should dishonour her husband."

(Continued on page 154).

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

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## NOTES.

**Sastry on Pakistan:**—It was with pain that we read the report of the valedictory address at the Intermediate College, Bangalore, delivered by the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastry. His general proposition that settlement of disputes by arbitration is a more civilised and human way than resort to blows, is perfectly sound. But even among nations which Mr. Sastry held up as a model there is a feeling that there are questions which cannot be referred to the peaceful method of discussion and arbitration. Britain which he justly praised for her invention of the parliamentary method by which revolutions are accomplished without bloodshed, had to behead a King though it was done in the proper judicial form. Britain forced Czecho-Slovakia to yield to Hitler's demand without arbitration. She would not refer to arbitration his claims on Poland. The United States did not submit to arbitration the demand of the Southern States to form a Confederacy outside the Union. The latest instance is Russia which has politely declined the American offer to arbitrate on its dispute with Poland. As between individuals also, there are matters which cannot be submitted to arbitration. Speaking broadly, the matters which are fit subject of arbitration are those that do not concern one's intimate inner life. Whether a piece of land should belong to A or B, whether C or D should sit at the head of the table at a banquet, whether E or F should receive the *prasadam* in the temple first, are questions which are best decided by arbitration. But it will be improper to suggest arbitration as a mode of deciding whether G or H should wed K. Pakistan is just such a question. Mr. Sastry is wrong in thinking that Mr. Jinnah alone is opposed to submitting Pakistan to arbitration. We are irrevocably opposed to treating the division of India as open to discussion, much less to arbitration. Mr. Sastry said that refusal to arbitrate on Pakistan would lead to bloodshed. There are worse things than bloodshed. Division of India would lead to worse bloodshed than the refusal to discuss her partition. It is true that there is nothing so sacrosanct that it cannot be discussed. Even God, as Mr. Sastry says, is not outside the scope of discussion. But, surely, none would submit to arbitration the question whether he should or should not believe that there is God. To discuss a question academically is different from discussing it with a view to practical behaviour. The unity and indivisibility of India is an article of faith with a large majority of Indians. They are not prepared to abide by the judgment of an

arbitrator on the subject. If the British Government, bowing to Mr. Jinnah's demand, divide a part of the country and hand it over to him in consideration of his doing or abstaining from doing anything, it is their look out. Those who believe in the inviolability of India can be no party to it even to the extent of discussing an alternative. We deprecate speeches like Mr. Sastry's because they are likely to mislead to those who do not understand that Mr. Sastry's offer is the outcome of his complete faith that the result of arbitration will go against Mr. Jinnah.

**Montmorency's Nostrum:**—Lord Morley lamented as one of the unnecessary worries of the Secretary of State for India, the effusions of retired Anglo-Indian officials afflicted with the ache for writing to the Press on Indian questions in the light of their experience in conditions which had ceased to exist. Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency's term as Governor of the Punjab was undistinguished by any beneficent measure. The Indian public has forgotten that he was once an official in this country. He has thought fit to emerge out of the obscurity which had enveloped him to write a pamphlet on India with the title "Today and Tomorrow." That he is a man of yesterday or the day before and is not entitled to speak of today, much less of tomorrow, in this country, does not seem to have occurred to him. In this essay, the ex-Governor has made the profound observation that "Rebels must be treated as rebels until they make public recantation of the rebellion." If Sir Geoffrey had paused to reflect for a moment before laying down this as a general proposition, he would have qualified it so as to exclude at least one important rebellion and the rebels who were concerned in it. The United States of America had its origin in a rebellion and, so far as is known, Americans have not as yet publicly or privately recounted it. Nevertheless the British Prime Minister is a regular visitor to Washington and his great achievement has been to get the United States to enter this war, as it did the last, as principal ally. Sir Geoffrey will no doubt argue that the American rebellion succeeded while Gandhiji's fast failed to move the Linlithgow Government which remained adamant. Not the act of rebellion but the fact whether it succeeded or failed is the criterion of the attitude of Sir Geoffrey to rebels. Even according to this test, Gandhiji's fast has not been a failure. It did not succeed in its immediate purpose of getting the Linlithgow Government to retract its charge that Gandhiji and the Congress organised the August disturbances. Most of the prosecutions for acts of sabotage have failed and the accused have been acquitted by the courts which tried them. Many important movements in history failed of their immediate object but succeeded in bringing about changes far exceeding it in scope and importance. Gandhiji's fast focussed the attention of the world on the Indian administration and dragged it into the light of day, which bureaucracy shrinks from. Sir

Geoffrey may live to see that the rebels of today are the allies of tomorrow in India as in the United States. Retired Anglo-Indian officials are notoriously long-lived.

**Sir H. Craik and the Princes** :—Whenever any reform in the Government of India is proposed, the Muslims and the Princes are represented by retired Anglo-Indian officials as being likely to be estranged by it. The Army is another of their pet arguments. Nowadays the scheduled castes and minorities generally are also dragged in. When it was proposed to appoint an Indian to the Viceroy's Executive Council, the Princes and the Army were said to be opposed to the innovation. The late Maharaja of Bikaner speaking for both publicly repudiated the allegation in London and, in India, the late Maharaja Scindia when he went up to Simla called first on the Indian Member, Sir S. P. (Lord) Sinha. One would have thought that after this experience no more will be heard of the Princes' bogey. But the bureaucrat never profits by experience. Sir Henry Craik retired recently from the office of Political Adviser to the Viceroy, one of the several new posts created on the introduction of the Hoare scheme. He may be, therefore, supposed to know what passed behind the scenes during the Cripps talks in New Delhi. Political decency would dictate that a man in that position should be particularly careful not to talk in public about matters involving delicate issues which he came to know in his official capacity, especially as Lord Linlithgow has wisely preferred to observe strict silence on Indian affairs since he left the country, and is now in Britain. Sir Henry, however, has no such scruple. He said at the same meeting in London that the Princes were alarmed by Sir Stafford Cripps telling them that the British wanted to shuffle off their responsibility to the Princes and that in future the Princes would have to deal with the Congress. Sir Stafford Cripps has been obliged by this public statement by an ex-official who held a responsible position in this country, to deny that he said any such thing to the Princes. Sir Henry Craik, it may be noted, did not specify any particular Prince or Princes who told him of their talk with Cripps and its effect on the Order. The Maharaja of Kashmir, on the other hand, publicly declared at about the time that he would accept the transfer of the powers of paramountcy to a national Government. However that may be, it remains to be seen how Sir Henry Craik will take the flat contradiction from Sir Stafford Cripps. Sir Henry Craik does not seem to be aware that Lord Linlithgow's admonition to the Princes in his last address to their Chamber that the Protecting Power was entitled to ascertain from time to time whether the protected were worthy of continued protection, has caused more alarm among the Princes than anything which passed between them and Sir Stafford Cripps. The "attachment" of smaller states to bigger ones by a fiat of the Crown Representative, declared illegal by the Ajmer Chief Court, has also caused much confusion.

**Rajagopalachary's Version** —Sir Henry Craik's allegations against Sir Stafford Cripps have been contradicted in great detail by the ex-Premier of Madras in a statement to the Press. Mr. Rajagopalachary's statement is so categorical and clear-cut that one would take it to be a verbatim report of what passed between the Princes and Sir Stafford, but for Mr. Rajagopalachary's remark that what he has stated was common knowledge in New Delhi at the time. Mr. Rajagopalachary, it is also common knowledge, was enamoured of the Cripps plan and was so eager to have it accepted by the Congress that it may well be that his source of

information was Sir Stafford himself. Mr. Rajagopalachary begins with the revelation that three far-sighted Ministers of Indian States advised Gandhiji to accept the Cripps proposals. This they would have hardly done had the Princes, as Sir Henry Craik said, been frightened by anything which Sir Stafford told them. The ex-Premier goes on to reproduce the questions and the answers given by Sir Stafford Cripps about the bearing of his proposals on the future of the States. The purport of these was that whatever step was taken would be with the consent of the States and nothing would be done against their wishes. The States were free to join or to stand out of the Union. Those of them which did not join will continue to enjoy the same relations as at present with the Paramount Power. British troops would be stationed in convenient stations outside the territories of the Union to protect the non-affiliating States in case they had to be protected by armed force. Normally, the Paramount Power would rely on diplomatic and economic pressure to persuade the Union to respect the rights of these States. The object of Mr. Rajagopalachary's intervention between Sir Henry Craik and Sir Stafford Cripps is obvious. Mr. Rajagopalachary is at present working to get the Congress to reconsider its decision rejecting the Cripps' proposals. The opposition of the Princes would constitute a fresh obstacle which the ex-Premier is naturally anxious to avert. He is, therefore, anxious to convince the Princes that they have nothing to lose or fear from their acceptance by the Congress and, as a matter of course, by the Muslim League which rejected them after they were rejected by the Congress and would accept them if the Congress accepted them. In any case Sir Stafford Cripps cannot but be touched by finding such a doughty champion as the ex-Premier of Madras. Sir Henry Craik is now of no consequence in the affairs of India.

**Birth Control Clinics** :—The Bombay Municipal Corporation has been discussing for some weeks past a resolution brought forward by a member to establish birth control clinics in the city. A number of women of the affluent section of the community has issued a memorial supporting the proposal. What are the clinics expected to do? Soviet Russia in the first flush of revolution opened up all facilities for controlling conception. It opened clinics. It popularised mechanical and chemical contraceptives. It even legalised abortion. But the population did not cease to multiply. Russian women are too fond of children to give up child-bearing at the mandate even of a State more powerful than Tsarist Russia was. All these measures have been abandoned. Instead, Soviet Russia, like other countries of the European continent, has adopted a policy of encouraging large families by medical attendance, family allowances, maternity benefits and so on. Russia realised like other European countries that the Malthusian doctrines were based on data far too limited in scope and significance. Observation and experience of several countries show that the birth-rate falls with the death rate. Reduction of infant mortality is the most decisive way of reducing the death rate. A high birth-rate is the concomitant of conditions which favour the growth and extension of slums. Clinics for spreading the knowledge of birth control methods are likely to be abused by unscrupulous employers who wish to evade maternity benefits provided by law to female workers. The approach to the problem in all countries except Britain has definitely changed and even in England though theoretically there are no family allowances, many benefits accrue to families with children.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, January 29, 1944.

## MODERN SOCIAL SECURITY

The *International Labour Review* for November gives the leading place to an article on Modern Social Security by Samuel Eckler. He defines modern Social Security as a social objective—a social ideal—envisaging a structure of society in which each member enjoys the highest material well-being compatible with potential productive resources. He continues:

Pathological social conditions, continuous mass unemployment, unnecessary ill health, and accidents—cannot be reconciled with social security. Social security is an ephemeral myth until such social cancers are removed. The mere palliative provision of cash benefit is not enough. Consequently social security is a positive concept, and this view of social security must be considered the basic and ultimate approach when more specific and limited aspects of social security are discussed.

This specific and limited approach to social security guarantees to every member of society the minimum requisites of living. The elimination of poverty is the test of a minimum security programme. The two ways in which social security is provided, are social insurance and social assistance. Both tend to be merged in modern schemes. The contributory element in social insurance is becoming insignificant in proportion to the benefits it provides. Social assistance tends less and less to be tied down to the "means test." Where contributions are required they are as a means of justifying the abolition of the means test and of stressing the contractual nature of the benefits. That is how they are viewed in the Beveridge plan. Eckler compares the social security plans of Britain (Beveridge), the United States (the Wagner-Murray Security Bill), the New Zealand Security Act, and the Marsh plan in Canada. In the Beveridge scheme both the insurance and assistance methods are present. He foresees rapid reduction in the extent of national assistance after the insured population has built up the minimum contribution credit. The Canadian and American plans rely mainly on social insurance, social assistance being subsidiary. The New Zealand Act is predominantly one of social assistance. The contributions which the beneficiaries make bear only a slight relation to the prospective benefits. All the four schemes are evidently attempts to provide under capitalism the benefits offered by communism. The object is to persuade the masses that it is not necessary to adopt the Marxian plan in order to secure all that they need. Capitalism can provide them all equally well. In the Beveridge plan the contractual factor is kept in evidence as also in the Canadian and American plans. The New Zealand scheme, on the contrary, makes its benefits the right of every New Zealander.

Mr. Eckler does well to characterise these schemes as "Modern Social Security Plans." There have always been social security plans in societies which had passed the most primitive stage of social evolution. Private charity inspired by religion was the chief means by which social security was secured. Isaiah denounced the rich who ground the faces of the poor. The giving of alms was one of the primary duties of Muslims. In India alone has there been an organised system of social security which has enabled Hindu society, civilisation and culture to survive. This organisation is the caste. In the almost unanimous opinion of observers, foreign and Indian, it is caste which has

kept Hindu society alive in the face of overwhelming political and economic vicissitudes. Sir George Birdwood, with rare insight into Indian life and society, writes of the ideal which the caste system represents, in glowing terms. He observes:

We trace there the bright outlines of a self-contained, self-dependent, symmetrical, and perfectly harmonious industrial economy, deeply rooted in the popular conviction of its divine character and protected, through every political and commercial vicissitude. Such an ideal social order we should have held impossible of realisation, but that it continues to exist, and to afford us, in the yet living results of its daily operation in India, a proof of the superiority, in so many unsuspected ways, of the hieratic civilisation of antiquity over the secular, joyless, inane and self-destructive, modern civilisation of the West. *Sva* p. 84.

Birdwood adds that the spiritual beliefs in which the Indian people rejoice "have transformed their trades union organisation into a veritable *civitas dei*." Birdwood was an enthusiastic admirer of Indian life and institutions. Making every allowance for his enthusiasm, there is much solid food for thought by framers of modern social security plans. The essence of caste, with which is closely linked the family, is that each community looked after all its members, its children and its infirm and aged. All modern social security plans require an extensive and elaborate bureaucracy to work them. The Indian system was automatic. Even today when modern individualist economy has made tremendous strides, the amount of social service provided by the State in British India is very small as compared with the countries of Europe and America. In the four countries mentioned by Eckler there are no starving people. In India millions are half starved or wholly. The mere attempt to provide food for them will be a stupendous task. Mr. Sargent has drawn up a scheme of universal education to be worked out in the next fifty years. And yet India is expected and required to bear immediately a heavy burden in the War.

The fundamental defect of modern social security plans is that they have no backing of spiritual security. Unless a people have it in them to feel secure they will not acquire it by insurance or assistance. Eckler rightly observes that the provision of cash benefits is not enough. Nor will their provision in kind or in service suffice to induce in the individual the feeling of security which is the essence of the matter. All modern plans from this point of view are calculated to aggravate rather than to allay the sense of insecurity. The Indian system guarded itself against this contingency. Resting as it did on a social philosophy which placed security beyond the reach of material circumstances, it required no official agency to keep it going. The philosophy of contentment has been characterised by western thinkers as bovine. They have assiduously preached the virtue of "divine discontent" as the mainspring of human progress. After about a century during which this philosophy seemed to yield great results, the West finds itself hoist on its own petard. The plans which Western writers have drawn up, can be worked only by a system of government which bears more resemblance to the totalitarian than to democratic principles, understanding the latter to mean governments which impinge the least on individual freedom. Modern social security plans, therefore, are unlikely to succeed in instilling the sense of security in the minds of the people for whom they are intended. A five pound allowance will immediately create a demand for a six pound one. This will be followed by a demand for a ten pound one. On the materialist plan there is no half-way house between Capitalism and Communism. The



Comintern has been abolished but Communism is not dead. In its own interests, for the sake of self-preservation, the Soviet State must, as soon as it has driven the invader from its soil, resume its international propaganda. Christian missions are defended on the ground that they are necessary to keep the Church alive. Bolshevism will likewise feel that international propaganda is necessary to keep the Marxist creed alive. Socialism for one nation is a temporary expedient. International socialism is merely biding its time. All Social Security plans are only paving the way for it by their total neglect of spiritual security. A member of the Government of India recently indulged in the stale remark that though man does not live by bread alone he cannot live without bread. Sir Jwala Srivastava was merely playing on the word "live." Existence is not life. His parody is true so far as it concerns individuals. It is not true of nations or communities. For them spiritual starvation means death and not all the resources of the Food Department can avert it.

#### BARODA MARRIAGE: SOME LEGAL POINTS

In his statement the Maharaja of Pithapuram speaks of "Reconversion to Hinduism under Brahmo rites." The Brahmo Samaj does not carry on any Suddhi movement. The *Subodh Patrika*, the journal of the Bombay Prarthana Samaj (as the Brahmo Samaj is known in Western India) mentions in its Marathi article that the reconversion was done with the help of the Arya Samaj, which conducts Suddhi as a prominent feature of its activities. We are indebted to our well-known contributor, Mr. Kopargam Ramamurti, who has made a special study of the marriage laws in India for the following statement of the position of the Arya Samaj from a high Arya authority, Pandit Ayodhya Prasad, obtained by him in connection with another case:

As regards Arya Samaj marriage it is strictly monogamous. Neither party can have another consort in the life-time of the other. Divorce is totally disallowed. So a husband cannot divorce his wife and marry another. In Bengal there exists an ordinary practice that, when a Hindu wife has been deserted by her husband or is tortured by him, she converts herself to Mahomedanism and brings a suit in the law court, that as she has turned a Muslim and according to her new religion she cannot live with a non-Muslim husband, therefore the husband should either turn a Muslim so that she may live with him or the court should grant her divorce from her husband. In such cases the husbands generally do not appear in the court as they are unwilling to embrace Islam, and the court grants her divorce from the Hindu husband. After being thus divorced the lady gets herself reconverted to Hinduism according to Arya Samajic rite and then she marries another husband of her choice. I do not know of any case where the husband in order to get another wife had recourse to the above-mentioned practice for, according to Hindu law, a husband can have as many wives as he chooses without any legal difficulty. But, in my opinion, no member of the Arya Samaj can either desert or divorce his Hindu wife and get himself remarried with any other woman.

Pandit Ayodhya Prasad's statement that the Arya marriage is monogamous is confirmed by the judgment of the Calcutta High Court in a recent case noticed in the *Indian Social Reformer* (September 18 1943) by Mr. Ramamurti. "There is satisfactory evidence as found by the District Judge," observed their lordships, "that Arya Samaj marriage is monogamous." If reconversion was effected through the Arya Samaj, the reconverted person can only be an Arya and as she was already

married she cannot be married again under the Arya Marriage law unless the prior marriage had been validly dissolved. Pandit Ayodhya Prasad refers to the practice in Bengal of discontented or maltreated wives getting converted to Islam and obtaining divorce as their husbands generally refused to follow them and did not care to appear at the hearing of the divorce application. The Pandit does not seem to know that this practice was reprobated by Justice Edgeley and dissolution of marriage refused in a case noticed in the *Indian Social Reformer* (January 11, 1941.) Mr. Justice Edgeley held that the rule of Muslim law that conversion to Islam automatically dissolved an existing marriage had no force in British India. We reproduce the editorial paragraph headed "Conversion and Divorce" for the benefit of readers who do not keep a file of this journal.

An interesting case in which conversion to Islam was advanced as a ground for divorce, came before the Calcutta High Court a few days ago. Nur Jehan, the applicant, was a Russian woman, born in Poland, who married, according to civil rites, the man from whom she sought divorce, also a Russian, at Berlin. She left him at Rome to come to India. He went to Glasgow instead of accompanying or following, as she apparently expected, his wife to India. Here she became a convert to Islam under the illustrious name of Nur Jehan. She cabled the news to her husband in Glasgow and invited him to share her new faith. He cabled back an indignant refusal whereupon Nur Jehan Begum sought the help of the High Court of Calcutta to release her from her conjugal bond to the Glasgow Russian. The suit first appeared on the undefended list. Declarations of this nature had been made by the Calcutta High Court in several *ex parte* cases. But Mr. Justice Edgeley felt that, in view of the important points of law involved, it should not be disposed of without closer scrutiny. He, therefore, appointed two Advocates of the Court to act as *amicus curiae* to argue the case before the Court. As not only in Calcutta but also in other provinces conversion to Islam has been held to dissolve a pre-existing marriage, Mr. Justice Edgeley's decision is of great importance. In his lordship's view the rule of Muslim law that conversion to Islam dissolves automatically an existing marriage, does not hold good in British India. The Calcutta High Court declined so long ago as 1869 to enforce a right of pre-emption against a Hindu on the ground that Mahomedan law as such was not the law of India and that it was against equity and good conscience that a Hindu should be bound by Mahomedan law. Mr. Justice Edgeley maintained that on the same ground a wife or husband of another faith cannot be called upon to renounce her or his religion or in the alternative to have her or his marriage dissolved by mere conversion of one of the parties to Islam. To hold otherwise, said his lordship, would be to convert the State into a proselytising agency. Even in countries where Muslim law prevails, his lordship remarked, the invitation to change one's faith should proceed from the Kazi, or Magistrate, and not from the converted party.

There is a discrepancy in the reports as to the Court which granted the divorce in the present case. *Free India* of Salem which gave the first report, mentioned the Madras City Civil Court. Mr. Sutaria whose statement we published last week mentioned the Madras High Court (Mr. Justice Shahabuddin).

This, however, is a minor point. Mr. Sutaria quoted Tyabji and others as holding the same view as Mr. Justice Edgeley. The marriage of a Hindu according to Hindu rites cannot be dissolved under any rule of Muslim law. The woman cannot remarry during the life of her husband even if he adopts another faith or by her doing so.

Another legal point which has been raised is whether a Hindu ruler is subject to the laws which apply to his subjects. The eminent Hindu jurist who wrote in the *Reformer* (January 15) over the pen-name "Lex" expressed his emphatic opinion that a Hindu king is not above the law. Sir P. Sivaswami Aiyar in his Kamala lectures on the "Evolution of Hindu Moral Ideals" has also expressed the same view. The Hindu law is a personal law and the Baroda Hindu Code is the Hindu law in its application to Hindus domiciled in the Baroda State, wherever they may happen to be.

Is there a way out of this impasse? If the person concerned was a private individual, the matter may be left to take its course. But the ruler of a great State is not a private individual. His conduct affects lakhs of his subjects. His example has an influence beyond his State. It is, therefore, necessary to find a way out, to make one if there is none, of the confusion. The Baroda Hindu Code applies as much to the ruler as to his subjects. Of that there is no doubt. It declares bigamous marriages to be void; and this must be accepted as binding on the ruler. As regards the penal provisions, they may be avoided by the Baroda legislature passing an Act of Indemnity with special reference to this case. This will give satisfaction to the people of Baroda and to its friends and well-wishers. If this course is not adopted, a minority administration under a Council of Regency seems to be inevitable, in the interests of the State and of the historic House of Gaekwar.

#### BARODA BACKSLIDING.

Sir,

As Dewan and authorised Agent to the Maharajah of Pithapuram I am sending you under his instructions the following statement of his to the Press in connection with the recent second marriage of the Ruler of Baroda for publication in the next issue of your esteemed *Indian Social Reformer*:

"Certain comments which have been appearing in the Press on the Maharajah of Baroda's recent second marriage constrain me to come out with this statement.

"These comments have all referred to the newly wedded second wife as Princess Sita Devi, the third daughter of the Maharajah of Pithapuram. One of them has referred to her as the third daughter of the Maharajah of Pithapuram, a noted social reformer. Another seems to have observed that the misfortune of it all is that the bride happens to be a daughter of a prominent zemindar of Andhra, who happens to have been an intimate friend of the late Dr. Sir R. Venkataratnam Naidu and that it would be a matter for profound sorrow if the father approved of the step.

"That being so, in order to make my position clear and remove the misunderstanding of me underlying such comments, I must express my unqualified condemnation of the step in question. I consider it to be most reprehensible. It has never had my approval at all. My own religious and moral convictions and the ideals of social reform for which I have stood and striven all my lifetime are utterly opposed to it.

"This daughter of mine has had nothing to do with me for some years past during which I have even forbidden her entry into my residence. I abhor her conversion to Islam, her divorce of her first husband, and her re-conversion to Hinduism under Brahmo rites which seem to have preceded her marriage with the ruler of Baroda.

"That such great faiths as Islam and Hinduism and my own cherished and practised creed of Brahmoism

have been put to such outrageous a abuse, has filled me with grief and horror too deep for words."

19th January  
Adyar,  
Madras,

Dewan and authorised  
Agent to the Maharajah of  
Pithapuram.

II

Sir,

I am directed by the Council of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association to request you to be good enough to publish in extenso the enclosed Resolution prominently in an early issue of your valued journal. I may add that the second marriage of H. H. the Maharaja Gaikwar of Baroda in direct contravention of the law of monogamy in the Baroda State, has evoked considerable public interest and the resolution expresses the considered views of the Council on the subject.

Bombay, 22nd, January 1944.

D. G. DALVI  
Hon. Secretary.

#### RESOLUTION

The Council of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association strongly condemns the conduct of H. H. Sir Pratapsingh, Maharaja Gaikwar, in entering into a second marital alliance during the life time of his wife in direct contravention of the Law of the Baroda State to which he gave his assent so recently as in 1942. The progressive State of Baroda has been a pioneer in enacting legislation for the enforcement of monogamy and has paved the way for the initiation of similar legislative proposal in British India. The Council feels deeply concerned that this deplorable action of H. H. the Maharaja Gaikwar will, by its odious example, not only encourage the violation of the law in the Baroda State but is likely to react unfavourably on the passage of a similar law through the legislature in British India.

Enlightened public opinion in India is deeply roused by this conduct of H. H. the Maharaja which, apart from want of any excuse or justification even under the Baroda law, marks him out as a breaker of law of which he was the maker. It is highly regrettable that this action of H. H. the Maharaja has cast a stigma on the great reputation for social reform and progress which the Baroda State has justly earned during the enlightened regime of his illustrious grand-father the late Maharaja Sir Sayajirao Gaikwar.

The Council offers its sympathy to H. H. Maharani Shantadevi of Baroda in her supersession by this wanton act of the Ruler of an enlightened State. The conduct of H. H. the Maharaja is typical of the recent growing evil of supersession and even the abandonment of the first wife, rampant among the educated section of the Hindu community, and, in so far as it affects the status of women in general, the Council hopes that it will receive the early and serious consideration of women's organisations throughout the country.

#### CALENDAR REFORM.

The *Indian Witness*, a journal conducted by the American Methodist Mission in Lucknow, writes:

Again the whole world has changed calendars. This year began on Saturday. Next year will begin on Monday. Yet sensible people put up with this ill-proportioned and irregular calendar year after year, when it could be very easy to adopt a regular calendar that would be the same year after year.

The *Witness* gives the outlines of a scheme proposed by an American Association which was noticed in the *Reformer* (February 28, 1942). European chronology like European life, has become completely severed from the natural phenomena which mark the passage of time. It is now merely a matter of

convenience and convention. The *Witness* is a religious journal and its irritation at the years beginning on different days is typical of the dispeace instead of peace which American Christianity fosters in its professional exponents. We do not think that mankind as a whole much minds the different week days on which the years begin. For ourselves, we rather like the variation of days as it lends colour to the chronology of life. The *Witness* or any organisation can not alter the course of the seasons. The motion of the sun and the moon, the stars and the planets, they cannot change. Indian chronology is closely related to these celestial phenomena and the stability and continuity of Indian culture and civilisation are largely due to that fact. The weakness and the instability of European culture and civilisation may be traced to the casualness of its conception of Time. The *Witness* wants a symmetrical calendar which will be useful for all years. Such a calendar can be produced only by ignoring the variations which mark the process of the sun and other celestial bodies. Man is not the centre of the universe and his spiritual status depends on his life being ordered in close relation to the universe in which he is a particle of dust. So far as India is concerned, it does not believe in tampering with Time by such highly artificial means as those which commend themselves to the Methodist journal. The only reform of the calendar which is rational and will meet with support from intelligent people is the adjustment from time to time of the days, months and years, to the actual position of the celestial bodies ascertained from observation.

#### RELIGION AND PUBLIC EDUCATION IN ENGLAND.

The British White Paper entitled "Educational Reconstruction," presented to Parliament in July by the President of the Board of Education, climaxes a long-continued controversy, says the Information Service of the Federal Council of American Churches. The portions of the report dealing with religious education and the status of the voluntary schools, are excerpted or summarized below.

The avowed purpose underlying the Government's proposal in the White Paper on Education is to "secure for children a happier childhood and a better start in life." The national educational system is to be "recast" in the interest of making education a continuous process from the compulsory school-entrance age of five to the minimum school-leaving age of 15, which is later to be raised to 16. The stage covering the years from 5 to about 11 is to be known as primary, and the stage following 11, secondary education. Diversified types of education will be provided on the secondary level. Continuation study up to 18 years is planned for. In such a broad scheme of education the government believes religion should have a definite place.

#### RELIGION IN PUBLICLY CONTROLLED SCHOOLS.

The section dealing with religious education comprises paragraphs 36 to 42 of the White Paper which are as follows:

"36. There has been a very general wish, not confined to representatives of the churches, that religious education should be given a more defined place in the life and work of the schools, springing from the desire to revive the spiritual and personal values in our society and in our national tradition. The church, the family, the local community and the teacher—all have their part to play in imparting religious instruction to the young.

"37. In order to emphasize the importance of the subject provision will be made for the school day in all primary and secondary schools to begin with a corporate act of worship, except where this is

impracticable owing to the nature of the school premises, and for religious instruction to be given. At present this is the practice in the great majority of schools and this practice will receive statutory sanction and be universal.

"38. This does not, of course, mean that all children will be required to participate in the corporate act of worship or in religious instruction. In this respect the old established rights of conscience will remain inviolate and it will be open to the parent to withdraw his child from all or any form of religious worship or instruction.

"39. In county [provided] schools the religious instruction will, subject to a strictly limited exception to which reference is made at the end of this paragraph, be in accordance with an agreed syllabus, examples of which are already in use in many areas. Provision will be made for such a syllabus to be drafted by those who can speak for the Church of England, the Free Churches, the teachers and the Authority. In framing these syllabuses the special needs of the older children in secondary schools will not be forgotten. But there will be children in county schools whose parents will wish that they should receive religious instruction in the tenets of their particular faith. Where these children cannot with reasonable convenience be sent to a school where such instruction is given, there will be a statutory right for the children to be withdrawn from school in order that they may receive such instruction elsewhere. It will sometimes be the case that county secondary schools are so situated as to make the giving of denominational instruction elsewhere than in the school virtually impossible. In these cases the Authority will be required to provide facilities for such instruction to be given on the school premises to those children whose parents desire it.

"40. Similarly the rights of a parent of a child in an auxiliary school who desires him to receive syllabus instruction will be secured. The details of the arrangements for denominational religious instruction in the various types of auxiliary schools are explained in paragraphs 55 and 56 of this Paper. [Referred to below.]

"41. The value of this teaching depends on the availability of suitable teachers. To ensure a steady flow of persons willing and competent to give this instruction it has been decided to include the subject among the subjects in which a student can obtain a pass in the teachers' certificate examination. But there can be no question of unwilling teachers being compelled to give religious instruction, and, save in so far as teachers may seek employment in aided schools or as reserved teachers, the religious opinions of a candidate for a teaching post will not disqualify him for appointment, and no teacher will be required to give, or be penalised for not giving, religious instruction.

"42. Hitherto the most economic use of teaching power has been prevented by the statutory limitations on the times at which religious instruction may be given. These restrictions will no longer be imposed. Similarly, the statutory prohibition forbidding His Majesty's Inspectors to inspect this subject is to be removed, but their inspection will be limited to the agreed syllabus instruction."

"53. Conditions, history and tradition in this matter are, however, wholly unlike north and south of the Tweed. In Scotland there has never been in this country there has always been, a ban on denominational religious instruction in provided schools. Here non-provided schools outnumber the publicly provided schools; in Scotland in 1918 nine-tenths of the schools were publicly provided. Moreover, very many of the Church of

England schools here, particularly those in rural parishes where no other school is available, have in course of time come to be attended by a high proportion of children of non-Anglican parents. It is felt to be a real grievance that these children can only receive Anglican religious instruction unless they are made conspicuous by being withdrawn therefrom. The application of the Scottish system to the many schools in which this difficulty is felt would be inappropriate and instead of assuaging, would perpetuate a grievance which ought as far as possible to be mitigated. Similarly, the Scottish solution would do nothing to remove, and would indeed aggravate, a further objection to the dual system which is strongly felt here, that it involves denominational religious tests for teachers. Here appointments being in the hands of the Church of England or Roman Catholic Managers, no teacher can in effect serve in, or be promoted to be the head teacher of ..... Church of England and Roman Catholic school departments unless he or she is a practising member of the Church of England or Roman Catholic Church."

Under paragraph 53 the White Paper proposes to revive the provisions of the Education Act of 1936, above referred to, providing for grants between 50 and 75 per cent of the cost of new building projects. This would apply, however, only to proposals submitted within the time limit prescribed in that Act. Revision of the proposal would be permitted in the light of war damage or new educational requirements. Such schools will be called "Local Agreement Schools". In them religious instruction "will be in accordance with the trust deed and will be under the control of the managers." Syllabus instruction, however, "will be available for children whose parents desire them to receive such instruction and cannot with reasonable convenience send them to a school where it is ordinarily given." For all other voluntary schools, primary or secondary, paragraph 56 sets forth two alternatives as follows:

Alternative A. "If they find themselves unable or unwilling to meet half the cost of the alteration and improvements needed to bring the buildings up to standard, and of the continuing external repair of the fabric, all financial obligations will pass to the Authority. The power of appointing and dismissing teachers will also pass to the Authority, subject to the right of the Managers to be consulted as to the appointment of the head teacher and to the right of the Foundation Managers to be satisfied as to the appointment of reserved teachers, within limits to be prescribed. These teachers will give denominational instruction for not more than two periods a week to those children whose parents desire it. Apart from such denominational teaching, the religious instruction will be in accordance with an agreed syllabus. Schools, the Managers of which elect for this alternative, will be termed 'Controlled Schools.'"

Alternative B. "Where the Managers are able and willing to meet half the cost of alterations, improvements and external repairs, the remaining half will be met by a direct grant from the Exchequer. The opportunity will be taken of simplifying the present law relating to the respective responsibilities of Authorities and Managers in regard to repairs, by getting rid of the unsatisfactory 'fair wear and tear' clause and placing the responsibility for external repairs upon the Managers and for other repairs, including those to the playground and playing fields, upon the Authority. The powers and duties of Managers in regard to the appointment and dismissal of teachers and the giving of denominational religious instruction will remain substantially unaltered and denominational religious instruction will continue to be given as at present, subject to the right of parents who so desire to have their children given syllabus instruction."

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

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## NOTES.

**Autonomous Republics in Soviet Russia:—** On the motion of M. Molotov, the Supreme Soviet adopted changes in the Soviet Constitution which carried autonomy several steps further. Each of the sixteen republics of the Soviet Union is now to have a Foreign Office and representatives abroad; and it will have the right to organise national armies. The Soviet Union is now spoken of as the multi-national state. The speech in which M. Molotov initiated this change, contained a promise of liberating Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Moldavia and the Karelo-Finnish Republic. All these foreshadow a twofold policy. It counters the weightage enjoyed by Britain from her imperial territories, and by the U. S. A. from her good-neighbour policy in South America, at any Peace Conference. At the same time it assures small nations that they need fear no sinking of identity if they merge themselves in the Soviet Union. While this process is set working, Moscow has replied to overtures from the Yugoslav Premier that this is not the opportune moment. The implication seems to be that the Yugoslav Premier is not in favour at Moscow. The brief message cabled out by Reuter does not give much news. But there is enough to show that all the sixteen foreign offices of the Soviet Union will speak together. The grant of wide powers to federating units occurs not because there has been any demand for it but because the international situation demands it. Communism as an international force is being liquidated in order that the different nations might take the more readily to it. The democratic system which provides the only alternative at the moment has nothing to offer the nations of Europe which can compare with Stalin's latest move. Soviet diplomacy has scored a victory by stepping back to nationalism which it repudiated in its early days.

**Scheduled Castes Conference:—** The meeting of the Scheduled Castes held in Nagpur passed a resolution of condolence on the death of Mr. M. C. Rajan but omitted any reference to Mr. V. R. Shinde who was a pioneer in the movement to raise the status of the Depressed Classes. As we said in noticing Mr. Shinde's death, Shinde's method differed from Dr. Ambedkar's in that it was based on religion. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar who was present as a guest, as he remarked, considered it would not be proper for him to speak before the resolutions were all passed but addressed the audience afterwards for sixty-five minutes. He exhorted them to give up Hinduism

which was the root-cause of all their woes. We do not set ourselves up as champions of the Hindu or any other religion. But we do feel that when Dr. Ambedkar asked his hearers to abandon Hinduism, it was his duty to advise them to embrace some other religion or to give up all religion. The scheduled castes are deeply religious-minded. They have produced saints who are worshipped by all castes and have places in the Hindu pantheon. Hindu leaders have recognised that the scheduled castes had been suffering from unmerited and inhuman disabilities and are actively exerting themselves to remove them. Considerable success has already attended their efforts and Dr. Ambedkar's elevation to his present position has been made possible by the advance of public opinion in this matter. It is strange to see a Member of the Government in the role of a proselytising missionary. He asked the Scheduled castes to discard Hinduism. Has he himself set the example? What is his own religious position today? In an official sketch of his life in *Indian Information*, we remember to have read that Dr. Ambedkar would decide this question when he retires from leadership of the community. In a book on Indian politics by an American writer he is credited with having already become a Sikh. There seems to be considerable speculation on the matter. Dr. Ambedkar should give a definite lead if he wishes the depressed classes to profit by his advice. He said that if any political party undertook to work for the depressed classes he would join that party and work for Swaraj. The Congress has repeatedly undertaken to raise the scheduled castes, and has done much to effect that object. It has allowed weightages of franchise and had Ministers from these classes in the Congress Cabinets.

**Disaffiliation of Sophia College:—** At the last discussion in the Senate of the Bombay University on the proselytising activities of the authorities of the Sophia Catholic College for Women in Bombay, the matter was referred to a Committee for further enquiry. On the report of the Committee, the Syndicate has framed a resolution for adoption by the Senate disaffiliating the College. It is a serious thing for a College once it is affiliated, to be disaffiliated. The *Reformer* was against the affiliation of this College on the ground that it infringed the long-established practice of co-education in colleges affiliated to the Bombay University. The Principal of the College gave an undertaking to the effect that proselytising was not carried on by the College but if any girl student wished to become a convert she would not withhold encouragement. The Chairman of the Board of Direction of the College, Mr. D. J. Ferriera, has issued a statement in anticipation of the Senate discussion, which is characterised by extreme naivete. He argues that though Catholic Colleges have been at work for a hundred years not a single non-Christian has been converted and that, therefore, any conver-

sions of girl students of the Sophia College should not be credited to the College authorities. The majority of students in other Colleges are men and the stage at which young Hindus sought admission to the Christian fold is long past. Women are just at that stage. Non-Christian communities are in a ferment of reforming activities. There is some dislocation of old arrangements. The influence of the Catholic nuns at this stage, even without their being conscious of it, cannot but have a disquieting effect on the minds of adolescent girls. Would Mr. Ferriera send his children to a Hindu or Muslim or Parsee school? The Sisters, of whom we wish to speak with great respect, have their proper functions in ministering to the needs of the Catholics, which are unlimited. In this connection, we would call attention in the rules relating to the re-introduction of religious education in English schools which we published last week, to the special provisions safeguarding the rights of parents and of each child to be given instruction in the religion in which he is born.

**Women in Coal Mines:**—The recent action of the Government of India in suspending the prohibition of recruiting women for working in coal mines, has evoked sharp criticism in England and in India. Criticism in England is stimulated by the fear that what is done today in India will be done tomorrow in England—a fear for which only too many events have afforded ample ground. Anglo-Indian officials are having prominent influence in the Cabinet and the bureaucrat's spirit is steadily permeating the British administration. To a direct question whether Government would permit women to work in coal mines in Britain, Mr. Amery gave the usual answer that conditions in the two countries differed widely. A future Secretary of State may think that the difference in conditions did not materially affect the principle of women working in mines alongside of their men. With what measure you mete to India, the same will be meted out to you in Britain in full and overflowing measure. We do not deny that criticism of Government in England is also influenced by humanitarian motives. The criticism in this country has come mostly from women's organisations. Government, when it suits them, profess to attach very great importance to the voice of women, but speaking generally their attitude to women in India and in their own country is one of amused tolerance. It is the fact as stated by Mr. Amery in the House of Commons that the women of the coal miners object to their husbands and brothers going down into the mines unless they, the women, are allowed to accompany them. This is in accordance with an ancient tradition consecrated by the examples of women held in reverence through the ages. Women in this country have always shared dangers and hardships with their menfolk. The Act passed a few years ago in compliance with an international requisition, was perhaps not too strictly enforced. However that may be, the justification of the present suspension by Dr. Ambedkar, of all persons, lacks conviction and lacks principle. The justification is that it is a war measure and would be repealed as soon as the war ends. This is no valid reason for sending women into the mines. There should be a line drawn somewhere to what is permissible even in war emergencies. Work in coal mines for women should certainly not fall within this line. Dr. Ambedkar criticised the British representative who spoke of the measure as regimentation. He said that it was a purely permissive measure and not compulsory. No one knows better than Dr. Ambedkar that this distinction in this country is purely technical.

**Baroda Marriage:**—In the article headed "Baroda Marriage: Some Legal Points" in last week's

*Reformer* reference was made to the discrepancy as to the Court which granted the divorce, the Madras High Court, according to Mr. C. J. Sutaria, and the Madras City Civil Court according to others. It is now definitely ascertained that it was the City Civil Court which in Madras exercises some of the powers of the Original Side of the Madras High Court, which granted the divorce. As the judgment of the Court marks an important stage in the evolution of India's marriage laws, we publish it in full. The most important point in the judgment is the categorical statement that Islamic Law is in force in India not only amongst Muslims but also as against non-Muslims in cases where Muslims are a party. This is contrary to Mr. Justice Edgeley's opinion based on an old decision of the Calcutta High Court, referred to in the same article in last week's *Reformer*. Mr. Ramamurti writes that Justice Edgeley's decision was upset by a full Bench of the Calcutta High Court, but it is not clear if his opinion as to the Islamic law not being in force in British India, was dissented from. A friend sends us a Note on the law relating to the subject, which we print below the judgment. The Hon. G. S. Motilal, member of the Council of State, has given notice of the following resolution which is to be brought up on February 16: "This Council recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council that the present ruler of Baroda who has violated the law of monogamy of his own State, be divested of his ruling powers" The resolution has little chance of being allowed by the President. The subject of it does not lie in the sphere of the Governor-General-in-Council but of the Crown Representative whose powers are outside the purview of the Indian Legislature. It is not well-conceived and Mr. Motilal will do well to drop it himself.

**Mountbatten's Newspaper:**—In starting "Seac", the army newspaper, Lord Mountbatten proclaimed his faith in freedom of the press. It was an unfortunate message in that it implied the lack of such freedom in India and promised to give full information through "Seac". What is printed there can be easily reprinted in other newspapers. We have, now from the Government side, the same problems which confronted the Editors' Conference when the case of Gandhiji's *Harijan* was considered, in the days of individual satyagraha. Then the Government of India were willing to allow Gandhiji full freedom. The difficulty arose when newspapers wanted to have the right to reprint what Gandhiji wrote. The debate in the House of Commons ignored Mountbatten's message and concentrated on the smaller issue of the need for a special army paper. The official reply was that the Indian press did not carry enough matter of interest to the foreign troops in this country and, therefore, it was thought necessary to bring out a special army newspaper. In the absence of copies of the "Seac" we are unable to judge if this is correct. Several newspapers, notably the *Statesman* of Calcutta, have run special features for the troops. The Editor of the "Seac" has not yet joined the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference. If he does, many outstanding problems arising out of its publication can be easily solved. As a matter of fact the matter should have been discussed at that Conference before the first issue of the "Seac" was printed. Official newspapers are not always an advantage. The Indian press has always been open to communiques issued whether by the Secretariats of civil administrations or by army headquarters.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, February 5, 1944.

## LORD HALIFAX ON CLOSER UNITY.

The Dominion Prime Ministers' Conference to be held within a few months promises to be a lively gathering. The Imperial Conference included Indian delegates. The Empire Prime Ministers' Conference is no doubt expressly designated to exclude India although India has been repeatedly assured that she would be an equal partner with the Dominions in the Commonwealth. There is to be no advance agenda, we are told, for the Conference. As a matter of fact, however, Lord Halifax has started the discussion in an address which he delivered at Toronto on the January 24. Lord Halifax's thesis was that, while the Statute of Westminster assured to each and every Dominion complete self government, it left unsolved more obstinate problems arising in the fields of foreign policy and defence. He went on to say:

It remains a fact that, though much of the unity of the Commonwealth was due to its common head and common thought upon things that matter most, it found little expression in outward form. It is an immeasurable gain if on vital issues we can achieve a common foreign policy, expressed not by a single voice, but by the unison of many. So also, in the field of defence, while there must be individual responsibility there must also be unity of policy.

It was a happy accident that all the Dominions accepted the policy of the British Government in the last war. In the present war all but one of the Dominions have done the same. The one exception is, of course, Eire. But the dilemma which confronted the Dominions on both occasions was still there, and having occurred twice in 25 years might occur again. So the British Ambassador in Washington and War Cabinet Minister, does not believe that this war is going to end all wars. In the case of a future war, the Dominions were free to prefer a national solution and stand aside as Eire is doing. That would be isolationism which in the shrinking world is not an easy policy to pursue and was not likely to become easier, either for Britain or the Dominions. Britain by herself could hardly claim a partnership with the great nations, the United States, Russia and China. He pleaded for closer unity between the Dominions and Britain by extending the methods of war-time planning and consultation to times of peace. Speaking in the House of Lords, the next day, the Dominions Secretary, Lord Cranbourne, in more guarded language, advocated closer union, praised the agreement between Australia and New Zealand, and dwelt on the utility of regional agreements. The Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, however, promptly entered a protest against the closer unity plan of Lord Halifax and said that Canada preferred to have agreements with all peace-loving nations and not exclusively with Britain and her other Dominions. He understood, he said, that Lord Halifax was expressing his personal views and not making a pronouncement on behalf of the British Government. This was confirmed in the House of Commons by the Prime Minister. It is hardly likely that a statesman in the position of an Ambassador and Minister of the British War Cabinet would air his personal views on an important question like the future constitution of the Commonwealth without previous consultation with the Prime Minister. The Foreign Secretary also has a right to consultation since Lord

Halifax's plan was expressly designed to enable Britain to take an equal place with Russia, the United States and China at the international Round Table. If Lord Halifax had acted without consultation, the Prime Minister's repudiation is a rebuke which must eventuate in his immediate resignation. There is no talk of his resignation and that shows that the British Ambassador was instigated to fly a kite for the guidance of his Government in its relations to the Dominions.

In the light of the elaborate explanations offered by Lord Halifax in favour of the closer unity method of solving the Dominions' dilemma, the significance of the Canadian Prime Minister's sharp and prompt repudiation can hardly be minimised. It means that in case of Britain entering a war in the future—for the Canadian view is also the Australian and Indian view—she cannot as a matter of course expect the concurrence of the Dominions. The latter were not prepared to accept any constitutional arrangement which would bind them to do so. They were not concerned whether Britain was or was not the equal of Russia, China and the United States. That is her affair. If not in so many words, practically Mr. Mackenzie King's comment on the Halifax plan means that he prefers a national solution of future dilemmas to closer unity which would subordinate Dominion interests to British commitments in Europe. The incident has its lesson to Indian publicists who still hanker after Dominion status.

Lord Halifax studiously refrained from any reference to India in his Toronto address. This omission he supplied in a speech delivered at Washington a week later in defence, says Reuter, of Britain's conduct in India. He claimed that they had already applied the Atlantic Charter to India. The Prime Minister, soon after the promulgation of the Atlantic Charter, brusquely declared that it did not apply to India, that President Roosevelt and he had only the countries overrun by the Nazis in Europe in mind in framing it. This view was not accepted in the United States. The President himself stressed more than once that the Charter applied to all races and nations. Then the ingenious mind of Mr. Amery—or was the suggestion made from New Delhi?—adopted the line that the Atlantic Charter had been applied to India long before the President and the Prime Minister thought of it. Mr. Amery, indeed claimed that the Charter represented only a part of the great achievement of Britain in this country and that, therefore, talk of the Charter in connection with India was irrelevant and supererogatory. Lord Halifax was merely repeating what the Secretary of State had said. But the most important passage in Lord Halifax's Washington pronouncement was his declaration that India was free to quit the British Empire, whenever she chose to do so. He said:

We hope India will wish to remain within the British Commonwealth. But if after the war her people can establish an agreed constitution and then desire to sever partnership with us, we have undertaken not to overrule such a decision.

Lord Halifax would have been more candid had he added that meanwhile they were doing all in their power to prevent the establishment of an agreed constitution or at least to make it as difficult and remote as possible. An incidental but unfortunate effect of Lord Halifax's prevarications, is that having been known while in India as a man of religion, they tend to discredit religion among politically minded Indians and to accentuate the demand for the separating religion from politics.

### BLOOD GROUPING AND ANTHROPOMETRY.

Darwin's theory of biological evolution seemed to furnish a master-key to all knowledge. In the wake of his "Origin of Species," followed many comparative sciences extending from language to religion. The "historic method" showed that institutions and customs long extinct among one people were current in contemporary times among other and far-distant peoples. One of the sciences thus created was anthropology. Max Muller found similarities between certain languages which he named Aryan. The name was wrongly understood to denote a race. Investigations as to what constituted a race showed that there were some physical features, height, shape of head and nose, which characterised certain groups. These were assigned to heredity. Hitler has used the conclusions of anthropometry in his persecution of the Jews. Within the last few years, blood infusion has come into vogue as a means of infusing vitality in dying patients. Experience showed that there are different kinds of blood and that the transfusion only of the same kind of blood benefitted the patient. Blood-grouping was undertaken. People were divided into four or five groups. Mr. A. Krishna Aiyar has attempted in the current *New Review* to correlate the conclusions of blood grouping with those of the anthropometrists with special reference to the Kannikars of Travancore. He writes :

In the human race, the blood groups occur as fixed bio-chemical conditions, subject to the laws of heredity. As such, they provide a method of studying social origins and relationships. It is considered that interesting results may be obtained by linking up the study of the fixed and definite characteristics furnished by the blood groups with that of diversities in physical anthropometric characters among populations in which several disparate characters show themselves in individuals living side by side.

Mr. Aiyar speaks of blood grouping as fixed bio-chemical conditions and of anthropometrical characters as liable to diversities. Anthropologists have regarded the cephalic index, the nasal angle and the texture of the hair as fixed characters, any deviation from which in a race must be due to intermixture with other races. Even Mr. Aiyar's statistics for the Kanikkars show that, while some groups may be predominant, other groups are also present even among the section of the tribe which he considers pure and primitive. Besides, the nasal index of the jungle Kanikkar differs from that of the "domesticated Kanikkar." This Mr. Aiyar attributes to "contact metamorphosis." Does not "contact metamorphosis" occur in the composition of blood? Mr. Aiyar himself observes, "Where the primitive features dominate in Kallar, Aryanad and Kotur, there is a greater percentage of group O, which shows that they have been less open to outside influences at Kallar where they retain their more basic characters." "Contact metamorphosis" and "outside influences" are vague terms. They cover not only intermarriages, but climatic and other conditions constituting the geographical and social environment. The orthodox anthropologist recognised only intermarriages as the instrument of variations in race characteristics. Every variation of the shape of the head or the breadth of the nose was explained by intermarriage in a previous generation, though the variation may occur in castes which have been long protected against exogamous relations. Against this narrow theory, De Quatrefages brought many conclusive proofs in the middle of the last century. In his view the physical characters were the effect of territorial influences. He noted in his own country, the United States, the gradua-

evolution of a human type approximating to the Red Indian, both among Whites and Negros. He noted that the Negros in the United States were no longer jet-black but were becoming fairer. This theory of the influence of the environment has now been adopted in Indian Census Reports as explaining the variations in the proportions between the sexes in different parts of the country. Maharastrians who have settled for no more than two or three centuries in Northern India, become in appearance, speech and mode of thinking indistinguishable from the natives of those parts without inter-marriages. The New Zealander descended from British stock is markedly different in these respects from the home-staying Englishman. Blood groups, according to Mr. Aiyar's own statistics, are found concentrated in certain areas. He writes :—

Recent researches in the racial distribution of blood-groups have shown that the predominance of group B in India is in strong contrast with Western Europe where group B is markedly absent. The highest percentage seems to congregate on the mainland of Asia and the adjoining islands of Indonesia. The percentages in India vary from 37.2 to 41.2, a marked contrast to that recorded in England. Lute's opinion is that it is definitely established that the distribution of blood-groups in a given population is related to its ethno-anthropological constitution. Group A decreases going east and south from Western Europe and B increases inversely, while group O is characteristic of long isolated communities such as the Australian, Esquimo, Maoris and others. Serological tests in Travancore support the findings of the physical anthropologist in regard to the affinity of the Kanikkars of Travancore with the Australians.

### THE INDIAN PROBLEM.

The war has brought to India many foreign observers. The best of these have come from the United States of America. Conditions in this country do not lend themselves to an impartial view being formed. Politically, there is an emphasis on the things that divide the country. Economically, there is a stress on interests rather than on national needs. Socially, we are passing through a period of transition. And over all, the Government of India itself has been inexorably led into magnifying the differences which exist here, as they do in any country today. The result is that the outsider is bewildered by the complexity of the situation and is very often driven to oversimplify the problem, by taking sides. The shortness of experience of most visiting writers further hinders deep study. We have, therefore, pronouncements which are either biased in favour of the Government or violently opposed to it. There are rarely detached presentations of the facts of the case.

For this reason we welcome Kate Mitchell's book, "India—an American View," which is a notable contribution to the study of Indian questions. Kate Mitchell sees Indian politics against the background of the war effort of the United Nations. By her the struggle within India is seen against the needs of the Allies. That is why she is able to refrain from taking sides throughout. She begins, for example, not only by saying that the picture of India officially presented is unfair but proving it as well. This she does by asking what Americans would think if a Commission reported on conditions in the U. S. A. in the following manner :

The sub-continent of the United States is characterized by great diversity of climate and geographical features, while its inhabitants exhibit a similar diversity of race and religion. The customary talk of the U. S. A. as a single unit tends to obscure, to the casual British observer, the variegated assemblage of races and creeds which make up the whole

In the City of New York alone are to be found nearly a hundred different nationalities, some of which are in such great numbers that New York is at once the largest Italian city, the largest Jewish city, and the largest Negro city in the world. The contiguity of such diverse elements has been a most fruitful cause of the most bitter communal conflicts. In the Southern States especially, this has led to inter-racial riots and murders which are only prevented from recurring by the presence of an external impartial power able to enforce law and order. The notoriety of the rival gangs of Chicago has diverted attention from the less pressing problems presented to the Paramount Power by the existence of the Mormons in Utah, the Finns in Minnesota, the Mexican immigration up the Mississippi, and the Japanese on the West Coast, not to speak of the survival in considerable numbers of the aboriginal inhabitants.

Kate Mitchell remarks that this is a paragraph quoted from an English writer. It is a passage which bears repetition, because it gives the perspective needed for an understanding of Indian conditions. We give below another long quotation from her book on the population problem which might be usefully digested by Indian writers who have copied Western judgments unthinkingly:

A prevalent but fallacious theory about India's poverty is that it is the result of "over-population." The actual rate of increase has been markedly less than that of any European country. Between 1880 and 1930, the population of England and Wales increased by 54%, that of India by 32%. Only in the decade from 1921 to 1931 was the rate of increase in India, 10.6% as compared with 14.2% in the United States, higher than that of England and other European countries. Indian poverty, however, does not date from 1921. Another implication of the Malthusian critics of India's birth-rate is that the growth of population has outstripped the growth in the volume of food produced. This is not the case. Between 1910 and 1930, population increased by about 17%, food production by about 30%. It is true that the present production of food is wholly inadequate, but the reasons for this inadequacy lie in the system of production and the failure to develop the available resources, not in any absolute over-population. In fact, there is every reason to believe that, by making full use of her resources, India could support a far larger population than at present. More than one-third of the cultivable area has not yet been brought into cultivation, and the methods employed on the present cultivated area are so primitive that the yields per acre are only about one-third of those obtained in other countries. It may be granted that under existing conditions, food production is inadequate for the population, but should this lead to the conclusion that the population must be reduced, and not that the existing methods of production must be changed?

With the clear vision which is shown in these two quotations one would have expected Mrs. Mitchell to see Indian politics too in a detached way. Her own politics is Leftist and that has inevitably coloured her views on India. The first thing that strikes one in viewing Indian politics on a long range is that the people of this country are politically immature. From that all the trouble springs. The history of Indian politics is one story of political movements inspired from above. Like the banyan tree, the boughs of which drop to the ground and strike fresh roots there, the political structure has developed out of the Government machinery. The Indian National Congress grew out of a desire on the part of one Viceroy to establish an organisation which would give Indian reactions on official policies. That was in 1885. Twenty-one years later, another Viceroy felt it necessary to organise the Muslim

masses in order to wean them away from the seditious tendencies of the Congress. The Muslim League was formed. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report discussed the question of forming the Depressed Classes into a political group and we have Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. There have been various political kites flown in the manner of loyalty leagues, aman sabhas, anti-cigarette boycott societies, National fronts and so on. But they have been unsuccessful efforts. The grouping of the Princes into a Chamber and the attempt to set up a "Princely Order" has not been an outstanding example either. Even the Communists in India are emerging as a political group approved by the Government and many of the party members seem to feel that the present time is singularly opportune. The present political atmosphere in which opposition to the Government in power is the hall-mark of popularity, is of recent growth. The Muslim League is seen generally as a party opposed to the Congress. Mr. Jinnah's great service to the country has been that he has crystallised Muslim opposition to Hindu politics, Muslim fears of Hindu domination and Muslim hopes of forming a separate national group, into opposition to the Government of India. Without Mr. Jinnah, the League would have undoubtedly grasped the hand held out to it by Lord Linlithgow during the early phases of the war, just as without Gandhiji the Congress was prepared to cooperate in the war effort. Even Dr. Ambedkar has been forced by conditions to speak of the part the Depressed Classes will play under independence. Today there is no place for parties preaching moderation or gradualism. The dangers of such an atmosphere are that the gulf between Government and the people is well-nigh unbridgeable. Emotions prevent people from considering any schemes for settlement. Added to that there is detention without trial on an unheard-of scale. Mrs. Mitchell in her analysis of the Congress in office shows the process by which a revolutionary party was transforming itself into a constitutional party. That process was arrested by the outbreak of war. And with it has gone any chance of the political-minded in India reaching a stage when they could consider political problems dispassionately. This factor has led British writers on Indian politics to condemn the Congress as a totalitarian party. But all parties in revolution are totalitarian. The Congress has its constructive side as well which has not had much scope for play.

The tangle can be solved only in one way, by the Government of India making it clear beyond doubt that it regards itself as a Government in transition. That it is unable to do. On the contrary, by phrases like "No settlement till after the war ends," it has shown an anxiety to perpetuate itself. Mrs. Mitchell's last chapters make it evident that it is in the interests of the United Nations that this should happen; that India is not any longer a matter for decision by Britain alone but a world problem. What has to be done seems obvious. But the two great leaders of the triumvirate, Russia and the U. S. A., have virtually washed their hands of India. In her own interests, Britain would do well to take the initiative without outside intervention. But there is no appreciation of this fact today in Britain. Mrs. Mitchell's book is a thought-provoking, lucid contribution to the study of India. In so far as it helps Americans to see India against a world background it is a notable work. For Indians it is an encouraging sign that without any propaganda for the Indian cause, in spite of adverse propaganda against it, the national case does not go unheard or unrepresented overseas.



## MADRAS CITY CIVIL COURT JUDGMENT.

This suit coming on for hearing before me on Thursday the 23rd day of December 1943 in the presence of Messrs. C. S. Venkatachari, L. Krishna Das and S. Kuppaswami, Advocates for the plaintiff, and the defendant being *ex parte*, and the suit having stood over for consideration till this day, the court delivered the following Judgment :

1. This is a suit for a declaration that the marriage contracted by plaintiff with defendant on 6th August 1933 according to Hindu rites has become dissolved.

2. Plaintiff who was born a Hindu was married to defendant who is also a Hindu, on 6th August 1933. On 10th October 1943 she became a convert to Islam and wrote to defendant inviting him to follow her into the new faith. As he has refused to do so she has filed this suit for a declaration by the court that her marriage with the defendant stands dissolved.

3. Defendant though served with summons has remained *ex parte*.

4. Plaintiff has examined herself and has spoken to her conversion to the Muslim faith on the 10th October 1943 in the presence of Kazi of Bombay. She states that she did so out of her own free will as she felt attracted by the tenets of Islam. She also uttered the "Kalima" in Arabic and gave its meaning. The Kazi who effected the conversion has been examined as a witness. He speaks to having issued a certificate of conversion which is marked as Exhibit P-1. A declaration for conversion was given by plaintiff before the Magistrate at Bombay. Exhibit P-2 is a certified copy of it. Subsequently she wrote a letter to the defendant informing him of her conversion and calling upon him to cease to be a Hindu and become a Muslim. Defendant in reply expressed his unwillingness to accede to her request. Hence this suit.

5. That plaintiff has become a convert to Islam out of her own free will and conviction is clearly established. The question is what is its effect on her marriage with the defendant. Such a conversion would not by itself make the marriage invalid. But in this case plaintiff has offered her new religion for adoption to defendant and he has refused to accept it. This is a sufficient ground for divorce. As observed in paragraph 74A of Wilson's Anglo-Mohamedan Law, if one of two married persons not Muslim, embraces Islam, Islam is to be presented to the other, if he accepts, the marriage is not affected, if not it is ground for divorce. This procedure has to be adopted if the conversion takes place in a country subject to the laws of Islam (Darul Islam) and India is such a country. In a similar case reported in 33 Calcutta Weekly Notes (Journal) CI XXIX page 179, *Musat Ayesha Bibi Vs. Bireswar Ghosh Mazumdar*, a wife after becoming a Mohamedan requested her husband a Hindu to become a Mohamedan and on his not complying with her request sued for a declaration that her marriage with him stood dissolved. The Court found that the procedure required had been adopted by the plaintiff and declared the marriage dissolved.

6. As plaintiff has become a convert to Islam and as her invitation to the defendant, her Hindu husband, to follow her new religion has not been accepted, the Court, as the Kazi, is entitled to separate the couple.

7. I declare that plaintiff's marriage with defendant is dissolved. I make no order as to costs.

Sd. SYED IMAMUDDIN,  
Additional Judge.

## NOTE ON THE LAW.

"At page 131 of Gooroodas Bannerjee's Tagore Law Lectures 1878 on the Hindu Law of Marriage, the case of *Rahmed vs. Rokeya* is quoted from Norton's Leading Cases on Hindu Law. In that case Sir Adam Biddleston said that a Hindu married woman who becomes a convert to Mohammedanism puts herself outside the pale of Hindu Law and stated, "It seems to me, however, at variance with the spirit of Hindu Law to hold that it (Hindu Law) concerns itself with a woman in such a case, so far as to impose on her any obligation not to marry again, provided the second husband is not a Hindu and if she does marry again the validity of that marriage must, I think, depend upon the law of the sect to which she has become a convert."

"In Province of Bombay *vs. Ganga*, I. L. R. 4. Bom. 330, a Hindu wife who became a Mohammedan and married a Mohammedan was convicted for bigamy under Section 494 I. P. C. The headnote reads:—"The conversation of a Hindu wife to Mohammedanism does not, *ipsa facto*, dissolve her marriage with her husband; she cannot, therefore, during his lifetime enter into any other valid marriage contract. Her going through the ceremony of nika with a Mohammedan is, consequently, an offence under Section 494 I. P. C."

"The matter is more fully considered in *Re Ram Kumari* (1891) I. L. R. 18. Cal. 264. The facts are that a Hindu wife became a convert to Mohammedanism and married a Mohammedan. At page 269, the Court dissented from the observation that the convert is outside the pale of Hindu law. But at pages 270-271, dealing with the question that her second marriage must be tested by the rules of Mohammedan law, the Court held:—"The petitioner did not give any notice to her former husband, nor did she seek the intervention of the Courts of Justice as she might have done by instituting a suit after notice to her husband for a declaratory decree that, under the Mohammedan law, which was her personal law since her conversion, her former marriage was dissolved and that she was competent to marry again." The notice referred to is mentioned at pages 269-70:—"According to those authorities, when the wife becomes a convert to the Mussalman faith, and the husband is an unbeliever, the Magistrate is to call upon him to embrace Islam, and if he does so, the woman continued his wife but if he refuses the Magistrate must separate them." That is the rule of the Hedaya.

"But in connection with this question of conversion, it is relevant to refer to *Skinner vs. Orde* (1871) 14. Moore's Indian Appeals 309. At page 314 the Allahabad High Court is quoted:—"We do not desire to be understood as holding that a mere change of religion would justify the Court in removing a child from the custody of the mother, but where under colour of her change in religion, a mother forms a connection or leads a life which, by persons professing her husband's faith would be deemed immoral, we hold that she thereby ceases to be a proper person to be entrusted with the education of her child." The Privy Council says at page 324:—"In the autumn of 1867 this occurred. The house of the widow (Christian) became the house of one John Thomas John, and they lived and cohabited together as husband and wife, John Thomas John being already the husband in Christian marriage of a living Christian wife. It is suggested that this union was sanctified and legalised in this way: that the widow became a Mohammedan, that John Thomas John became a Mohammedan, and that having thus qualified himself for the enjoyment of polygamous privileges, he contracted in Mohammedan

form a valid Mohammedan marriage with the widow, the appellant. The High Court expressed doubts of the legality of this marriage; which their lordships think they were well warranted in entertaining."

"This is really a divorce proceeding under the Mohammedan Law, our Civil Courts exercising the power which the Qazi would have exercised according to Islamic law. The procedure relating to this has not become well settled because the only cases that we know of this nature are the decree granted by Pankridge J 33 Calcutta Weekly Notes, and another granted by Justice Buckland referred to therein. But so far as divorce proceedings in general are concerned, the necessity for publicity and the right to intervene are recognised by British Jurisprudence. In the ordinary divorce case, the need for publicity has been emphasised by the Privy Council in *McPherson vs. McPherson*, 70 Madras Law Journal 385, in which it was pointed out that particularly where the proceedings are not opposed by the other spouse it is only publicity that can ensure that all relevant materials are put before the Court. In the ordinary divorce proceedings, whether in England or under the Indian Divorce Act, any member of the public is entitled to intervene to place before the Court any circumstance which would affect either the right of the petitioner or the discretion of the Court in granting divorce. Further the first order is one granting a decree nisi which has to be confirmed after six months. In England, as also in Bombay, there is a King's Proctor to watch these proceedings and intervene if he is aware of any facts which affect the right to divorce."

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## NOTES.

**Government Order on Mrs Naidu :—**The discussion on the Government of India's order restraining Mrs. Sarojini Naidu from making speeches or issuing statements to the press, which took place last week in the Legislative Assembly at Delhi, had an air of unreality about it all. While on a short visit to Delhi Mrs. Naidu addressed a Press conference in which she spoke as the only free member of the Congress Working Committee. She took the opportunity to protest against the charges made from time to time by British publicists that the Congress was friendly to Japan, or that it was behind any campaign of violence. Previous to the conference she had given a message for Independence Day to the students. When Mrs. Naidu went on to Lahore, she was served with an order from the Central Government forbidding her from making any public pronouncement. Her own reaction was that the order was superfluous since she had already been ordered by her doctors to abstain from any public activity. Evidently her two statements at Delhi are not regarded by her as public activity. The Legislative Assembly, however, took a different line of action and an adjournment motion was moved protesting against Government's action as an infringement of the liberties of the subject. The whole course of Government's policy in the past two years has been such as to make this charge superfluous. The Government of India has not at any time professed any solicitude for civil liberties. It was surprising in the circumstances to see the Assembly members straining at a gnat. Even Muslim League members who have in the past taken up an attitude of acquiescence in Government's suppression of the Congress, expressed their resentment against the order on Mrs. Naidu. Sir Reginald Maxwell who spoke for the Government, for reasons of his own did not make the obvious retort. He could have well replied that a Government which ruled by ordinance and held people under detention without trial, naturally could not be expected to permit a member of an organisation declared unlawful, to carry on work which furthered the Congress cause. Instead he took the line that Government had never brought the charge of pro-Japanese activity against the Congress, that Mrs Naidu had been released unconditionally because Government felt it was necessary in the interests of her health, and that they were not prepared for what had taken place. His remarks after this indicated that the Government expected her either not to take part in public activities because of bad health or to resign from the Working Com-

mittee. He was not quite clear as to the reason why Government hoped for a different course of action from her. The Government position as revealed by Sir Reginald is wholly untenable. As a matter of fact the charge of being pro-Japanese has been made against the Congress in the past. No less a person than Madame Chiang Kai-shek refuted it in America. Then again the imposition of new restrictions removes much from the grace of the unconditional release on which Sir Reginald laid so much stress. Mrs. Naidu, it would appear, took the same view of her freedom as the Government does and found she was mistaken. Her unconditional release was ordered in the belief that conditions were not needed; not because Government was prepared to face any situation which might arise, once she was at liberty. The result of the incident and the debate has been to clear the air on all sides. That it was necessary is due to the fact that neither the country nor the Government itself was able to realise what the change from Linlithgow to Wavell meant to the political atmosphere. The Naidu straw shows beyond doubt that the deadlock is to continue. The lesson should not be wasted.

**Reconstruction and Politics :—**Britain seeks to pass the main political parties by and no one, in his senses, can seriously quarrel with that object. The effective political parties have not been helpful to Britain and they should not expect Britain to be altruistic. But if neither the Congress nor the Muslim League has ground for complaint, there are other groups which in spite of their good intentions have been ignored so far. Their grievance is genuinely felt though naive. The present British approach to the political confusion is non-political. They do not wish to attempt futilely to build up a pro-British party and such a party cannot be built up without the active co-operation of the British. No one can deny that Britain has given up the direct political approach. The Congress and the Muslim League at different times have shown considerable anxiety to co-operate on small and paper concessions. All they asked for was a situation in which they could represent to the country that they had not given up their ideals. They were prepared to give up the reality for the shadow. But even the shadow was withheld from them. If Britain would not concede this small gesture to the main parties, it is ridiculous to think that she would give more to other parties. If we take into account the fact that the sole political activity of the various parties today is futile appeals for the release of political leaders and the solution of the deadlock, it is obvious that the best course for Indians to pursue is to accept the situation and give up political work for the time being. The Government will release the leaders when it finds it necessary to do so. In the meantime the fact that reconstruction is being planned for reasons other than those inspiring it in other countries, is no reason why it should not be of value to the country. The danger of its distracting public attention from the issue of

independence is totally absent. Good government is no substitute for self-government. More, without self-government government cannot be good. That one side is making the attempt to divert attention is not sufficient ground for thinking it will succeed. Indian leaders by now must have realised the futility of appeals for a political settlement. It is best that they abandon a futile course. Whatever schemes are advanced for planning a better India should be studied as plans for reconstruction. In so far as they will advance India in the economic, industrial and social spheres, they cannot impede her political progress. With the shelving of political issues, the probability is that in these spheres too there will soon be deadlock. But until that stage is reached, there will be no settlement. Indians should be prepared for it.

**The Sophia College Affair :—**We made a passing reference last week to the statement of the Governing Body of the Sophia College issued over the name of its respected Chairman, Mr. D. Ferreira, on the recent conversion of two Parsi girl students of the College to the Roman Catholic faith, in connection with which a proposal of the Syndicate to disaffiliate the College is shortly to be discussed by the Senate of the Bombay University. We have since perused the full text of the statement. It seems to us that the statement, apart from all side issues, amounts to a categorical denial not only that the conversions were the result of any influence emanating from the teaching imparted in the College or the personnel, but also a repudiation of the allegation that any proselytising activity is carried on or is allowed to be carried on in the College. It is a declaration not only of past policy but also an assurance regarding future policy. As we said last week, the *Reformer* was against the affiliation of this College. But once a College is affiliated it is a very serious matter for students as well as the conductors to disaffiliate it. We are, therefore, inclined to suggest that this fresh declaration of the Governing Body might be regarded as good ground for postponing the proposal for future consideration should there be any violation of the assurances now given by the Governing Body. At the same time, we are bound to say that Mr. Ferreira and his colleagues do not seem to appreciate that the issue involved is one affecting the deepest religious sentiment of a small community whose ancestors left their homeland centuries ago to be able to practise their ancient religion with freedom and security. This circumstance alone accounts for the tenacity with which the Parsees have maintained their religious integrity for a thousand years. While the Roman Catholics rightly hold their religion in veneration, the Parsees also are entitled to have their attachment to their ancestral faith respected by authorities who have taken on themselves the responsibility of educating Parsee children along with those of their own denomination. Under Indian tradition all religions are equally sacred, and the attempt of any one of them to usurp the functions of another, is ridiculous. If religious education is given, it must be in the religion in which each student is born, as is provided in the rules recently formulated in a White Paper presented to Parliament. This is a question which the University authorities should immediately take up for serious consideration. We think that it is high time that Government and the Universities decided that no new colleges controlled by foreign religious missionaries should be started, and that the existing Mission institutions should give an undertaking to provide religious education to their students without prejudice to their ancestral faiths.

**The Arya Samaj and Other Religions:—**Pandit Haridatta Vedalankar sends us a communication pointing out at some length that our criticisms of the

attitude of the Arya Samaj to other religions are not justified. With special reference to the relative attitudes of the Arya Samaj and the Brahma Samaj as set forth in *The Reformer* of January 22, he says that while the comments are thought-provoking, some of them might create misapprehension about the Founder of the Arya Samaj. The Pandit by way of repudiating the charge of intolerance "given wide publicity in the last twenties by Mahatma Gandhi" cites passages from the writings of European and other writers which were more severely critical of the Christian religion. He also quotes passages from the Old Testament which are certainly of a more sulphurous import. We had not Gandhiji's criticism in mind when we wrote the comments. We relied on the section in the "Satyartha Prakash" devoted to the exposure of the errors of other religions. We thought and still think that the "Satyartha Prakash" will not suffer if this section was omitted. That other sectarians have used worse language in their criticisms, we do not deny. But we think that the Indian attitude to all religions is not rightly reflected in this section of the "Satyartha Prakash." The Trust Deed of the Brahma Samaj as also the Bhagavad Gita breathe a spirit of large tolerance which is the true Indian attitude. That Swami Dayanand's was a dynamic personality and that the Arya Samaj has much good work to its credit, we gladly acknowledge.

**Ambedkar on Caste** —In his speech at the end of the Federation of the Scheduled Castes meeting at Nagpur, Dr. Ambedkar inveighed in intemperate terms against Hinduism which he identified with caste which, again, he assumed to be the system as it is at the present day. But Hinduism is not caste any more than the classes of the industrial West are Christianity. It is a social arrangement slowly evolved in the course of centuries, which has in the opinion of competent observers, served to preserve society against dangers from within and without. We cited last week Sir George Birdwood's views on caste. If India gave up caste, he thought, the country would become one vast East End of London. Birdwood was not alone in his appreciation of the purposes served by caste. Meredith Townshend, no admirer of Hindus or Hinduism like Birdwood, wrote of it in his "Asia and Europe": "I firmly believe caste to be a marvellous discovery, a form of socialism which through ages has protected Hindu society from anarchy and from the worst evils of industrial and competitive life—it is an automatic poor law to begin with, and the strongest form known of trades union." More weighty and also more recent is the tribute paid by Patrick Geddes, the eminent sociologist, when he presented caste in his "Dramatisations of History" as the characteristic achievement of India in the social field. The four great castes, he writes, not only India but every other civilisation has more or less developed. Sudras and Vaisyas, labourers and merchants, are the ones mainly developed in Western lands. "Yet we have also been increasingly developing the culture caste of the universities; while our public schools have especially endeavoured to provide a courage caste, with its ambition turned from gain or learning towards an ideal of rule." That the original fourfold caste has degenerated into a multitude of meaningless groups and that a radical reform is urgently needed—nobody denies. But the denunciation of an ancient institution which has been of inestimable service to society, is hardly expected of a man in Ambedkar's position.

**Personal :—**Mr. S. Natarajan was married to Miss Safia Umar Sobani on Tuesday January 18, under the Special Marriage Act.



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, February 12, 1944.

## HINDUISM AND CONVERSIONS.

The *Prabuddha Bharata*, the organ of Sri Ramakrishna Mission, has a timely article, headed "Stop Conversions," in the current (February) number. The writer is concerned solely with religious conversions through proselytising propaganda. The methods of such propaganda are no longer confined to one field. They are now extended to the political and economic fields as well. It is now almost universally assumed that truth by itself has not even survival value unless buttressed up with a good amount of falsehood. Fascism, Nazism, Imperialism, Bolshevism and even Democracy have now their missionaries. The only difference is that, while the use of physical force has now been generally discarded in religious propaganda, they are very much in use in the political and economic spheres. The *Prabuddha Bharata* begins by a reference to this new feature. Referring specifically to religious conversion, the journal observes that conversion is to Hindus a new phenomenon, altogether unknown until the advent of Islam. It goes on to say:—

It is so very foreign to the Hindu nature that, even in spite of the grievous harm done to Hindu society during the past centuries, the Hindus have not been able either to accept it as a part of their religion or counteract it effectively by some suitable device.

The Suddhi movement of the Arya Samaj and the activities of some Hindu Missions are prompted by the earnest desire to prevent weakening of Hindu Society by losses due to the proselytising propaganda of Islam and Christianity. The *Prabuddha Bharata* agrees that the integrity of society has an important bearing on its spiritual life. Nevertheless, it considers that the adoption of proselytising methods by Hindus, is calculated to do more harm to Hinduism spiritually than the good it may appear to do from the temporal point of view. The journal quotes Bernard Shaw's observation that the great danger of conversion in all ages has been that, when the religion of the high mind has been offered to the lower mind, the lower mind feeling its fascination without understanding it, and being incapable of rising to it, drags it down to its level by degrading it. "Years ago," Shaw added, "I said that the conversion of a savage to Christianity is the conversion of Christianity to savagery." This saying has found confirmation, to an extent which Shaw could not have anticipated, in the present war in which the belligerents are the descendants of European tribes who were converted in the mass to Christianity. Hinduism with its stress on individual perfection is not liable to the danger of such landslides. The *Prabuddha Bharata*, notwithstanding the many cogent reasons advanced for the Suddhi movement, is averse to conversions as calculated to undermine spiritual values.

We are unable to agree that spiritual truths like material benefits are bound to suffer in quality from the process of extension. This does not occur in the case of the sciences. No one has found that mathematical values are diminished by mathematical knowledge being extended to large numbers of people. Religious truths, unlike the truths of the physical sciences, appeal to the instincts of man. While the sciences are still in process of growth and development, man's insight into spirituality attained its summit at a very early stage of material civilisation. The Vedas were composed by men clad in birch-bark. Kalidasa wrote *Sakuntala* in a loin cloth in a mud-hut. Religion cannot suffer by being practised by large numbers of people.

The mischief comes when profession is regarded as a substitute for practice. And proselytism can lead only to profession. The answer most often adduced to the charge that the European wars prove that Christianity has failed, is that Christianity has never had a fair trial in Europe. It was only professed, never practised except by a few. This same argument is applicable to other religions but the proselytiser does not allow it. Meredith Townshend observes in his "Europe and Asia" that the Christian virtues are practised more by the Hindus than by Europeans who profess Christianity but regard the Christian virtues with contempt. The classical Indian analogy is the lighted lamp. By lighting other lamps at its flame, its power of illumination is in no way diminished. The proselytising missionary method is to quench the flame and drain away the oil which fed it. The true reason against proselytising in religion, is that the function of the teacher is usurped by the propagandist who relies more on vilification of other religions than the one he is out to propagate, for his success. The strongest reason against Hinduism borrowing the method of conversion, is that men and women who fall an easy prey to the temptations offered by the missionary, do not contribute to the vitality of a religious community which gains more than it loses by their secession. To readmit them on a formal profession is to encourage impulsive secessions. The old rule that any one who goes out stays there permanently, is the best deterrent of lightning conversions. The *Prabuddha Bharata's* article, we remarked, was timely. Conversions as a means of getting married or divorced have been on the increase for some years past. The latest and the most flagrant case is that of Sitadevi of Pithapuram who changed from Hindu to Muslim and back again from Muslim to Hindu within a couple of months. By such conversions religion is brought into contempt. If the writer in the *Prabuddha Bharata* had considered such cases he would have greatly strengthened his plea to stop conversions.

The question has become complicated by religious belief being made the basis of the political franchise. So far one has not heard of conversions on any considerable scale for the purpose of swelling the communal constituencies. But they are by no means improbable. Just as persons become converts with matrimonial objects, they may become converts to win the suffrages of constituencies. Brahmjns may return themselves as members of the scheduled castes to qualify themselves for posts in the public services reserved for these castes including memberships of the Executive Councils. Scheduled caste persons may become Sikhs to woo a Sikh constituency. Sikhs may profess Christianity for a similar purpose. As political ends and means assume, as they are doing, increasing importance in national life, religion will take a secondary and subsidiary place. Lord Minto did not realise the full implications of making religious belief the basis of the franchise, in a country where the religion of the great majority does not proselytise. The arguments for Hindus taking to proselytism, put forward by the Aryas and Hindu Missions, gain in strength by this political change. The Suddhi arguments are well-known. In a booklet entitled "The Secret of Hindu Sangathan" the writer, Swami Thirthaji Maharaj, recommends in effect that Hinduism should cast off all that is distinctive to it, good and bad, and become a replica of what he takes to be Western nationalism. Among other things, Hinduism should become "the religion of a book" like Judaism, Christianity and Islam. The book recommended for this purpose is the Bhagavad Gita with its oft-repeated emphasis on concentration on the

Inner Light. The great merit of Hinduism is that it is not the religion of a single book, that it has no dogmas, does not insist on belief even in one or many Gods, that the Gita itself lauds as the most perfect seer the founder of the system which explains the Universe without postulating God. Religion in Hinduism is the spirit of reverence, the reverent approach to Truth wherever it may lead.

#### MR. HODSON ON INDIAN POLITICS.

Mr. H. V. Hodson who was Reforms Commissioner in India for a good part of the Linlithgow regime, has contributed an article to *Foreign Affairs* (July) in which he discusses "Responsibilities in India." The substance of his thesis is that the Congress and the Muslim League are responsible for the present mess and that the British Government in India has nevertheless shown every desire to carry out its duty of "hastening as much as possible the completion of India's self-government." He argues that the need in India, if she is to escape from the opposite dangers of continued division with the British present in India or of chaos without the British, is an Indian Government, "Provided only," he writes, "that it is genuinely Indian in personnel and spirit, and reasonably well-balanced as between the different main communities and classes, an Indian Government could assume, though unrepresentative in terms of parties and elections, the same kind of power as the British easily exert now in India though under a like handicap." Then he adds that the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council was a step in this direction, and that India's progress to complete self-government will come through such measures and not out of any spectacular stroke of policy. To these who read between the lines, this is an important straw showing the way of the wind. The influence of an Indian Government of the type Mr. Hodson envisages, can arise out of two factors. One is the strength of the British power in India and the more it depends on this, in the existing circumstances, the less stable is it and the less Indian in character. The removal of the Food Member, Sir Azizul Haque, and the appointment of a new man, carried out while a debate on Food was in progress in the Central Legislature, reveals in its cynical nakedness the weakness of the Expanded Council Government. The flimsy reasons given for this extraordinary procedure show the defects of an administration which is unrepresentative in terms of parties and elections. The other factor from which an Indian Government can draw its influence is Indian opinion. If the members of the Expanded Cabinet could claim public support, they need not worry about parties and elections. In the existing political situation, they can only claim such support justifiably if they regarded themselves as members of a transition Government, anxious to end the period of transition as quickly as possible. That they are definitely not prepared for. On the contrary, there is every reason for the public to think that with the majority of them, if not all, their membership of the Viceroy's Council is the crowning event of their careers and an event which should be eked out. Such an attitude does not make for independence of thought or action. Therefore, howsoever Indian it might be in personnel, the Government of expanded councillors is not Indian in spirit, but dominated by the personality of the Governor-General for the time being.

#### A BANDRA DIARY.

Indians are a peace-loving people. They love peace so much that they are sometimes inclined to sacrifice everything to enjoy it. Not only that, they are prepared sometimes to break it out of resentment when any one presumes to shake them out of their repose. I was rather surprised to see a complaint that too much is being made of the Baroda Maharaja's backsliding. "These fellows," so the remonstrance runs, 'are going to the dogs and they will do so whatever you may say or do. The sooner they do, the better for all concerned. Then there will be a chance of the people of the States developing their manhood. Now and then among these Princes rises a good and conscientious man. Under his inspiration his State makes large strides morally and materially. He dies. His successor resumes promptly the pursuit of pleasure to destroy his predecessor's work. He begins by marrying a second and third wife. From the days of Dasaratha polygamy has been the bane of Indian dynasties. With the backsliding of the ruler, the public morale is undermined. A dry rot sets in and the whole structure is ruined from top to bottom." That is one argument for letting the ruling Princes alone, I do not agree with it. The Princes are human beings. All the ways of rehabilitation open to men are open to them equally. When a ruler misbehaves it is ten to one for lack of good advice. Those about him whose duty it is to shield him from harm, neglect their duty. They do not want to displease him. They may not acquiesce but they do not put their protest in a way which would make the most headstrong ruler pause and reflect. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, it is just this pause which prevents a catastrophe. More important, a vigilant public opinion is the best shield to protect Princes from wrong-doing. I rejoice at the volume of public opinion from one end of the country to the other which has expressed itself against the Baroda "tragedy" as a correspondent called it in the first flush of his indignation on hearing the news. I am not prepared to agree that the Princes are bound for perdition. The other argument curiously enough is advanced by a newspaper newly started in Jaipur. Sir Mirza Ismail would have been vastly amused by the ingenuity of this journal. It says that if the Maharaja had assigned a different role to the lady, no newspaper dog would have dared to bark. In plain words if he had kept her as his concubine, he would have saved himself all this yapping. Whether such a course would have been acceptable to the woman concerned, does not trouble this scribe. As for barking, I am sure *The Reformer* would have barked harder still if the Jaipur journal's suggestion was carried out. What we are concerned with is the dignity of womanhood, its honour. Perhaps these are mere words in Jaipur. But they are very real matters which lie at the root of the freedom and greatness of a country and, most of all, of India, where the Motherhood of God is as well recognised as His Fatherhood.

My friend Mr. Kopargam Ramamurti fears that this agitation may prevent the Pithapuram lady's marital happiness. Strange that he does not think of the first wife's happiness which this lady has ruined. No one has the right to be happy at another's expense. Personally I am very sorry for the Pithapuram lady. She has been the victim like so many others of ill-digested notions of freedom. But the remedy is in her hands. She must repent and restore the *status quo* in the Baroda Palace. She should say that she had erred, that she is prepared to suffer the penalty

which attends on all wrong doing, and absolve the Maharaja of all obligations and responsibilities to her. She must apologise to her first husband and to her noble father whose affection she had forfeited. I am sure that the moment she does this, the way will open for her to a happiness greater than any she had yet known. Many saints have been repentant sinners. The passionless heart, says Seeley, cannot be pure. My sympathy for the Pithapuram lady is as deep as Mr. Ramamurti's. But it does not incline me to condone her fault, the cruel wrong she has done to another member of her sex. I hope and pray that the lady will take this course. If she does, her name will be among the most reputed of Indian women instead of being the most execrated as it is today. I am sure she will gladden her father's heart by doing so. And may be who knows, her husband too will welcome her back to her legitimate home to the rejoicing of her son. I make a like appeal to the Maharaja. Men are prone to commit mistakes. Maharajas too are men, as they seem to need reminding. It is not the committing mistakes which is the cardinal sin but persisting in them after they are seen to be mistakes. That is the sin against Light for which there is no prayaschit. The Maharaja must have seen by now, if he had not known it before, that he had committed a grievous mistake against his gadi, his family, his people. No wrong is irremediable. Let the Maharaja retrace his steps, make his peace with his family and his people, and make it easy for the Pithapuram lady to make her peace with her people. I have a strong feeling that this tragic event may yet be transformed into a resplendent landmark in our social history.

Mr. Ramamurti refers to the present established practice of a Hindu wife making conversion a shortcut to divorce. He says that it is the only door open to oppressed and abandoned Hindu wives. Unfortunately, however, in many of the cases I have come across it is not the oppressed wife but the pampered one who has sought this mode of relief. For cruelty and ill-treatment there are other remedies. Where there are none they have to be endured. In this case, there is no trace of ill-treatment or oppression. Nor was the intolerable slight to a great religion indispensable in the present case to get relief. Cases have been known of wives from British India having obtained a divorce under Baroda law after the necessary domicile period in the state. The Baroda divorce law seems mostly to be availed of by British Indian wives who are tired of their husbands. Very few local cases are known to seek its aid. Justice Edgeley's decision in the Russian case was reversed by the full Bench of the Calcutta High Court for want of jurisdiction in the absence of an Indian domicile. The legal issue whether a Hindu marriage can be dissolved under Islamic law, was not only left open but their lordships recorded their opinion of the urgency of a definite decision on it. If a contract between two Hindus for money or service is not dissolved by one of the parties becoming a convert, is it reasonable that a marriage, and an indissoluble sacrament should be dissolved by one of the parties saying about a dozen words in Arabic. I regard all marriages as sacramental whatever the law or the custom in accordance with which they are contracted. To me the Muslim marriage is as much a sacrament as a Hindu marriage. So is a civil marriage. I am against divorce. The Positivist Frederic Harrison, held as regards marriage the, same belief as the Hindus. Writing of the irregular relation between George Eliot whom he held in high regard with Richard Cross, Harrison wrote:

On the general law of moral duty our position is clear. The cause to which some of us have pledged our lives (would that he and she had done so!) is labouring in every way to fortify the marriage bond; would teach the future to make it indissoluble by law, and indissoluble even by death. The future will know nothing of degrees of marriage or of any honourable union but that of the inflexible law of the land. It is meet that some suffer for the people. The moral law is infinitely more precious than the personal happiness of any: and the sufferings of exceptional cases must be borne with, resignation lest harm befall the sanctity of every home, and the moral currency be debased.

I would commend, these words—they have always seemed to me inspired—to the consideration of my friend Mr. Ramamurti.

One word as to the Special Marriage Act. The declaration under the Act merely relates to profession. Certainly the parties who marry under it, do not profess the old established religions which prohibit intermarriages. But they do not renounce their faith in the truths of the religion which underlie all religions.

RECLUSE.

#### MARRIAGE AND CONVERSION. (BY KOPARGAM RAMAMURTHI, ASKA.)

It is a great pity that the fierce light of criticism that is beating upon the throne of Baroda at the present moment is endangering the prospects of a happy married life for the newly wedded wife of the Gaekwad. But His Highness, unfortunately, occupies such an important and prominent position as a unit of organised social life that the critics may reasonably plead that their hands are practically forced by the duty which they owe to themselves and to society at large.

The question whether the lady's father, the Maharaja of Pithapuram, is still a Hindu of the Velama caste and Vaishnava sect as his Brahma friends may think, or whether Brahmoism is his "own cherished and practised creed," as he himself claims in his statement published in the *Hindu* of 21st January 1944, is of little importance in the present context, since he disapproves of the marriage and dissociates himself from it as thoroughly and sincerely as any Brahma or Hindu social reformer can wish.

Whatever opinion the critics may profess to hold about the correctness of the decree of divorce granted by the Madras judge, the fact remains that the lady became legally free to remarry from that date. The pronouncement of Mr. Justice Edgley of the Calcutta High Court in the case of Noor Jehan Begum in 1941, that the medieval Moslem law sanctioning such divorce in favour of non-Moslem converts to Islam is obsolete and opposed to public policy and unenforceable in modern India, was unanimously disapproved in 1942 by a Special Bench of the same court, consisting of the Chief Justice and two Moslem Judges, as an uncalled for expression of personal opinion, since the parties in the particular case had no Indian domicile and consequently the Judge had no jurisdiction to decide the case on its merits. The present judgment of the Madras judge is supported by many such judgments of the Calcutta and Allahabad High Courts and is in consonance with the procedure approved and recommended in I. L. R. 18 Calcutta by the great orthodox Hindu Judge, Justice Gurudas Banerji.

One point about the lady's reconversion, however, is intriguing. Her father states that her "reconversion to Hinduism" was effected "under Brahma rites." Unfortunately, Brahmoism is not recognised by the

law as part of Hinduism or of any extant religion or as a new religion either. A Hindu who joins the Brahmo Samaj "under Brahmo rites" does not cease to be a Hindu, governed by the Hindu law. Similarly, if a Moslem joins the Brahmo Samaj with due ceremony, he does not cease to be a Moslem governed by the Mahomedan law. It is only when a Hindu Brahmo or Moslem Brahmo marries under the Special Marriage Act of 1872 by renouncing the Hindu and Moslem religions and professing no other specific religion that the rules of marriage prescribed by Hindu and Muhammadan laws become inapplicable to him in respect of that particular marriage. But even then, for all other purposes, the hold of those personal laws is in no way relaxed. The Baroda marriage, though performed in Bomay, could not have been under the Special Marriage Act since the bridegroom has his first wife living. Evidently the ceremony adopted was a Hindu religious ceremony of marriage according to the caste custom of the bridegroom. If it be true, as the lady's father states, that what he calls her "reconversion to Hinduism" is nothing more than the ceremonial initiation of a Moslem lady into the Brahmo Samaj, the marriage law governing her even after the initiation was the Mahomedan law, and no Hindu marriage ceremony could make her marriage valid though the bridegroom was a Hindu. It is to be hoped, for the lady's sake, that she had a real reconversion to Hinduism through a non-Brahmo Hindu priest before her marriage with the Gaekwad.

#### VEGETARIANISM.

You may be a born vegetarian or be made one or may have vegetarianism thrust on you. Born vegetarians are those who have not tasted fleshy foods for countless generations like the Jains. Vegetarianism is for them as much a matter of habit as their gait. You can hardly blame a man for not liking a particular kind of food.

Then there are the sick and the unwilling children of vegetarians on whom a vegetarian diet is forced by the doctor or their stern parents. All my sympathy goes to them.

The vegetarian by choice has all the enthusiasm of a convert. The born vegetarian has also a similar fanaticism and, like Gandhiji, a strong desire to convert the non-vegetarians to his faith, or I should say, fate. Such a vegetarian looks down on the flesh-eaters as if they were misguided men. I readily admit that many flesh-eaters have a similar over-bearing attitude towards vegetarians or even other limited flesh-eaters. The Chinese is despised by the Westerner for eating rats, beetles and the small fry of creation. This is absurd. In Africa I have seen certain native tribes catching locusts and eating them up alive! I have admiration for such a healthy appetite. It is no more reprehensible or savage than eating a raw carrot or radish or salad pulsating with life.

What is the vegetarian's case? It is that we have no right to take another life. This is not a question of non-violence. For the vegetarian is not averse to knocking down a mad dog attacking him or killing a venomous snake or shooting a lion, the hero of a thousand kills.

There is no absolute right not to be killed. We have to kill dangerous creatures every day—be they mosquitoes or worms or plague rats or vicious men. Today the most ardent vegetarians in Europe think it their duty to kill men who happen to be Nazis. When the vegetarian takes medicine, he does so to destroy a particular species of bacteria. There is

murder going on in the vegetarian's body as much as in the meat-eater's.

The vegetarian may then say that you may kill only in self-defence. But we wear many things and in cold countries must wear things made out of animals, hides and some animals have, therefore, to be killed. And then there is not much difference in principle between killing animals for self-defence and killing them for self-preservation. You eat to live and you may kill to live. The vegetarian is ready to kill to preserve human life. If human life is thus given a value above any other life, the vegetarians' case is as good as lost. The true vegetarian must, as Gandhiji admits, fraternise with the deadly cobra and meekly let himself be eaten up by a lion or tiger or submit to be gored to death by a bull or rhino. He must not let malaria germs be wiped out or plague rats be killed. The truth is that, if man had not set a higher price on his life, he would have been wiped out by the ferocious beasts or have lived in ever-growing fear of them as do "the lesser breeds without the law". It is because we have a high regard for human life and its possibilities that we have never scrupled to kill or destroy all that is in man's way. That is why the vegetarian's jibe about eating human flesh is misconceived. When any species of animals reach the high level of man, it would be wrong to eat them. If it is conceded that we may kill animals for our good, must we kill any animal or only some species?

If you chop off the head of such a loveable creature as the goat or such an unassuming animal as the pig, you may kill the deer and the pigeon too. But what is for our good is distinct from what pleases the palate. The familiar distinction between necessities and luxuries is in point. Perhaps on that ground the wanton butchery of small birds or the killing of animals for sport may be objected to. So also such animals as have a greater degree of family feeling and sense of companionship may be spared. The peacock who mourns his lost mate, or the dove who laments his missing bride or brood, should not be killed save for strict necessity.

In this exception we find the essence of the matter. It is not the killing as such that is wrong but the cruelty accompanying it. I hate cruelty in any form and wish that the slaughter-house may devise a quicker way of killing the animals. But the vegetarian is not free from the vice of cruelty. Vegetarians who will not allow the killing of wandering and starving street dogs but build homes for prolonging their life when countless children are underfed or not fed at all, vegetarians who will underpay and starve their servants while lavishly spending money over a 'panjarapoles' or homes for disabled or aged cattle or horses, are more cruel than the proverbial schoolboy who drowns cats.

The animals killed in slaughter-houses are happier dead than alive with so little to eat and so much to put up with in nature, "red in tooth and claw". We may be doing them service by eating them up.

ITHURIEL.

#### BRITISH AIMS IN AFRICA.

The well-known American publicist, Pierre van Paassen, writes in the *Protestant* for August-September 1943:

With the defeat of the German and Italian armies in the Near and Middle East an accomplished fact, and with the elimination under way from that part of

the world of France, her last imperialist rival, by the military occupation of Syria, Great Britain is now preparing to turn the Arabian Peninsula and African Continent into an exclusive sphere of interest. She does this for the reason that after the war the British Empire will, of a necessity, have to shorten its lines. It cannot, under present circumstances, hope to compete successfully with the United States and its stupendous and unrivalled industrial apparatus. The South American market will fall to the U. S. A. China, too, in all likelihood, will be lost. America, which must do the lion's share in the fighting to recover Asia from the Japanese usurper, is not going to come empty-handed out of the armed struggle in the Pacific. Britain will, therefore, have to concentrate on the exploitation of the raw materials and the markets of Africa where she now holds sway undisputed and unchallenged from the Cape to Cairo, and where empire upon empire, Egypt, the Sudan, Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somaliland, Rhodesia, Madagascar, Bechuanaland and the vast, virtually untapped resources of the Union of South Africa, await the work of man. If it is taken into account that there is probably to be added to this the African territories of a France ruled by a government headed by M. Giraud or another agent, or agents, of French big business, which is intended to be a mere adjunct of British imperialism in the post-war era, Britain's position in the Dark Continent will be immensely strengthened and be unmatched by that of any other Power.

In order to secure complete freedom of movement in Africa, the British Government is now trying to clear up the political situation in the Arabian world because of the Arabian country's proximity to the Suez Canal, the Red Sea and the Southern Mediterranean, which are the main arteries and stepping stones of empire to the antipodean Dominions and to India where the wealth and power of the British world system are still located.

Now, it so happens that the executive branch of British imperialism, i. e., the Colonial Office, looks upon Palestine and her building of the Jewish National Home in that country as an obstacle to the maintenance of peace and tranquility in the Near East. Not, to be sure, because of some ineradicable Judeo-Arabic incompatibility or other—this is merely an excuse. All differences between Jews and Arabs in the Holy Land could be straightened out in a day with a minimal display of goodwill on the part of the Colonial Office—but because the Jews with their modern methods of industry, their raising of the cultural level of the inhabitants and improving their material status set an extremely bad example not only to Arabs, but also to Persians, Indians, and all Africans and Asiatics now directly or indirectly under foreign imperialist tutelage.

The peace and tranquility British imperialism wants in the Near East is peace and tranquility on the model of India. The ideal situation in the Near East from an imperialist point of view is a semi-feudal, predominantly agricultural state of affairs administered by a native class of landowners who, like the Maharajahs of India, would keep the peoples in poverty, in a purposely depressed economy, at a low cultural level, so that they can be used as a vast inert mass to be swayed now this way, then that, but always in the interests, exclusively, of the dominating imperialist Power.

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

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## NOTES.

**The Viceroy's Address:—**His Excellency the Viceroy addressed the Indian Legislature on Thursday. Time and space permit only a brief impressionist notice of it in this week's *Reformer*. Lord Wavell made it clear that as at present advised Government are strongly disinclined to seek a solution of the Indian problem in the direction of Pakistan. The geographical, strategic and economic features of the problem are all against division and for the political unity of the country. This places the burden of proof that they do nothing of the kind or that geographical, economic and strategic considerations have no place in the consideration of the political claim for Pakistan, firmly on the leaders of the Muslim League. Lord Wavell while insisting on the withdrawal of the All India Congress Committee's resolution of August 1942, explained that no recantation in sackcloth and ashes was demanded but only some indication on the part of the leaders of their disposition to try the door of co-operation as an alternative to non-cooperation which has so far not led to the desired goal. As we have pointed out more than once the word "failed" is inappropriate as "the tired waves vainly beating" may be precursors of the main which comes flooding in behind them. Every day these men are kept in detention brings nearer the day when they will have to be released. Government is in the position of a pregnant woman. The day of delivery cannot be indefinitely put off. It would put the Congress leaders on their honour for Government to release them unconditionally. Mrs. Sarojini's interpretation should not be taken as normal in the case of Gandhiji and all other Congress leaders. Any undertaking taken under duress is invalid legally and morally. Congress leaders may also consider if, after the Viceroy's assurance, there is any principle involved in not seeking an alternative method in the direction of co-operation. His Excellency said that the Cripps' scheme still held the field. How can that scheme be reconciled with his view of Indian unity, leaving as it does the provinces to decide whether they would join or not the Indian Union?

**Another Malaviya Conference:—**Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya with characteristic solicitude has undertaken to make a last effort, so far as he is concerned, to solve the complex problems involved in what is known as the political deadlock. We confess we are not altogether happy that another

Conference is to be convened for this purpose. The Home Member of the Government of India has declared that there is no deadlock. The Government machinery is working overtime without interruption. It is only if it ceases to work that Sir Reginald Maxwell will recognise that there is a deadlock. That in order to keep the machinery going, most of the principles of constitutional government have had to be thrown overboard, that ordinances have to be issued creating new offences and tribunals to try them, some thousands of men and women who are not guilty of any offence involving moral turpitude are under detention without trial against the elementary rule of British jurisprudence, these to him do not matter. Government have laid down their condition for the release of detenus. Gandhiji must recant and revoke the resolution of the All India Congress Committee. In his last speech in the Legislative Assembly the Home Member denied having ever credited the Congress leaders with pro-Japanese leanings. What would the forthcoming Conference do? So far as we can judge it will do nothing. Every attempt at a settlement which fails, adds to the acerbity of public sentiment and makes a final settlement more remote.

**Baroda Backsliding:—**The Governor-General has disallowed the resolution of which the Hon. Mr. Motilal had given notice recommending that the Gaikwad should be divested of his ruling powers because he has taken a second wife during the life time of the first. This was expected and it is surprising that the President of the Council of State thought it necessary to submit the resolution to the Governor-General instead of disposing of it himself. Baroda, so far as the Indian Legislature is concerned, is as much a foreign country as Afghanistan. It is no more competent to discuss the matrimonial adventures of the ruler of the one than of the other. That is the constitutional position. From the larger point of view also, the Council of State is hardly the proper forum for canvassing the unhappy incident. The Maharaja is as much entitled as any other Hindu to add to his number of wives under the law applicable to them. The special circumstances of his case arise out of a law passed by the Baroda Legislative Council and assented to by him. The Government of India has nothing to do with the violation of a Baroda law. These circumstances include the procedure adopted to secure the abrogation of a Hindu marriage by invoking Islamic law and, to a minor degree, the procedure by which the reconversion from the Islamic fold was effected. These are matters not for the Legislature but for the Courts. Indian public opinion, however, is not restricted in its jurisdiction. The Maharaja's action is a perfectly legitimate subject on which public opinion can and should adjudicate. Even a despot who recognises no law is subject to public opinion. It is in the discharge of this duty and the exercise of this right that Indian public opinion, has pronounced on the Maharaja's conduct.

**Mr. Savarkar's Statement :—**Mr. V. D. Savarkar has thought fit to issue a statement to the Press in which, with a formal phrase of disapprobation of the second marriage, he deprecates making political capital out of it. We are not able to imagine what possible political capital can be made of it. If he had in mind Mr. Motilal's disallowed resolution, he should have known that the Government of India does not care a farthing how many of the commandments a feudatory breaks provided that he abides by his obligation to carry out the wishes of the Paramount Power. So there is no possibility of anybody trying to make political capital out of the Baroda incident. It is for the Maharaja himself to judge whether and in what way his actions have changed his relations, not legal alone, with his people. The *Bombay Chronicle* published in its issue on Thursday a summary of the Maharaja's address to the Baroda Legislative Council in which he thought it necessary to assert that not his Council (of Minister evidently) but he himself is the ultimate authority in the State. There is far so as we are aware no precedent for this stressing of what in ordinary course requires no stressing. It is Mr. Savarkar, by bringing in Hindu States as possible sufferers from him, imagined attempt to make political capital, who does this by his irrelevant intervention in a matter, the issues involved in which, he does not understand. Hindu States are not well served by such friends. Nor is the Hindu Mahasabha of which he is the titular President.

**Adultery Offence :—**The Indian Penal Code makes adultery with a married woman punishable. But it prescribes no punishment for the woman. In fact, it expressly exempts her from prosecution as an abettor. This is in direct conflict with Indian sentiment which holds the woman to be the greater offender. Mr. Kazmi sought permission last week to introduce in the Legislative Assembly a Bill to amend the Penal Code so as to make the woman also punishable for the offence. This was opposed by Mrs. Renuka Ray on the lines of the reasoning of the framers of the Penal Code, namely, that as polygamy is allowed to men it would be unfair to punish wives for adultery. "Give women the right to marry several husbands" was the gist of Mrs. Ray's argument "and then punish wives for adultery. So long as women are not allowed to marry more than one husband it will be instituting a double standard of morality, one for men and another for women, urged Mrs. Ray. We rather think that it would tend to equalise the position of wives and husbands if adultery were omitted from the Penal Code as it was in the first draft. Few people will commit adultery because it ceases to be an offence. Few are deterred from committing it because it is punishable under the law. As the husband alone has the right to prosecute, very few aggrieved husbands care to air their shame in the courts. They prefer to cast off the "polluted vessel" and take another wife as their personal law permits them to do even if the wife is perfectly innocent. The law is practically a dead letter for this reason, except where there is a vindictive motive or the intention to blackmail. The Assembly refused permission to introduce the Bill. The circumstances which in the opinion of the framers of the final draft made it desirable to make adultery an offence, have nearly almost disappeared at the present day.

**Senate and the Sophia College :—**We deal at some length in an article in this issue on the contradictory resolution passed by the Senate of the Bombay University regarding the Sophia College. A

correspondent explains in the *Bombay Chronicle* how this happened. He says that after the disaffiliating resolution had been carried, it was late in the evening, several members left in the belief that the second resolution continuing the affiliation for a further period of three years, would not be moved or if moved would be disallowed by the Vice-Chancellor. It is a rule observed in all public bodies that no motion contravening another already passed should be brought up at one meeting. The Vice-Chancellor, however, allowed it presumably because it had been recommended by the Syndicate. Why the Syndicate recommended it, he did not explain. It seems to us that neither the Senate nor the Syndicate seriously intended the disaffiliation motion to be more than a gesture. The Sophia College did nothing more than what every Missionary College would do if it got the chance. In this connection a friend sends us a copy of a statement by Miss Pilloo Nanavatty who offered to provide for instruction in the Parsee religion to Parsee students of the College. The Mother Superior turned down the proposal as being inconsistent with the objects of the authorities who control the College.

**The Justice Party :—**There is a conflict in the ranks of the Justice Party in Madras on the question of leadership. After the retirement of the Raja of Bobbili from the Party, its fortunes suffered a severe reverse. The success of the Congress Party at the General Elections sealed its fate for the time being. Mr. Rajagopalachary's ill-advised measure of compulsory Hindi teaching in middle schools, revived the Party. The slogan of Dravida for Dravidians was raised. A demand for Dravidistan in the South on the analogie of Pakistan in the North, was put forward. The Brahmins of South India were arbitrarily assigned an Aryan racial origin while all the rest of the population was equally arbitrarily designated Dravidians. The Justice Party assumed for itself the role of defenders of the South against the North and of Dravidians against Aryans. The leadership of the Party since the Raja of Bobbili's retirement, has devolved on Mr. Ramaswami Naicker, a gentleman of great energy and strength of conviction. Mr. Naicker is also leader of what is called Self-Respect Movement one of the planks in whose platform, if not the principal one, is denial of God. A correspondent writing in the *Sunday Observer*, the organ of the militant section of the Justice Party, complains that the atheistical propaganda of Mr. Ramaswami Naicker is seriously prejudicing the cause of the Justice Party with the masses. The *Observer* in a leading article calls for the replacement of Mr. Naicker in the leadership by Sir Shanmukham Chetty. It would appear that at a public meeting recently Mr. Naicker criticised the late Raja of Panagal, who succeeded Mr. Thiagaraya Chetty in the leadership, for retaining the emblems of caste such as the sacred thread and the tuft of hair which Hindus wear on their heads. This has infuriated the *Observer* which denounces Mr. Naicker and demands his resignation. One of the speakers at a meeting called to felicitate Mr. Naicker on his birthday, referring to the suggestion, said that Sir Shanmukham Chetty was a disciple of Mr. Naicker and shared his views about God and social reform. It would be a good thing if as a result of these wrangles the Justice Party is reconstituted on a broad basis of social reform and political progress.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, February 19, 1944.

## POLITICAL REVOLUTION OR ECONOMIC PLAN?

Mr. A. D. Shroff one of the signatories of the "Fifteen Year Plan of Economic Development" recently issued in Bombay, addressed a meeting of the Progressive Group about the Plan. He began by denying that the signatories were under the illusion that the mere publication of the Plan would bring them within sight of the Promised Land. He disclaimed originality or perfection for the Plan. He paid a tribute to the National Planning Committee appointed by the Congress six years ago and to the work of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, its Chairman and Professor K. T. Shah, its Secretary. Mr. Shroff expressed satisfaction at the comments and criticisms which the Plan had elicited. He declared

The Plan had therefore performed the service of enabling the country to focus its attention on the improvement of the standard of living in the concrete form of making available adequate food, clothing, shelter, medical relief and education to every man, woman and child in the country.

In other words, the Plan of Economic Development is a plan for Social Security, in fact, a Beveridge Plan for India. Why the signatories have preferred not to call it by that name, it is not clear. This is not the only instance of the signatories shrinking from calling the Plan by the right name. Mr. Shroff referred to the two assumptions on which the Plan was based. These were that the country should be treated as a single economic unit and that there should be a democratic national Government. In other words, this Economic Plan of fifteen years cannot begin to operate until after India has a unitary or at least unified national democratic Government which no one can foresee when she would have. India cannot be a single economic unit unless she is a single political unit. The signatories evidently wish to avoid rousing the antagonism of the Muslim League by stressing the political unity without which their Plan cannot emerge from its paper stage. Not the antagonism of the Muslim League only. The National Congress is equally with the League committed to Provincial autonomy of which the country is having painful experience. The Muslim League and the Congress are formidable enough. But the present Government of India is also for perpetuating the present provincial anarchy miscalled autonomy. Sir J. P. Srivastava addressing the Policy Committee of the Post War Reconstruction Committee last month said :

It is necessary to remember that most of the Reconstruction subjects are a provincial responsibility and that though we may wish to assist and advise as much as possible, the All India Plan cannot be prepared by the centre, but must be built up out of the Provincial Plans and, of course, of the States. It is not a question of the Centre issuing orders but rather of co-ordination and active assistance which involves the vital question of finance.

If a national democratic government was established on the basis of provincial autonomy, India can not be treated as a single economic unit even apart from Pakistan. The first thing then is to scrap the Government of India Act and enact another Act on a totally different plan. The political constitution must be overhauled before anything can be done. Who is to do this? The signatories to the Fifteen Years Plan are evidently not anxious to take it on their hands. They seem to suggest that the Congress might do this. But as we said, the Congress is not only provincial-minded but it has also ideas on industrial development which are not in all respects identical with those of the signatories. Mr. Shroff's own observations show

that this Economic Plan is really a political manifesto. We think that it should have been framed and named as such. If the signatories thought that the word "economic" would unite all parties in India on a common platform, they were right to some extent. But it would raise outside India and especially in Great Britain and not improbably in the United States also antagonism in circles where political freedom would be an inspiring watchword. Mr. Shroff's own words are not reassuring. The whole concept of Government, he said, will have to undergo revolutionary change. Why not say plainly there will have to be a revolution? And a revolution too securing not greater freedom but more restrictions. As illustrative of "reasonable restrictions" on individual liberty, Mr. Shroff said that parents could not be allowed to continue their doubtful enjoyment of the freedom not to send their children to school. This is rather a quaint way of expressing the inability of parents to send their children to a school, first because there are not enough schools and, secondly, because the country is as yet far from having universal free education. The restriction here is for want of schools and not from want of inclination on the part of parents. Indian parents do not cherish as a part of their freedom their inability to send their children to schools which are either non-existent or are beyond their means. The second restriction of individual freedom mentioned by Mr. Shroff as illustrative is ominous. He said:—

Agriculturists might have to be compelled, if persuasion fails to carry on farming on a cooperative Collective basis in order to secure maximum returns. The State would have also have to determine the prior claims of one industry over another the localities and size of individual units, conditions of employment of labour and the control of prices to eliminate profiteering.

Compulsory Collective farming, has been adopted as a policy of State in only one State and the Government there can not be described as national or democratic. Mr. Shroff should read the account in the friendly pages of the Webbs of the methods by which Collective farming was introduced in Soviet Russia. No Government which is not inspired by Marxist ruthlessness can repeat that process in India. Most of the signatories of the Fifteen Year Plan, said Mr. Shroff, were capitalists. The capitalists of India with one or two ceptions, are chiefly international financiers, are incapable of exerting the pressure on the Indian peasantry which the Soviet regime did on Russian peasants. If the signatories intended all that Mr. Shroff conveyed to the Progressives, they have not been fair to the public to hide their intentions under the innocent title of an Economic Plan.

## CALENDAR REFORM.

Sir,—Apropos of your comments on the *Indian Witness's* plan for making the New Year begin on the same week day every time, it is doubtful if even Europeans view the question in the same light as American calendar reformers. The Christian calendar has been changed at least twice in Europe and every time the aim was to bring it in accord with seasonal periods. This is even now the aim of European calendar reformers. J. B. S. Haldane writes in his "Science in Peace and War," "We need not worry because the year is nothing absolute. That does not mean that it is a human invention like the calendar. It is a natural occurrence and, therefore, has no sharp boundaries. Our ancestors began with too simple a theory of it. This has had constantly to be improved because it did not give a calendar in full agreement with the season."

SCRUTATOR.

### THE SOPHIA COLLEGE AFFAIR.

The Senate of the Bombay University passed at its sitting last Saturday two resolutions. One of these recommended the disaffiliation of the Sophia College for Women and the other the continuation of the affiliation of the same College for a further period of three years. Both the resolutions were recommended by the Syndicate of the University. Dewan Bahadur Krishnalal M. Jhaveri who was in charge of the second resolution, declined to move it in view of the resolution just previously passed by the Senate after a five hours' debate. It was moved and seconded by two members who were not members of the Syndicate and passed. In the course of the debate on the disaffiliation resolution a member quoted Mother Superior Anderson Principal of the College, to the effect that the Director of Public Instruction, Dr. Moos, had told her that the final decision in the matter rested with Government and that she need not worry. Dr. Moos who was present at the Senate meeting, when challenged, preferred to remain silent. It was wrong on the part of the Principal of an affiliated College to go behind the University when a question concerning her institution was under consideration, with a view to ascertain, if not to influence, Government action in the exercise of its power of veto. It was wrong on the part of the Director of Public Instruction who is an Executive Officer to anticipate directly or indirectly the action of Government even before a question had been dealt with by the University. Dr. Moos's indiscretion is calculated to compromise Government in its relation to the University. That apart, Government obviously cannot sanction both the resolutions passed by the Senate, the one disaffiliating and the other continuing the affiliation of the Sophia College. The fact that the Senate at the same sitting and within a few minutes of each other passed the two resolutions, can only mean that the Senate left the moral responsibility for the final decision to Government with whom rests the legal responsibility. In the circumstances, Government cannot be expected to endorse the resolution disaffiliating the College. The Senate by its paradoxical action has left no alternative for Government but to sanction the continuance of affiliation.

It is impossible to believe that the Senate was not aware of this consequence of its contradictory resolutions. What then was the purpose in passing the disaffiliating resolution and why did the Senate waste five precious hours in discussing it? There can be only one answer to the questions. The majority for disaffiliation was not wholly a majority by conviction. This is also shown by the fact that at the open voting and the subsequent ballot the resolution was lost and it was at the second ballot—the necessity for which is not clear—that the resolution was carried. Some who voted for it, evidently hoped that Government would veto it or at least postpone indefinitely the disposal of it. The incident is a testimony and a tribute to the dominating influence of the Parsees in the Bombay University as in the Bombay Corporation. As a rule Parsees are inclined to take a liberal, not to say latitudinarian, view on religious and social questions. But for the reason indicated in the *Reformer* last week, they are very sensitive to influences which seem even superficially to affect the solidarity of their own small community. If the two converts had been Hindus, it is certain that there would have been not a ripple to disturb the peace of mind of the Mother Superior or the Senators. The Hindus would not have minded the apostasy of two adolescent girls. If their relatives and friends sought to raise an agitation

over their conversion, they would not have found Fellows of the University who were prepared to antagonise the powerful missionary element in the University. The first impulse of the Hindu mind when anything goes wrong, is to embark on an introspective investigation regarding one's own responsibility and it is seldom that it finds it necessary to account for mishaps as due to causes and agencies external to itself. Christian Missions have been exploiting this passive and self-accusatory predisposition of Hindus to the utmost. They have carefully avoided hurting Muslim and, in Bombay Parsee, susceptibilities. Mother Superior Anderson was evidently unaware of this tacit convention. Hence all the pother.

The incident has a lesson and a warning to the Parsees. They cannot hope permanently to maintain the integrity of their ancient community by the exercise of their secular influence in Bombay. For one thing, Bombay is a very small part of India and the world and; for another, secular influences are powerless against the deep-lying forces of our spiritual nature. Two or three years ago a Parsee High Priest broadcast on the Bombay Radio the startling proposition that the Zoroastrian faith inculcated the doctrine of a comfortable life as a cardinal article. If he was right, Zoroastrianism is a civilisation and not a religion. Religion and renunciation are two words for the same central principle. Zoroastrianism is no exception. Expositions such as that referred to, however have an unfortunate effect. They give outsiders an altogether erroneous impression. An American Professor, during his visit to Bombay formed the impression that among Parsees the rich man was the great man.

The agitation over the Sophia College affair has a significance extending beyond the conversion of two girls. It is the expression of a widespread dissatisfaction with the role of Missionary institutions vis-à-vis the movement for national freedom and self-expression. It expresses the resentment felt at Indian youth having to depend upon eleemosynary institutions controlled by foreigners who are out to destroy the ancient cultures and civilisation of Asia. Individual missionaries there are who command high respect, but the aim of Missions to convert the heathen is out-of-date. Moreover, in the post-war world, the Christian churches will have ample scope for evangelical work in their own lands and among their own people. It is a sad thought that if Europe had been truly Christian, there would have been no world wars. A national Government of India like all national Governments, will assume undivided responsibility for the education and health of its people. We suggested last week that the Government and Universities should cease to permit the starting of new institutions controlled by foreign agencies. Sir Jogendra Singh, we trust, will realise the need for this step.

### SPECIAL MARRIAGE ACT.

Sir, Both Mr. Ramamurti and Recluse cite instances of religious declaration required of parties marrying under the Act. Gour in his Hindu Code cites a decision of the Calcutta High Court that the declaration under the Special Marriage Act is effective only for the purpose of the Act and does not involve a renunciation of Hinduism.

—Hindu.



## SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYAR.\*

There is no name which is held in higher respect than that of Sir Sivaswami in India. His opinions on social and political questions are received as authoritative interpretations of the best Indian thought. Only last week, Mr. Justice Divatia, speaking at the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan on "Hindu Culture in Modern Life" quoted from Sir Sivaswami's "The Evolution of Hindu Moral Ideas" his view that the great handicap under which Hinduism suffers is its load of rituals and ceremonial observances, as that of an eminent modern Hindu. Two years ago an American Professor wrote to me that they were bringing out a complete edition of Edmund Burke's Works and requesting that books and articles on Burke written by Indians might be sent to him for incorporation in the work. Burke, the Professor said, regarded his work for India as even more important than his efforts to secure better Government to the North American colonies and thus avert their secession from the British Commonwealth, and it was therefore likely that Indians would have written largely about his political philosophy. My enquiries showed that although Burke's influence on India political thought was evident in many writings and speeches of Indian leaders and also in their programmes for reforms in Indian administration, there was no single book or essay in which an attempt was made to appraise Burke's political philosophy. I mention this because it seems to me that Sir Sivaswami's influence on Indian thought cannot be estimated by the number of books or other publications specially dealing with it, although it is widely diffused and can be traced in many phases of Indian movements in our time. The explanation is simple. In these days every one who seeks a public audience must speak in the name of some organisation, however tenuous and mythical it may be. Sir Sivaswami has, so far as I know, never belonged to any organisation. He has never spoken from the Congress platform. He has never presided at a Social Conference. He has never been associated with any of the religious and quasi-religious movements which, in their time, attracted considerable popularity. He has throughout been a consistent individualist. In fact, he would seem to have an aversion to popular agitations. "Playing to the gallery" he has never done. On the contrary, he has sometimes appeared to adopt a view just to avoid finding himself a popular idol. He is a courageous thinker prepared to follow his light wherever it may lead him. I remember about fifty years ago he was persuaded to preside at one of the public meetings of the Madras Hindu Social Reform Association of which I was a Secretary. The meeting was held in the Anderson Hall and the subject was the education of women. Today there are not enough schools to accommodate the large number of girls seeking education. They are overflowing into schools originally meant for boys alone. Fifty years ago it was a different story. Even educated men were then arguing that if girls learnt how to read and write they would write love letters and the sanctity of the home would be undermined. Reformers had replied that this was not a necessary consequence and that Indian girls would not abuse the "privilege" of being able to use pen and paper. Sivaswami Aiyar took the breath away from some veteran reformers by his bold declaration that even if Indian women wrote love letters and the Indian homestead was in danger of losing its sanctity, the risk must be taken rather than leave one half of the population in darkness and ignorance. I have

ever since remembered this observation of Sivaswami's as one of the most intrepid that I have heard. It was unfortunate that Sir Sivaswami, holding such views would not actively associate himself with the men then a mere handful without position and without resources, who were fighting for the education of women and other cognate reforms which stood in the way of their education. I am writing of what he was fifty years ago. He has no doubt since thawed. Sir Sivaswami has maintained this attitude of splendid isolation though in later years he could not have maintained it with the same rigidity. Sir Sivaswami Aiyar's "Indian Constitutional Problems" is a classic. A new edition revised and brought up to-date, will be of very great value to discussion of post-war reconstruction problems. The book was published in 1928. The chapters on the Central and Provincial Governments have received emphatic confirmation from current developments. Sir Sivaswami's plea for a strong centre with the utmost autonomy to the provinces by devolution, may be expected to find more acceptance today from open-minded publicists than it did at the discussions at the Round Table Conference and in Parliament during the passage of the Government of India Act of 1935. The chapters on Defence will require the largest revision. Those on Indian States may also be advantageously touched up. The question of the protection of minority interests has also taken on a new phase since the idea of Pakistan, thrown originally as a challenge, has become complicated by the compromising overtures of some leading Congress men. In his Preface to "Indian Constitutional Problems" Sir Sivaswami observes:—

The growing estrangement between the government and the people of British India is a source of sincere sorrow to persons like myself who have been firm believers in the value of the British connection. I can only point out the dangers ahead and the remedies which seem necessary and practicable for the purpose of putting an end to the unrest in the country. But the chances are that the Government will be unable to distinguish friends from foes and will regard all criticism as equally inspired by the spirit of hostility to the British connection. The reactionary friends the Government have, have always endeavoured to asperse the advocates of political reform as self-seeking agitators indifferent to the welfare of the country and much less in touch with their countrymen than the members of the ruling race. To all such criticisms one can afford to be perfectly indifferent. It is sufficient to have done one's duty to the best of one's lights.

The supporters of the Hoare scheme embodied in the Government of India Act, again and again declared that there was no alternative scheme before the public. Sir Sivaswami's book contained the outlines of a complete scheme which, had it been adopted in its main lines, would have very much more helped forward the political advancement of the country than the Hoare scheme which has crumbled at its first contact with the realities of world politics. This is especially true of the relations between the Centre and the Provinces which the Act deliberately reduced to a farce. Sir Sivaswami entertained the hope that the conferment of Dominion status on India might retrieve the situation and bring peace and contentment to the Indian people. I am wondering if he is still of the same opinion.

Bandra,  
December, 8, 1943.

K. NATARAJAN.

\*Written for the Memorial Volume to Sir Sivaswami Aiyar on his 80th birthday.

## THE ARYA SAMAJ.

Sir, Recently two notes have appeared in your esteemed paper ('Satyarth Prakash' in the issue dated 1st January, 1944 and 'Arya Samaj and Brahmosamaj' in the issue dated January 22) touching upon some aspects of Aryasamaj movement. These notes are very thought provoking but unfortunately you have raised some points which may create some misapprehensions about the founder of Aryasamaj. A critical study of the original works of Swami Dayanand does not support these points. Today, I shall confine myself to only two points:—

1. The founder of Arya Samaj was intolerant and ignorant of other religions.

2. Swami Dayananda only accepted the sacrificial part of the Vedas.

An impartial and comparative study of Swami Dayanand's works leads one to the views quite contrary to the above-mentioned points. I shall deal with them respectively and very briefly.

The myth of Swami Dayanand's intolerance was given the wide publicity in the last twenties by Mahatma Gandhi. What is intolerance? Is it intolerance 'to be as harsh as truth,' to state one's opinion sincerely and boldly which may be unpalatable to others? Is it intolerance to expose the follies and condemn the evil practices going in the name of religion? If this is intolerance, every reformer is intolerant. Swami Dayanand was far more tolerant than other religious reformers in this respect. Zarthusra denounced in unequivocal and strong words the polytheists and Deva-worshippers of his age (see Yas. XLVIII, 10, Yas. XLIX 4, Yas. XXXII 3). Yasna XII contains a formula by which the ancient Iranians were received into the new religion founded by Zarthusra. It is the strongest denunciation of devas (gods of the Aryan Community according to Dr. Haug). The new convert declares, "I forsake the Devas, the wicked, bad, wrongful originators of mischief, the most baneful, destructive and basest of beings" (Martin Haug's Essays on the Religion of Parsis P. 173). Even Buddha was intolerant with Devadutta and called him the Dead (Devadutta Sutta). Jews showed practical intolerance towards other faiths. This is the treatment for the followers of other gods in Jewish Scriptures—"Thou shalt not consent unto him (followers of other gods), nor hearken unto him, neither shall thou spare, neither shall thou conceal him.

But Thou shalt surely kill him, thine hand shall be first upon him to put him to death and afterwards the hand of all the people." (Deuteronomy 13/18,19.)

In the 17th chapter of the same book, there is a detailed description of the examination of idolators and the punishment of putting them to death.

Jesus Christ, the apostle of peace was very harsh in his criticism of Scribes and Pharisees. He has used abusive language for them. The 23rd Chapter of the Gospel of St. Mathew is a fine example of his criticism. He calls them fools, blinds, whited sepulchers, serpents and generation of vipers. In biblical parlance serpent is the strongest word of abuse because it stands as an emblem of wickedness, cruelty and treachery. Jesus Christ and John the Baptist have used the word more than once (Mat. 3/7, 12/34). St. Paul called his opponents dogs. St. Augustine supporting the suppression of Donatists as heretics who were perfectly right in their demands, provided the first reasoned defence of the persecution of Christians by Christians. His teaching is well summarised by Macaulay in his essay on Sir James Mackintosh. "I am in the right and you are in the wrong. When you are the stronger you ought to tolerate me, for it is your duty to tolerate the truth.

But when I am the stronger, I shall persecute you; for it is my duty to persecute error." Later on his duty to persecute error was fully developed in the Inquisition and took the toll of millions of innocent men and women. Martin Luther was excessively violent and intolerant in his attacks on Popery. Luther himself admitted the fact in the Diet of Worms. 'I frankly confess that I may have attacked them with more acrimony than is becoming my ecclesiastical profession.' Luther called Pope Leo, the ravenous wolf, corsair, pirate, dog, the most holy adversary of Christ and devil's apostle. He called Henry VIII a hog and Dr. Eck an ass (D'Aubigne—History of the reformation of the 16th Century. Vol II page 92-93).

Swami Dayanand is very mild in his criticism in comparison with these religious reformers. He never resorts to abusive language like Zarthusra, Jesus Christ and Martin Luther. His object is to reveal the truth. He says 'we have incorporated in this book whatever is true in all religions and in harmony with their highest teachings but have refuted whatever is false in them. We have exposed to the view of men-learned or otherwise-all evil practices whether resorted secretly or openly. This will help our readers to discuss religious questions in a spirit of love and embrace the one true religion.' "Intro. to Light of Truth Pages III, IV). In the concluding paragraph of the introduction he observes "Just as we have studied the Jain and Buddhist Scriptures, the Puranas, the Bible and the Quran with an unbiassed mind and have accepted what is good in them and rejected what is false and, endeavoured for the betterment of all mankind it behoves all good men to do likewise. (Ibid Page VII). A cursory perusal of the last chapters of the Light of Truth is enough to show that Swami Dayanand is not a carping critic. Whenever he sees a noble precept in any religion he appreciates it. He has praised Brahmosamajists for their efforts against idolatry (11th chap), Jains for their hygienic law of filtering the water, their compassion even on the smallest insects in the 12th Chapter. In the 14th Chapter, he appreciates certain sayings of the holy Quran regarding the respect of elders, monotheism and resurrection (Vide Criticism No. 71, 122, 123) Swami Dayanand was anything but intolerant. In the 12th Chapter, he has criticised the intolerant attitude of Jains towards other religions and he remarks that the wise man praises the beauties and condemns the follies of every religion. Is it intolerance? His criticism of the holy Bible pales into insignificance when compared with that of modern critics of Bible. He denounces the follies whether they are found in Puranas or in other sacred book. Criticising the immaculate conception of Jesus Christ, he says that this story is as impossible as that recorded in the Puranas about Kunti being conceived by the Sun. But Paine says that She (Mary) is to speak the plain language, debauched by a ghost under the impious pretence of Luke (1/35) (Age of Reason P. 56.) Swami Dayananda said that the paradise as described in the Holy Quran is in respect better than this world and it is like the heaven described in Puranas but Sir Sayyad Ahmad, after enumerating all the charms of paradise, remarks that if this is paradise, our brothels are without exaggeration thousand times more decent (Tafsial Koran Pages 38-39). Swami Dayanand's criticism of some passages of Holy Quran is very mild when compared with that of Sir William Muir, Lieutenant Governor in his 'Mohmet and Islam'. Hinduism was attacked with great vehemence in those days, by missionaries. Swami Dayanand wrote in the defence of pure Vedic Dharma and showed the missionaries and Moslems the mistakes of their religions. Was it intolerance?

He wanted to promote the one and the true religion. In 1877 on the occasion of Delhi Darbar, he called a conference of Sir Sayyad Ahmed, Babu Keshava Chandra Sen and other religious reformers of that time to evolve and follow a common religion. It passes all my comprehension how such a man be dubbed as intolerant.

It is equally ridiculous to say that his criticism is based on ignorance. As far as Hinduism is concerned he saw with his own eyes the degraded condition of Mahants, Tirthas, Mandirs and Purohitas and section for a period of more than a quarter of a century. He was well versed in Vedas. In 1869, all the 300 pundits of Kashi could not show him a single passage from the Vedas supporting the idol worship. If after all the years of patient, laborious and honest study, he criticised the various sects of Hindus, he was perfectly entitled as far as thorough knowledge of Hinduism is concerned. It may be said that he did not know Hebrew, Greek and Arabic. Therefore, his criticism of Holy Bible and Holy Quran was based on ignorance. But a cursory perusal of the prologues of the 13th and the 14th chapters is enough to belie the above assumption. Swami Dayanand procured the best Devnagri translation of Holy Bible by missionaries and transcribed in Nagri characters Shah Wali Ullah's famous commentary in Urdu on the Holy Quran. On the basis of these authentic translations and the personal knowledge gained in various religious discourses with missionaries and Maulvis, he has criticised Islam and Christianity.

Swami Dayanand accepted four Vedas only (Vide Swamantavyamantavyaprakash article 2). I do not know what you mean by 'the sacrificial part of the Vedas'. Brahmins, which are the expositions of various sacrifices were never accepted by Swami Dayanand as authority. Like Gita, he didn't believe in that part of Vedas. In the interpretation of Vedas, he laid stress on the metaphysical and scientific expositions of Vedas. He believed as the word Veda signifies that the Vedas were repository of all knowledge. Sri Arvind says about his interpretation of the Vedas—which was anything but sacrificial as Dayanand's commentary on Yajurved shows—"In the matter of Vedic interpretation I am convinced that whatever may be the final complete interpretation, Dayanand will be honoured as the first discoverer of right clues."

HARIDUTTA VEDALANKAR,  
P. O. Gurukula Kangri,

(We noticed this communication in an editorial note  
in last week's Reformer. —Editor.)

#### SOLVING THE DEADLOCK.

Sir,—There is only one way to resolve the deadlock over Pakistan. It is to offer an alternative to it which, in the opinion, of fair-minded persons it would be unreasonable for the Muslim League to reject. The League will not be able to reject such an offer without losing the sympathy and support of the outside world, and without being held responsible for the continuance of India under subjection.

If it is generally agreed that only an acceptable alternative will resolve the deadlock, then the sooner that alternative is found the better for the country. And in that case, it behoves the leaders of the two communities, who are free from communal bias to set about finding it by collaborating to that end. If they produce an offer mutually acceptable, a beginning will have been made towards the solution of the deadlock and men's minds turned in that direction.

P. J. TALEYARKHAN.

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# INDIAN \* SOCIAL \* REFORMER.

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

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## NOTES.

**Kasturba Gandhi.**—A Government communique of February 22, announced with regret that Kasturba Gandhi, wife of Mahatma Gandhi, passed away in Yerrowda Palace where she was under detention. She has been having heart attacks for several months past and her condition on some of these occasions has given cause for extreme anxiety. There was a general demand for her release, which had it been complied with, would have denied her the satisfaction of having her husband by her side when the end came. Government could, of course, have released her and along with her Gandhiji who would have scrupulously respected the obligation which such a generous action imposed on him. But this was not to be expected of our present rulers. Immediately after Gandhiji was arrested, Mrs. Gandhi was asked by the authorities for an assurance that she would not participate in the political movement. Without a moment's hesitation she declined, and was taken into custody and lodged in the same place as Gandhiji. Quite early during the period of detention. Mahadev Desai, Gandhiji's devoted Secretary, died. Next came Gandhiji's fast. Nothing but the will to serve her illustrious husband as long as she could, could have kept her frail body alive through her tribulations. Her whole life has been completely absorbed in and devoted to her husband's service. From an early age, Gandhiji dedicated himself to the cause of freedom and humanity through Truth and non-violence. He has been trying earnestly to practice the precepts of conquering hatred by love, violence by non-violence. Other pioneers, when they encountered reluctance from their wives, have left them and pursued their course alone. Gandhiji did not adopt this course. Perhaps in the circumstances of his career he could not. He insisted on Kasturba accepting his principles and acting in accordance with them even before she was wholly convinced of their soundness. Kasturba following the ancient tradition of her race acquiesced and it was well that she did so in the interests of her country. To her, death is a release from the agony of heart-attacks. Public sympathy goes out to Gandhiji who is left to shoulder his burden alone.

**The Fifteen Year Plan.**—Mr. A. D. Shroff's address to the Progressive Group on which we commented last week made out that the Fifteen Year Plan of economic development of India was one for carrying out the Soviet programme under capitalist auspices in this country. Mr. J. R. D. Tata spoke on the Plan at the weekly luncheon of the local

Rotarians. He did not go so far. But he began by avowing that the Plan had its inspiration in the success of the Russian fifteen years plan. We should like to have proof that the Russian Plan has been a success in solving "the economic problems which have plagued the human race, particularly since the advent of the Machine Age." Our own impression is that the second five years Plan was less of a success than the first and that the third was diverted from its economic aim by the outbreak of the war. Also the first five year Plan had to be enforced by extraordinary coercion. Trotsky in his monumental history of the Revolution has pointed out that the Russian parallel would not apply to India and the fundamental defect of the Fifteen year Plan is that it overlooks the long established conditions of economic organization and starts as if it had a clean slate. In its application to India the Soviet Plan must be greatly modified to fit in with the Indian way of life and thought. The Fifteen years or any other Plan should begin with a survey of conditions prevailing at present and the manner of their evolution in the past. "The real and basic economic need of India" says Mr. Tata "is not so much to reconstruct as to construct." This means that for three millennia India has existed and carried on without an economic organisation. This is on the face of it improbable. It is not true. Trotsky says that the methods of the Russian revolution cannot be applied to India because of her completely rounded system of social, economic and artistic life. The reasons visualised by Mr. Tata for holding that in India the economic revolution cannot proceed on the same gradual lines as in Britain and the United States are no reasons at all. They are all consequences not causes. The only difference is that Britain and the United States have national Governments, that is to say, Governments whose first and last concern is the wellbeing of their own people, while India has a Government which by its very constitution is obliged to subordinate the interests of the Indian people to those, in the first place, of Britain and next of other European countries. Mr. Shroff and Mr. Tata both recognise this but instead of concentrating on improving this first they focus attention on a problem which cannot be approached before the political problem is solved. This is something like putting the cart before the horse.

**Marriage Law Anomalies.**—We are afraid that Mr. Kopargam Ramamurti is permitting his intense sympathy for the lot of unhappy wives (which we fully share) to dominate unduly his approach to the issues involved in a recent unhappy controversy. In the first place, the number of unhappy wives for whom relief has to be provided is not very large. Indeed, it is far fewer in India than in some other countries. It is this fact which provokes so much sentiment when the few cases, come to public notice. The high average of conjugal happiness in India is the background against which the few aberrations shock



the public mind. Notwithstanding the special facilities which, as Mr. Ramamurti points out, have been provided by British Indian legislation to conversions to Christianity, conversions have completely ceased. As a matter of fact the Christian Marriage Act allows Christian non-Christian marriages and there is no reason why if a man or a woman marries a Christian he or she should be called upon to change his religion. The Christian husband or wife has no right to call upon the unconverted spouse to eat meat or drink liquor which are not cardinal articles of the Christian faith. Mr. Ramamurti himself took a highly meritorious part in providing relief in a case where the husband attempted to get a divorce by conversion. He called on his Hindu wife to join him which she readily agreed to do to the confusion of the convert who had already fixed upon a Christian bride. The tragedy which this might have caused for the convert and his Christian spouse was averted only by the beneficent intervention of Mr. Ramamurti. He is hard on Mr. Justice Edgeley who took what is the common sense view that a man or woman cannot dissolve a previous marriage by professing to believe in another religion. Gurudas Banerji was a very estimable Hindu and a learned Judge but his argument that because the Act of 1866 covered the case of conversions to Christianity, therefore a Hindu can divorce his wife by repeating the Islamic creed, is utterly wrong. The same Hindu cannot by the same process repudiate a debt or other contract. Why should religion be regarded as less important than cash?

#### Women's Bulletin's Weak Protest:—

Women of India held Baroda State in high esteem for all the advantages it granted to its citizens. There were educational, legal and civic privileges enjoyed by the people of Baroda. And now to hear of the Ruler of the State taking a second wife while the first wife is still living, is very distressing. Monogamy is the law of Baroda. Apart from the grievous fault of breaking the law the Ruler has shocked everyone. The thoughts of women turn to the first wife. She played her part as the Ruler's Consort so well.

One expected a more vigorous protest than the above from the *Bulletin* of the National Council of Women in India against the Baroda second marriage. The problem of second marriages is certainly as deserving of women's fervent indignation as the lot of women in coal mines. Indeed much more. Women working in coal mines have at least an interval of peace when the day's work is over and husband and wife share the evening meal which they have earned by their joint labours. The superseded wife has no such compensation. Her lot in the presence of the co-wife is hell all the day and night and all the year round. Every Rescue Home in the country reports a steady increase in the number and proportion of abandoned wives among their inmates and the problem of their future is the most vexatious problem of the managers. They cannot marry so long as the first marriage subsists. Legislation to enforce monogamy is the only remedy and after years of agitation a Bill has been drafted by the Rau Committee and is waiting introduction in the Indian Legislature. A friend who is in the best position to know startled us by the information that among the opponents of the measure are some educated and "advanced" women. The saddest part of the affair is that educated women are often the chief offenders. Second wives are recruited from their ranks. The All India Women's Conference has passed one or two perfunctory resolutions about second marriages but has not attempted seriously to give effect to them. Resolute action on the part of women's organisations would immediately put an end to this growing scandal as nothing else can. Superseded wives have gone mad and have been relegated to mental hospitals as lunatics. It is the duty of

every organisation professing to care for the interests of women to set itself in dead earnest to stop this crying evil.

**Religious Teaching in Mission Schools:—**In commenting on the Sophia College affair the *Reformer* incidentally suggested that the Education Departments and the Universities should not permit the starting of new institutions controlled by foreign missions and that existing mission schools should give an undertaking that their religious instruction would be without prejudice to the ancestral faiths of their students. We are surprised to see that the *Madras Guardian* is at a loss to know how this can be done. We expect that Priya Sishya who writes regularly in its columns would tell it how. This has been done in this country from time immemorial. The fountain of inspiration, is the Vedic aphorism "One there is : people call that by different names." The Bhagavad Gita repeatedly declares that all worship devoutly performed has the identical result. One of the pillar inscriptions of Asoka condemns the reviling of religions other than one's own. Raja Ram Mohun Roy in the original Trust Deed of the Brahma Samaj forbade sermons and services depreciatory of other religions and insisted that they should be such as to promote harmony between all religious communities. Ramkrishna Paramahansa gave practical effect to the same principle by living at various times the life of a Christian, Muslim and so on. In the centres of the Vivekananda Mission the day of Christ's Nativity is observed along with the *jayanatis* of the Hindu avatars. The same is done in many Hindu homes unostentatiously. This principle has been embodied in the evangelistic missions to China and other countries by Indian Buddhists. The essence of their method was to conserve every value in the national life while inspiring it with a broader outlook.

**Turkey and Europe:—**Under the inspiration of Kemal Ataturk, Turkey has vigorously pursued the policy of westernising herself. She has copied the political and military organization of her European neighbours. She has adopted the dress, manners and even the script of Europeans. In all externals, Turkey to-day is indistinguishable from her European Christian neighbours. But she finds that this is not enough. She seeks to understand the inner springs of European civilization. An Ankara message to the *Worldover Press* says that twenty-seven classics of Western literature have been translated into Turkish and have been presented to the Ministry of Education for use in the schools. Commenting on the translation programme Professor Sadi Irmak wrote in the newspaper *Ulus* : "We are determined to understand the West to its very roots and throughout its traditions. The basis of Western civilization is of Greek origin. Every nation that wishes to enter the Western order is compelled to go back to the roots of Greek tradition. Otherwise the nation would be compelled to submit to the cultural yoke of some particular Western nation. This new movement of translation is following the sources and traditions of Western culture, instead of aiming at a rootless Europeanism, as we did in the nineteenth century." This is a very praiseworthy aim. But Western civilization is the product of two thought systems. The Hellenic is one. The Hebrew Christian is the other. As the Hebrew tradition is common to Christianity and Islam, the chances are that through her researches into European sources, Turkey will find her way back to the Islamic tributary which she had renounced ostentatiously twenty years ago. The Turkish journalists who came to India two years ago, rather led one to think that Turkey was seeking for light and inspiration in her ancient Turanian origins.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, February 20, 1944.

## FUTURE OF INDIAN STATES.

It has all along been assumed that the Indian States would exist as permanent features of Indian polity and that the framework of Free India will have to find acceptable accommodation for them, acceptable to the people and the Princes. The first in our time to raise doubts about this assumption was Lord Linlithgow who in his last two addresses to the Chamber of Princes spoke ominously of the survival of the States and the right of the Paramount Power to assure itself from time to time that they were worthy of protection. The attachment of the smaller States to larger States by order of the Crown Representative showed which way the wind was blowing. That order was declared by the Ajmere Chief Court to be invalid and legislation is being pushed through Parliament to validate it. The Bill gives power to the Crown Representative to attach certain specified classes of States to bigger States adjoining them but there can be no doubt that by the same process other classes of States may be brought under the Act and will be, if it seems desirable, to the Crown Representative to do so. The principle that the States were sacrosanct in perpetuity has been abandoned. In the course of the debate in the House of Lords, Lord Hailey mentioned three alternatives. The first was annexation to British India. The reason which he gave for not adopting this course unconvincing. Annexation to British India would be more acceptable to, would in fact be welcomed by, the people and by the rulers of the small States, than their forcible attachment to their neighbours from whom they were usually divided by dynastic and other differences. Of course, if at the desire of small States the Paramount Power sanctioned their amalgamation with a better organised neighbour, there can be no reasonable objection. This is understood to be the case with the States to be attached to Baroda. To attach them without and against their wishes to a neighbour merely because the latter is larger in area and population, may not violate the terms of any treaty but is certainly against the understanding which has existed all these years. If the larger States were wise, they would themselves take the lead in protesting against the present move. What is being done to the small States today involves a principle which is the sheet-anchor of their own continued existence.

H. Goetz, writing in the *Twentieth Century* under the heading "Can the Indian States Survive" finds a close analogy between the Indian States and their German States in the first half of the last century. "If the historical never offer an irrefutable reply at least they disclose possibilities and probabilities" he writes. Germany then consisted of several hundred States, it is true, but it cannot be said of the Indian States, as he says of the German States, that they were kept together by the consciousness of a national and still surviving cultural unity. Many of the smaller German States disappeared by the end of the eighteenth century from sheer want of vitality. The rest were swept off the board by Napoleon "as the price with which he bought the defection of the stronger German States from the helpless (Holy Roman) Empire and the accession to his Rhine Federation." The present move may well be a prelude to the formation of a Federation of a few big States which may serve as a counterfoil to a Nationalist Government in British India. But the stronger German States themselves

disappeared after a century of troubled existence. The struggle for national hegemony reduced their number. The foundation of the second German Empire in which they were nominally partners slowly deprived them of their sovereignty. In the German Republic inaugurated at the end of the last war they became dependencies of the Central Government and were extinguished in the Third Reich. The process lasted about a century and a half and Mr Goetz expects that it will take about the same time beginning from now for the Indian States to be submerged in the Indian Union. He writes:

Our time is no doubt living at a quicker pace than the Pre-March of Old Austria and Germany. But even now every healthy development needs its time. May we thus prognosticate another honourable and important life-term at least for the greater Indian States, as guardians of the best traditions of the past and as peacemakers of cultural progress into a greater future?

There is one important difference between now and the early part of the last century, having a vital bearing on the future of Indian States, which Goetz has overlooked. In the nineteenth century, and especially in the first half of it, the monarchical principle was deeply entrenched in the theory and practice of the West. No other system was thought to offer the advantages which a monarchy offered. The French Revolution only gave the monarchical principle a fresh lease of life. The alternative to monarchy in the minds of political thinkers was anarchy. Today all this is changed. Most of the old monarchies have disappeared. China, Turkey, Russia, Germany have all discarded kingship. Britain and Japan are the only two monarchies which have survived the deluge. The tide of opinion is strongly set against monarchy. Only by the highest personal character of Ruling Princes can there be secured a chance for the Indian States to survive amidst the overwhelmingly adverse influences which beset them. Of that there seems very little possibility judging by current events.

## LORD WAVELL'S ADDRESS.

Last week we had just time for a short note on Viscount Wavell's address to the joint session of the two Houses of the Indian Legislature. From the terms in which we referred to His Excellency's statement about the geographical, economic and strategic unity of India, it would be clear that we did not attach excessive importance to it. The British mind is pragmatic, that is to say that it does not believe in principles but only in working hypotheses. The necessity for mobilising the country's resources on account of the war seriously militated against Pakistan as a working hypothesis and the Bengal famine has further reduced its utility as such. Lord Wavell himself warned the Legislature that the opinions he expressed were not final. The statement about India's triple unity in His Excellency's speech does not preclude its summary discard should a fourth factor favouring disunity appear on the scene. The fourth factor may well be Lord Wavell's forty five minutes interview in Madras with Mr. C. Rajagopalachary who is now an apostle of Indian disunity as the sole way to national salvation. Even if Mr. Jinnah may be persuaded to consider an alternative such as that which Maulana Hasrat Mohani of Cawnpore has proposed on the Soviet model, Mr. Rajagopalachary judging from his latest pronouncements will insist on a division of the country into independent units. When Lord Linlithgow in one of his valedictory speeches made a passing reference to the geographical unity of India, the Ex-Premier of

Madras scolded him for coming in the way of his attempts at Hindu Muslim agreement. Lord Wavell has stressed not only the geographical unity of India but in addition the economic and strategic unity. Nevertheless the ex-Premier is inclined to take a lenient view of the viceroy's address and even to praise it for its assurance that the Cripps' scheme was still open. That scheme contemplated and provided for the division of India into disunited provinces and thus directly contravened Lord Wavell's doctrine of Indian unity. Cripps' scheme should be shorn of its provision of optional adherence to the Union of provinces in order to be brought in line with Lord Wavell's idea.

Taking the address as a whole, it is a disappointment not because of the absence in it of a spectacular reversal of the policy followed by his predecessor, but because it betrays not the least sign that Lord Wavell as a man of letters sees deeper into the springs of political phenomena than his bureaucrat colleague in charge of the Home Department. Any man who attempts a serious work on history or biography has it borne in upon him inexorably that the relation between consequence and cause is seldom the same as that which appears on the surface and is often hidden in the womb of time. Tsar Nicholas II believed almost to the last moment that the imperial Russian administration was proof against the vicissitudes of public sentiment. When he realised that the Revolution had got the better of it, he applied to his kinsman, the King of England for asylum. The King was agreeable but Lloyd George was not. The Tsar was kept in ignorance of the British refusal. When the Imperial train left Petrograd on the fateful night, the Tsar perhaps thought that he was being taken to a Baltic port and that he would soon be in sight of the white cliffs of Dover. But at the dead of night a pointsman, in a lonely signal cabin at a junction station, pulled a lever, a bit of metal at the distant point swerved by an imperceptible inch and the Imperial train sped on towards Siberia and the still mysterious fate of the last of the Romanoffs. To think that there is no deadlock because the Home Member's salary continues to be paid into his account on the first of every month, may prove to be a dangerous delusion. This an intellectual should know and one expected Lord Wavell to know. Perhaps he knows it but there is no sign of it on the address and that is why it is to our mind a disappointment. The detention of men like Gandhiji without trial is steadily undermining the moral authority of Britain in the Council of Nations. This is nothing to Sir Reginald Maxwell who will not have to represent his country at the Council Board. But the British representatives who will have to share in the deliberations and decisions of the Board will feel it at every step. The Chinese and the Russians are not obliged as Indians are to take British professions at their face value. Lord Wavell's studies in history should tell him that the deprivation of Indian leaders of their freedom cannot but discredit the high professions of the object of the war. The prompt release of the detained leaders is more imperatively necessary from the point of view of the British Government than in that either of the Government of India or the National Congress. Mr. Winston Churchill may affect to regard India as of no significance in his plans for the Empire. But he or his successors will have a painful disillusionment. India holds the fate of the British Commonwealth though to all appearance she is without influence or power in moulding its policy.

## DIVORCE THROUGH CONVERSION

(MR. KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI.)

The question of divorce by religious conversion has yet to be discussed dispassionately and separately on its own merits, without confounding it with the further question of subsequent reconversion to the original religion, and without assuming beforehand that every case of conversion must be a bogus and fraudulent one, especially if it is followed at some time or other with a suit for dissolution of marriage. Even where a conversion is manifestly for change of one's lot in life through another religion which offers a more congenial social organisation and a more adjustable social machinery, our moral zeal for condemnation has to be tempered by severe self-introspection in the light of our never-ending failure to make the Hindu law move with the changing needs of the times and meet the legitimate requirements of human freedom. Hindu social reformers are, to their utter distress, obliged every day to circumvent the law by playing with the name of religion and easing their conscience with some mental quibbling or other not warranted by Hindu jurisprudence or the history of Indian legislation, in order to give effect to their own ideas of legitimate human freedom in marriage.

It is pathetic in the extreme to note the unanimity with which Hindus of all shades of orthodoxy and heterodoxy have joined hands to hail Justice Edgeley as a Daniel come to judgment because he made some hard hits against the claim of the Islamic law of conversion as affecting Christian marriages. And they have echoed with gusto, as if it were gospel truth, his extra judicial slogan that "it is not the policy of the state in the twentieth century to act as a proselytising agency or to promote the interests of one form of religion to the detriment of another". The history of British Indian legislation as well as the operating political policies of modern India, equally belie this flamboyant claim. Even the Lex Loci Act or Caste Disabilities Removal Act of 1850, which is justly loved by all Indian reformers as the charter of their liberties, was not inspired by a pure regard for human freedom but owed its birth to the pressure of Christian Missionary interests which found their proselytising work made practically impossible by the forfeiture of the property rights of converts imposed by Hindu law and other personal laws of India.

Justice Guru Das Banerji, the centenary of whose birthday was celebrated only the other day with affection and reverence by all Hindus and non-Hindus was the noted author of a book on the Hindu Law of Marriage and Stridhan. He was incomparable for his genuine orthodoxy and love of Hinduism and Hindu culture of which he was the finest flower, and his burning regard for the honour of Hindu family life and Hindu law was beyond question. But he was also an enlightened, catholic and dispassionate Judge of the same Calcutta High Court, by no means less able and acute than Justice Edgley of the present day. He saw clearly enough, so long ago as in 1891, that the rules of Islamic law relating to the dissolution of a convert's previous marriage favoured and facilitated conversions to Islam. But then he had also the fairness to remember and recognise that those rules were not different in principle from "the provision laid down in Act XXI of 1866 in the case of native converts to Christianity". He had also the magnanimity to go further and recognise that the Islamic law "meets the obvious requirements of justice by allowing an equal freedom of conscience to both parties and giving due notice to the non-converted husband". (I. L. R. 18th Calcutta 264).

Justice Edgley has brushed aside this pronouncement as without legal authority since, forsooth. Justice Banerji found that the convert before him had not fulfilled the condition of giving notice and obtaining a declaratory's decree of dissolution of marriage from a competent Judge as required by the Islamic law before she remarried, and had therefore to uphold her conviction for bigamy (A. I. R. 1941 Cal. 582). Justice Edgley's remarks on this point have been brushed aside, in their turn, as of no legal authority by the Appellate Court's judgment in A. I. R. 1942 Cal. 325 (S. B.). We have thus for our guidance two obiter dicta by two High Court Judges flatly contradicting each other. One opinion comes from a sincere, learned and esteemed Hindu Judge like Dr. Sir Gurdas Banerjee who fairly conceded the claims of the Islamic law in spite of its encroachment on the Hindu law which he loved. The other comes from an able British Judge who denounced the Islamic law which threatened to encroach on the Christian marriage law on the principle that the modern state does not favour any particular religion to the detriment of another, ignoring for the nonce the Act of 1866 which he daily administers and which facilitates Christian conversions by dissolving the indissoluble sacramental marriage of Hindus. The discerning Hindu public should find no difficulty in choosing between the two.

I was the first to complain (Vide *the Reformer* of 8th August 1942) that the Appellate Court which upset the definite lead given by Justice Edgeley left the legal position in a state of chaos and that a subsequent Special Bench which had a unique opportunity to give us a definite ruling on the point and had even agreed to do so, left us suddenly in the lurch by finding a shorter cut to dispose of the case in hand (A. I. R. 1942 Cal. 586 S. R.). If the present controversy leads to the formulation of an authoritative ruling at last by any of our High Courts, all the unpleasant agitation will not have been in vain.

### VEGETARIANISM.

Sir,

It was amusing to read Ithuriel's diatribe against vegetarianism in your issue of the 12th instant. While he argues, at the outset, in favour of flesh food and justifies the taking of life to provide it, towards the end of the essay he relents so far as to admit that the cruelty involved in killing for meat is as galling to him as to the vegetarian. This is a distinction without a difference, since taking life involves cruelty. Then why not credit the vegetarian with the same sensibility that Ithuriel himself feels. If Ithuriel has himself to perform the operation of killing, I am sure, he will very soon cease to be a flesh-eater.

This reminds me of the anecdote related with regard to Count Leo Tolstoy after he had become a confirmed vegetarian. An aunt of his was visiting him and there was consternation in the family as to how to provide flesh food for her. Tolstoy hit upon the brilliant idea of tying up a fowl to her chair and placing a knife nearby, signifying that if she wanted meat, she would have to do the gruesome task of putting an end to the fowl herself.

Scientifically, it may be true that carrots pulsate with life same as locusts and pigeons but one cannot be sorry for the stoppage of the pulse that is not felt nor in evidence. So are diamond and charcoal credited by science to have the same substance but Ithuriel will decidedly not accept a charcoal for the price of a diamond.

Ithuriel's, "loveable creature", goat which feeds only on leaves and grass would scorn his hypocritical

endearment if it knew that it is being served up to titillate his palate. The writer conveniently forgets that there are animals the size and strength of which carnivorous ones may well envy, which are strict vegetarians by nature and would die rather than eat flesh.

Turning to Economics, any tyro on the subject knows that the hunter state preceded that of the agricultural. It may not be presumptuous to conclude that meat eating is a survival of it.

AJAX.

### ANTI-SEMITISM IN BRITAIN.

MAURICE CRANSTON writes in the *Worldover Press*:

I have been trying lately to collect evidence of the great wave of anti-Semitism which is supposed to be sweeping this country. I have found very little. The initials "P.J." (meaning "Perish Judah") cut out in a railway carriage; "Stop This Jewish War" chalked on a wall. Such manifestations are sufficiently uncommon, and too puerile, for serious consideration.

More significant, perhaps, are remarks one hears from intelligent people, indicating distaste for the Jews. But a few snowflurries don't make a winter. I hear much more talk about anti-Semitism than I hear against the Jews. The wave of anti-Semitism seems to be at least in part the invention of Communists, witch-hunting Leftists, and flagellant Jews. The *Daily Worker* regularly colors its columns with tales of a British Fascist conspiracy of which anti-Semitism is part and parcel. Even the sober *Jewish Chronicle* has suspected the Pacifists (of all people) of being involved in it. Some Jewish publicists seem quite unable to rid themselves of the idea of persecution. Especially unofficial Zionists, who exaggerate anti-Semitism in order to prove that Palestine is the only possible home for the Jews. Altogether it is a problem on which it is very difficult to get a fair perspective.

Insofar as wartime anti-Semitism here has any concrete cause, it is, I should say, the common notion that Jews are behind the Black Market. Many of the convicted Black Marketeers have Jewish names or alien names which sound Jewish, although a Committee of Enquiry set up by Professor Bentwich from Jerusalem University has established that by far the majority of them are not Jewish at all. Yet the notion lingers. The more so since many Jews seem to be working legitimate "rackets" such as fruit machines, pin tables, and high-priced furniture. Here again, official Jewry is distressed and embarrassed by their activities.

If, as I have found, there is no widespread antipathy to Jews in England at present, there yet exist the seeds of it. In the inevitable social chaos of post-war readjustment there is every possibility of their taking root. It is then that anti-Semitism may become a reality here. Or can it be prevented?

A strong body of progressive opinion favours legal action to make anti-Semitic opinion criminal. This is the policy, paradoxically enough, of the National Council for Civil Liberties. Others believe, more shrewdly, to my mind, that Government interference will never put an end to race prejudice. American experience over the Negro problem in the South has proved this abundantly. A long-term policy of promoting understanding is acknowledged to be the only way of solving the problem.

I am glad to say that this method is being tried. An organization called the Council of Christians and Jews, with headquarters in London, has been working for just over two years now to bring the two communities together. It was started by a Methodist minister, the Rev. William W. Simpson, who also

runs the Christian Council for non-Aryan refugees from Germany. Mr. Simpson and his half-Jewish, half-Christian, Council have sought for, and in a very large measure, found a basis for religious co-operation in the defence of fundamental Judeo-Christian principles. This has been most signally lacking in the past. They have also undertaken research into the social and historical origins of Christian-Jewish estrangement. There is a campaign against the causes of anti-Semitism, and a struggle towards enduring fraternity.

#### DR. AMBEDKAR AND HINDUISM.

Sir,

It is no surprise to India that Dr. Ambedkar has now declared an open revolt against Hinduism which had kept the Harijans for ages as untouchables in the name of religion. It is no consolation for those who are practically living in a most humiliating position of serfdom to be satisfied with the idea that no self-respecting Hindu now approves of it.

It is wrong to feel that, as Harijans are not observing cleanliness, they are kept as outcastes. One sees everyday that the poor in India of all communities are in such abject poverty that they are not able to be anything better than what they are and cleanliness is not a virtue of any one community. Again, it is not the inferiority-complex of the Harijans that keeps them as outcastes; but it is rather the assumed superiority of what are called high caste Hindus, that is responsible for this untouchability in the country.

When a Harijan becomes a Christian he is educated and goes about with a cultured deportment doing useful work in society and we dare not treat him as an untouchable. In our homes we blindly follow old superstitions and prejudices as giving menial and all dirty work to Harijans, that makes us assume a superior attitude towards them.

Another great barrier we have created between Brahmin and Harijans is the halo of superiority we have drawn around us over our vegetarianism, confusing it with Hinduism. Vegetarianism is not a religion nor is it Hinduism. A large number of what are called high-caste Hindus are all non-vegetarians. In many a Brahmin and caste Hindu home we find today a large number of empty (*sic*) bottles of Cod Liver Oil, Liver Essence, Chicken broth and even Bovril. These are taken from bottles without the least hesitation not only in times of illness but also along with our food for health and strength. Egg and soup have been added in many a vegetarian caste Hindu home as their daily food, and yet they are despising the non-vegetarians without any justification for it.

The British Government has its share of blame in maintaining the caste system in India. In every register of the Government, even in schools, unlike other countries, we are asked to write the name of our caste. It is a pity when the Congress Government was in power it did not stop this evil of perpetuating caste and help us to build our Indian nation with, perhaps, communities of common interests, growing up in our midst as in other countries.

For the unity and freedom of our country the caste system should go and its place should be taken up if need be by literates—artisans and labour—like the classes of the West.

I appeal especially to my sisters, to give up all prejudices and superstitions of the past and if need be to "stoop to conquer" and build up a United India.

Bangalore.

LAKSHMI RAGAVENDRA RAO.

#### RELIGIOUS NEUTRALITY OF THE STATE.

Sir,

The Sophia College disaffiliation controversy is bound to produce serious repercussions all over the country. Already, the Catholics in Madras province have started the cry of "Religion in danger." The right to convert is held to be the sacred duty and inalienable right of a true Christian, and should be respected and conceded as a minority right of the progressive and enlightened Christian community. The issue now raised is that educational institutions should not be used for proselytisation or even for propaganda. The State in India is said to observe neutrality in the matter of religion; but it has allowed the compulsory attendance to go on even today at the Bible classes of the children of other faiths. The religious neutrality of the State does not appear to be inconsistent with the freedom and privilege claimed and exercised by, and allowed to, the Christian Mission institutions to teach their religion to children of other faiths, and has not provided for the conscience clause. The Tamilian's conscience was stirred up against the compulsory study of Hindustani, but not against the obligatory study of the Bible, in the impressionable years of their lives, to the neglect of his own Scriptures. The State neutrality cannot be said to be violated if the State holds the scales evenly as between different religious denominations and makes similar and equal provisions for all the religious communities in the land. Communal bitterness and religious animosity will not be more acute than they are now, if the State provides for the teaching of the religions of their parents in educational institutions by teachers belonging to their respective faiths. This suggestion is not Utopian; for it has been actually recommended for Ceylon by the Special Committee on Education appointed by the Government of Ceylon with Dr. Kannangara, Education Minister as Chairman and for Great Britain by the British White Paper presented to Parliament. Then education in India will cease to be 'godless' and 'soulless,' and will attain completeness on account of the creation of the religious background to education; and religious background can only mean instruction in the religion of the parent of the child given by the parent at home or by the teacher at school belonging to the same religion. The achievement of this great reform in the field of Indian education is possible only with the establishment of popular responsible National government at the Centre and in the provinces. Meanwhile, the State that professes to maintain religious neutrality should not allow anything that will have the effect of any particular religion furthering its objects and promoting its interests, and should introduce at least the 'conscience' clause as an All-India policy. Peelamedu.

15-2-44.

R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.

#### 'NO CONVERSIONS'

Sir, Can one stop conversions? Should one stop conversions? Religion is surely of the Spirit. It is not merely the acceptance of a creed the signing of a membership card but is something which affects a man's thought, his whole outlook on life, and his very faith.

God is unchangeable and unchanging but our conception of Him and of our relationship, duty, responsibility to Him and to one's fellows must develop—or should—towards ultimate Truth. That which is true will always be true and the false will always be false.



Man is continually adjusting himself to the material world about him because of his discoveries and because he must—as a reasonable and reasoning being—believe the evidence of facts. Similarly, he must, by the same process, fearlessly accept what he believes to be true in religion, and be prepared to drop traditional practice if it conflicts with truth. Ancient though it may be the bullock-cart cannot be accepted as the means of locomotion for ever!

In view of developing enlightenment and understanding towards ultimate Truth why should men be compelled by tradition, or because of tradition, to accept a way of life, however ancient, which they sincerely feel does not lead them towards that Truth? What is most important, tradition or Truth? Truth may be in tradition, but if an individual soul sincerely thinks otherwise is it not an outrage of the truths for which religion stands to compel him—by social pressure to conform to that in which he has no faith? Jesus Christ said 'I am the way, the truth, and the life, no man cometh unto the Father but by me'. We may not believe His word, but, if this is ultimate truth should men be stopped from accepting it? However pitifully the West may have responded is no excuse, for the East is equally bound by all the implications of such a statement. *if it is true!* **HOPEFUL.**

#### MR. SASTRI ON CHURCHILL.

Sir, It is not prudent to dispute the truth of the statement made by the head of a Province. But when Sir Arthur Hope characterises the Rt. Hon Srinivas Sastri's qualified statement as untrue and libellous, the truth has to be told. The Madras Governor may know Mr. Churchill personally, and hold his own opinions about his master. But opinions of a good many intellectuals and publicists in England and elsewhere similar to the one expressed by Mr. Sastri, can easily be quoted. Mr. Bernard Shaw recently said that Mr. Churchill would not be wanted soon after the war is over. Mr. Shaw's view may be dismissed as that of the clown or buffoon of the Empire. But Harold Laski remarks, "Temperamentally, Mr. Churchill is incapable of the long view; he does not catch a glimpse of the day after tomorrow. His attitude to his time is a grave anachronism, an unconscious "After me, the Deluge", for which, no doubt, posterity will mainly pay, but which, also, will have an immense effect upon its judgment of his place in history. Nature has made him a doer rather than a thinker; and he has always been the victim of deeply illogical loyalties he has never analysed." Again, a distinguished Chinese scholar observes of Churchill. "He is the man of the hour, an embodiment itself of the English will to fight and to win, a guarantee that the English tradition of grit and pluck is there, the force of personality that would go down to Hell to snatch victory from the Devil himself. We need Winston Churchill for the war. But we need a Lincoln, a man great enough for the peace. For victory in war, we need courage, tenacity and a normal supply of adrenalin; for victory in peace, we need above all, faith and breadth of vision and generous idealism joined to a sense of humour such as we found in Abraham Lincoln." Mr. Sastri, himself a believer in the Empire, meant no more than what the above gentlemen have written about Mr. Churchill. Sir Arthur Hope should not feel touchy about the Indian leaders making reference to "the good imperialist being of no earthly use to the world-peace." Mr. Sastri's reference to Mr. Churchill is neither a libel nor a treason to the Empire. **TRUTH.**

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

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## NOTES.

**Post War Possibilities** :—There are certain side issues raised in the symposium on American foreign policy, which we notice in the leading article, that closely concern India. One of these, and the most important, is the foreign policy of Soviet Russia. Four years ago the pariah of Europe, Russia today occupies a dominant position in international politics. The British and American Governments are anxious to gain her goodwill. But Russia herself has not changed. The Revolution has produced changes in her internal economy but her foreign policy remains the same. "That policy, both in Europe and Asia" writes General McCoy "is plainly the traditional one of the Russian Empire not intentionally aggressive as is that of the Axis Powers, but glacierlike in its slow and irresistible movement towards the open seas." This means that British and Russian interests may again clash in Asia. The Russian menace for many years led Indian defence to be concentrated on the North Western frontier. During the present war, it has moved from that centre and has spread over the eastern part of the country. The General apprehends the effect of contact between China and Russia may raise new problems. He describes China's plight as unspeakably tragic. When Japan is defeated, he thinks, China will have nothing to fear from European nations. There may be stresses and strains in her relations with Russia. But the General is confident that the Chinese and the Russian who understand each other will be able peacefully to settle their differences through diplomacy.

**United Nations and India**:—A Washington message in the middle of February reported that the Senate adopted a joint resolution authorizing the appropriation of 850 million dollars for the United States participation in the U. N. R. R. A. and the extension of the aid to be given by that body to famine areas. Originally the aid of the U. N. R. R. A. was designed only to countries and peoples exploited by the Axis Powers. The extension of its scope to areas devastated by famine, whether caused by failure of crops or by the squandering of food resources by administrative incompetence, is recommended by what is called "the Indian amendment" to the resolution sanctioning the contribution of the United States on the basis of one per cent of the national income for the maintenance and functioning of the U. N. R. R. A. India is one of the member States and the question of her contribution to the Association has not yet been decided. It will be ironical

to demand a contribution from a country which stands in need of aid from the Association. Russia and China are exempted by the articles of the Association from payment. The Senate resolution means merely that the United States considers that it will be proper for the Association to devote some part of its funds to help India and other famine countries. The final decision will rest with the Executive Committee of the Association. As the activities of the Association are likely to come under public notice, the summary of its constitution which we reprint this week from *Labour Research* will be useful for reference. The United States contribution amounts to nearly 65 per cent of the total estimated contributions of two billion dollars. The withdrawal of the States from the Association would mean its instant collapse. For all practical purposes, therefore, the United States delegation will have the deciding voice on important questions.

**The Indian Budget** :—The Indian Budget was introduced in the Central Legislative Assembly on Tuesday. A day or two previous to it there were forecasts in some quarters of heavy increases in taxation extending to the raising of the post card to one anna. Whether intended or not, the absence of this particular item induced a feeling of relief which must have gratified the Finance Member and somewhat smoothed the passage of his proposals in the Legislature. Allowing for the air of unreality which surrounds war time finance, the budget is an appreciable attempt to adjust the burden of taxation to the capacity of the different grades of tax-payers. The raising of the minimum assessable to income tax is a step in the right direction. The increase also in income tax rates are confined to the higher levels. The excise of two annas on betelnut along with tea and coffee is an inroad on the poor people's principal means of keeping out of drink. It is almost as oppressive as the salt duty. The retail price, as usual, will be much in excess of the excise levied. The tendency has been for the educated classes to eschew pan and supari as an unfashionable indulgence. Tea, nowadays, is as much a necessity in India as in Britain and coffee especially in the South is in the same category. Many people, said the Finance Member, have made large fortunes in the war time. In proportion to the population the number of this class is infinitely small. The bulk of the indirect taxes fall on those who have not made fortunes, large or small, but have actually been impoverished by higher prices and rents. The Finance Member assumed that the 25 per cent increase in railway fares, which was rejected by the Legislative Assembly, would be restored by the Viceroy. We do not think that this will be a legitimate use of the certifying power. The increase is not for the purpose of meeting a deficit or for any urgent current requirement. It is avowedly for what can only be called speculative purposes.

Lord Wavell would be respecting a widespread public feeling if he declined to override the Assembly's vote. In passing, Sir Edward Benthall is obviously a misfit as Member of a Government which has as far as possible to act in harmony with a largely representative Legislature. The manner of the business boss towards his underlings is ill suited to a spokesman of Government, dealing with a body which wants to be convinced but resents dictation.

**Economic Planning:**—Much of the criticism of economic plans is due not so much to their intrinsic qualities as to the overweening claims of some overzealous advocates. As an economic plan, there is nothing very recondite about the fifteen year plan, for instance. Credit is due to those who drafted it for the statistics they have collected at much pains to give concreteness to their scheme. But it is not certainly going to bring us a new heaven and a new earth overnight. The public also slightly resents what seems to be an attempt to coerce its judgment by an imposing array of names of prominent businessmen. Mr. Shroff told the Progressive Group that most of the signatories were capitalists. Now a capitalist is not merely a rich man but one who uses his wealth as a means of controlling others and getting them to assist him in his game of making money breed money. By the way, a slight misplacement of words in our leading article in the *Reformer* of February totally inverted the sense intended. It was not our view and it is not the fact that Indian capitalists are many of them international financiers. International financiers among them are the exception and their presence does not necessarily lend weight to any scheme with which they are prominently connected. The fifteen year plan has a value apart from its industrial stimulus as counteracting the Finance Member's apparently casual statement in the course of his Budget speech that capital for reconstruction should be sought from outside India. Sir Jeremy Raisman's criticism of the Fifteen Years Plan does not preclude the possibility of his accepting it, if not in whole, in large part, and then, of course, the assumption about the national democratic government ceases to be fundamental to the Plan.

**Newfoundland and Pakistan:**—The readers of the London paper to which Mr. Jinnah has supplied a statement of his plea for Pakistan, would have been far from convinced of its wisdom or feasibility by the parallel of Newfoundland which he adduces in its support. Newfoundland voluntarily surrendered the Dominion status which it had enjoyed for many years and accepted a sort of Crown Colony administration as it could not maintain its solvency. This is another instance of Muslim League leader's penchant for indulging in statements without caring to verify them. Newfoundland might have been in the geological past a part of the North American continent but at present it is separated from Canada by the Cabot Strait which at its narrowest is more than four times as wide as the English Channel. Newfoundland is said to be the tenth largest island in the world, forming a separate country. So says the writer of the article on Newfoundland in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, a set of which should find a place in the library of the League. Other statements in Mr. Jinnah's communication to the London paper are equally fragile. The Pakistan principle, observed Mr. Jinnah, is working smoothly already in the five predominantly Muslim provinces. The Punjab has repeatedly denied that it has a Muslim League Government. The Hidayatulla Government in Sind has found it necessary to contradict rumours of impending upset. The Nazimuddin Government in Bengal has applied for an unprecedentedly large subvention from the Central Government as the only means of

averting financial catastrophe. The Frontier Province is purely a paper creation depending on the Centre for its daily sustenance. Its Government commands a majority in the Legislature as the Opposition is kept in detention under the Defence of India rules. Assam in the Northeast is a replica of the Frontier Province in the Northwest. If, nevertheless, Mr. Jinnah is satisfied that the five provinces are already Pakistanised, what more does he want? Why does he want the British Government to call the Congress bluff while that has already been done by himself? Mr. Jinnah publicly asked that Gandhiji should write to him and declared that the Government of India would not dare to come in the way. Gandhiji complied with the suggestion. The Government of India stopped the letter and informed Mr. Jinnah that they had done so. Mr. Jinnah announced two days later that Gandhiji merely wanted to embroil him with the Government of India. That incident revealed in a flash Mr. Jinnah to be, as Bismarck said of a British statesman, lath painted to look like iron. Mr. Jinnah is cocksure, as he always is, that if the British Government announced its intention of setting up Pakistan and Hindustan, Congress and Hindus would accept it in three months time. Evidently Lord Wavell's recent thesis on the triple unity of India, has not "cut much ice" with the President of the Muslim League.

**Baroda Enigma:**—A distinguished Dewan told this writer some years ago that he resigned his office because he found that he could not do good to the State without offending the ruler. That some such dilemma confronted the present Dewan of Baroda, there cannot be the least doubt. The categorical denial as false of rumours of his resignation or going on leave by the Baroda Information Bureau, can be understood only to mean that the dilemma has been resolved. An official statement of the exact way would help to restore normality. Meanwhile a clue to it may be sought in some unusual observations in the Maharaj's speech at the opening of the Dhara Sabha, to which a passing reference was made in the *Reformer*. The passage runs thus:

I have come to learn with extreme regret that an atmosphere has been created that my Council is all in all. Let me assure you that this is not the case. This feeling I want to remove from the minds of the public with all the emphasis at my command. I want to further tell you that no major decision is ever taken without my express approval. It has always been my policy to keep myself fully informed of local conditions irrespective of my presence in or absence from Baroda. That a ruler in the twentieth century should come forward to minimise the authority of his Ministers in order to bring into relief his personal factor, is not to be expected; His Highness meant evidently to exonerate his Ministers of responsibility for anything amiss. The full implication of this chivalrous declaration, time will no doubt unfold. Time will also show if the words "irrespective of my presence in or absence from Baroda" have any significance beyond the verbal one.

**Anti Inflation Measure:**—Sir Jeremy Raisman, the Finance Member of the Government of India, waxed eloquent and enthusiastic about the success which had attended the numerous anti-inflation measures of the year. Strange to say this success is not reflected as it should be if it was real in the cost of living of the working classes. All these measures are in force and have been enforced by heavy penalties in Bombay city. Yet, according to the cost of living index numbers given in the current Indian Labour Gazette the trend has been steadily upward. August, 1939-100, is taken as the base. In January last year the index figure was 214, in June it was 224, in September, 233, in December 235.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, March 4, 1944.

### AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY.

References and comments have frequently been made in the *Reformer* based on the fortnightly Reports issued by the American Foreign Policy Association on a wide field of international interest. The Reports have been uniformly characterised, until the United States become a belligerent, by absolute impartiality as between nations and classes. They were and are permanently valuable as works of reference. The Foreign Policy Association completed its twenty-fifth year last November. The Foreign Policy Report of October 15 is a symposium to which the Directors of the Association have individually contributed. The Report bears the title "Twenty Five Years of U. S. Foreign Policy". President Roosevelt in a letter has congratulated the Association on the celebration of its twenty-fifth anniversary wishing that it may continue to serve "just as modestly, as objectively, and as effectively in that time of peace to which we all look forward as it now does in the midst of conflict". There are eleven articles in the symposium, three of a general character dealing with the Association's role in Foreign Policy, touchstone of the American temper and public opinion in America between the two wars. The Association was known at its birth and for four years thereafter as "The League of Free Nations Association". Its first members were mostly members of a group which had been carrying on studies in international questions for some time previously. During the first years of its existence the Association actively interested itself in some current controversies. In its fourth year the Association definitely assumed its present character of a research and education organization and adopted its present name "Foreign Policy Association". The new programme is one of thorough and objective research and impartial stimulation of public interest in foreign affairs.

With the United States at war with Germany and Japan, the ideal of absolute impartiality could only be partially kept in view. The contributors to the symposium unconsciously take on the tone of apologists of past mistakes and advocates of present tendencies. Still they are not altogether uninfluenced by the high standard which the Association set before itself. This is conspicuous in the article headed "Our Relations with Germany" by President George Shuster of Hunter College. "All fantastic schemes for "educating" the Germans and teaching them "democracy" observes the writer are not worth a moment of serious consideration. The Germans who will be freed from the Nazi strait-jacket love freedom as much as we do, and they have reason to hate war even more than we do. It may be difficult to believe that just now, but it will be self-evident to any future observer on the spot." The whole article is an earnest plea for dealing with defeated Germany with sympathy and understanding and is in contrast to some of the declarations of President Franklin Roosevelt. Mr. W. W. Lancaster who writes on "Our Relations with Russia" recounts the various causes which contributed to the distrust of the Soviet regime by Americans and is uncertain as to what the relations between the two countries will be "when the compulsion to co-operate is removed" with the end of the war. Among factors making for friendly relations is the great need which Russia will have to buy from the United States materials and machines required for reconstruction after the war. There is no clash of territorial ambitions between the two countries nor competition for markets. On the other

hand, Lancaster fears, "The ideas of the two Governments as to what should be done with Western Europe may not match at all points. The United States despite the dissolution of the Third International, may still fear Communist propaganda and its effects on its own economy".

The articles in the symposium of closest interest to India are those on America's relations with Britain by James P. Baxter, President of Williams College and on her relations with the Far East by General Frank Ross McCoy who was a member of the Commission of enquiry to Manchuria and Director General of the American Red Cross in Japan after the earthquake of 1923. The most important transformation in the history of American foreign policy during the last twenty five years, according to Baxter, concerns the relations with Great Britain. "For over a century" he writes, "these were on the main discordant, and Britain's enemies—for example, Russia—were by that very token our friends. Since 1898, on the other hand, the relations of the two powers have grown increasingly close, Britain's enemies have consistently tended to become our own and we have joined forces in two great wars." Two factors which have contributed to this happy end are that Canada, for long a subject of dispute, has become a link between Britain and America, the interpreter of the one to the other. Then, Ireland, for long a cause of difference has by the creation of the Free State ceased to be one. Baxter does not mention India even as a minor factor in British American relations. But General McCoy in his article on relations with the Far East completely accepts and adopts the British view of the Indian problem. He writes:

The great problem of India certainly affects the war and will influence the peace. For the past hundred years, however, from the days of Macaulay in India and certain liberal Viceroy's there has been a gradual development of education and assurance of peace between the clashing elements of the Indian population. This has enabled them to progress peacefully along political lines to the point where it can be foreseen that by evolution, rather than revolution, India will attain membership in the British Commonwealth of Nations or ultimate independence. In the post war-settlement the Indian question will be one for the British Commonwealth of Nations to settle, rather than for England alone. The public opinion of Canada, and Australia seems to insure that these Dominions will play an important part in the adjustment of that great and complex human problem.

This is the only reference to India in this symposium of thirty pages by eleven of America's authorities on her foreign policy. As there is general appreciation by all of them of the growth of American friendly attitude to Britain, it is evident that one result of the Anglo-American understanding is to make the Americans to disinterest themselves on the Indian problem as one exclusively for Britain.

### THE SPECIAL MARRIAGE ACT.

In view of the different opinions expressed on the consequences of the repudiation of religion required by the Special Marriage Act, it is interesting to consider the Act itself. The Act requires a declaration by both parties that they do not profess any of the established religions. The judgment of the Calcutta High Court quoted by Dr. Gour, has laid down that the denial of belief is only for the purposes of the Act. No repudiation of Hinduism, for example, is involved by a Hindu declaring that he does not profess the Hindu faith. The meaning of that is clear. What the Act seeks is not a religious declaration of unbelief but a social declaration to the effect that the parties marrying under the Act do not belong to any



of the communal societies, Hindu, Muslim, or Parsi. The reason for requiring such a declaration is that these societies forbid inter-communal marriages. In the Hindu social order itself, marriage between two parties of different castes are not permitted, if the girl is of a higher caste. Among Muslims, a Muslim girl cannot contract a legal marriage with a non-Muslim, even if he is a "follower of the book". That being the case, a man or woman, intending to marry under the Special Marriage Act, has to cut himself off from the social life of his community. By going against an express social injunction, he severs the link that binds him to the society which imposes the ban. Strictly speaking, that society does not recognise the marriage as a legal bond, so long as it recognises the offending member as a member of it. No society can connive at breaches of its own code.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Special Marriage Act, however, has confused the position by its section safeguarding the interests of those who marry under it. A direct clause would in effect mean that the state overrules the ban on intermarriage. Therefore, the Special Marriage Act avoiding the direct attack on marriage restrictions takes the indirect line in providing that the Native converts' Disabilities Act extends to parties marrying under the Special marriage Act. The earlier Act was meant to protect converts to Christianity from social ostracism for religious apostasy. It is true that, as all social life in India is intertwined with religion, the purpose of the Act was difficult to achieve in practice. But there is a plausibility about wanting to protect converts to another faith from social inconvenience on the ground of religious tolerance. What the Special Marriage Act seeks to do is to protect one who has broken the restrictions of his society from social ostracism. How far the law courts are prepared to go in enforcing the provisions of both Acts is another question. But the intention of the Special Marriage Act is to break the social ban on intermarriages, while appearing to respect it in the section asking for a declaration of unbelief. In other words, it takes the man out of his social environment by one section and puts him back by another. So far the public has only concerned itself with questions of inheritance and succession and that only as it affects the Hindus whose joint family is left unaffected. But there are many other questions involved. To take one instance, in what constituency does a Muslim woman who married under the Special Marriage Act vote? If she votes as a Muslim, she retracts her denial of faith and, therefore, in so far as she could not have effected a marriage with a non-Muslim while herself remaining a Muslim, she renders the marriage void. There is another aspect. When one makes the declaration, one does so with the intention of going outside a society which does not permit the contemplated marriage. That society may decide that the breach of its marriage code is not serious enough to cause it to lose that member and it may express its desire to have him or her back in its fold. What it cannot do is to cast out a member who has already left it. For, whilst the first decision will merely imply that the society concerned has relaxed its restrictions in view of changed circumstances, the second course would be a superfluous and futile reiteration of an existing situation.

What the declaration under the Special Marriage Act effects is a severance of the social tie not an extinction of religious belief. And it may be asserted without fear of contradiction that, in nine cases out of ten, the social tie had ceased to exist long before the declaration was made.

\* \* \* \* \*

The amendment to the Special Marriage Act which Dr. Gour had enacted some fifteen years ago, provides for intermarriage between members of the Hindu and other faiths derived from Hinduism, without a declaration of unbelief. Inquiries at any registrar of marriages office will reveal that the largest number of registered marriages are between parties both of whom are Hindus. Dr. Gour's Act automatically breaks the joint family and introduces the Succession Act as far as the member who marries under it is concerned. There is one case at least in which four members of a Hindu joint family married under the Gour Act and lost their rights in the family to the fifth son who was unmarried. As the property involved was all self-acquired, the difficulties that might have arisen were solved by the head of the family making a will. Many of the problems which exist in British India are not seen in Baroda which has a straightforward civil marriage requiring no declaration with regard to religion.

#### TURKEY AND EUROPEAN ORDER.

The systematic translation of European classical works, reported from Turkey, was probably inspired by the example of the Osmania University which the Turkish journalists who came to India visited during their tour. But the purpose is different. The Osmania translations have for object the enrichment of the Urdu language so as to make it a fit instrument of higher education. The Turks have in view a deeper understanding of Western civilization which they have set themselves to imitate and have imitated in externals. They want to know the why and wherefore of the things which they have adopted without, as they avow, knowing their inner significance. Another difference is that the Turks are translating the classics particularly the Greek classics, while the Osmania translations are mostly modern scientific and historical works. It should be noted that Westernisation for the sake of being admitted into the European Order has never been an end anywhere in India.

Greece for two thousand years has not known freedom. The Roman conquerors, however, were themselves conquered by Greek culture and, as an English historian observes, the diffusion of Greek philosophy throughout the world was one of the services of the Roman Empire to world progress. Hellenism died out in Greece as Buddhism in India. After the Romans the Ottomans became rulers of Greece. But though they studied Greek philosophy and science, and, indeed, preserved Greek culture during the Dark Ages, Hellenism had not the same influence on their culture, arts and political ideas as it had on Rome. As a matter of fact, the Greeks though they did not adopt the Islamic religion, lost many of their ancient vitality and vigour under the Ottoman rule. Byron lamented

Ye have the pyrrhic dance as yet,  
Why is the pyrrhic phalanx gone?  
Of two such lessons why forget  
The nobler and the manlier one.

The Ottoman rule failed entirely in assimilating the Greeks nevertheless and Kemal Ataturk set on foot the exchange of populations on the border districts, involving tremendous hardship and suffering to populations concerned. There would have been no need for this measure if the present appreciation of the Greek origins of Western civilisation had been anticipated by the leaders of the Turkish Revolution. A totally different and more humane policy might have been followed with advantage to both countries.

It is significant that the present policy is motivated by the desire to prevent any particular European

nation imposing its culture on Turkey. This may be taken to indicate that Turkey is not enamoured of any European culture. She wants to enter the European Order but on her own right. But where is the European Order? It is being blown to pieces by British and American bombs on the one side and German bombs on the other. When these two sets of bombers have finished their work of destruction there will be very little of European Order left for Turkey to enter. The Russians have always held themselves to be distinct from Europeans. They are more conscious of their Asiatic affinities and Stalin has more than once avowed that he was an Asiatic. This is hardly the time for Turkey to covet membership of the European Order. Rather she should take pride in and assist the reconstruction of the Asiatic Order for the benefit not only of Asia but of the world. The distinctive feature of the Asiatic mind is that it keenly realises the close interconnection, the identity, between the temporal and the spiritual, the seen and the unseen. You can borrow a coat or a hat, a script or even a constitution. But you cannot borrow a tradition whose seat of authority is a people's sub-consciousness.

#### A BANDRA DIARY.

I was preparing to greet the day (Wednesday February 23rd) when my daughter came up saying Kasturba had passed away and burst into tears. Kasturba had a sort of maternal feeling for every one who rendered the least service or sacrifice in a cause espoused by Gandhiji. She seemed to know every *Deshsevika* by sight and many by their names. There were hundreds of them. We had been guests at Sabarmati Ashram and had noticed how while her hands were busy with some domestic detail Kasturba's eyes watched everything and everybody with tender solicitude. Women are said to have the gift of peripheral vision. They see not only what is straight before them but also what is around which is ordinarily unnoticed by men. Kasturba had this in a superlative measure. The whole life of the Ashram would have come to a standstill but for the solicitous eye of Kasturba. So much we could see and did in the few hours in the Ashram. My daughter was running a charkha class and Kasturba with Janakibai Bajaj and Ratanben Mehta came to inspect it. At parting Kasturba had remarked "It is like Ashram." That was a cherished memory. My first feeling on hearing the news was one of relief. I have watched the agony of heart attack. To watch it is itself as an agony. Kasturba had had several in recent months. Those reported in recent days were described as grave. She would have no more to suffer them. That was a relief to her. My second thought was for Gandhiji himself. But for the security assured to him by Kasturba in the background he would not have been able to attempt or achieve a tenth of what he has in his crowded and abundant life. This is true of most men. It is pre-eminently true of Gandhiji. There have been many instances of men who figure prominently in history whose home life was discordant and unhappy. But their activities lay on the ephemeral fields of politics. Gandhiji's abiding work is not in the political field although it has brought him most publicity. He has touched the springs of the Indian heart and transformed the lives of hundreds of homes. This he could not have done but for the strength which Kasturba's presence in the background constantly afforded him. The Indian National Congress is acknowledged universally to be the greatest political organisation; gladly by many, regretfully by some, grudgingly by some others and enviously by not a

few. Gandhiji's personality, of course, is a great factor. That explains, however, the surface and not the depth to which Congress ideas have penetrated. The stability of any movement is directly proportionate to the backing which it has from women. That the Congress is the most stable of our national movements, is due to the fact that the women of India are solidly behind it. That they are behind it is almost wholly due to Kasturba. Calling my attention to this fact, Kamakoti said that she herself would not have been attracted to satyagraha but for Kasturba being at the side of Gandhiji. Hundreds, thousands, I have no doubt, felt like her.

My third thought on hearing of Kasturba's death was that there was no more chance of Gandhiji securing release from detention through any formula acceptable to the authorities. If he would not do it to spare Kasturba he would not do it to spare himself. Much has been said of the Hindu ideal of wife-hood in the tributes paid to Kasturba. I was amused to find among those who have extolled that ideal some who have denounced the Sita Savitri ideal as out of date and unsuited to the modern Indian woman. Such is the force of a great tradition. When the seas are smooth and our little boats are drifting pleasantly with the breeze, we make light of traditions, scoff at them and deceive ourselves that we have no use for them. But, when the least little gust flutters our sails and rocks our boats, we run helter-skelter to the shelter of these very havens. They become full of meaning to us—these old superstitions. The fact is that what has endured for centuries has done so because of its vitality, high survival value. And this survival value itself is due to the universality of the idea underlying the tradition which survives. The Hindu ideal is, therefore, not peculiarly Hindu. It is universal. Sita pleads the precedent of Savitri when Dasaratha objects to her following her husband Rama into exile. Centuries before the Ramayana Savitri puts off the God of Death who begs her not to follow him: he is carrying off the soul of her husband. *Esha dharma sanatanah*. This is the eternal law. No Hindu can contest that and the God of Death as an orthodox Hindu has no answer to that. The ideal has endured and pervaded every stratum of our society. Wives of the men who work in coal mines have felt its force. This tradition is not confined to Hindus. It has become the Indian tradition and all the castes and communities of this country, have come within its sway.

It is a mistake, common among outsiders, to think that the Hindu wife is an inert soul, slavishly subservient to her husband. The power of passive resistance is far greater than that of active. Gandhiji must have drawn his satyagraha from the example of the women of India who through the ages have perfected its technique. One of the finest men I know, was once asked in the course of conversation on married life if he loved his wife "Love!" exclaimed he "I fear her!" "Fear" is not the right word. Fear cannot subsist side by side with love which the friend profoundly feels for his wife. But it is certainly true that the Hindu man stands in awe of the utter self-effacement, the untiring devotion, the unflinching fortitude which his womankind consistently evince in their lives. This gives them a power in all important concerns of life which no statute or franchise can confer. "The secret of power" observes Santayana "is suggestion not force." This the Hindu woman instinctively understands and practices with irresistible effect. A tremendous reservoir of power was concentrated in the frail body which was Kasturba and sustained her husband in his noble life-work.

RECLUSE.

## U. N. R. R. A.

The requirements of the peoples liberated from the Nazi yoke will be heavy. It is estimated (from calculations made by eight exiled Governments) by Sir F. Leith-Ross, of the Inter-Allied Committee on post-war requirements (reporting June, 1943), that 45,855,000 metric tons of supplies will be required for shipment to Europe during the first six months following the war's end. An estimated 23,485,000 tons of shipping will be needed to carry these supplies.

Of course, items such as medical supplies (89) or machinery and vehicles (347), which do not weigh so much, are equally important. Seeds (403) are vital, fertilisers and pesticides (1,183) also. It will be noted that no requirements are listed for the U. S. S. R. nor for the Nazi countries themselves, nor for "displaced persons" or prisoners of war. Nor, finally, for the Far East and India, though arrangements are made for all these problems.

Warning from what happened after the last war when "relief" was made a political lever and Europe was sucked dry by Anglo-American capitalist interests in exchange for immediate relief, and not given help to stand on its own feet again, is clearly before us. (*Europe's Overseas Needs*, League of Nations, 1943.)

The setting up of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, which has recently concluded the first meeting in Atlantic City, is an effort to overcome these difficulties. U. N. R. R. A. is a Government body and is controlled by the 44 Allied Governments, each of whom has a representative on the Council. The Executive consists of one member from each of the big four—Britain, China, U. S. A., U. S. S. R. The Director-General is Herbert H. Lehman, of the United States. The Administration works through a series of Committees of which the main ones are the Council of Europe, the Council of the Far East, Committee on Supplies. There will also be a number of technical sub-committees. It is estimated that the staff will be 1,200 plus 1,000 working on field missions. The personnel of U. N. R. R. A. is to be international in character and selected upon

the basis of individual competence, character and integrity, without discrimination on grounds of sex, race, nationality or creed, and drawn from as wide a geographical area as possible.

The purpose of U. N. R. R. A. must be to provide men women and children who, for various reasons, are unable to provide for themselves, with the necessary supplies and services at the earliest possible moment. The distribution will be of food and materials, not of currency. It is designed to restore family groups as quickly as possible. One of the chief problems facing it in this connection is the fact that there are anything from 20 to 30 million people in Europe who have been displaced. Apart from the sending in of food and medical supplies and welfare workers, U. N. R. R. A. will also send in supplies of raw materials, machine tools and mobile power units for industry. U. N. R. R. A. have, however, decided that their work is rehabilitation and not reconstruction.

But when it comes actually to handling supplies U. N. R. R. A. will presumably have to work through the Combined Boards in Washington which handle the bulk of the world's supplies of raw materials, foodstuffs and manufactured goods. These three boards are agencies of the U. S. A. and Britain; on two of them Canada is also represented. Countries with gold or foreign exchange can go to the Combined Boards; the Director can, however, veto supplies being sent if in his view this would cause inequitable

distribution, but it is possible to appeal over his head to the Combined Boards. This leaves the way open to financial "pulls."

The relationship of U. N. R. R. A. to the peoples is defined as follows. In the case of liberated territory where no government exists, U. N. R. R. A. will work with and subject to control of the military command, but where a government does exist it will operate only in consultation with and consent of the national government. However, though this point of national control is stressed, it is clear that U. N. R. R. A. also has to lay down conditions—e.g., price control and rationing of U. N. R. R. A. supplies; in relation to medical services, minimum standards and international control will be necessary; a general insistence on equality and complete absence of racial discrimination and control of transport.

In the case of enemy countries, U. N. R. R. A. will work as agreed upon with the military command and "the established control authority or duly recognised administration of the territory." A. M. G. is not mentioned by name.

The finance of U. N. R. R. A. is to be provided by those member governments whose home territory has not been occupied by the enemy, as an amount equal to one per cent of the country's national income in the year to 30th June, 1943. As much as possible, but not less than ten per cent of a country's contribution shall be in currency which can be expended outside the country itself. The balance shall be in goods and services from the country. The U. S. S. R. and China shall not be asked to expend monies for outside relief unless they are able to do so. U. N. R. R. A. will not deplete its resources in an area where a government can pay.

But the chief matter is, of course actual physical supplies. On this question the Agricultural Sub-Committee made important recommendations.

## DR. AMBEDKAR &amp; SCHEDULED CASTES.

Sir,

The conference of the so called scheduled castes at Cawnpore has come and gone. It's a pity that Dr. Ambedkar should have revived the bogey of a general "emigration" from the Hindu Fold. He cannot have it both ways—he cannot be allowed to blow hot and cold at the same time. If he talks of going out of Hinduism seriously, he cannot seriously talk of an effective share for the scheduled castes in the governance of the country. With all our sympathy for the cause of removal of untouchability, it cannot be gainsaid that deep rooted practices and prejudices, centuries old, cannot be up-rooted as if by a magic wand. Dr. Ambedkar as a practical politician and a far-sighted statesman should have remembered that Rome was not built in a day and should have counselled patience and perseverance. That he should have failed to appreciate the work of Mahatma Gandhi, the Harijan Sevak Sangh and a host of other workers and institutions for the eradication of untouchability is a matter of sorrow. It is "Community-conscious" people like Dr. Ambedkar, Barristers Jinnah and Sawarkar who have blocked the progress of the country and who have become the willing helpers of nonprogressive elements.

It was a matter of deep regret and shame that the said conference could not pay a tribute or even refer to the services of that great champion of the untouchables, Mr. V. R. Shinde, whose loss the whole country has mourned. Neither Dr. Ambedkar who knew that great soul intimately nor the conference referred to him anywhere. That so great a worker who had dedicated his life to the cause of the removal of un-

touchability should have passed unnoticed is for me who has worked with him since the beginning for the last forty years, a matter of deep sorrow.

The leader of the Independent Labour Party has thus cut a very sorry figure at the conference, especially after his lame justification of the employment of women in mines. If he is out to attack the caste Hindus he should at least take care to see that there is unity in his camp. I put it to Dr. Ambedkar, is there complete unity among the various sections of the so-called untouchables. Is the Mahar prepared to dine and intermarry with the Bhangi? Does he deny that there is "untouchability" among the 'untouchables' themselves? Has he ever tried to put these things right? If he has not, how can he hope to succeed against the caste Hindus with his divided ranks? He does not know even the elementary principles of warfare.

The learned doctor should remember the adage: Physician heal thyself first.

99, Main Street, }  
Poona Camp. }

L. M. SATOOR.

#### CALENDAR REFORM.

Sir, I agree with you that mankind as a whole does not much mind the different weekdays on which the year begins. I would say further that as the cycle of seven days seems to be the only thing shared by the whole of civilised mankind, it would be a great pity as well as a source of confusion, if this cycle were to be tampered with in any scheme of calendar reform. There are, however, certain remarks in your article which I find difficult to understand. Thus you say "European chronology like European life is dissevered from the natural phenomena which mark the passage of time." I do not know why you say this, because the European calendar is so adjusted by the fairly simple but effective device of leap years that the natural seasonal phenomena, which are amenable to any well determined laws, will take place at the same times during the course of the year at least for several centuries to come. The only obvious phenomenon of which it does not take any account is that of the phases of the moon, and for that the moon is more to blame than the framers of the Gregorian calendar. The Indian chronologists do take the motion of the moon into account, but they have then to sacrifice simplicity by introducing the device of dropping or adding extra dates and months in a way which is not at all clear to any except professional Astronomers. A reference to the almanac is necessary for every one to find out the exact date on any given day, an almanac which has to be constructed every year at the expense of long and difficult calculations, not understood by common people. Your last remark also requires clarification. Do you seriously suggest that the ordinary calendar should also indicate the positions of any of the planets? In that case, it may perhaps be appreciated by some fanatical Astronomers, but simple folk will be too bewildered to use it for any useful purpose. Your remarks regarding the instability of European culture and civilisation as being due to the European calendar may be expanded further for the benefit of your readers. K. R. G.

The European Christian Calendar was originally framed, as Hindu calendars are still framed, with a view to religious feasts and festivals. But, where as the Hindu calendar is based on natural phenomena, the Christian calendar is artificially made to suit certain assumptions. The era itself commences four or six years after the birth of Christ and bears no relation to any other notable event in his life. Hindu calendars do give the positions of the planets and the signs of the zodiac and other details.—ED.

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

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## NOTES.

**Monogamy Bill:**—The Government of India has never been enthusiastic about social legislation. Four years ago, it was forced to appoint the Rau Committee by a large and growing volume of opinion. The Committee produced two Bills. One was for regulating Succession and the other for making Hindu marriages monogamous. The second Bill is more important than the first. It affects every Hindu, man and woman: while the propertied class is a small minority. Government chose to introduce the Succession Bill first. Both Bills were circulated for ascertaining public opinion. After a lapse of two years, the Monogamy Bill came up before the Legislative Assembly on March 10 on a motion by the Law Member for reference to a Select Committee. Sir Asok Roy introduced his motion in a non-committal speech. He said that the opinions received on the Bill showed that there was general agreement as to the principle of the Bill but there was some controversy about the monogamic principle. The Bill is specifically intended to abolish polygamy among Hindus. Agreement on the principle of the Bill meant agreement on the monogamous principle. As a matter of fact, Mr. Bajoria, the spokesman of Hindu orthodoxy, declared himself in favour of monogamy if only because wives were expensive. Bajoria is a Marwari apparently. He confined his opposition to the provisions placing civil marriage on an equality with the sacramental Hindu marriage. There is no incompatibility in this as no one would be under an obligation to contract a civil marriage if he prefers the Vedic ceremony. Since Mr. Bajoria accepted the monogamous principle, he cannot be regarded as an opponent of the Bill. His argument that as this is a time of war, the measure should be postponed until the emergence of peace might have some force if marriages ceased to be contracted owing to war conditions. Mr. Bajoria was completely in error when he suggested that the women supporters of the monogamous principle were social butterflies. On the contrary it is among the social butterflies that women who contract polygamous marriages are often found. The great majority of Hindu women are solidly in favour of monogamy be they educated or uneducated in modern schools. So are the great majority of men. Fathers and mothers of girls welcome the prospect of legislation which would save their children from the ordeals of co-wifhood. Ninety five per cent of Hindus would support the monogamous principle. Polygamy used to be rare among Hindus when it was controlled by the conditions laid down in the shastras. There has recently been an increasing number

of polygamous marriages and they have become a menace to social and domestic peace. We trust in the course of the debates members will stress this point which Mrs. Renuka Ray overlooked.

**Conversion, the Panacea:**—Mr. J. E. Sanjana writing in the *Bombay Chronicle* recommends wholesale conversion to Christianity as the surest and quickest way of social salvation for the scheduled castes. Dr. Ambedkar had advised them to quit the Hindu fold without stating what other fold they should enter. Mr. Sanjana who is neither a member of the scheduled castes nor a caste Hindu, but who as an onlooker perhaps sees more of the game than either of the actual participants, avers that the protests against caste of several Hindu schismatics and sectarians have not affected it. He does not recommend the exodus of the scheduled castes to Islam because he does not want the Hindu-Muslim problem to be further complicated by the accession of the fifty, sixty or seventy millions—the estimates vary with the seasons—of the depressed classes. He seems to think that the same complication would not arise if they were converted to Christianity. Mr. Sanjana does not seem to be aware that conversion does not eliminate caste. There are castes among Muslims as rigid as those among Hindus. A Christian missionary journal estimated that about 51 per cent of Indian Christians observed caste. The missionaries themselves form a caste though they are not conscious of it. Among Indian converts, it has been observed that it is much more difficult to get converts of the scheduled castes to mix up than other Hindu converts. The Parsis themselves are a close caste. There are well recognised castes among Englishmen in their own country as well as out here. The only difference is that, while the Hindu avows that his society is caste-ridden, the others pretend that they are strict observers of the brotherhood of man. With all his sympathy, Mr. Sanjana does not invite the scheduled castes to be invested with the *saira* and *kusti*. The scheduled castes are likely to be assimilated to Hindus much sooner than to any others. There is a growing class of casteless Hindus in the community. The immediate question for the present secessionist leaders apparently is what their own position would be if the scheduled castes as a body embrace another religion. If they become Muslims they will pass under the flag of Mr. Jinnah. If they become Christians, they will have to yield place to Sir Maharaj Singh not to mention British and American missionaries who hold the purse-strings. If they become Sikhs, Master Tara Singh or Sardar Balwant Singh will claim their allegiance. The present leaders will lose their occupation in every case.

**Anti-Japanese Propaganda:**—The *Sunday Bombay Chronicle* published an article, headed "The Boomerang of New Delhi Propaganda", by a contributor who began by complimenting another contributor in a previous issue on exposing "the insidious propaganda contained in the series of advertisements about Japanese barbarities" put out by the Publicity

Department in New Delhi. The writer did not pursue the matter further than to suggest that this propaganda was having the effect of discrediting Asiatics and Orientals Generally more than the Japanese. The writer contrasted the reticence about German atrocities observed by the New Delhi propagandists and attributed the invidious distinction to "powerful and influential oligarchies in both Great Britain and America who will do everything they can to protect Germany from the consequences of total defeat." There may be such oligarchies in Britain and the United States. We do not know. But it is surely far-fetched to attribute the special attention paid to Japanese atrocities by the New Delhi officials to their influence. The Japanese enemy is at our door whereas the German is apparently holding his ground in Italy. Moreover, the Japanese has raised the slogan of "Asia for Asiatics" and as Indians are Asiatics, there is point in proving that the Japanese, though an Asiatic, is a savage and bloodthirsty barbarian who makes no distinction between Europeans and Asiatics in his atrocities. In fact, the pictures seem to suggest that the Japanese are more cruel to Indians than to Englishmen and Americans, notwithstanding their professed solicitude for Asiatics. The *Chronicle* contributor calls the New Delhi propaganda "insidious." If we were to characterise it we should rather call it "crude." Sir Sultan Ahmed expressed himself in the Legislative Assembly as satisfied that his propaganda is having the intended effect. He, of course, has his sources of information. But we may say that we have not come across a single person who had modified his opinion of the Japanese, for better or worse, because of the pictorial advertisements. The increasing cost as evidenced by the frequent and wholesale additions to the propaganda agency, is itself proof of the futility of its propaganda. The propagandist does not even try to be plausible. He hurls a string of epithets as a matter of duty. His task is specially difficult in respect of Japan and the Japanese because for over a generation before the war, English writings and writers were lavish in fulsome praise of their art, their culture, their civilisation and even of their geishas.

**Truth about Canada :—**Canada is one of the countries held up as a model of happy and harmonious life for the benefit of Indians. This is not a true picture. The French and the British elements in the Dominion are far more foreign to each other and have far less community feeling than Hindus and Muslims, so much so that men may live in the same street for years without a nodding acquaintance with each other. Judith Robinson contributes to the October *Foreign Affairs* an illuminating article headed "Canada's Split Personality." She begins by quoting an Australian Professor of International Law who told the Canadians that they were so busy proving to the English that they were not Yankees and proving to the Yankees that they were not British, that they had no time to be themselves at all. But this affects only their external relations. Internally, "French Canadian nationalism" she writes "is more actively separatist, more definitely Canadian, more openly resentful of the rest of Canada now than at any time since the eighties." It may be recalled that the Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, sharply rebuked Lord Halifax for adumbrating a plan of closer co-operation between the Dominions and the mother country in an address in Canada, and that the British Government had to repudiate responsibility for the ideas of its Ambassador at Washington. "Destiny," says Judith Robinson "caught us in Gandhi-pants and a gilt paper crown beating our national chest and repeating the formula prescribed: "Canada is a nation."

Judith Robinson goes on to describe at length the programme of a new political party. *Le Bloc Populaire Canadien* started in Quebec. The Durham settlement so much praised has broken down. The French Canadians are organising themselves to play the same part in the Canadian House of Commons as the Irish Home Rulers did in the British Parliament. French Canadians, even those who do not belong to the *Bloc* share Mr. Jinnah's view that small countries can still get along by themselves in this world and need no protective association with other peoples. The article is interesting if only as disproving the axiom of British statesmen that the Indian problem is unique and complex as no other problem is.

**A Legal Squabble :—**A pointless controversy has been set on foot regarding the procedure of the 'Syndicate and Senate of the Bombay University in passing contradictory resolutions about the affiliation of Sophia College. We are told that the University was bound by the provisions of the Act of Incorporation to act as it did. The Act vests the power of affiliation in the Government. The University has to recommend whether in its opinion a certain institution is or is not worth the privilege of affiliation. The Syndicate by adopting the resolution to disaffiliate committed itself to the opinion that the Sophia College was not worthy of affiliation. After that, it had no option to recommend the extension of affiliation for another period. Law is not opposed to commonsense. If it appears to be so in any case, commonsense should prevail. We are inclined to think that the legal arguments advanced to justify the Syndicate's extraordinary behaviour, are intended merely to cover the fact that some members of the Syndicate wanted to please the protagonists of affiliation without displeasing those who were for continuing the affiliation. Some others might have felt that while the attitude of the College authorities was untenable, all mission institutions would under similar circumstances have adopted the same attitude, and it was unjust to victimise a single College. This is also our view. The Mother Superior who was Principal of the College was not sufficiently diplomatic. That is not a great fault, if it be a fault at all. All this combined to give the proceeding the character best expressed in the phrase "willing to wound yet afraid to strike." Another argument advanced is that the University was under an obligation to offer an alternative in case Government did not approve of disaffiliation. This is assuming that the Government itself is incapable of finding an alternative. It is high time that the controversy in the newspapers came to an end. A Committee may be appointed either by the University or by the Government to define what precisely is meant by "religious freedom" as applied to educational institutions.

**War and Society :—**The consequences of India being made a main base of the war in the economic and industrial spheres, are patent. Its consequences on social life are much less obvious. As a matter of fact, the communal constitution of Indian society to a large extent absorbs the shock as it has done for ages past and preserves the integrity of institutions. The one community which lacks this protection is the Anglo-Indian community. We are indebted to the *Dawn* for the following warning given to his community by Mr. Frank Anthony, President of the Anglo-Indian Association and representative of the community in the Indian Legislative Assembly.

Women of the community (Anglo-Indian), particularly those who are leading a hectic and thoughtless life as a result of the large number of European troops in the country, are doomed to bitter disappointment after the war.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, March 11, 1944.

## A NEW APPROACH TO THE INDIAN PROBLEM.

Charles H. Behre, Professor of Geology in Columbia University, has dealt with the proposal to divide India into Pakistan and Hindustan, from a novel point of view. Holding that the industrialisation of India is inevitable, the Professor points out that industrial power in the modern world is based on the trinity of coal, iron and oil. Of the three oil, though valuable, is less essential than the other two. A state rich in coal can do without oil if exchange in mineral deposits is free. Even otherwise it can convert its coal into liquid fuel as Germany does. But coal and iron are indispensable and in India these occur chiefly in Behar and Orissa which are, therefore, likely to play the most prominent part in the industrialisation of the country. The area which is to form Pakistan has not been clearly defined so far but Behre assumes that they will include the five Muslim majority provinces in the North West, and Bengal and Assam in the North East. The five northern provinces are the Punjab, the Frontier Province, Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan. Behre illustrates his article by a map showing the mineral distribution in different areas. He finds that the largest and richest part of the country's coal and iron ore are concentrated in Bihar and Orissa which are outside the Pakistan area. He takes other minerals and metals such as manganese and chromium and finds that while manganese is chiefly mined outside the Pakistan area, chromium is about equal in Pakistan and Hindustan. Of the precious metals, gold occurs chiefly in non-Pakistan areas. Among the non-ferrous base metals, bauxite, the source of aluminium, is to be found in larger quantity in the Hindu areas, though Kashmir also has a share of it. Behre passes in review some other industrial minerals. His conclusion is that if India was divided on the basis of religious beliefs the Hindu state would be rich and the Muslim state conspicuously poor. This disparity, he adds, will grow as India progresses in industrialisation, Pakistan would remain as it is now, pastoral and agricultural, "economically tributary to Hindustan." Behre as the result of his study concludes:

The Hindu and Moslem areas of India are interdependent. Not only would Hindus need some of the resources of Pakistan for industrial life, Pakistan would desperately need great quantities of the resources of Hindustan.

Mr. Jinnah when confronted with a similar argument told Mathews of the *New York Times* two years ago; "Afghanistan is a poor country but it gets along so does Iraq and that has only a small fraction of the 70 million inhabitants we would have. If we are willing to live sensibly and poorly so long as we have freedom, why should the Hindus object? The economy will take care of itself in time". Behre does not deny the force of this argument. Political boundaries are not drawn on economic lines. In the redistribution of Europe after the last war, little heed was paid to the economic suitability of the plans adopted. That may be one reason why the plan broke down and there is a second war. The situation as disclosed by Behre's study is not new. Hindustan has always been a tempting prey to poorer nations whether in Central Asia or in Europe. When a poor people not pledged to non-violence have for neighbour a richer people pledged to ahimsa, the former can always draw upon the latter and, in any quantity, all that it needs. A nation

can become wealthy by industry. But a simpler method is by appropriating by force the outcome of the labours of more industrious neighbours. Solon told Croesus that the man who had more iron would possess all his accumulated gold. Britain does not grow cotton, India did and had a flourishing cotton industry. Britain became a great cotton manufacturing country by the simple process of using its political domination to depress the Indian industry. Behre quite realises that industrial inequalities will be sought to be redressed by force. Writing of Bengal in Pakistan, he says:

In a closed system the Pakistan state of Bengal, industrially speaking, will die. In such a situation one would expect violence. And it is permissible to note that the Moslem state which would thus be strangled would contain the people who are considered more aggressive and warlike than their richer neighbours.

But Gandhiji's industrial economy would leave Hindustan as poor as Pakistan and would therefore offer no temptation to violence by the latter. Referring to Gandhiji's ideas, Behre writes:

Mr. Gandhi evidences even less interest in India's industrial future than does Mr. Jinnah. Perhaps we are justified in wondering whether he advances his program of hand crafts as a realistic economic policy for India or as an admirable symbol of India's needs: her need of greater self-sufficiency, above all her need to look to the village, the small community, for well-being. Should not any plan of industrialisation begin with provision for the immediate, urgent needs of the people?

## RELIGIOUS CONVERSIONS.

We reprint from the *Madras Guardian* an article by Mr. P. Chenchiah headed, "Conversions and Colleges". We attach special importance to Mr. Chenchiah's views on the subject because he is a prominent member of a group of earnest Christians who seek to conserve the spiritual values of their ancestral faiths and to present Christ's teachings in terms familiar to Indian seekers after God. We agree with Mr. Chenchiah that the conversion of two Parsi girls, students of Sophia College, is in itself a minor issue and that the whole question of conversions of students in educational institutions conducted by missionaries has to be reconsidered. We go farther. The question to be reconsidered is not only the conversions of students but proselytism as a whole. By a significant coincidence, almost simultaneously with the Sophia College agitation, Mr. A. V. Thakkar, Vice-President of the Servants of India Society and General Secretary of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, a worker of long standing among Bhils and other aboriginal tribes, has called attention to the officially sponsored activities of Jesuits among the Gonds of Chota Nagpur. Mr. Chenchiah holds that freedom to proselytise is an essential part of religious freedom. This is a claim which has not been advanced and has not been allowed in any country except India under British rule. The Roman Church is particularly firm on the right of parents to have a determining voice in the teaching and management of schools. It is protesting against the White Paper scheme for imparting religious education in English schools, first among its reasons being "the absence of any explicit recognition of the rights of parents concerning the establishment and continuance of schools." The Bombay University has merely asserted its right and its duty as the custodian of the interests of parents in its territory, in regard to the Sophia College and a hue and cry is being raised that the principle of religious neutrality has been

violated. These Catholic monks and nuns, it may be noted, have been forbidden to engage in educational work in France and other free Catholic countries for over half a century.

On the general principle of religious teaching, Mr. Chenchiah himself says that he is against conversions sought to be achieved by means other than the highest and noblest. "I am" he writes "for conversions in the sense of creating in men and women a desire to follow the life and example of Jesus" Do Christian missionaries follow the life and example of Jesus? He forbade his disciples from carrying a spare coat with them when they went to preach. Would the starting of a Women's College involving the investment of several lakhs of rupees on Cumballa Hill have been approved by Jesus? Did not Jesus himself denounce proselytism? Assuming that the two Parsi girls desired to follow the life and example of Jesus, could they have not done so without breaking with their ancestral faith which, perhaps, was the source from which Jesus himself borrowed his major precepts? It is now admitted by educated persons that Jesus did not invent the morality which he taught. Nobody wants Mother Anderson to sacrifice her freedom to profess and practice her own religion. If any one did so it would be violation of the principle of religious neutrality or freedom, call it what you like. But to claim that Mother Anderson has a right to seduce, for that is what it comes to, from their ancestral faith, students who attend her college to learn subjects prescribed by the University, is monstrous. What are her credentials to appraise the comparative value of religions? Does she know what Zoroastrianism teaches and whether Christianity has anything different or better to convey to Parsi children? "The Parsi creed" says Professor J. B. Pratt in his "India and its Religious Faiths", by far the best book on this recondite subject "is still distinguished by the noble simplicity which marked the faith of their great Prophet." He adds that in the glorious company of the prophets this Aryan Zarathustra occupied a very illustrious place.

Mr. Chenchiah thinks that the Sophia College should not have given the undertaking not to engage in proselytising activities. The College authorities knew what they were about. To refuse to give the undertaking would have simplified the issue before the University. The *Reformer* suggested the postponement of the disaffiliation resolution in view of the undertaking and the denial that it had not been adhered to, because by so doing the Sophia College ranged itself alongside of the other missionary institutions which in theory are for proselytising but in practice do not make a single convert. This fact was actually adduced by Mr. D. J. Ferriera in his official statement as President of the Governing body of Sophia College as a reason for not taking any action against the institution! The plea in effect amounted to: "The college does not really intend to convert anybody. That these two girls were converted is an unfortunate accident. It will not happen again." As the existing colleges can claim a sort of prescriptive right to carry on in this equivocal fashion, the *Reformer* suggested that no new colleges controlled by foreign missions should be allowed to come into existence. Christianity is entitled to the same regard and opportunity as other religions and has always in this country received it in generous treatment. But we cannot allow it to take advantage of British rule to exercise in this country a licence which it dare not claim in any country having and enjoying self-government.

## NATIONAL LANGUAGE FOR INDIA.

BY NARINDRA SINGH.

Your note in the *Indian Social Reformer* of the 15th January 1944 under the caption, "Mr. Brelvi On national Language" is of special interest to me because I do not agree with almost all the points raised by you.

If, as you say, the only correct meaning of the term "*lingua franca*" is the language of international intercourse, that is to say, a vehicle for communication of ideas between sovereigns, foreign ministers and diplomats, then I concede that Hindustani should not be referred to by that term. However, when we are talking of a national language or, "*rashtrya-bhasha*" for India, Hindustani stands far above any other language which can claim to be mentioned by that name.

A common national language for India is essential if we are to develop inter-provincial intercourse and inter-provincial kinship. It has been suggested by you that English should be the national language, that is, the language of inter-provincial intercourse in India. One line of reasoning given in its favour is that it has already established itself as the language of cultural and commercial intercourse between provinces. The second argument given in its favour is that English has become a world language, that is a language of international intercourse and therefore should be learnt by educated men. Hence this language can be utilised both for inter-provincial or national intercourse as well as for international intercourse, avoiding the burden of learning a separate language for national inter-communication. But I wish to point out that the present day eminence established by the English language in India is largely (and not partially as you put it) due to the domination of India by the English-speaking people. Gradually, as India attains its full political status the English language will lose its present hold on the people because it is not the language of the people. Languages, to use your words follow well-defined laws. Some English words may get absorbed in our indigenous language, but the English language itself will not retain its present-day eminence. It will become the preserve of university men, diplomats, foreign ministers, and international traders. An indigenous language is bound to come to the forefront because it will be the real language of the people. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that such a language should be encouraged right from now. Moreover, without an indigenous language feeling of kinship cannot be possible. If a Bengali, while in the Punjab, can communicate with a Punjabi only in the English language, he is not only unable to reach the people but also appears to the people to be as much a foreigner as a Persian or an Australian. Thus in order to develop a feeling of kinship among Indians of different provinces it is essential we should have an indigenous language for inter-provincial intercourse. My submission is that the Hindustani language alone out of all the indigenous languages of India is showing the tendencies of becoming such a national language.

Hindustani, as far as the spoken language is concerned, is understood by a vast majority of the people of India. From the evidence that I have collected, the spoken aspect of this language, that is to say, its sound-patterns and vocabulary, are intelligible—with only a variation in degree to a Gujarati, Maharati, Bengali, Bihari, Lucknowite, Delhi, Punjabi, Peshawri and Sindhi. In other words, except for some portion of south-India a person speaking in Hindustani can make himself understood throughout the country. Even in South India, this language is taking root because it is the official

language of the Indian soldier in the army and South India is now taking its full share in the recruitment to the army. In the army the script used is either the Roman script or the Urdu script. Among the Moslems in northern India the script used is the Urdu script. Among the Hindus in northern India the script used is the Hindi script. The controversy between Hindi and Urdu of which we have been hearing so much is not so much a controversy of the spoken language as it is of the script because an overwhelming majority of the sound-patterns of spoken Hindi and spoken Urdu are common. It is these common sound-patterns which constitute the Hindustani language. My contention is that a commonly understood spoken language, for a large portion of India, already exists to which the name Hindustani has been given; only we have to give it a common national stamp. We have to systematise and standardise it so as to give it that dignity which a national language or "rashtrya-bhasha" requires.

Now we come to the written aspect of the language. For the purpose of making a language the vehicle for educational and cultural advancement the employment of a script is essential. The present day Hindustani is being written in two scripts. The Sanskritised version of Hindustani is called Hindi and is written in Hindi script and Persianised version of Hindustani is called Urdu and is written in Urdu script. The two together cover a large linguistic region of India. Moreover, the Hindi script and the Urdu script have come to have a sentimental value for the Hindus and Muslims respectively, and they constitute the two major communities of India. On account of these facts we must retain both the scripts. Hindustani is thus to be recognised as the national language and both Hindi script and Urdu script are to be recognised as the national scripts. That is to say Hindustani is our "rashtrya bhasha" and Hindi and Urdu scripts are our "rashtrya-akshara." It should be the duty of every educated Indian to learn both the scripts. The task is not so stupendous as it might seem for an elementary knowledge of the scripts is all what is needed. The main thing in a language is its stock of sound-patterns, that is to say, its vocabulary. A person who is well-acquainted with the vocabulary, of a language can be said to know the language. A knowledge of the meaning of the sound-patterns is what is necessary and which really requires effort. The question of script is only a secondary matter and can be learnt easily. By learning the two scripts one is not really learning two languages. The language remains Hindustani. One must not, therefore, be over-awed by the prospect of learning two scripts because one has to acquire only an elementary knowledge of them, and for that one does not require abnormal intelligence and effort.

By what I have said above, I do not in any way mean that the provincial languages should not be encouraged. In fact my aim is that every educated Indian should know his provincial language with its own particular script as well as the national language with its twin national scripts. An educated Gujarati should know his Gujarati language with its Gujarati script and he should also know Hindustani and its twin scripts Urdu and Hindi. Similarly, a person speaking Telegu, Malyalam, Marathi, Bengali, Punjabi, Sindhi etc., should know his own provincial language with its provincial script and should also know the "rashtrya-bhasha" that is Hindustani, and its twin "rashtrya-akshara," namely Urdu and Hindi.

I quite realise the difficulties of a Telegu speaking person or a Malyalam-speaking person. He is placed in a different situation from say a Gujarati-speaking

person. The Gujarati language has quite a number of common points with Hindustani. They are both off shoots of the same root. But not so the Telegu language. For a Telegu-speaking person Hindustani is quite a new language. He can, therefore, ask why he should learn two languages, (besides his own provincial language), one for national usage and the other for international usage; why shouldn't he learn only English which would serve both the purposes? But he must know that the tendency in the rest of India is to develop an indigenous language for national inter-communication. It is not merely a plan which is being enforced from the top. It is neither a fad nor a conceit. It is a genuine urge of the people. Therefore, in order to keep along side the rest of India and also in order to develop feeling of kinship among various peoples of India, it is well that efforts to popularise Hindustani in every Indian home should be encouraged.

### CONVERSIONS AND COLLEGES

By P. CHENCHIAH, MADRAS.

The Sophia College incident has many features of interest and portent. It concerns primarily Christian Mission Colleges and demands from them a clear avowal of policy. I think a parting of ways is forced on these institutions by the logic of events. The decision of the Senate of Bombay University to disaffiliate the College, a step unprecedented in the history of universities in India, has come as an unpleasant shock and surprise. It was hoped that better counsels would ultimately prevail but this was not to be. Alike in the circumstances in which the action was taken and in the way in which the verdict was pronounced, there are issues involved that are of far-reaching importance not only for Mission colleges but to national life as a whole.

Two questions are involved. (1) Are our universities to be champions of freedom and idealism or are they going to take the way of communal passions and prejudices? (2) Is there to be an all round freedom of conscience in India or is such a freedom to be denied in the religious sphere? We are accustomed to the play of passions in legislatures but expect universities to approach vital problems with a mind unclouded by passion and prejudice and informed by a higher sense of ethical values. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that in its final decision the University of Bombay has wounded the soul of India in its finer susceptibilities. The only redeeming features are the narrow majority by which the decision was passed, and counsels of wisdom and fairplay which those men who have failed offered and the higher stand they have taken. The situation may yet be redeemed by the veto of the Chancellor. But even if this is done, it is humiliating that the recommendation should have been made by our kith and kin and vetoed by a foreigner, as not in accordance with elementary principles of justice.

Let me make it clear at the outset that I have been always against secret conversions, and conversions sought or achieved by means other than the highest and noblest. I am for conversion in the sense of creating in men and women a desire to follow the life and example of Jesus. Baptisms and admissions into churches, transplantation from one society to another make no great appeal to me. They are accretions to an essentially spiritual process which should be disentangled from them. I also hold that while churches may baptise and add to the congregations, the colleges should eschew them and brotherhood of religions and ideals unmarred by suspicions and subterfuges, should exist. I say all this to make it clear that I look at the matter not



from a partisan standpoint but from the view of national interests.

The whole question of disaffiliation turned on a narrow point whether the undertaking given by the College was kept up by them. This is rather unfortunate as it has obscured the underlying principles. The undertaking was that College authorities would not engage themselves in proselytising activities among the students entrusted to their care.

I hold it was a grave error for the College to have given the undertaking at all. Even so stout an opponent of conversion as the *Indian Social Reformer* thought that, in view of the undertaking, further steps should be dropped. But in my view the undertaking is the error. A Christian College is bound to exercise Christian influence. Whenever this results in conversions a controversy as to the terms will arise. Both sides will deal with the matter in a legal and not in the spiritual mood. In my view unless a college honestly intends not to exert any religious influence whatsoever, it would not be wise to entangle itself by an undertaking of this nature. But this question does not arise as the undertaking was given after the conversions.

I can well understand the passions roused in the society and in the family. The conversion of two girls in rapid succession in a Women's College and the fear that more are to follow may create a panic in the society. But that is not the reason why a public body like the University should succumb to popular agitation.

But the deeper issue to me is the denial of freedom of conscience. Both the girls were majors. They made the choice of their own free-will. The society and families to which they belong were aware of their purpose and used all means of thwarting it. If, in spite of all this, they made that choice, why should they be condemned? Of course it may be said that the Senate was not concerned with the convert but with the undertaking. True. But the failure to examine the girls shows that their views were considered irrelevant. The undertaking—by-implication—condemns all influences on the part of Christian teachers and denies to the students while in college the right to exercise their freedom of conscience. If once we deny freedom of conscience, we do not know where we end. Conversions occur not only in religion but also in other fields. Can a college teach the students aggressive science and wean them from what science regards as superstition? Does a college break the spirit of its entrustment if it teaches that much of Hindu religious practices is superstitious? There are questions of caste and other social issues. Can they teach that caste should be discarded and brotherhood practised without the consent of their conservative parents? Could they teach nationalism to children of Government servants? Influence and conversion are vague terms. Why should conversion in religion alone be hit at and not in other fields? Conscience is involved in all these cases.

Conversions occur both ways. Christians are reading in Hindu Colleges where aggressive Hinduism is practised. Would the University impose the same conditions on Hindus?

#### BARODA INFORMATION.

Sir, Baroda Information has denounced as false rumours of the Dewan's resignation which have been current for about a month past. Information might have also told the public whether the Baroda monogamous marriage law has been repealed and, if not, whether any more prosecutions are to be launched for offences against the law, that or any other. The question is one of far reaching importance.

FACT.

#### SHOULD THE STATE "INSTRUCT" IN RELIGION.

Writing under his *British Weekly* pen-name, "Ilico," Dr. Nathaniel Micklem, in the issue for October 7, expresses some dissent from current opinion in England supporting religious instruction in the schools operated under public auspices.

In our issue of January 29, we summarized the proposals in the British White Paper dealing with this subject. It will be recalled that "agreed syllabuses," are proposed as a basis of religious teaching throughout the common schools—the "agreement" to be reached by the Church of England, the (Protestant) Free Churches, the teachers and the local educational authorities. It is also proposed that a "corporate act of worship" be introduced into all the common schools. Says Dr. Micklem:

"First of all, I am relatively little concerned about what is called 'religious instruction,' in the day schools. I think the Bible must be taught because a man is simply not educated if he does not know the English Bible, but I wish the Bible could be taught apart from examinations. I think national schools should always be opened with a simple act of Christian worship, because the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom, and we can have no national greatness apart from the fear of God. I should justify 'Christian' worship on the ground that Christianity is the religion of this country. But, while I am convinced that if we do not have religious education, we shall, in fact, have irreligious education—and may my children be spared that!—I should not be very greatly put about if there were no 'religious instruction' in the school at all. After all, it is the duty of the home and the Church to teach the Christian religion. It is not the period for religious instruction but the other periods that I am most concerned about and I am even more concerned about the teachers than about the curriculum. I want to know how they teach history and English and science. For instance, I do not want my children taught history by someone who will make them think, if he can, that economic laws mould the destiny of mankind, nor by a teacher who sneers at other countries or at parties and movements here with which he does not agree. I would have my children taught by someone who is anxious to bring before their notice, and to praise, all that is noble and magnificent in any country, especially our own, and who will point out the disasters that follow from cruelty and pride and greed. No, I do not mean that I want the history lesson turned into a series of moral talks, but I want the children to know that which is most worth knowing about the past. I want, too, a teacher of science who is no materialist; he will not teach a different chemistry or botany from other men, but he will have, and therefore will pass on, a sense of the mystery and the beauty of the world of God's creation. In fact, I want all subjects taught by truly religious and humble men.

"I distinguish education from professional training. I do not know how soon boys may properly begin to be trained for a special vocation, but education is the training of mind and character. What do I hope the schools will give them? I hope that when they leave school they will love to read, and all their lives will continue to read, great literature; then, secondly, I hope they will have not only sound principles but a good judgement, and this will show itself, by way of illustration, in their being impervious to the irrational suggestions of advertisements and party cries and catch-words.

"The reaching of the truths of the Christian religion is not the duty of the state. It is the duty of the home and of the church. I am more than willing that the school-masters should have a share in it, but I want a national system of education;

I want my children to be educated with all the other children of the neighborhood; I do not want the Christian children to be segregated—least of all into little denominational ghettos. Moral principles, sound judgment, good taste—let the children learn these things together; they are a good foundation for a Christian and a citizen, and generally speaking, there is no dispute about our desire for these things; to that extent we are still a Christian country."

#### SPECIAL MARRIAGE ACT.

Sir, Two points in your article on the Special Marriage Act in last week's *Reformer* require modification. A Muslim, marrying under the Special Marriage (unamended) Act, that is to say, marrying one who is neither a Jew nor a Christian—followers of a "religion of a book", will, of course, enroll in the General electorates. A Muslim friend told me the other day that a friend of his, a learned Maulvi, maintains that the Hindus too are followers of a "religion of a book", namely, the Vedas. As a Hindu myself, I am averse to accept this compliment. The Vedas are not a book but a whole literature. They were composed many centuries before writing was invented. They were transmitted from generation to generation by a highly elaborate system of mnemonics calculated to preserve every syllable and every tone of every syllable of the Vedic literature. Even otherwise, the spirit of Hinduism cannot be confined in any book. You may call it a religion of many books if you like but it is certainly not the religion of any single book.

The second point is as regards the operation of the Special Marriage (amended) Act. Marriage under it releases the parties from the joint family but it does not deprive them of their share even if the property be ancestral. Converts are protected, and certainly marriage under the Act does not deprive the parties of their shares. In a family it is not unusual to allow one or two of its members to devote themselves to public service by relieving them of the necessity of engaging in remunerative employment. The Brahmin is prohibited by the rules of his caste (now honoured in the breach) from taking service under a master. He must be content to be poor in the service of his people. The Brahmins as a class are still poor but this is not voluntary and, therefore, is not the spiritual dynamic which voluntary poverty always is.

Scrutator.

#### BHAGAVADGITA AND SOCIALISM.

Sir,

The Karmayoga theory or science of action, as it may be called, is perhaps the greatest contribution of Hinduism to humanity. This principle of Karmayoga asks the individual to engage himself in active work always and do his duty at any cost, dedicating the fruits of his actions to God. But the question comes here, How is it possible to dedicate material fruits of material activity to an immaterial God and how is it possible to cultivate a true attitude of detachment by a process of nominal relinquishment of the fruits of actions, either in success or in failure? This contradiction can only be resolved by substituting God with the living God, Society, and through duty evolving a living relationship between the infinite and the finite. That is to say that, through intense activity and through a process of subordinating the finite individual interest to the infinite interests of society, one can realise all the divine excellence of life while living. This process, of course, presupposes a control and organisation of society by society. Here lies the spiritual purpose of Socialism. And by establishing a kingdom of love and equality, Socialism will have established an everlasting unity between God and Man.

M. N. RAO.

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

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## NOTES.

**Palestine and Pakistan:**—The dispute over the enforcement of the Balfour declaration promising a National Home for Jews in Palestine, led to the appointment of a Royal Commission presided over by Viscount Peel to report on the best way of a settlement giving effect to the undertaking to the Arab states and the undertaking to the Zionists. The Peel Commission with much misgiving recommended the partition of Palestine between Arabs and Jews. The Chamberlain Government hurriedly endorsed the recommendation but an Arab revolt made them reconsider their acceptance and to substitute a five year plan progressively reducing the number of Jewish immigration which was to end in 1944. The Peel Commission had quite irrelevantly suggested that the method of partition might also be a solution of the Hindu-Muslim dispute in India. This was the germ of the Pakistan demand three years later. When the dispute over the Peel Report was at its height, President Roosevelt, who was asked about the attitude of the United States, said that his Government were not interested in the Palestine settlement except so far as it affected the interests of American citizens. As the term of the British interim plan is coming to an end, there is a strong pro-Zionist agitation in the United States to continue Jewish immigration. A motion in the Senate was countered by the demand of General Marshall for its postponement for military reasons. The President, however, is reported to have declared that the United States Government did not approve of the five year plan. The attempts of the Egyptian and Iraqi Governments to influence American opinion have been politely rejected. At this juncture, Mr. Jinnah as President of the Muslim League cabled to the Prime Minister warning him of the consequences on Muslim opinion of yielding to American agitation. Mr. Churchill through the Governor-General has informed Mr. Jinnah that he will bear in mind Muslim feeling in the matter. When the Peel Commission Report was published Indian opinion was unanimously against the partition proposal. Mr. Jinnah's misconceived attempt to make out that the Palestine problem is exclusively a Muslim problem, should not lead to any wavering in the organs of India opinion. On its merits, the arguments are all in favour of the Arab opposition to making Palestine a Jewish State as it will inevitably become if immigration is allowed to continue. It is on the

same footing as the opposition to Pakistan in this country. Mr. Jinnah may see no inconsistency in opposing partition in Palestine and demanding it in India but the inconsistency is obvious. In the best interests of India the Government and people of this country should oppose the Partition of Palestine as stoutly as the partition of India.

**An Artificial Agitation:**—The Balfour Declaration, promising a National Home for the Jews in Palestine was in the nature of a political bargain just as Pakistan would be if it is conceded. In the crucial stage of the last war, it was felt that only the entry of America would assure victory to the Allies. The Jews had great political influence in the United States. The Balfour Declaration was meant to propitiate them. The historical assumptions underlying the Declaration as well as its legality, have been subjected to a searching analysis by Professor Hocking of Harvard University in his "Spirit of World Politics." The Jews were never driven out of Palestine. They were forbidden by Hadrian to enter Jerusalem. There were Jews in Palestine outside Jerusalem. When the Turks became rulers the ban as regards Jerusalem ceased to have force and Jews were free to enter and live in Palestine. The Jews who have remained in Palestine are as much opposed to political Zionism as the Arabs. They do not like the ways of the immigrant Jews. The Jews who have distinguished themselves as scholars, scientists, artists and businessmen are not co-operating with the Zionist movement. The American Jewish Committee, we learn from the *Protestant*, has withdrawn from the Jewish Conference and repudiated Jewish aspirations in Palestine. The American Jewish Committee is composed of "assimilation Jews" that is, Jews who believe in becoming an integral part of the American population. The English Jews have also a considerable section in the assimilation camp. It is not British or American Jews, nor Indian Jews, who immigrate to Palestine but the Polish and Russian Jews and, since Hitler's rise to power, German and other continental Jews. They swarm into Palestine not to help the Arabs, who have made their homes there for thirteen centuries, to develop on their own lines but to exploit the country and to expropriate the people. Whatever might have been the urgency of the question of Jewish immigration, it is likely to cease to be urgent when the Allies relieve Europe of the nightmare of Nazism. Russia which is likely to have a predominant voice in the Peace Settlement has shown itself actively pro Jew. In the European settlement the right thing to do would be to help expatriated Jews to return to the countries to which they belonged and not to crowd them into a small country like Palestine. There are about 15 million Jews and Palestine cannot accommodate a fraction of them even if the Arabs are all evacuated. We hope the American supporters of the Zionist movement will take all these facts into consideration and desist from what

seems to be a fanatic desire to convert Palestine into a Jewish metropolis.

**Legislative Assembly and Government :—**The Government of India has been defeated in divisions on its budget proposals in the Legislative Assembly. It was defeated on the proposal to raise railway fares. More recently, it was defeated on demands for grants for the Executive Council and on cut motions practically censuring it for financial and administrative mismanagement. The majority in each case has been two or three, except in the last where it was nine. It must be remembered, however, that there is a solid body of some twenty-five officials who are bound to support Government as a part of their official duty, besides nominated non-official members who are not under the same obligation but are generally chosen for their pro-official leanings. Taking these into consideration the Government lobby figures in divisions are of little value as expressions of public opinion. In all these divisions Congress and Muslim League members have voted together. Mr. Jinnah has all the time been demanding that Government should concede Pakistan, and secure the support of the Muslim League against the Congress which, he holds, is bluffing and is without influence in the country. The Muslim Leaguers are much annoyed at the recent declarations of the Viceroy regarding the geographical, economic and strategic unity of India. They are also no doubt displeased with the Finance Member for his refusal to provide the large subvention demanded by the League Government of Bengal. From one point of view collaboration of two parties for purely selfish ends may be welcomed. A habit of co-operation may grow and become permanent and may ultimately lead to readjustment of the rival platforms so as to fit into each other. But this is only possible if there is no agency outside the Assembly directing policy. There is one such agency. The defeat of Government under such circumstances cannot be regarded with unmixed satisfaction. The temper of the debate on the vote for the Executive Council was unusually tense. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar whose term of office has just been extended for another five years, was told that he was a traitor to his country. To some extent he had called this on himself by his attack on the Congress and its leaders for non co-operation. He chided them for their dog-in-the-manger policy as he termed it. The dog in the New Delhi manger has not prevented the cows and bulls of officialdom from feeding in the manger. The dog in fact is not in the manger at all. The remark was meaningless except as an insult. Government members are under an obligation to be restrained in their language, to observe decorum and to treat their non-official colleagues as serving public interests as much as themselves without recompense in salary and allowances. The dog-in-the-manger is by no means a more respectable canine than the poodle which snarls from the lap of luxury.

**Sacramental and Civil Marriage :—**The main objection raised by the orthodox spokesman, Mr. Bajoria, to the Marriage Bill in the Legislative Assembly, was that it placed the sacramental Hindu marriage and the civil marriage on a footing of equality. There is a feeling against registration as derogatory to the religious idea of marriage, which found strong expression during the debates on the Arya Marriage Bill in the speeches of the Arya spokesman. He strongly resented the idea of registration and the Law Member got round the difficulty by describing in the preamble the Aryas as a class of Hindus. The Hindu marriage

for ages past has not had any documentary record. Besides this traditional antipathy, the difference between the civil marriage and the sacramental marriage is that while the sacramental marriage would retain some of the present restrictions as to caste, gotras and so on, the civil marriage will be totally free from them. Both the sacramental and the civil marriages would be monogamous under the proposed legislation. The orthodox spokesman is not against civil Marriage but against its being placed on an equality with the sacramental one. What the distinction he would make between the two to denote the superiority of the one over the other, he did not indicate. The new legislation is to take the form of a complete Hindu Code. The Gour Act already provides for a civil marriage as among Hindus including in the term all religionists who follow a religion which had its birth on Indian soil. This is the Mahasabha definition and it is already being felt to be too narrow. In Maharashtra, according to the *Mahratta*, Christians are being enrolled as members of the Mahasabha and are working for it. It is worth while making a fresh attempt to get all the communities to agree to the passing of a simple Civil Marriage Act applicable to all without restriction. A marriage is a marriage however solemnised and it is unreasonable in the best interests of the community and impossible to make any distinction between a sacramental and a civil marriage.

**Turkey on the Fence :—**Turkey has very adroitly maintained its seat on the neutrality fence since the war began. She has a fine army of two million men but they had no modern equipment. During two or three critical moments of the war Turkish intervention would have shortened it considerably. But Turkey would not descend from her fence. Evidently the British now requested her to come into the field promising military supplies. But Turkey asked for more than the British were willing to supply on their own estimate of the danger to Turkey from Germany. All supplies have now been stopped. It must be assumed that the British Government are convinced that Turkey cannot turn to Germany for supplies. Russia has always had an eye on Constantinople and there were secret plans in the Russian archives to give Constantinople to Tsarist Russia. The Bolsheviks published these plans and when Turkey was in the throes of the war with Greece which was backed by the British, Russia generously waived all her rights and gave the Ataturk valuable support. It is not too much to say that, but for the support of Russia, Turkey would not have emerged as a Republic. The present impasse may lead to the revival of Russian interest in Constantinople. German occupation of that city would gravely menace the security of Russia.

**Cross Currents :—**While Indian industrialists are planning to create new industries in the country as soon as the war is over, British publicists are exercised over the repayment of the debt to India now existing in the form of sterling securities. This, it is estimated, may amount to one thousand million pounds and, if called upon for immediate repayment, would seriously embarrass British finance. *The Manchester Guardian*, a Liberal journal, argues that the repayment can only be in goods and that too must be spread over a long term. If goods are imported from Britain or any other country Indian industries will suffer. It would practically mean that India should not start any industries which will compete with British industries.



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, March 18, 1944.

## SRINIVASA SASTRI'S LETTERS.

The art of letter - writing is almost dead in the West. It never flourished in India. Its decay in the West is due to the inventions which have accelerated human intercourse. It is also due to the rise of the stenographer who takes down from dictation, the dictator being obliged by the poised pencil and impatient looks of his amanuensis to spout out words which come to him without pausing to choose the right word—the word which conveys his meaning precisely. Some years ago C. F. Andrews published in a book some letters of Rabindranath Tagore. They were all exquisitely worded but had the air of slight condescension owing to their being from Guru to disciple. "Letters of the Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri" (Rochouse and Sons, Madras, price Rs. 6) edited by Mr. T. N. Jagadisan, has all the charm of Mr. Sastri's oratory with the added interest that, unlike speeches which are intended to impress an audience, the letters were written without any idea that they would be seen by any one but the persons to whom it was addressed. Mr. Jagadisan's preface conveys some idea of the difficulties he had in rescuing these letters from oblivion. Mr. Sastri himself, he says, kept no letters, neither those he wrote in copy nor those that were received by him. "As for Mr. Sastri's own letters," he adds, "very few recipients seem to have deliberately destroyed them, though not many have preserved them by intention and with care." This is largely the outcome of the national idiosyncrasy of regarding as ephemeral everything mundane, partly to the feeling that no one is likely to search in one's correspondence for material for literature or history. Ultimately the idiosyncrasy itself is an expression of the sense of futility which is so pervading at the present time among us. Mr. Jagadisan quotes Sir Sivaswami Aiyar as referring to Mr. Sastri as "our greatest letter-writer." We are almost inclined to say "our only letter writer." Many of us write letters but we do so without zest, as a digression from our purpose in life, to be got through as casually as possible. We sit to write just in time to catch the post and often say so as an excuse for the sloppiness of matter and manner. Mr. Sastri never seems to be in haste. He loves writing letters and to put as much of himself as he can in them. He chooses his words not only for their meaning but also for their associations which are more important, "with all the jealousy of a lover of words" in the words of Walter Pater. That the style is the man, one is reminded again and again in reading these letters.

Mr. Sastri was fortunate in that the chances of life gave him wide opportunities of contacting men and affairs. The turning point in his career was his decision against domestic dissent to launch out of the safe harbour of the pre-eminently congenial vocation of Headmaster of a flourishing school in an intellectual centre, into the uncharted sea of Indian political life. Gokhale had opened the Servants of India Society with five personal friends. The prospectus fell into Mr. Sastri's hands and he resolved to throw in his lot with the group. The first letter in this collection is dated 27 December 1905, and is addressed to Gokhale who was President of the Indian National Congress held in Benares that year. In that letter Mr. Sastri offered himself as a candidate for membership of the Society. He introduces himself in these words:

I am a school master in Triplicane (Madras) with about 17 years' service. I graduated B. A., in 1888 and am now 37 years old. My age, I fear, may be against me, as I may not have many years more to give to the service of my country. Nor have I the confidence that I can do very much in the few years that lie before me. Such as I am, however, I offer myself and hope to be accepted.

Gokhale invited Sastri to go to Poona. He was accepted and about the end of next year was sent, as was the rule for new members, on an all India tour of observation and study. A large and the most interesting part of this collection, however is the correspondence with Gandhiji. The two men are in many respects quite different from each other. One may even say that they are in many respects direct antitheses. Nevertheless there has all along been an intimate understanding between them. They have despite strong political differences remained close friends. Their acquaintance began in 1912 when Gandhiji wrote to Mr. Sastri from South Africa during Gokhale's visit to that country. They first met each other in January 1915 on Gandhiji's return for good to India. In a letter to his brother, Ramaswami Sastri, Mr. Sastri gives his first impressions of Gandhiji. He writes:

I saw the Gandhis at Narottam's with the S. I. S. people and Gharpure. They gave us an hour of their time yesterday (January 9). He has one front tooth missing. Mrs. Gandhiji looks at least ten years older; owing, I hear, to the jail hardships. She does not know English! Mr. Gandhi, after a few family matters settled, will tour over India for the space of one year, observing and studying but not speaking or writing. If he drops his 'anarch' views and takes ours he joins the S. I. S. If not, he eschews politics and becomes an exclusively social worker. Queer food he eats: only fruits and nuts. No salt: milk, ghee, etc., being animal products, avoided religiously. No fire should be necessary in making of the food, fire being unnatural. Only under Dr. Mehta's insistence he allowed, for a few days only, bananas to be boiled before eating them. He spoke highly of the Tamil passive resisters who stood out to the last and have suffered the most. In the second week of February he comes to Poona for a few days' stay. Of course I shall be here then.

The odd thing is, Mr. Sastri adds, he, was dressed quite like a Bania; no one could mark the slightest difference. "He had a big sandal mark on the forehead and a kunkum dot besides. He did not stop with Mrs. Bahadurjee because his caste people did not like his being a Parsi's guest. His caste has two factions one of which will support him and the other not."

The above passage is a good example of Mr. Sastri's talent for pen portraiture. The twelve months tour of silent observation prescribed for qualifying for membership of the Servants of India Society ended in January 1916. Gokhale died in February 1915. Sastri was elected President. Circumstantial stories have been put about of Gandhiji's discomfiture at not being preferred for the office. As a matter of fact, however, Gandhiji was not at the time a member of the Society. On completing his tour, he withdrew his candidature for membership in view of the difference of opinion which had manifested itself among the members. Communicating Gandhiji's letter of withdrawal to the Secretary of "the Society, Dr. Dev, Mr. Sastri noted that Gandhiji" was magnanimous enough to anticipate our verdict and relieve us of a delicate task". He added, "It is like him and I take it as a great proof of his affection for the Society." But Gandhiji did not remain long an exclusively social worker

Perhaps, it would be more correct to say that he conceived social work in terms of politics. He took an active part in the Congress of 1919, the famous Amritsar Congress. On March, 1920 Gandhiji writes to Mr. Sastri that he has been invited to join Dr. Besant's Home Rule League. Should he do so? "I have told them at my time of life," Gandhiji writes, "and with views firmly formed on several matters, I could only join an organization to affect its policy and not be affected by it." He listed five points on which he must insist. Honesty, Swadeshi, Hindustani, linguistic provinces and Hindu-Mahomedan unity. No Charkha yet. As for Hindu-Muslim unity he observes that "the unity by means of propaganda for inter-dining and inter-marrying will be excluded and will include vigorous cooperation on the Khilafat question." In August 1920, Lokamanya Tilak died and the Congress sceptre passed without contest to Gandhiji. Mr. Sastri's deputation to South Africa as Agent General of the Government of India was enthusiastically acclaimed by Gandhiji. Gandhiji wanted Mr. Sastri to take Mrs. Sastri with him. To the objection that Mrs. Sastri did not speak English, Gandhiji replied:

Mrs. Sastri should certainly go with you. I do not know that it is an advantage to have both host and hostess as brilliant talkers in English. You will be her interpreter or you can take for her one of the gifted Tamil graduate girls of whom you have so many. She will be her companion, teacher and interpreter.

Mrs. Sastri did not go. She remained behind. Mr. Sastri's term in South Africa was a memorable one. It was, as admitted in all hands, an immense success. It would have been even a more resplendent success if Mrs. Sastri had been with him, as Gandhiji advised. Women all the world over understand each other more easily than men. It is, perhaps, because their work is largely with the raw material of life while men deal with the more or less finished products. In the many little troubles which beset his path in South Africa, Mrs. Sastri would have been an invaluable help as a soothing influence. Even Manilal Gandhi's delightful intransigence might have been overcome before it found vent in his letter—a most extraordinary one—to his father in Sabarmati.

The best letters in the collection are those to Mr. Sastri's daughter and grand-daughter, which reveal the depth of his family affection. The correspondence with Mr. Montagu and other public men throw side lights on the political atmosphere in those days. Mr. Jagadisan has rendered valuable public service by pioneering in a field which holds promise of much future enterprise.

#### INDIA'S CREDIT AFTER THE WAR.

The sterling funds accumulating in London to India's credit are causing a great deal of interest both in Britain and in India. Opinion in Britain concentrates itself on ensuring that these credits should be utilised to increase trade with Britain and that steps should be taken to prevent Indian purchases with it of goods manufactured in America. Post-war finance is being considered on a large scale and the readiness of South American republics to join the United States of America in its intervention in Europe is greatly influenced by the possibilities of European trade falling to South American business. U. S. A.'s business magnates have also a large hand in South America and the Western Hemisphere will do its utmost to secure as large a share of world trade as it could. The anxiety shown in Britain at the prospect of American competition is not misplaced.

In India economists, notably Professor C. N. Vakil, have warned us that the sterling credits will prove

largely illusory; and that at the time of settling they will be explained away or disposed off. One method of settling is to pass the burden of the campaigns conducted far from this country on to India. There has been in recent months another feeling, more optimistic, in one sense, more pessimistic in another, prevailing in a small section of Indian business—that is, that the credits will be paid but in consumer's goods. This would kill Indian industry which in many of its activities has enjoyed a wartime expansion. Sir Jeremy Raisman in answer to a question in the Assembly on November 10, 1943, said that among the steps taken to stop inflation by the Government of India was increasing the volume of consumers goods available. If by that was meant increasing production it would have been reassuring. In the existing conditions, it can only mean increasing imports. In the absence of imports, owing to shipping difficulties, industries have sprung up in India which do service by providing substitutes for many pre-war articles. What is to happen to them? Will they continue to receive aid from Government, or at the least be permitted to carry on? It is evidently feared that they are not likely to. Therefore with some timidity the suggestion is advanced that the best course for India would be to renounce of her own accord the credits that are accumulating in London, if she cannot induce Britain to pay in capital goods. This is seriously put forward as in the best interests of Indian industry. The fears of the Allies in the last war that Germany by paying in goods the reparations levied on her would smash industrial life in the Allied countries, have a resemblance to the fears now entertained by Indian business, or a section of it which is not quite without influence.

What is needed in post-war India is capital goods. With ample resources, with mineral assets which have yet to be tapped, the prospects for developing Indian industry are promising. The problem is how to get the industrial countries to part with capital goods. The difficulties which faced industrial life in India on the outbreak of war, have brought out in bold relief the industrial backwardness of the country. For the smallest need we have depended on other countries. Therefore, we have found our development an illusory one. The Atlantic Charter does not afford any relief in this matter. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration Conference is only concerned with territories that are suffering from abnormal conditions brought on by war or nature. Waiving of the sterling credits will bring at best a negative relief which can be achieved by other less calamitous methods, not unknown to Indian politics. Indian agitation should concentrate on ensuring an adequate flow of capital goods. It is a just demand and is independent of India's credit. What is the Reconstruction Committee on Trade and Industry doing in this line?

#### HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE STATUS OF TEACHERS.

BY PROF. P. A. WADIA.

Some time ago the Bombay University appointed a committee to look into the question of the terms of appointment and grades of the teaching profession in private colleges. We do not know the outcome of this investigation but we do feel that there is urgent need for calling attention to some of the practices at present in vogue, both in missionary institutions and colleges under the control of private Indian Societies. In the first place, there are colleges all over the Presidency which have adopted the practice of appointing part time

Professors giving them a scale of Rs 50 to Rs. 100 per month. They do responsible work in language or history and economics or other subjects, not only in the first year and Intermediate classes but even in B. A. Honours classes. Those who are paid Rs. 50 are styled lecturers or assistants though the work they do is scarcely distinguishable from that of Professors. Some of them are actually employed in private commercial firms and devote an hour to teaching in colleges. There are others who do teaching work in more than one college in order to supplement their meagre earnings.

In the second place, the practice of making temporary appointments, from term to term or year to year is being increasingly adopted. It is convenient both for the employer and the employee. Penalty clauses of an exceedingly onerous character are inserted in agreements by employers to prevent the employee leaving without proper notice.

Subjects have been introduced into the courses for which sometimes qualified Professors are not readily available, with the result that unqualified men are asked to teach regardless of reactions on the taught. When complaints are raised about the type of graduates that are sent out in our times by the University, it should not be forgotten that one of the factors that have to be taken into account is this commercialisation of the teaching profession degrading alike to teachers and the taught. There is the same trend towards commercialisation in medicine and law: an age that is predominantly commercial has its natural influence on vocations that were once legitimately regarded as opportunities for the service of humanity. But a capitalist civilisation can find no way of escape from this progressively tragic degradation of the professions that were once followed not as means of earning money, but as ways in which the gifted amongst men could lift the rest to a higher level of existence, so that the glory of God could be made manifest in human society and his purpose increasingly fulfilled.

The average teacher in a college has thus come to look on his work as a means of gaining a livelihood. The classroom is looked on not as unlike the bank's counter or the shopkeeper's warehouse where employees have to put in a certain amount of mechanically performed work, with a haunting sense of being under paid and exploited, with no heart in their work, eagerly awaiting the end of the day's work. Where there is no vision among the teachers, the noble task of liberal education is degraded into a lifeless succession of mechanically delivered routine lectures or of dictation of notes.

But the process of exploitation at times assumes a more subtle form. When questions about the poorly paid lecturers and professors are raised by inspection committees appointed by the University, the process of exploitation is being sanctimoniously defended by the plea that there is amongst them—the teachers and professors—the urge of service and sacrifice which makes them cheerfully accept the miserable scales of pay offered to them: and those who criticise the present low scales of payment are alleged to be unable to appreciate the desire to serve. When this kind of defence of exploitation emanates from British and European missionaries, one is tempted to characterise it as cynical—for whilst the spirit of service is regarded as an explanation of the lowly paid Indian teaching profession, the same spirit of service evidently demands a very much higher scale of payment for the British and European teaching profession. There are further an increasing number of Indian missionary societies who lay down a self denying scale of monthly salaries for life members—a scale so meagre that those who join as life members regard

their work of teaching as subordinate to the search for supplementary sources of income like writing cribs and annotations and appointments as examiners and supervisors. It is difficult to find a more telling illustration of the power of self-deception and the art of covering under a cloak of sanctimonious solemnity, motives which might otherwise call for criticism.

If a capitalist civilization leads to the degradation of the teaching profession by the processes of competitive bargaining and to the commercialisation of vocations that were associated in the past with service and the spirit of sacrifice, it does not lie with those who uphold this capitalist regime to criticise and condemn educational institutions for sending forth graduates who are neither alive to the things of the spirit nor to the demands of a society absorbed in the production of material wealth. It is the tragedy of a commercially dominated society resting on capitalist foundations that it fails to secure the material conditions of a good life for its members, whilst in the pursuit of these material conditions it tends to destroy the impulses and urges that point to a richer and a fuller life which it is the privilege of its members to live. What is necessary for the establishment of a better order where the task of education will recover its ancient heritage is a process of *rethinking* and reconstructing our economic life on the foundations of co-operative endeavour for securing the freedom from want and the freedom from fear not only for those who are devoted to the work of education, but for all who contribute by their work to the material and spiritual welfare of society.

#### A BANDRA DIARY.

Some friends from the South tell me that there is a feeling among readers of this Diary that I am turning orthodox. I renounced long ago most of the inward beliefs and outward symbols of orthodoxy and have not resumed any of them. Except that I do not eat meat, do not drink liquor and do not smoke, I retain little of my orthodox heritage. If, therefore, friends think that I am turning orthodox it can only be that orthodoxy itself is greatly changing. I have good reason to think that this is the case. Only recently, I have had convincing proofs that orthodoxy has become liberal to an extent incredible to those who knew it even ten years ago. The orthodox Hindu of today has advanced much farther than the radical reformer of a generation back.

The more I have fallen away from orthodox creeds, the more intensely has my faith grown in basic Hinduism. In the light of its basic principles Hinduism reveals itself to me as a universal religion which contains within itself the seed-grain of all religions. The Hindu race may cease to exist but Hinduism, as I see it, can never die. It will live and grow and flourish because the principle of life and growth is inherent in it. Orthodoxy is the lethal chamber of all religions. It is particularly so to Hinduism which must ever grow and expand or it will perish. A fortnight back writing of Kasturba Gandhi I referred to the Hindu tradition of womanhood. It is a very noble tradition which we can never afford to supplant by any other. But that tradition itself has to be expanded so as to inspire not only family life but also national life and our relation to humanity as a whole. Gandhiji's efforts to widen the horizon of his wife were attended by incidents which had the appearance of coercion to onlookers. But Kasturba herself understood. She realised that they were for her own fuller growth like the digging and pruning of the

expert gardener to make his trees grow and bear fruit at their best. And her devotion to her husband, her faith in him, was never deeper than in her last moments, as her son, Devadas' moving account of her last moments shows. The memorial to Kasturba planned by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and other leading men of India, is to be for the benefit of women and children. It will, of course, include all races and creeds and castes and outcastes. I am rather afraid of the prominence given to the fund. A fund is, of course, necessary but more important is the object. This should be clearly defined to be to preserve the ancient ideal and to enlarge its scope and depth so as to make the women of India true sisters of mercy to all beings. They should be patriotic, no doubt, but with the patriotism which regards other nations not as actual or potential rivals and enemies, but as friends and good neighbours. A very ancient tradition of Hinduism is to the effect that when the old gods failed to recognise the Ultimate Cause it was a woman, Uma Haimavati, who revealed, it to them that it was BRAHMAN.

RECLUSE.

#### REGISTRATION OF CONVERSIONS.

Sir,

I do not wish to enter into the details of the Sophia College controversy, but I wish to point out that the whole trouble would have been avoided if conversions are required by law to be open and above board and have to be registered before a recognised officer. Some twenty years ago, I suggested that the Legislature should pass an act to regulate and register conversions, but so far as I remember the organ of the Catholic community at that time was against the proposal as being opposed to the liberty of conscience. Even now, I believe, in one Muslim State in Central India conversions from Islam are prohibited by law, while conversions to Islam are encouraged. Till not so very long ago, in many Catholic countries such conversions were severely punished and in the lamentable history of religious persecution the Roman Catholic Church does not cut a very creditable figure. It is no use referring to old history but one must learn to be reasonable to others also. What is there really objectionable in a legislative measure incorporating, among others, the following points?

1. The person to be converted should be a major above 21) if a minor he should have the consent of both his parents; in case of a minor married girl the consent of the husband should also be necessary.

2. The conversion should be registered before a duly authorised officer who should satisfy himself that the conversion is absolutely voluntary and that the converted person recognises that he henceforward ceases to have the social and political rights and privileges of his old community while acquiring those of the new community.

3. The registration should be in the presence of a certain number of independent witnesses and no religious discussions should be allowed at the time.

4. No public demonstrations should be allowed in connection with any conversion.

5. Mass conversions should not be allowed.

6. If the registering officer is not satisfied that the conversion is absolutely voluntary and that fraud and force have not been used in bringing it about, he should refer the matter to a higher authority.

7. Severe pains and penalties should be imposed on any person or persons convicted of illegal practices in bringing about a conversion.

8. The register of conversions should be open for inspection to the public on payment of a fee.

I drafted a bill to give effect to such conditions but no legislator has thought it worthwhile to move in the matter. Conversions are a source of potential mischief and that source should be done away with before the mischief actually occurs.

POONA,

R. P. PARANJPYE.

10-3-44.

#### MR. CHENCHIAH ON CONVERSION.

Sir, Mr. Chenchiah's article in the *Guardian* which was reprinted in the *Reformer* last week, whatever else it does, does not help the Sophia College authorities. On the contrary, it is a more severe indictment of their attitude than any advanced in defence of the Bombay University. His declaration that the College authorities ought not to have given the undertaking which they did clinches the matter. His idea of true religious conversion is also opposed to that of most missionaries. I say 'most' because Dr. William Miller of the Madras Christian College, whose student Mr. Chenchiah, I think was, took exactly the view that he does and dissuaded most of his students who felt disposed to change their faiths from taking that step. He advised them to live in their own ancestral environment and to diffuse in it whatever elevating ideas which they had acquired and which was not found in the old faiths. Dr. Miller's method also is the answer to the *Guardian* which expressed its inability to see how religious education could be imparted in Mission schools without prejudice to the ancestral faith of the pupils, as the *Reformer* had suggested.

I was surprised to see Mr. Chenchiah drawing an analogy between secular instruction and religious instruction. Instruction in mathematics, physics, chemistry, and geography does not involve change in the students' subliminal consciousness which is the seat of religion. Two and two make four to the meat eater and to the vegetarian. That water is a compound of hydrogen and oxygen, holds true whether a man is a drunkard or a teetotaler. The law of gravity is not different to the Hindu and the Muslim. Penicillin will, I presume, have the same effect on a Parsi and a Roman Catholic. It is no doubt the case that religious conversion according to the missionary meaning of the word, in many cases goes no deeper. But in theory it is renovation of the whole human being, body and soul, which secular knowledge is not and can never be.

In passing, though the two Sophia College converts were Parsis, Mr. Chenchiah directs his attacks on the Hindus. Most Hindu boys and girls are by this time sterilised against missionary propaganda. They have acquired the fabled capacity of the swan to separate milk from water. But the Hindus have assumed the responsibility from ancient times of protecting the religious and cultural heritage of minorities and the Parsis are the smallest minority in India. A minority can be oppressed by another minority more readily than by an absolute majority. Mr. Chenchiah is, therefore, justified in holding Hindus responsible for the agitation against proselytism in educational institutions.

SCRUTATOR.

#### DR. AMBEDKAR AND HINDUISM.

Sir, I have perused with interest the letter of Srimati Lakshmi of Bangalore with the above heading in a recent issue of the *Reformer*. It does much credit to her heart. But I am at a loss to know what she wants caste Hindu women to do about the matter when she says that much depends on them.

Earnest.

## MR. SANJANA AND SCHEDULED CASTES.

Sir,

Your contention that the caste idea does not go, even if Hindus go over to Christianity or Islam, is also, to a certain extent, just. May I point out, however, that while the caste idea is a grave and cardinal offence against the very spirit of Christianity or Islam, it is a cardinal doctrine, a fundamental religious dogma of true Hinduism? To the devout Christian or Muslim, caste is a dharma; to a devout Hindu, it is dharma. That, I submit, makes a world of difference, both doctrinally and practically.

You are quite right again when you say about my highly educated but woefully bigoted and not very brainy community that "the Parsis themselves are a close caste". I admit they are; and worse luck to them. And that is exactly the reason why, as you say (perhaps in a sarcastic vein). I do not "invite the scheduled castes to be invested with *Sudra* and *Kusti*." They would not be admitted to our Heaven.

But while emphasizing how everything and every community turns to caste in this spiritual country, you seem to make the only exception in favour of Hinduism itself, the very source of caste! You urge that there is a "growing class of casteless Hindus in the community." But, then, so there is a growing class of even irreligious persons in all communities and religions. The question is, what is the proportion of this "growing class" to the vast mass of the caste conscious Hindus? If you expect even this infinitesimal class of 'casteless Hindus' to swallow and 'assimilate' the eight to nine crores of primitive human beings I have in view, you must do so against your own logical and shrewd observations on the wonderful hold caste has on the Indian mind in general, and the Hindu mind in particular. And, of course, the possibility of a very small class of cultured and declassé intellectuals 'assimilating', this vast mass of the uncultured and unwashed is still more remote. Or, should I understand you to mean that while Christians and Muslims will continue to be more and more caste conscious, the Hindus themselves, who have taught all the rest this caste consciousness, will emancipate themselves from it? If you do, I can only admire and envy your boundless optimism.

As for your remarks about the leaders of the Depressed Classes, do you really believe that such imputation of personal motives can help in the least to solve this important and distressing problem? And even taking your argument at its face value, I think Dr. Ambedkar has sufficient brains to match, if not to outmatch, any of the leaders you mention,—or any you can mention from among the Hindus themselves. The only thing he lacks, perhaps, is a little polish, that is, a little hypocrisy and a little slimness, two virtues that every leader of large masses must possess to be really successful on a grand scale.

Bombay. }  
March, 18. }

J. E. SANJANA.

[Mr. Sanjana's letter cannot be adequately answered in a footnote. We do think that caste would disappear sooner among Hindus than among others who have inherited or borrowed or purloined it from them. In fact, it is already reduced to a faint shadow of what it was when Mr. Sanjana commenced his encyclopaedic study of Indian periodicals in six different languages. Caste, or for that matter any other custom, has not been formally abolished but Hinduism has simply outgrown it. We have not the least desire to disturb Mr. Sanjana's faith in Dr. Ambedkar's superlative gifts of mind and heart. But there must be some rational explanation in the incessantly repeated declaration that the scheduled castes would quit Hinduism and their failure uptill now to do so in the only way possible by adopting another religion. The only one we can think of is that it is politically inexpedient to do so. Dr. Ambedkar is an avowed believer in political methods as the most efficacious means of social uplift and he will not object to a political solution of a religious dilemma. Ed.]

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

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## NOTES.

**India, Persia and China:**—We have had goodwill missions from Turkey and China and we have now one from Persia. The Turkish mission consisted of journalists of the Kemalist school, who looked entirely to the West for inspiration and knew less of India, her history and culture, than the average educated European or American. On the whole, they gave an impression of mental immaturity, of not having completely assimilated the ideas which they professed. The Chinese delegations were composed of men of quite a different type. The Chinese leaders knew India as a part of their own cultural history. They readily understood Indian hopes and aspirations which were also their own. They looked forward to Indo-Chinese co-operation in the making of a new world. In modern times there has been evolved a new common bond in the political ideals which China and India have acquired from their contact with Britain and America. East Asia has derived its knowledge of the West from the English-speaking world, while Western Asia has been drawn more to French culture. Persia is by race, religion, language and history closely connected with India. During the Mahomedan period Persian scholars of repute flourished in India and Hindus in northern India studied Persian as Indians study English now for its cultural value. The growing understanding between the three ancient countries is a bright feature of our time. It is to be noted that long before the Government of India moved in the matter, the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, had in his Santiniketan provided a centre for cultural co-operation and that the leading men of the Chinese as well as the Persian delegations have been associated for some period with that great institution as professors and students.

**Too Much Religion:**—Dr. Lin Yutang is a well-known Chinese author whose writings have been all along the best media of making China understood by the English-speaking world. He has recently visited his native land—his permanent home is the United States—and passed through India on his return journey. He visited some important places en route to Bombay where he spent a short time. He is in full sympathy with India's political aspirations and has associated himself closely with the Indo-American group in the States. In his Press interviews here, he has more than once expressed the view that there is too much religion and too little zeal for political freedom in this country. There is a group in the Congress and

out of it, which blames Gandhiji's ideal of Truth and Non-Violence as the main cause of the political stagnation of India. In a topical story of Soviet Russia a high Soviet official remarks incidentally that Gandhi is more responsible for India's subjection than British bayonets. When Dr. Lin says there is too much religion in this country he is most probably repeating this sentiment. India is under foreign rule, India is religious. Religion is therefore responsible for her political subjection. We do not think that this conclusion is right. On the other hand, it may be argued with much force that it is India's religion that has enabled her to preserve her native genius unimpaired by the numerous political vicissitudes through which she has passed. China, it seems to be generally believed by Western writers, is not religious minded. We do not think they are right. China is deeply religious but she is wise enough not to show herself to be so to Western observers who will not understand her if she did. In her dealings with the West, she speaks in the language which the West understands, the language of material sufficiency. She has recently been granted the privilege of having one hundred of her nationals admitted to American citizenship. She has been assigned a seat as the fourth great Power. But her condition at present and for several years past has been far from enviable. What Mr. Amery thinks today we do not know. But it is not many years since he warned India that, but for British rule, India would like China be a prey to all the imperialisms of the world. China is poor without being religious, India by dropping religion will not become rich. The real cause of political and economic depression in the two cases is that the will to dominate is absent among the Chinese as among the Indians. If they want to become wealthy and powerful in the Western sense—no nation in our time can be wealthy without military power—China and India must deliberately cultivate greed and violence as cardinal national virtues.

**School Teachers Plight:**—Professor Wadia's vivid description of the plight of school masters and even lecturers and professors in some Colleges, reveals a scandalous state of educational economy. In our haste to expand education we have neglected the foundation and busied ourselves with the superstructure. A teacher who is discontented with his lot infects all boys and girls who pass through his hands, with the same spirit. This is perhaps too abstruse for the bulk of citizens to understand. But they can understand that a man who feels himself ill-used either by fate or by his employers cannot apply his mind to the education of children with an unclouded mind and heart. Professor Wadia attributes the neglect of teachers' economic interests to capitalism and commercialism. The United States and Great Britain are the chief commercial and capitalist centres of the world but teachers, especially in the United States, are not poorly paid. In continental Europe where

they, like other professions, had only small salaries, they enjoyed a high social status, in consideration of the fact that they performed a high national duty for a small material consideration. In India too the schoolmaster enjoyed a high social status though he was dependent on the village community and the voluntary gifts of his pupils for his livelihood. The root cause of the distressing anomalies of which the sad plight of our teachers is an extreme example, is that the British administration has steadily eliminated all values except those appertaining to its service. An Anglo-Indian writer noted some years ago that, notwithstanding some two hundred years of beneficent rule, it was rare to find an Indian who would do any service for it without remuneration. The scales of remuneration have had to be progressively increased and today the process has reached its climax. As a necessary consequence the cost of plans for postwar education, health and other measures of social welfare are calculated in astronomical figures which can be provided only by crushing taxation. The great bulk of social service in all nations and especially in India has always been rendered voluntarily and as a matter of duty by classes, call them castes if you like, which regarded it as a privilege. The educational, economical and other problems can be solved only by such cooperation on a large scale on the part of citizens. This is now recognised as regards Defence among all nations. It must be similarly recognised in respect of social services. This can be done only if the life of a society in all phases, religious, social, political and industrial is integrated so as to form and function as an organic whole.

**Bombay Corporation President:**—For a long time past there has been a wholesome convention that the President of the Bombay Municipal Corporation should be elected every year by rotation from among the different communities of the city. The convention has been working well. It gives members of all communities an interest in the Corporation and the opportunity of acquiring a working knowledge of its machinery. Of course, all Presidents have not been of equal calibre. There have been outstanding personalities belonging to all communities and there have been mediocrities. But the average has been fairly high. It is now proposed by some members to drop this convention and elect the best man irrespective of community. This reads well on paper but in practice it would mean monopolising the office by the numerically strongest party or even by a single individual as in Bandra. Bombay's population is a composite population. There is no use disguising the fact in high sounding formulas. It is to the best interests of civic life that all castes and creeds should be encouraged and enabled to take pride in the success of municipal administration. We are, therefore, averse from giving up a convention which has worked on the whole admirably. The only change we would suggest is that when there is a general desire that by way of compliment a conspicuously successful President should be elected for a second term, it should be possible to give effect to it. As the law stands this is not possible. Even if the Hindus, for instance, should wish to elect Mr. M. R. Masani for a full term in recognition of the great promise which his short tenure of the office holds out, they cannot do so. In this connection, reference may be made to the suggestion put forward by a Mahomedan member that Mrs. Lilavati Munshi should be elected President. Mrs. Munshi has of late been less prominent in public life than she used to be. But there can be no question of her energy and ability and we have no doubt she would acquit herself creditably in the President's chair. Mr. Rowji who suggested her name was asked why he did not propose Mrs. Shaffi

Tyabji to the Chair when the Muslim turn came. Mrs. Tyabji is a quiet and capable worker and she too would have done admirably as President. Mr. Rowji replied that he felt that, owing to Muslim prejudices in favour of purdah, Mrs. Tyabji's candidature would not have been acceptable but there was no such difficulty in the case of Mrs. Munshi. The Congress Municipal Party has declined Mr. Rowji's suggestion, perhaps because the Munshis are not now members of the Congress party. We trust, nevertheless, that there are broad-minded members of the Corporation, who will realise the paramount importance of vindicating the claim of women to have equal opportunities of public service and bring pressure to bear on the party organisation to do likewise.

**Gandhiji's Detention:**—We trust Government would consult the wishes of Gandhiji before deciding to change his place of detention on the ground put forward in the Legislative Assembly, namely, that there had been two deaths and funerals in the Aga Khan palace of persons who were near and dear to him. So far from having become untenable to him on account of these events, the palace might have become actually sanctified in his eyes. It all depends on the temperament of the individual. Some people like to run away from unpleasant associations. These are the soft kind of human material. Others of finer texture cherish the scenes of suffering and sacrifice. Yet others are quite indifferent where they are. It would be hard on Gandhiji if he were transferred to another place merely because a well-meaning M. L. A. is endowed with an escapist temperament.

**Congress and Pakistan:**—Some Congress men who are not under detention have unearthed an old resolution of the Working Committee or the All-India Congress Committee to the effect that no class or community would be compelled to remain in India against their wishes. These are not the exact words but their purport seems to be that. This does not necessarily mean that those who do not wish to remain in India would be free to dig a deep ditch to separate their habitat from the rest of the country. It only means that they are free to go elsewhere. However that may be, much water has flowed since the resolution was passed. If we remember, it has been repudiated either expressly or by implication. Gandhiji has in unmistakable terms declared his opposition to Mr. Rajagopalachari's method and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru too has declared himself against Balkanisation of the country. Mr. Jinnah had no doubt in mind Mr. Rajagopalachari and his friends when he said in his Aligarh speech that sensible Hindus were coming round to his view. It is his cue to identify Congressmen and treat with them only as Hindus and not as nationalists whether they like it or not.

**Government and the Press:**—The All India Editors Conference would seem to have become rather an encouragement than a deterrent to Government in dealing harshly and arbitrarily with the Press. At any rate there is not now the hesitation which there was in the first and second year of the Conference in taking repressive action against the Press. The question must arise whether the Editors in Conference should act as advisers of Government in matters relating to the Press, seeing that their advice is mostly disregarded. The Information Member's proposal to divide newspaper representatives in New Delhi into two classes according to their standing in the profession and that of the journals which they represent, is an insidious attempt to infuse the spirit of caste into a profession whose boast it is that it is open to all talents on an equal footing. It must be stoutly resisted.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, March 25, 1944.

## MR. JINNAH AT ALIGARH.

The visit of Mr. Jinnah to Aligarh earlier this month marks a turning point in the history of the Muslim League. The Muslim leaders do not share the squeamishness of some other leaders about students taking active part in politics. Mr. Jinnah's visit was primarily meant for the benefit of Aligarh University students. But some of his prominent colleagues in the Muslim League had temporarily suspended their work in the Indian Legislature to be present at Aligarh to do honour to him. Mr. Jinnah himself has only a single theme and a single style of oratory. He has not the gift which scholarstatesmen have of throwing off the politician when they address academic audiences. Gladstone, Asquith, Balfour and Haldane were conspicuous examples. These men were intellectuals who had out of a sense of national duty elected to descend into the political arena which was not quiet their element. When addressing University students, they could entirely extricate themselves from their political affiliations and survey problems of humanity in the light of first principles. Mr. Jinnah is devoid of the academic spirit. He is a politician first and last outside his legal profession. His speeches to Aligarh University students are in no wise different from his speeches at meetings of the Muslim League. The same diatribes against Gandhiji and Government, the same complacency towards himself and his party men, the same warnings, threats and prophecies of the doom which awaits them if they do not promptly carry out his commands—these were all in evidence in his deliverances at Aligarh. "Seven years ago, (that is before he assumed the leadership of the Muslim League), Mr. Gandhi and Lord Linlithgow were preparing to perform the funeral of the Muslims of India but, thank God that we are saved," declared Mr. Jinnah. (Our references are to the reports in *Dawn* which is in close touch with Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League). Lord Linlithgow the second partner in this nefarious conspiracy put the first and chief conspirator, Gandhiji and his colleagues in detention towards the end of his seven years term of office. They are still there. Lord Linlithgow besides exhibited much Christian meekness in his correspondence with Mr. Jinnah. Lord Wavell too might do the same. Mr. Jinnah will, however, be wise in varying his tone when addressing President Roosevelt. He is President of a State somewhat more important than Pakistan either in prospect or retrospect.

The speeches at Aligarh this time, however, were distinguished by a strain of introspection not hitherto conspicuous in Mr. Jinnah's outlook for the Muslim League. In the leading article (*Reformer* May 11th) dealing with Professor Charles H. Behre's analysis of the Pakistan idea from a geologist's point of view in the American quarterly, *Foreign Affairs*, Mr. Jinnah's statement to the *New York Times* correspondent on the industrial resources of the area proposed to be included in Pakistan, was quoted. Mr. Jinnah had said that like Afghanistan and Iraq which were poor countries, Pakistan could get on if the people lived sensibly and poorly. "The economy will take care of itself in time". Mr. Jinnah has changed his opinion since he said that. In the address to the Aligarh University Union Mr. Jinnah mentioned as a part of his programme the creation of a Planning Committee to explore the industrial potentialities of the area contemplated for Pakistan.

The Planning Committee, he said, would make a scientific study and survey of Pakistan to find out what natural and mineral resources the Pakistan areas contain and what the scope is for various industries in them. He advised Muslim youth to learn technical subjects which were more remunerative than places in the Government service. Mr. Jinnah dwelt on the same theme in another address to Aligarh students. He advised those who were studying for Arts degrees to learn typewriting and shorthand as the market value for stenographers was at least three times that of a mere B.A. or M.A. The typewriter nowadays has almost totally driven calligraphy out of the field, and an increasing number of persons do not seem to be able to write anything more than their own names. Shorthand is a useful accomplishment for an educated man but as an occupation it is a blind alley calculated to kill the thinking principle in its practitioner. Taking down other men's ideas day after day the stenographer tends to lose the co-ordination between brain and hand which is one of the most exhilarating experiences of human life. It is not every stenographer who gets three times the remuneration of a man with a good degree any more than every Advocate rises to the position of a Jinnah. The great majority of short-hand typists are doomed to endure the boredom of taking down to dictation all their lives. Drivers of motor cars get even more than a shorthand typist but University education is not on that account to be classed as less important than motor driving. University education is worth little if it does not teach students to place ideals before money values.

Mr. Jinnah's most striking pronouncement during his present visit to Aligarh was his whole-hearted denunciation of the purdah and the importance to a people's greatness of according a high status to women. He said:

Another very important matter which I wish to impress on you is this, that no nation can rise to the height of glory unless your women are side by side with you. We are victims of evil customs. It is a crime against humanity that our women are shut up within the four walls of their houses as prisoners. I do not mean that we should imitate the evils of the Western life. But let us try to raise the status of our women according to our own Islamic ideas and standards. There is no sanction anywhere for the deplorable conditions in which our women have to live. You should take your women along with you as comrades in every sphere of life avoiding the corrupt practices of Western society. You cannot expect a woman who is herself ignorant to bring up your children properly. The woman has the power to bring up children on right lines. Let us not throw away this asset.

Mr. Jinnah speaks here as a true leader not only of Muslims but of all Indian communities. (He might have omitted the warning about western evils, for in this matter there is no difference of East and West). We have long waited for such a vigorous pronouncement from a trusted Muslim leader. With purdah must go and will go polygamy. Mr. Jinnah has started the crusade. He cannot stop until all the customs and conventions which keep women from taking their due share, which is an equal share with men, of public responsibilities, are abolished. We would almost reconcile ourselves to Pakistan if under Mr. Jinnah's leadership purdah and polygamy are banished from our social economy and women are free to develop their God-given faculties for the service of humanity. As a matter of fact Pakistan will go when purdah goes. The two have their roots in the same germinal source. And they are both opposed to the spirit of Islam which is a spirit of expansion and not of isolation and contraction.

In his peroration Mr. Jinnah invoked the example of the Prophet but he missed the central lesson of his ministry. "The Holy Prophet" he said "made a great and powerful nation out of the primitive people". The Arabs were not a primitive people before the Prophet appeared on the scene. The great man, it has been said, is the son of his time. The long Arab evolution in pre-Islamic days found its crown and consummation in the Prophet. But the lesson of the Prophet's mission was not that he made a nation. The idea of "nation" came to birth many centuries after the birth of Islam. Islam is fundamentally opposed to distinctions of race. The Prophet always spoke of believers and unbelievers. Islam was a movement which transcended race and colour and even today it is acknowledged on all hands that Islam has, and Christianity has not, succeeded in overleaping racial distinctions. Pakistan is fundamentally a negation and repudiation of the world mission which the Prophet inaugurated. The Prophet was not afraid of being in a minority. Once when his friends despaired of success because they were few, the Prophet put heart into them by reminding them that God was with them. When Indian Muslims study the history of their great religion with eyes unclouded by political jaundice, they will realise that Pakistan is the outcome of a defeatist mentality, that it is born out of despair of spreading the message of the Prophet throughout the world as it was his purpose to do. It is an acknowledgment that even in India where Islam has flourished for ten centuries, it has no future and should isolate itself in order to survive.

#### SRI VALLABHACHARYA—LIFE, TEACHINGS AND MOVEMENT.

The name of Mr. Manilal Parekh is a very well-known one, as a distinguished religious preacher and writer, who has written several well-known books, both in English and Gujerati. His publications upto now are Sri Swami Narayan, The Gospel of Zoroaster, Brahmarshi Keshub Chunder Sen, Rajarishi Ram Mohan Roy, and Mahatma Gandhi. His latest book is on Sri Vallabhacharya, his life, teachings and movement. This book possesses all the salient characteristics of his former books; but goes even much better in the inculcation of the ideals and message preached by this well-known Vaishnava Acharya. Vallabha's gospel was a Gospel of Love, and Mr. Parekh has done ample justice to him in describing the detailed history of Vaishnavaisim, the circumstances in which it was developed, the theories and principles which guided it on its onward path, the pit-falls which came in its way, and the present-day position. This is all the more commendable, specially as Mr. Parekh's own view, many a time, do not coincide with those of the august and revered subject of his book. The history of Vallabha's movement shows the innate unity of the country, geographical cultural and economic. Even when there was no railway, no telegraph, it appears that there were good roads and people used to go on pilgrimages, as also on other business, from one end of the country to the other, showing how there must have been certain facilities and conveniences for travellers and pilgrims. Vallabha himself had peregrinations in the country, three or four times, and made important and useful contacts with scholars, teachers and the general public in the different Provinces which he visited.

I cannot agree, however, with Mr. Parekh when he gives to the caste system credit for the unity in the country at the time. He says that the socio-religious structure of Hindu life, known as the caste system, or better still as the Varnashrama Dharma,

"bound the various races and groups together in a unity which has been one of the most remarkable features not only of Indian life but of civilization in general." The caste system, if anything, is more or less of a fissiparous character—it divides and cannot unite. It may be that certain features of the Hindu life have been preserved owing to the caste system, but then the tendency is of a reactionary character, for preservation of all conventions and traditions is not necessarily beneficial to the Society at large. I agree, however, with his statement that the religious cultural and social unity embodied in the Hindu Dharma was emphasised and supplemented by the large number of places of pilgrimage scattered all over the land. Unlike the caste system, the places of pilgrimage have decidedly proved to be cultural land-marks and unifying forces. Hundreds of thousands of pilgrims, going from Dwaraka to Jagannath Puri and from Badrinath to Rameswhar were and are a force to be reckoned with. The study of Vallabha's system shows thus that the so-called untouchability was not inherent in the Hindu religion, but that it was an exiguous growth of later times. There is a story of Shathakopa, which was a new gospel, a new revelation and dispensation of God's grace, so far as the development of Hinduism was concerned. Mr. Parekh is right in saying that it was a religious revolution of a radical kind, especially in view of the predominance of the Brahmins in the Vedic Dharma. It is, however, rather an optimistic view of Mr. Parekh that the story of Shathakopa gave a death-blow to the hierarchy of the caste system. The caste system has survived despite the several blows given to it, and has unfortunately proved a very great adverse factor for the Hindu religion and the Hindu Society. Mr. Parekh, as many of our readers must be knowing, is a profound student not only of the Hindu religion but even of Christianity and is himself a great devotee of Christ. He has devoted a fairly good portion of the book to a comparison between Vallabha's gospel and philosophy with the philosophy of, say, men like Luther and the Roman Catholic Church. It is a very pregnant remark of his that Europe had never been Christian in the proper sense of the term. He has based this dictum upon several comparisons to which I have already referred between Indian philosophy and Western; but the statement is corroborated, specially to my mind, by the wide departure Europe has taken from the non-violent philosophy of Jesus Christ. It is a tragedy that Europe, which calls itself Christian, has within a period of two generations two big world wars which have led to the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of people. Mr. Parekh takes us through the ages, showing the great upheavals India's religious and social life had had through Buddhism, Jainism, Vaishnavaisim, Truly, India is a land of religions, and there is no exaggeration in the claim put forward by several preceptors that, while India may not claim any political conquests, she will claim even as yet in no distant future, cultural and spiritual conquests before which, the political conquests will pale into insignificance. Mr. Parekh has also tried in several Chapters to show from the gospel of Vallabha how some of the stories of adventure and of love ascribed to Lord Krishna are purely a myth or sometimes are merely a sort of symbolism. The gospel preached by Lord Krishna, and later on by Vallabha and Lord Chaitanya who was his contemporary, is of the highest purity, and no credence need be given to the stories which try to depict Lord Krishna in any sensuous colours. The following paragraph shows how the Message of Lord Krishna resembles the messages



of some other *avatars* or prophets, by whatever name you choose to call.

Through its dependence on his devotees, God seems to have alienated for our sake His most divine attribute: His very liberty. To each devotee God says: 'Thou art my God and I only long to treat Thee as such, command and I shall obey, lead on and I shall follow, I am thy means. As thou hast consecrated to me all thou art and all thou hast, so I consecrate to thee and put at thy disposal all I am and all I have. As I have led thee on by my will, now I wait for thy will to be led wherever thou likest.

It was Vallabha, like Chaitanya, who raised Krishna to be the real God-head and developed a purity of worship apart from so many gods and goddesses, which Hinduism had tried to make its own. Mr. Parekh rightly says that all that Vallabha has written and done is all centred round Sri Krishna, who to him is God in His fulness and supreme form, that the worship of even gods has been eschewed by his followers. His worship of the one Absolute God, the Supreme Person, Sri Krishna, is of the jealous kind, and it cannot tolerate the worship of any other being, however great, beside Him.

In a later Chapter, Mr. Parekh has tried to explain the difference between ordinary Hindu temples and the *Havelis* (house temples) of Vallabha Church. He tries to make out that these *Havelis* are a better form of houses of worship than the temples. He believes that temples are more or less for individual worship, while the *Havelis* are for congregational worship. I myself consider that temples were both for individual and congregational worship, and worship there was of a more puritan and austere character than the worship of the image of Bal-Krishna or Radha-Krishna carried on in the so-called *Havelis*. These *Havelis* soon degenerated into houses of luxury, and Mr. Parekh himself has described in a later Chapter the decadence and the immoral practices which collected round the *Havelis*. It is because of this that I am surprised that he should have placed the *Havelis* on a higher pedestal than the temples and should have considered that they were and are ideal temples for housing the real God-head. He has taken great pains over studying the details of worship and the *Karmakand* observed in the Vaishnava form of worship at present. His book is really, therefore, a big anthology of Vaishnava religion or *Bhakti Marga*. He has not rested content with writing on the *Bhakti Marga* and the precepts and teachings of Vallabha. Just as he has compared his gospel with the Tenets of Luther or Roman Catholicism, he has also later on written on the cultural influences which Vishnavism has exerted on Gujerat. Gujerat was once very big, politically, religiously and socially, and it is well that Mr. Parekh shows what were the particular cultural influences which made Gujerat what it is. Jainism has been one of the principal forces, which has built up Gujerat, and the Non-violence which Gujerat has developed and cultivated so much specially, recently on the precepts of a great Mastermind was the message of the Jains. The Vaishnavism of Vallabhacharya supplemented what was lacking in Jainism. Jainism, as Mr. Parekh says, in spite of all its high and noble influence, is a negative creed; but Vaishnavism carried with it a humanitarian feeling which was lacking among certain classes. Mr. Parekh has rendered a great service to the study of comparative religions, as also to the religious and cultural life of the country by writing this book on the Life, Teachings and Movement of Sri Vallabhacharya. It is to be hoped that the book will be welcomed not only by

Vaishnavas, but by men and women of other faiths, as it will open out to them many a door which had remained locked upto now.

J. K. M.

#### EXPERIENCES OF NEW OPENINGS TO WOMEN.

There are many questions arising in the minds of girls today as places in Industry and on the land open to them and the Y. W. C. A. of today is occupied in the Department of Industry considering how to train girls in their fellowships and groups to discuss and consider how they can prepare themselves to help train the coming generation to meet this new call which brings women into greater publicity. Grave moral difficulties arise as has been shown in England during the wartime by the raising of an army of 80,000 Land girls who, when the men went to the war at harvest time, were suddenly wanted to "gather in the fruits of the earth". Hay making, turnip lifting, grain harvest, potato lifting; these things appealed to every kind of girl whether resident in the town or country. As a result of this sudden danger of losing the years crop no time could be lost and the Government appealed to the Y. W. C. A. in one week to supply sleeping and feeding accommodation for 2000 in one district which an energetic experienced committee did as no one person could have done.

This may happen in India although of course we are accustomed to seeing women and girls in the rice fields at all times of the year; possibly we must get ourselves ready for more organised labour in the production of food not leaving it to small private endeavours. It is interesting to note how the girls of England responded to the national need and wrote to the newspapers to call attention to certain abuses which they wanted cured. In Scotland some women and girls worked in the fields and were engaged as farm servants and dairy maids which took them to the fields just as they do in India.

Promotion we find generally depends on one's status in the country or as the result of personal influence with officials (this might be said of Indian custom).

Our alleged lack of morals is doubtless due to the absence of organised interests and in a few cases to thirst for promotion.

We want no fanfares nor blurbs we know we are doing a worthwhile job. What we should like is a little more convenience and sympathetic understanding from our organisers.

Again a little less of Lady Blimp and a little more of plain Mrs. Smith who can talk to land girls on equal terms would be much appreciated.

In my own humble opinion it is the type of woman in control of the Land Army, who is at the root of all the dissatisfaction.

That anomalies, as that a raw recruit of 19 be able to get more than an experienced girl of 25, be removed.

Homes away from Home all over India. Now that the Women's Army is calling to women to lend their aid, the Y. W. C. A. has appointed a special staff to provide safety and comforts to girls who leaving home and find themselves sometimes in dangerous, always in uncomfortable, situations until proper accommodation is provided.

At the present time the Y. W. C. A. is opening Leave Homes and Rest Homes in many places and it is good to see the surprise of the girls as I saw last week at receiving such a welcome from the Y. W. C. A. Secretary as if they had

been her own children. Another opportunity for service was given when Lady Wavell who was at Cairo during her husband's command there, sent a cable to the late National Secretary for India, Burma and Ceylon: "Take the first aeroplane that is coming to Cairo; you are wanted". Jean Bess gave up her needed holiday and went not only to serve Egypt, but to follow our troops to Damascus, Jerusalem, Italy and 24 other places where girls accompany our troops. It is not generally known that Nurses, Clerks, Telegraph Operators, Telephone girls and any service that can be taken by women accompanying the men even to the battlefield.

As a Christian Association we are grateful for the support of men and women of all religions. There stands on the banks of the Nile the house boat of a Muslim gentleman who seeing tired girls waiting about the street put his house boat at the disposal of the Y. W. C. A. and by building a second storey we are able to give 40 girls a rest from the noise of battle and the dust of the desert.

Should there be any one who reads this and would like to help in this or any other way, I shall be glad to forward it to the National Y. W. C. A. of India, Burma and Ceylon for its war work, 37, Cantonment Road, Lucknow.

EMILY KINNAIRD.

#### A BANDRA DIARY.

A Reuter's message from Fort Worth, Texas, March 16, reported that Ruth Googlines Roosevelt filed that day a divorce suit there, against her husband, Colonel Elliott Roosevelt, son of the President, alleging unkind, harsh and tyrannical conduct. The petition set forth that Colonel and Mrs. Roosevelt separated in October last year. They were married in 1933. The first question on reading this message was why the News Agency should have considered this news important enough to be broadcast to the world in these days too of extreme pressure on ocean cables. The second, why the Censors at the two ends and those between, should have passed this domestic scandal which is not calculated to enhance the esteem in which Americans are held. At least, Reuter might have waited until the Court had found the allegations proved. The *Reformer* had commented some months ago on broadcasting by the same agency of the shooting by accident by the President's grandson, aged 10 years, of a playmate. Making allowance for the fact that the American has not the Englishman's dread of washing dirty linen in public, Reuter's keenness in reporting unpleasant incidents in the President's family is obviously not prompted by a friendly interest. The general impression that the American people accept divorce as a natural incident of marriage—Bernard Shaw said of some one that she was an American and, therefore, divorced—is by no means true. Eleven years ago a hush fell on a party of Professors in Chicago when the news came of the first divorce in the President's family. I turned in some surprise to my neighbour remarking that I thought divorce was nothing unusual in the country. He pulled a long face as he said "The first family in the land." So far from divorce being regarded as an inevitable incident of marriage in the United States, the relations between married people in that country exhibit the spirit of true comradeship. Russia is perhaps ahead of America in this respect. If so, it is the only exception.

Mr. Chagla observed at the Sheriff's meeting to honour the memory of Kasturba Gandhi, that it was neither social charm nor brilliance nor public life that was looked up to in an Indian woman but the way she played her part as wife and a mother. Both these roles, he added, Kasturba had played nobly and well. If Sheriff's meetings are to be held and

memorials raised for women who played their part as wives and mothers perfectly, there should be millions of such meetings and memorials. For nearly every Indian woman—I agree with Mr. Chagla that the type is Indian and not exclusively Hindu—is a perfect wife and mother. "A bad son may sometimes be born" says the illustrious Sankara "but never has there been a bad mother." Kasturba as wife and mother was no exception. But she was very much more. She threw herself, when she understood the great aims of her husband, heart and soul into all his movements. It was because of that that the whole country with one voice acclaim her as co-sharer with Gandhiji of the ordeals of public life in South Africa and in India. As mother and wife the Indian woman has no superior. But what she has lacked in is public spirit. She has not realised, as most of us, men, have not realised, that there is no social security for any family unless every family in the land is assured of it. The Indian woman's family feeling, and of the Indian man's too for that matter, has overshadowed the feeling for the people as a whole. In her own person Kasturba set the example of a harmonised life in which family duties were punctiliously attended to without detriment to the public duties which devolved on her as Gandhiji's life-partner.

#### PROSELYTISM AND MISSION SCHOOLS.

Sir, With regard to the controversy now going on in many papers in India on the very important question whether proselytism should be carried on in colleges and schools, the following may be worth noting :

The foundation of missionary education in India was laid by Dr. Alexander Duff, and his chief object in doing this was to convert the people of India, both Hindus and Muslims, to Christianity. This kind of education was with him the means to the end of proselytisation of the people of the land. In this work of his, he found support from the highest of British officers including the Viceroy, Mr. Arthur Mayhew, in his book "Christianity and the Government of India" says :

Duff's task, as he was ready to admit, was facilitated by Bentinck's bold declaration that the energy of the British in India should be concentrated on securing for those committed to its care the choicest gifts of western civilization. All alike believed that they were preparing a mine which would ultimately overthrow all religious and social obstacles to the progress of India.

The metaphor of mining came originally from Dr. Duff, and it is worth noting that in those days in the eyes of missionaries and most other western people "progress" was almost wholly, if not altogether, identified with Christianity.

While this act of mining was to be carried on openly in colleges and schools it was to be supplemented by private work on the part of Christian missionaries in their homes. Dr. John Wilson of Bombay, a contemporary and a fellow-churchman of Dr. Duff, in his ordination charge to Dr. Hyslop in 1846, said to him among other things the following :

In seeking to impress your pupils with a right sense of divine things you will find it of the greatest importance to deal much with them in private, and to get them to attend to such of your general and special ministerial services as are not strictly educational. It is a remarkable fact that not a few of our young converts have traced their conversion not so much to our scholastic as to our extra scholastic labours. The train may have been laid in the school, but in the cases to which I refer, the train has been fired out of the school.

These two men, Alexander Duff and John Wilson, have been so far the most eminent missionaries as educationists amongst Protestants, and they laid

down the law for hundreds and thousands of missionaries, both men and women who have been but too willing to follow in their footsteps.

The Roman Catholics too were not slow in making education a means to proselytism. The Jesuits were among them the first to start schools and colleges especially the latter. In regard to this work of theirs, the Rev. George Smith, a Protestant missionary, in his book 'The Conversion of India' says :

"The Jesuits, who always seek the control of education, have vigorously aided colleges in Bombay and Calcutta. The present Pope (1893) has appealed to Latin Christendom for a wide extension of educational institutions as a means of proselytism."

As a result of these efforts on the part of both Roman Catholics and Protestants, some thousands of schools, hundreds of high schools and scores of colleges have been started in India. Much of the money for this large amount of educational proselytising work comes from grants-in-aid and fees, the latter mostly from non-Christian pupils. As a matter of fact, the grant-in-aid system was introduced largely through the efforts of missionaries and with the object of helping them in their work. This has been a windfall for missionaries, for they received in 1926-27 Rs. 7,262,000 by way of grants and Rs. 7,638,000 by way of fees out of a total expenditure of Rs. 26,085,000. This does not include the non-recurring grants, nor does it include the grants and fees received by their colleges. They have been thus receiving colossal funds from the Indian revenue and the people of India, and maintaining their institutions therefrom. We shall never know how many crores of rupees they may have thus received, but the sum may easily run into fifty or sixty crores. In regard to the figures mentioned above, I am not quite sure if they include money received by the Roman Catholics for their educational work. I shall be glad to be corrected.

Now in view of all these facts, the following questions may be asked :

Is all this educational-cum-proselytising activity consistent with any sane idea of religious freedom ?

In what European or American country can we find a parallel to this financial cum-educational cum-religious exploitation of the people of the land by agencies that are foreign to it? Will such a thing be tolerated even for a moment by any so-called Christian country? A HINDU LOVER OF CHRIST.

#### SASTRI'S LETTERS.

Sir, Reference has been made in the review of Mr. Sastri's Letters in the last issue of the *Reformer* to Mr. Andrews' volume of Tagore's Letters. Pandit Jawaharlal's Letters to his daughter deserve mention in the same category. Mr. Sastri in his account of his first meeting the Gandhis, says that Mr. Gandhi did not like to be a guest of Mrs. Bahadurji as his caste would not have liked his putting up with a Parsi. Mrs. Bahadurji was, as a matter of fact, not a Parsi though her husband was one. Gandhiji at that period was opposed to intermarriages as appears from his condition that interdining and intermarriage should be excluded from the programme for Hindu Muslim Unity, in his reply to the invitation to join the Home Rule League. Since then he has, no doubt, changed his opinion as regards these items.

SCRUTATOR.

#### KASTURBA MEMORIAL.

Sir, I share Recluse's apprehension about the prominence given to the sum to be collected for Kasturba's memorial. The squabbles over the one crore in memory of Lokamanya Tilak have not yet faded into oblivion. A repetition of them should be avoided at all cost.

FRIEND.

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

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## NOTES.

**Economic Planning** :—We are indebted to the *Information Service* of the Federal Council of Churches in America for the illuminating analysis of the Post-War Plans of the United Nations, which we reprint today. The United Nations fall in three groups. The first group is Great Britain and the United States, whose plans assume that private enterprise will remain the dominant form of economic activity, and whose proposals are intended to strengthen private enterprise by imparting to it a larger social purpose and by extending to it government aid. The second group includes some countries of Central Europe, a number of Latin American countries and China. The plans of this group contemplate State action on a large scale and nationalisation of heavy industries and may be described as "State capitalism." The third group consists of the U.S.S.R. with its complete nationalisation of economic life. The U.S.S.R., however, has been moving steadily towards the second group, that is, State capitalism. India is mentioned as a member of the United Nations but it is not included in any of the three groups because, no doubt, there has been so far no official plan of economy submitted to the Committee of the United Nations. The Fifteen years, Rupees fifteen thousand crores Plan, however, has in a measure secured official recognition and may be said to be the Indian Beveridge plan although industrialization and not social security is the central aim. Sir M. Visveswaraya's five year plan has been described by its author as being related to the Fifteen year plan as a supplementary and preliminary step. Both these plans belong to the British and American group based on private enterprise with a larger purpose and governmental aid. Mr. M. N. Roy has produced another Plan costing Rs. 10,000 crores which is said to place most emphasis on agriculture. India is to provide raw materials to the world and to use the profits therefrom to industrialise herself. The obvious objection to this scheme is that the countries which depend on India for raw materials will not let her industrialise herself. They will not hesitate, if necessary, to use force to maintain a constant supply of raw materials. Japan is a warning against facile optimism. It is claimed that Mr. Roy's is the nearest approach to the Soviet plan. But the Soviet Plan itself has been changing. It is today very different from what it was under Lenin. Mr. Roy's plan, however, accords with the official view of India's place in the Empire, namely, the producer of

cheap raw materials for British and other western countries. But it does not accord with the aims of any non-official school of industrialists or social reformers. The Roy Plan will doom Indians for another century to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for the Anglo-Saxon world.

**Anti-Semitism in India** :—It is strange that the very condemnation of the anti-semitism of Hitler, should seem to be favouring its appearance in countries where it has hitherto been repressed or altogether unknown. We published in a recent issue a communication by Maurice Cranston to the "Worldover Press" regarding the possibility of its recrudescence in Britain. India has the unique record of welcoming and treating Jews who came here at the same time as they went to Europe, with kindness and high consideration. Jews have since become a peaceful and industrious section of the Indian population. It is, therefore, regrettable that anti-semitic sentiments should be raising their heads in our midst. One of the first comments on the Indian budget this year was that it was a Jewish budget. What exactly the epithet was intended to mean, we do not know. Perhaps, it meant nothing more than that Sir Jeremy Raisman is a Jew. The Indian Finance Member who stood up for India even at some risk to his own official position was Sir William Meyer, a Jew. He was one of the ablest and most broad-minded British officials who served in India. But one comes across anti-semitic catch-phrases far beyond the confines of New Delhi and without reference to any official measure. That is what is disquieting.

**Roots of Anti-Semitism** :—When *The Reformer* pointed out some years ago that one of two main sources of anti-Semitism was the New Testament—the other being Shakespeare's Othello—Missionary friends protested. The *Protestant* for December has an article by Paul Eldridge headed "The Christian Complex" in which he maintains,

Anti-Semitism is not an acquisition of maturity, the result of reason and judgment. It is the disease of the very young into whose brains and hearts the Church injects the virus, generation after generation...How diabolically shrewd the planning and the nurture, made irrevocable by their very simplicity and finality! "The Jew killed our Lord" endlessly repeated—a hypnotic litany of hate which ever after mingles with all the gentle rhythms of prayer and the sweet hymns of love.

Eldridge declares that unless the Church removes this complex, it is doomed. Christianity can not exist half love and half hate. The Church is confronted with an extremely difficult task. The Crucifixion is the central theme of Christianity. If the Crucifixion goes or is explained as a political crime by the Romans, the whole Christian teaching will have to be recast. How much of it will survive, it is not easy to predict. It is significant that anti-Semitism is unknown in India and other non-Christian countries.



**Newfoundland:**—That Mr. Jinnah should be ignorant of the constitutional position of Newfoundland, is not surprising. A contributor from that colony to the *Round Table*, suggested five years ago that, to counteract the complete ignorance of his country's administration exhibited by members of the House of Commons, two delegates from Newfoundland should attend its sessions without the power to vote. Since 1934 Newfoundland has been governed by a Commission of six members, three from Britain and three locally chosen. The Commission with the Governor as Chairman is vested with full legislative and executive authority—same as the Congress provinces in British India at present. The key departments, Natural Resources, Public Utilities and Finance are administered by Commissioners from the United Kingdom. The *Round Table* contributor described the results of this administration as a hopeless failure. Two of the country's major industries were badly depressed. Unemployment had attained alarming proportions and was increasing. Poverty and distress were widespread. What the position is at present, that is, five years after the contributor wrote, it would be interesting to know. Very probably owing to its strategic position between America and Britain the war has brought the country considerable prosperity.

**The Hindustan Weekly:**—The six year old news paper of Lucknow, which has been in abeyance for some time, has been revived as a weekly review under the editorship of Mr. Gopinath Srivastava. The publication on the front page of an article by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari is perhaps an indication of the policy which *Hindustan* is intended to pursue. The ex-Prime Minister of Madras expatiates on his now familiar theme. "The only way to produce British willingness," he declares, "is by an honest and satisfactory settlement with the Muslim League. Until we recognise this, all talk of Indian Independence is pure literary or rhetorical exercise." Who does not recognise that a settlement with Muslims would be a great step forward? But what is "an honest and satisfactory settlement"? Pakistan certainly is not. A less honest or more unsatisfactory basis of settlement it is impossible to conceive. The revived *Hindustan* will have one distinguishing feature. It will have no editorials. "The decision," it is explained in an editorial, "involves a measure of self-denial on the part of the editor, but it is only inspired by the idea of the *Hindustan* becoming the forum for all progressive intellectuals in this country of various creeds and shades of opinion." Without an editorial the *Hindustan* will be a weekly symposium of divergent thoughts and tastes. The omission may be interpreted as a measure of shirking as well as of self-restraint. The occasions are not rare when in India and elsewhere it is the weekly journal alone which has to take a stand which involves unpopularity. It is too much to say as does the editorial that the periodical press in India has not yet acquired the prestige of the British and American journals. If financial position is meant, it is true.

**The Hindoosthan Quarterly:**—The other, spelt *Hindoosthan*, is an illustrated quarterly edited by a late Law Member of the Government of India, Sir N. N. Sircar, and published from Calcutta. A quarterly journal is usually the medium of serious discussion by writers of distinction each in his special sphere. The *Edinburgh Review* and the *Quarterly Review* in Britain representing the Whig and Tory points of view exercised considerable influence in their time. Another past Law Member of the Government of India, Lord Macaulay, was a notable contributor to the Whig quarterly. In Britain the quarterly nowadays has lost its power, because

it is too leisurely for the era of the motor car and the airplane. In the United States *Foreign Affairs* holds a unique position. Illustrations in a quarterly are out of place. Whether intentionally or otherwise, titled contributors to the *Hindoosthan* drop their titles both in the list of contents and on top of their articles. Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan becomes Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, the editor himself appears as N. N. Sircar, the Dewan of Jaipur is plain Mirza Ismail. Unless these gentlemen have given up their titles as Rabindranath Tagore did, this is nothing but affectation. On the cover page the editor appears in his full panoply of knighthood, as Sir N. N. Sircar. He contributes an article on the Bengal famine. He recounts the various phases of the official attitude reproducing in quotation marks the indictment of "the Japanese rice stealer." He criticises the employment of soldiers for relief work both because it implies a breakdown of the civil administration and of the fear which they inspire in Bengal villagers. If a dozen soldiers, Indian or British, are posted in a village in Bengal, it may be expected, he writes, "that the first act of the villagers will be to warn their women to keep indoors while they remain in trepidation over the safety of their shops and orchards." In contrast he quotes from Major Hooper's book on the Red Army how the Soviet soldier is trained to be a social servant and to help the people in all their difficulties.

**Gokhale's Successor:**—The "Letters" recently published of the Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri has finally set at rest the speculations which have been afloat about the election of the President of the Servants of India Society on the death of the Founder and First President, Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale. Gandhiji was not a candidate, as has been often stated, for the office. He was not even a member of the Society in 1915 when the election was held. When in January 1916 Gandhiji had completed his probationary tour of India, he found that there was a sharp division of opinion among the members about his admission and he withdrew his application for membership. It might be that had Gandhiji been admitted to the Society, the question of his promotion to the Presidentship would have arisen, but his voluntary withdrawal obviated what would have been embarrassing to the general body of members. Gokhale, it is stated in a footnote in the "Letters," left no instruction as to his successor. In fact, he did not answer a pointed question as to whether he had any one in mind, which was put to him by Dr. Dev during his last days. "Gokhale himself," wrote Mr. Sastri to C. F. Andrews, "never mentioned me for the headship of the Society." In a speech eight years later, Mr. Sastri even assumed the possibility of Gokhale having had a misgiving "that he had always had about me" that he (Mr. Sastri) had "marked leaning to the other school of politics and was an extremist in disguise." Perhaps, too, thought Mr. Sastri, Gokhale remembered that Gandhiji was back in India and they had had anxious talks about his joining the Society. The chief reason, however, was that Gokhale did not wish to tie the hands of the members by an expression of personal preference. In the face of such emphatic denials, it is surprising to come across a reference to the question in the "Life and Experiences" of Dr. P. C. Ray, which must be taken to be conclusive. "Once he (Gokhale) brought Mr. (now the Right Hon.) Srinivasa Sastri to my room and introduced him to me as a poor schoolmaster like himself and whispered in my ears that he looked upon him as his future successor. Gokhale's penetration and insight, I need scarcely add, have been more than justified". (P. 125.)

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, April 1, 1944.

## THE IQBAL-IRANIAN CONTROVERSY.

A group of Muslims in Northern India is making itself ridiculous by its tirades against Professor Pour-i-Daud, a member of the Persian mission now visiting India with a view to promote cultural relations between the two countries. Prof. Daud was asked at a Press Conference his opinion of the two Indian Poets, Tagore and Iqbal. He said that, while Iqbal was a local poet, Tagore was a great personage. This has given offence to the group and the *Dawn* publishes a protest signed by ten Muslim celebrities who denounce the Persian Professor who, they admit is himself a "first-rate" Poet, for his pro-Zoroastrian anti-Arab attitude. Quotations are given from the Professor's poems in proof of this indictment. We quote the following from the statement:

Pour-i-Daud writes first class poetry but exhibits strong Zoroastrian tendencies. He has rendered great service to Zoroastrianism and amongst his accomplishments may be counted translations into Persian of the Gathas, Yashts, Khordeh Avesta, and Yasna. He is a staunch supporter of the 'purlst' movement in modern Iran, which seeks to purify Iranian life and literature of all Arab influence. He discards the use of Arabic words in his poems. We have it on the testimony of Mohammad Khan Qazvini that he is a sworn enemy of everything that is of Arab origin and Qazvini specifically mentions that he does not share Pour-i-Daud's hatred of Arab influences. He is intensely national and seeks to re-establish the old Pre-Islamic culture of Iran. In his famous poem 'Iraniano' he says:—

"Call to mind those (ancient) days and victorious armies; bring to mind also your Sovereigns, O Iranians, O Iranians. Where is Jamshid, Sam and Zal? Where Tahmurus and where Dara? Where Raj of Pishddiyan? Iranians, O Iranians"

"What has become of Cyrus? Where is Cambyses?"

"Where is Ardeshir and where is his pomp?"

"Where is Kai Khusroo, the Kayanian King? O Iranians, O Iranians."

One of his poems Pour-i-Daud concludes 'with a prayer to Ahura Mazda for his mercy and grace.' Not satisfied with the highest glorification of the pre-Islamic culture and religion of Iran he comes out with a venomous poem on Polygamy in which under the caption the "Greatest Sin" he vehemently condemns this institution. He can scarcely hold himself and writes in a strain foreign even to an enemy of Islam. In this long poem he says that a polygamist is an enemy and an "assassin of the culture of our times." Evidently not honouring the testimony of Mohammad (peace be upon him) he enquires, if polygamy is the law of the Lord, why did not Moses, Jesus and the Brahmin receive it?"

The signatories proceed to quote Iqbal's criticism of Persian nationalism for its extreme fondness "for patriotism and pedigree," and also for falling a victim to European influence.

Why Iqbal being called a local poet should lead to so much feeling, it is difficult to understand. Tagore also may be called a local poet since he wrote his poems in Bengali. That Tagore is more widely known than Iqbal is largely due to Tagore having been awarded the Nobel prize. This again is due to the Gitanjali having been translated into English. The West is interested in Hindu literature and philosophy more than in Islamic literature and philosophy. This is partly due to the fact that Islam has for many centuries been looked on as the chief enemy of Christianity while India has been associated with the legendary wisdom of the East. It was only during the last century that Europeans have attempted to appraise Islam unbiassed by the memory of the

Crusades. The Islamic jingoes came into a like conflict with the Turkish deputation two years ago. The Turks declared that religion was a personal matter and a religious mission to Turkey from India would not be admitted. The Shah of Persia had similarly forbidden an Indian Muslim mission. It is doubtful if even the Arabs for whom Indian Muslims profess so much concern, reciprocate their sentiments. The Iranians although they became Muslims, retained their racial integrity. "There is something indigestible in the Iranian nature" writes Elwell-Sutton in his *Modern Iran*, "which enables it to survive everything and even in the end to swallow its conqueror." There has been little admixture of race in the Iranian population. It is this "Iranian nature" which is asserting itself. The change of the name of the country from Persia to Iran, was the first of many manifestations of this tendency to look beyond the Islamic period. Iqbal's criticism shows that he had not studied the history of Islam outside India. The Persians have from the first revolted against Arab domination, cultural and political. Islam in Iran developed on its own distinctive lines in accordance with its native genius. Centuries before Professor Daud, the famous Fardusi began the movement to eliminate Arab words from the Persian language. While a handful of Zoroastrians sought religious freedom by migrating to India, the bulk of the population necessarily remained in the country and transformed Islam into a Persian religion by infusing into it the traditional love of romance and mysticism. Kerbela not Mecca became the most important place of pilgrimage. This is not to be wondered at as the Iranian genius is in many respects the opposite of that of the Arabs. The same thing has happened in Turkey. Influential sections of Turkish leaders of thought are looking beneath the Islamic crust to their ancient Turanian ancestry. The same process was in progress in this country until British rule made growth impossible among all sections of the populations. Under the shadow of British rule Indian Islam has preserved an ideology which the free Islamic communities have long outgrown. Pan-Islamism is dead and cannot be resurrected.

## A BANDRA DIARY.

I have read with pleasure and profit some of Dr. Lin Yutang's books. He is a very severe critic of Western civilization which cannot be said to be afflicted with too much religion. The present plight of Europe, Allies as well as Axis, is by no means enviable. Some people think—I am one of them—that it would not have been worse, it might perhaps have been a little better, if there were a little more religion in Western civilization. Are they wrong? As regards the influence of religion on political freedom, at the worst all that can be said is that it is negative. Watson's parody of Kipling's "Recessional" comes to mind,

Best by remembering God, say some,

We keep our high imperial lot;

Fortune, I fear, has oftenest come

When we forgot, when we forgot.

India by ceasing to be religious may become a great Power, but she will not be India. One of the great surprises of an Indian traveller in the West, is that notwithstanding her political subjection, notwithstanding her notorious poverty, notwithstanding the prejudice of race and colour, the name of India is respected everywhere. "Are you from India?" The next question is, "Do you know Mahatma Gandhi?" What has made the name of this 'half-naked' fakir a household word in the remotest parts of the world? What but that he is seeking to bring about by peaceful non-violent

means, ends which other national leaders have tried to achieve by violent means—and failed miserably. Every one admits that the Gandhian way is the rational, just, humane, way. But “human nature being what it is” they are obliged as “practical” persons to adopt the irrational, unjust, inhuman way. It is unfortunate but cannot be helped “human nature being what it is.” But what is human nature? It is not something apart from you and me. Why is it what it is? Because you and I do not wish it to be other than what it is with sufficient earnestness and intensity. If even a minority of men earnestly wish and work to make human nature more rational, just and humane, it will become so in course of time. There is greater possibility of such men rising in a country where there is too much rather than where there is too little religion. A great Teacher once posed the question, “What does it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his soul in the process?” It a question which nations as well as individuals may well ask themselves.

RECLUSE.

### SACRAMENTAL AND CIVIL MARRIAGES.

(BY KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI.)

A glimpse into British sentiment and practice in this matter is afforded by the following extract from a book on “How to get married” by the Rev. E. G. Hardy, author of “How to be Happy though married.”

“Many people have an invincible dislike to the idea of marriage in a Registrar’s Office; they have a feeling that somehow such a marriage is not binding. This is—so far as the ceremony being not binding—quite an erroneous impression. A marriage at a Registrar’s Office is just as binding as the ceremony which is performed in a church or chapel.

“The event, however, being perhaps the most solemn and important which can be undertaken by two persons, there is an easily understood feeling that some religious ceremony should accompany it.

“A wedding in a Registrar’s Office is a purely civil act, and cannot be accompanied by any religious service. Should anything of the kind be desired, a certificate of the marriage must be obtained from the Registrar and, if the clergyman makes no objection, the couple can then be married in the church. The clergyman is not, however, compelled to give his consent, and no entry can be made in the register of marriages of the church. As a matter of fact very few people who marry at a Registrar’s Office care to have any subsequent ceremony. A good many men if consulted would much prefer the civil ceremony, with its absence of fuss and idle sight-seers; but the bridegroom is rarely consulted, and perhaps as it is the bride’s greatest day it is but fair that she should have her way in the matter.

“If for any reason there is doubt as to the legality of a marriage abroad, it may be expedient for two people to be remarried in Great Britain. Such marriages usually take place at a Registrar’s Office.

“Marriages of divorced persons are generally arranged at the Registrar’s Office; partly because it is difficult to find a clergyman willing to perform the ceremony. Many clergymen have conscientious scruples against the remarriage of divorced persons, and some fear complications in the event of the divorce having taken place abroad and not having been confirmed by the English Courts.

“Neither Friends—Quakers as they are called—nor Jews make use of the Registrar’s Office for marriages. Both consider that marriage is a religious act and not a mere civil contract. The Jews say that from Genesis down to Malachi the idea runs through Holy Scripture that wedlock is based upon religion.

“A marriage before the Registrar is sometimes found advisable when persons of two religious

beliefs marry. It is usual in some cases to have first a civil wedding and then a religious ceremony in one of the churches to which the contracting parties belong. Occasionally it has been thought necessary to have, after the civil wedding, a service in each church; this, however, only as a rule happens when one of the persons marrying is a foreigner.

“The custom of marrying before a Registrar is said to be increasing among the richer classes; but the statistics, so far as they are available, do not bear out this assertion. There would seem rather to be an increase in the display and publicity which are considered necessary when the ceremony takes place whether in a church, chapel or synagogue.

“As a rule, weddings in England are solemnized in places of worship.”

### UNITED NATIONS PLAN THEIR DOMESTIC ECONOMIES\*

All the United Nations are determined that out of this war shall come a finer and richer life for the average citizen, according to a survey of *Postwar Plans of the United Nations* by Lewis L. Lorwin which The Twentieth Century Fund (New York) issued this week.

The survey, made by Dr. Lorwin at the request of the Trustees of the Fund, is a factual report on plans put forward by responsible governmental and private groups in each country for that country’s own internal development after victory is won. Separate sections deal with the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China, Canada, Australia, Latin America, Governments-in-Exile, India, New Zealand and others.

All the countries now fighting side by side to defeat the Axis, the report says, have in common the postwar aim to “improve the economic and social condition of the mass of the people. In the advanced industrial countries, especially in the United States, the British commonwealth of Nations and western Europe, where the memories of 1929-1932 are still fresh, emphasis is on ‘full employment’ and ‘social security.’ The Soviet Union and the industrially less developed countries, e.g., Latin America, India and China stress the idea of ‘higher living standards’ through more production and greater productivity.

“The concrete objectives, however, are everywhere alike—an increase in the material goods of life, better nutrition, housing, health and education, as a means for a larger spiritual and cultural life of all people. Most plans also imply that bettering the condition of the people will bring about a greater economic and social equality among all groups and classes.”

While there is general agreement on the basic goals, the report points out that the individual nations show wide differences in the governmental and economic systems by which they hope to reach these goals, “especially with regard to the role of private and public enterprise in the postwar economy.”

The Fund’s survey finds that “the countries of the United Nations fall into three broad groups. The first group includes the United States, Great Britain, Canada, Australia and some countries of western Europe. Most official and unofficial plans of these countries assume that private enterprise will remain the dominant form of economic activity. Their proposals are intended to strengthen private enterprise by imparting to it a larger social purpose and by extending to it governmental aid.

“The second group includes some countries in Central Europe, a number of Latin American countries and China. The plans of these countries assign a large and permanent place to state enterprise and to other forms of collective organization, e.g. industrial co-oper-

atives, in the tasks of reconstruction and postwar development. These countries contemplate nationalization of many basic resources as well as a large part of the heavy industries. The tendency in these countries, some of which are in the early stages of industrialization, is towards an economic system which may be described either as 'state capitalism' or a 'mixed economy,' depending on the degree to which government ownership and operation will be combined with other forms of public and semi-public enterprise.

"The third group consists of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with its complete nationalization of economic life and centralized planning methods."

Dr. Lorwin reports that among the United Nations "there is almost complete agreement in all plans on one point, namely, that the government assume the task of providing employment, if and when private enterprise fails to do so. For this purpose, all plans outline schemes of public works ranging from the usual road construction to the building of low-cost houses, schools, hospitals and recreational facilities. So far as they advocate such public works, all plans provide for a large participation of the government in economic life after the war."

As an indication of some of the problems of postwar planning in any one country, the Fund's report stresses the fact that "the postwar plans of the different members of the United Nations are being worked out independently, without regard to their mutual relations... The proposals of practically all countries to maintain their war-created industries and to develop new industries after the war are of particular importance. Most, if not all, plans state explicitly or imply that 'full employment' and higher living standards depend, to a large extent, on the capacity of the respective countries to reserve as much of the home market as possible for domestic industries. At the same time, they stress the need of foreign markets...."

"The chief limitations of current postwar plans are the conflicting elements in the proposals of the different countries and their lack of co-ordination with plans for international economic and social organization. The capacity of the United Nations to reconcile these conflicts in their domestic postwar plans will determine the degree of their success in building a better postwar world for all."

Dr. Lorwin finds that for the domestic aims of a better life for the common man "most postwar proposals lean heavily on social insurance and expansion of the social services. The proposals cover all phases of life, 'from the cradle to the grave,' as the now famous phrase goes. Men, women and children are to be protected against all the hazards of work and life, to be assisted in getting an education or a vocation, to be helped in providing themselves with better nutrition, decent homes and good health, and to be assured of the means of maintaining themselves in old age.

"The 'Beveridge plan' in England is the prototype of similar proposals in Canada, Australia and other countries. It is paralleled by the proposals of the National Resources Planning Board in the United States and by the social legislation of New Zealand. Latin American countries are advancing along the same path. China and India accept the principle, though their concrete programs on the subject are limited and meagre."

### "THE GLORY THAT WAS GREECE"— TURKEY AND THE EAST.

Sir, The news you have retailed with your informing comments in your issue of Feb. 26, relating to the Turks' assiduous plans to Westernise themselves, suggests a few thoughts which may be of interest to your readers.

The Turks may now be said to be going to school to "the glory that was Greece", in their sincere endeavour to understand the roots of European culture. But does Greece or modern Hellas herself look upon her nationals as Europeans? No, to be sure. To the average Greek 'Europe' signifies the lands of the 'Far West', i. e. the Romanised parts of the continent of Europe. Like the Russian, who is the Greek's disciple, the Greek looks upon himself more as a Levantine Asiatic than as a Westerner or European. The Greek who has travelled to Germany or to the Scandinavian countries or to any of the Romance-speaking lands, will on reaching home speak of himself and will be spoken of by his neighbours as having travelled in 'Europe', and 'come home from Europe', though all the while he has lived within the geographical Europe and has never gone beyond its limits.

Remarks to this effect I first read in the writings of the late Lala Har Dayal, the Indian nationalist deportee from the Punjab, who, though known as a great writer and propagandist of Indian nationalism, was equally well known in his latter days as a Hellenist in his outlook. He used to write, or his writings were noticed, in that brilliant weekly started by that other great Punjabee, Lala Lajpat Rai, which was named *The People* and issued from Lahore.

Soon after I read such remarks about the Greek's notion of Europe, I had occasion to visit the great and daily expanding city of Bombay, in the year 1934. When there, I went to see a literary and publishing friend of mine, living and carrying on his business in that part of the city which is called Dadar. In the course of our talk he spoke of himself as having 'gone to Bombay' and 'returned from Bombay.' I was amused by his references to 'Bombay', and remember to have recalled Har Dayal's remarks about the Greek's notion of Europe. To Mr. Devrao Naik, a citizen of the city of Bombay, living in one of its wards called Dadar, 'Bombay' signified only the older and busier or earlier settled quarters in the south and West of the Island: namely, Girgaon, and the rest.

But what after all, are the elements of Hellenism or Grecian culture? The Greeks or Ionians (or Yavanas, as we called them in our Buddhist days, or Yunanis, as they were known in our Islamic times,) owed their alphabet to an Asian people, the Phoenicians, the same people, as those from whose graphical system have derived our Deva-Nagari and its cognate alphabets. Next, let us turn to their science and mathematics. The Greeks reared these, as we learn from the pages of those eminent ancients, Herodotus and Plutarch and Pliny, upon the foundations bequeathed to them by the older races of Egypt, Asia Minor and Persia. *Obsidian* is an English word which perpetuates the Abyssinian origin of the art of glass-making. 'Wootz', by the way, is an English word, dating from as long ago as 1795, which shows what the industrial West owes to the Kannada (Kanarese) people in the art of iron and steel manufacture; and can it be only an accident that the Bhadravati Iron works in Mysore are situated in the same region as the one from which the early English in India derived their 'wootz'? Pythagorean philosophy, with its virtue of vegetarianism and the doctrine of transmigration of souls, is owed to

India, and ultimately to Dravidian India, in particular. Their astronomy the Greeks based on the tables and rules inherited by them from the Chaldean or Assyrian races. Above all, Greek Christianity was the work of the Grecianised Jews who followed the teachings of a Teacher who was the disciple of John the Baptist, who led a sect called the Essenes, who were nothing but a Buddhist sect in Palestine. Jehosaphat is the name of a saint who is common to the hagiology of all the Semitic-religious world—Greek and Roman Christianity and Islam also. His name and legend are nothing but disguises of the name and story of *Bodhisattva*; for that is one of the epithets of the Buddha, Siddhartha Gautama, the Light of the East.

Karwar N. Kanara.

S. D. NADKARNI.

### PROSELYTISM & MISSION SCHOOLS.

#### I

Sir,

Out of evil cometh good. It is a good thing that the public of India is now discussing the very vexed but important question of "religious neutrality" in connection with the proselytising work of the Sophia College. It may be said here that this is not the first time we are discussing this question. Even Englishmen have been discussing it long since and there has been a serious difference of opinion among them on this matter. It will be, therefore, worth while quoting one or two of these in regard to this very question. This problem was discussed at length by the Educational Commission in 1882, and we shall quote here some of the things said by no less a man than the late Principal Wordsworth, the then Principal of the Elphinstone College.

We must remember here that the grant-in-aid system was introduced largely through the efforts of Dr. Duff and that he and his colleagues such as Dr. Wilson and others wanted to take possession of the entire system of education in India by means of it. In this they found at first a serious rival in the Government itself. The latter started schools and colleges in some places, and the Christian Missions raised a hue and cry that by doing this the Government was violating the principle of religious neutrality. They went even so far as to demand the closing down of these Governmental educational institutions. It was in connection with this matter that the late Principal Wordsworth in his evidence before the Commission said as follows :

I do not think that the establishment and control of schools and colleges can properly be left at present to private persons in India. The place left vacant by Government would in actual fact be occupied in this country by those powerful religious bodies, whose primary objects are rather religious conversion than intellectual improvement—a result which might at no remote time be attended with political inconvenience and danger.

To the charge that the Government was violating religious neutrality by starting such schools and colleges, he says :

"But I can not for one moment admit that neutrality is violated by the mere existence of Government institutions from which religious teaching is expressly excluded. In a country so divided in religious belief, what other course is possible, unless the State, in obedience to the dogmatic susceptibilities of the competing sects, is to abandon its direct educational activities altogether? The mere statement of this sectarian claim in a country like India, where education is so much needed, must shock every impatient mind, and the matter becomes more serious when it is recollected that claim is put forward, not as in England by a portion of the population in behalf of a religion which nearly all

Englishmen profess, but by strangers whose primary object is to detach the people of the country from their hereditary faiths." Then again the following :

If a strict interpretation of the principle of religious neutrality requires the withdrawal of Government from the direct management of schools and colleges, does it not much more require the withdrawal of all aid from institutions whose professed object is the extinction of the religion of the country ?

We shall add the following from another Englishman, a man writing under the pseudonym Boxwalla in a book called 'An Eastern Backwater.' He says :

Other countries were not slow to discover and exploit the benevolent attitude of the British nation towards missions without discrimination of sect or nationality. Equality of treatment is the demand of the missions, but equality is hardly what they desire or obtain. In countries where Hinduism, Mohammedanism and Buddhism are the national creeds, grants-in-aid drawn from native tax-payers are paid to schools in which Christianity in one of its many forms is part of the compulsory course, and the native child has in very many places no alternative to attendance at the mission-school if he wishes to learn English. A large proportion of such schools belong to different American Churches which in their own country receive not a cent from the state towards the support of any schools in which their creed is taught.

What this author says about American missions educational work is more or less true of the educational work of all missions in India both Protestant and Catholic, whose number is legion.

A HINDU LOVER OF CHRIST-

#### II

Sir,

As was expected, the Sophia College controversy has attracted wide attention all over India, especially in Missionary and Indian Christian circles. Most of the Christian periodicals have expressed their opinions on this subject and meetings of Christians were held all over the country to protest against the action of the Senate. Indian Christian leaders like Mr. Chenchiah have also written about the matter.

It is most surprising that in all this controversy the real issue has been evaded and irrelevant questions like "liberty of conscience" were introduced. The Senate's action in no way takes away the liberty of anyone's conscience. One cannot imagine India burning anyone at the stake or lynching him in the streets for his faith. The two girls who embraced the Christian faith did in no way come under the disapprobation of the public.

The real issue was raised not when the resolution for disaffiliation came up, but when the guarantee was asked for and given. The sequel to that is unimportant and does not involve any principle. Most of the Christian speakers opposing the resolution based their argument on the ground that the inquiry was not fair, implying thereby that they accepted the right of the Senate to ask for such a guarantee. It is quite possible that a judicial inquiry might find a verdict different from that arrived at by the Committee. But the point is irrelevant to the main issue.

The main issue is whether religious bodies should make institutions requiring State aid and recognition-instruments for propagating their religion. I do not know what exactly is the position of the Sophia College or other Catholic institutions with regard to this matter. The information I have received is conflicting. But the fact that the guarantee was given implies that it was possible, from the point of view of the Governing Board, for the Sophia College to exist purely as an educational institution. But in the case of Protestant missionary bodies, insti-



tutions such as colleges, primary and high schools, hospitals, leper homes, etc., cannot exist except as direct evangelistic agencies. Mr. Chenchiah has perhaps approached the issue nearest when he said that the guarantee should not have been given, but he does not indicate what in his opinion would have been the reasonable attitude of the Senate had the guarantee not been given. It is perhaps unfortunate that the Senate has singled out the Sophia College for asking such a guarantee instead of laying down a general principle for all affiliated colleges. If that course had been followed, the main issue would not have been clouded as it has been in this case. If at some future date the Senate takes up the general question and asks for such guarantees from Missionary institutions, it will not be surprising if a majority of them are unable to give it, as in that case they would cease to be missionary institutions.

It is difficult to see how a body representing different faiths could take up any other attitude than the one which has been taken in this case. As the question is purely one of institutions receiving State aid or recognition, it is not directed towards any minority community and infringes on the liberty of conscience of no individual.

But it is more important to look at the matter from the point of view of the Missions. It is a sad reflection on any religious body that it should depend—and in some cases depend solely—upon State-aided and recognised institutions for the propagation of their religion.

It is to be hoped that before the University or any other State department enforces a similar guarantee in the case of like institutions, the mission authorities will take up this question and review mission policy and methods.

The solution proposed by Sir Raghunath Paranjpye, which amounts to registration of conversions, does not directly meet this problem, and needs to be considered in fuller detail before it secures popular support.

—T. A. C.

## THE ARYAN PATH.

Editor: SOPHIA WADIA

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

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## NOTES.

**Education and Religion** :—We publish a letter from a Methodist missionary on the subject of missionary education. He suggests that the whole question should be considered. It will have to be, and several other questions besides relating to religious tolerance. Does the argument for religious tolerance include the right to convert? Is not the desire to convert itself a negation of the spirit of tolerance? The attitude of a State which observes religious tolerance must be that it recognises no distinction between faith and faith. Therefore, it cannot allow movements which aim at snatching recruits from other religions to one particular religion. Mr. Townsley says that, if conversion is not allowed, the basis of missionary education is denied. A University is concerned with education and it is one of its duties to see that no institution operating under its auspices uses education for other ends. If religious institutions are allowed to function under a secular university, there can be only two possible ways of maintaining a spirit of tolerance: Either to enforce a rule banning religious instruction or other means of influencing students of other faiths; or to restrict their activities to children of their own faith. Mr. Townsley's reference to Jesus is naive. Jesus did not ask for recognition either from Rome or Jerusalem; neither did he preach to the little ones. As for the sick, Jesus asked one cured man to keep it quiet and make the customary offerings. A great deal of heat is imported into the controversy and it is even suggested that any protest against conversion is a direct threat to the right of an individual to bear witness to the faith he holds. That there are restrictions even today is conveniently ignored. Three years back, there was a great controversy about the pledge which missionaries, whether working as individuals or through societies, whether British or foreign, gave to the Government before coming out to India. The facts are recorded in a pamphlet, "A Missionary and His Pledge." As a result some missionaries belonging to the same church as Mr. Townsley were turned out of India. No mission or missionary protested against that attack on individual rights. Does the present protest mean that restrictions are only objected to if they come from a weak and ineffective quarter? We welcome Mr Townsley's suggestion that the whole subject be discussed. But with whom are we to discuss it? The missions certainly will not take kindly to his proposal.

**India in America** :—The letter we print today from Edith A. Trotter of New York deserves careful

study. It points out the difficulties which Americans face in understanding the Indian question. It also bears witness to the great interest in India shown by Americans. Indians who have anything to do with presenting a case apart from the officially sponsored ones, would do well to imbibe the lessons of that letter. Nothing is lost by restraint. Much can be lost by overstatement. Wartime propaganda has left a bad example and it is not difficult to see the irritation under which spokesmen for nationalist India in the conditions they face in the United States of America. Yet this is an irritation which too often finds expression to the detriment of the cause. A reputation for charm is not an asset to a man who has any views to put forward. When Miss Trotter says that the charm of many Indians she has met rouses a devotion in Americans, it is one side of the picture. When she goes on to hint that these Americans are themselves led by that factor to extravagant statements, that is not so pleasing a side. Children are charming, some of them. But they are not taken seriously. We have had to omit several details in the letter because more than six months have passed since we wrote on the subject and they are of passing interest. The main points that arise out of the letter are that Indians in speaking to American audiences would do well to be restrained in their presentation and that they should study their audience. For example, Miss Trotter refers to Palme Dutt's book and objects to the use of the word tributes for investments. Seeing that America has a large share of world business, it is injudicious to press the point. But the stage at which an investment becomes a tribute is not difficult to spot. The subtle distinction she makes between the need for caution and the parading of distrust is a well-taken point.

**A Retrograde Step** :—The change of the name of the Government of India Department of Indians Overseas into the Department of Commonwealth Affairs is untimely and, if any significance attaches to it, it can only be a sinister significance. It is untimely because it forestalls the decision which, under the Cripps and other schemes of constitutional reform, is to be made by Indians when the time comes to frame a constitution, as to whether India will remain within the British Commonwealth. This decision will depend on the attitude of the Dominions and of the British Government towards India at the post-war settlement. The change prejudices a free decision at the proper time. The Department of Indians Overseas looked after the interests of Indians in the British colonies, Dominions and in foreign countries. The Dominions have from time to time raised objections to the interference of the Government of India in their treatment of Indians domiciled in them. The answer has been that, so long as Indians remain unenfranchised, they were entitled to have the protection of the mother country. In the Colonies too, the British Colonial Office has not taken kindly to the intervention of the Indian Government to protect Indian interests. As regards

Indians in foreign countries, the Department of Indians Overseas has enjoyed the right of formulating proposals for the protection of Indian nationals, though the correspondence with foreign governments rested with the External Department. The Department of Commonwealth Affairs will be presumably debarred from interesting itself in the fate of Indians in foreign countries. This is a serious handicap. It prevents the Government of India from having a consistent policy of dealing with questions relating to Indians abroad. There is another matter, a personal one, which we are obliged to mention in this connection. It has been a convention for many years before and since the Department was created that the Government of India's policy with regard to Indians overseas should harmonise with Indian public sentiment. It is impossible to maintain this wholesome convention if the Member for the Department indulges in provocative attacks on Indian political parties such as that of the Hon. Dr. Khare in the Legislative Assembly the other day. Dr. Khare must learn to put aside his personal grievances, however well-founded, in the interests of his Department. If he cannot exercise so much self-restraint, he should make room for another who can take a national view of national problems. An accomplice turned approver, may be a highly conscientious person, but he does not command implicit confidence.

**The Punjab and Pakistan:**—Mr. Jinnah told a foreign journalist not long ago that Muslim League Governments were working smoothly in the five provinces where Muslims preponderate. Nevertheless he found it necessary to go personally to Lahore to persuade the Unionist Party to change its name and call itself the Muslim League Party. For twenty days he laid siege to the capital of the province, interrogated, interviewed the Ministers, delivered speeches, and, if the report in the *Bombay Chronicle*, is correct, went even to the length of declaring that Hindus and Muslims were brothers. But in vain. Neither the Muslim Ministers nor the Hindus were to be convinced that the change desired by Mr. Jinnah was in the best interests of the province. One of the Jat notabilities who attended Mr. Jinnah's meeting said that he was a Jat first and a Muslim or Hindu afterwards. They have a Jat association of which Sir Chhottu Ram is president, consisting of Hindu and Muslim Jat members. The Rajput Muslims are similarly Rajputs first and Muslims afterwards. There are several other marginal communities. Until some years ago they followed the Hindu law of succession. Mr. Jinnah with the support of the Congress got legislation passed making all Muslims subject to Muslim Law. Thus a reform which Muslim rulers did not care or dare to introduce, was effected. Even now several Muslim castes adhere to their old Hindu customs. These are catalogued in one of the chapters in Titus' "Islam in India." The largest and strongest of them are in the Punjab and Pakistan in the premier Muslim province will be a stark failure. Nothing less than a powerful religious propaganda can bring all these castes and sects into one fold. Mr. Jinnah is not the man to lead such a movement.

**Railway Fares:**—Lord Wavell's decision not to certify and restore the proposal in the Railway Budget to increase railway fares by 25 per cent. which was rejected by the Legislative Assembly, is an act of true statesmanship. The increase, as the *Reformer* pointed out, was not required to fill a gap between receipts and expenditure. Railways last year yielded an unconscionably large surplus. To produce a surplus is not the supreme merit of a Finance Minister. Any fool can do that by under-

estimating revenue and overestimating expenditure. Skill in public finance consists in taking from the people the minimum in taxes and utilising it for their maximum benefit. This is the same as the Indian saying that the sovereign takes taxes as the sun evaporates water in order to return them in abundant rain to vivify the earth for cultivation. Along with several false economic doctrines of the last century, some wholesome principles also have been swept away, and among them the Gladstonian maxim that the State is not entitled to take more than just what is sufficient for the administration and it should leave the bulk of the people's earnings to fructify in their pockets. The increase in railway fares was proposed as a reserve for the future improvement of amenities for third class passengers! This is the professed object of much of the mounting taxation now in fashion. The absurdity of talking of provision for the future to a man or a nation gasping for breath, is apparently beyond the perception of the men who hold the economic destinies of the country in their hands. The war on all fronts, except the Russian, is not progressing in the way it was expected confidently to do a few months ago. In no previous war or peace has there occurred so much to illustrate that it is the unexpected that always happens. The Viceroy would have had all this in mind when he decided that it was not his duty to certify the increase proposed by the Transport Member. His Excellency's action which is not by any means conventional, will be widely appreciated. The increase, had it been certified, would have cast an intolerable burden on almost every phase of life and every class of the public. Is it in the public interest that Sir Edward Benthall continues to hold an office in which he has proved to be a complete misfit?

**Women and War:**—The hero of the Mahabharata, Arjuna, placed foremost among the evils of war the break-up of families and the destitution of women. The steady deterioration in the position of Hindu women dates from the fratricidal strife which culminated at Kurukshetra. Modern wars are, if possible, more disastrous to women. There was after the last war a general retrogression in the position of women in Europe. Conditions are likely to become much worse after the present struggle. The process has already begun. Women, givers of life, are working in thousands in munition factories filling bombs and other missiles with deadly explosives for the purpose of killing and maiming thousands and millions of men, women and children. The withdrawal of the ban on the employment of women in underground mines in India is not the worst incident of the war in India. The advancement in the position of women during the last fifty years is bound to suffer a severe set-back in the post-war period. The physical effects are comparatively less dangerous than the moral effects. Srimati Kamaladevi's presidential address to the All India Women's Conference makes no reference to this imminent danger. We hope that the Conference will not lose sight of it in its proceedings.

**Mr. Willkie Withdraws:**—Mr. Wendell Willkie has decided, after the results of some voting in the election of a Republican candidate for the U. S. Presidency were known, to withdraw from the Presidential contest. Many Presidents of the United States, as of other states, have shown unusual capabilities after election. Mr. Willkie alone showed them after his defeat at the last contest, to which his "One World" bears eloquent testimony. Many Indians have expressed indignation at his agreeing not to come to India. But after reading the book, it was a fortunate decision. Mr. Willkie for all his liberalism has the habit of going into extravagance over officialdom.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, April 8, 1944.

## ALL INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE.

Srimati Kamaladevi is the first President of the All India Women's Conference which met in Bombay this week, who owes her position to no extraneous circumstance. For many years since its inception Presidents of the Conference were chosen for their social, economic or official status. They were most of them earnest helpers in their own way in the cause of women but this alone did not account for their selection. They were also usually on the safe side of politics. The election of Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit last year to the Presidentship was a departure from this tradition. But Mrs. Pandit was the daughter of Pandit Motilal Nehru and had for her brother, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Kamaladevi has no such family associations. She has practically fought her way to the Presidentship of the premier women's organization in India by sheer hard work, indomitable faith in herself and against a load of prejudice under which most other women would have broken down. Without any advantages whatever, except that of her own engaging personality, she has travelled widely, studied at first hand the questions which agitate the human mind and equipped herself for her role as a national leader through the same discipline as men who have left their mark on history. She has thought for herself and speaks for herself. The address which she delivered at the Women's Conference on Friday does not quite come up to the expectations raised by her career and character. The address in fact seems to have undergone revision at hands other than her own. It is at places rather an apology for than an assertion of the right of women's movements to exist and operate independently of the national movements under the leadership of men.

Srimati Kamaladevi began by restating the purpose of the All India Women's Conference for the benefit of the many men and the few women who regard it as a feminist movement directed against the male sex as in Britain. The women's movement, she said, is essentially a social movement and part of the process of enabling a constituent part of society to adjust itself to the constantly changing social and economic conditions, and trying to influence those changes and conditions with a view to minimising irritations and conflicts and making for the largest measure of harmony. Thus it operates as an integral part of the progressive social structure in the broadest sense, and is not a sex war as so many mechanically believe or are led to believe.

We may observe in passing that we do not think that many men in India ever thought of the All India Women's Conference as engaged in a sex war. The Conference and its branches and constituents have always sought and welcomed the cooperation of men, which has always been cheerfully accorded to them. Whatever may be the case elsewhere, in India women and men have never thought of themselves as two separate constituent bodies. Every god in the Hindu pantheon has his goddess and in one of the most original creations of Indian religious art, the Deity is half man, half-woman. No social or religious ceremony is possible without the presence of women by the side of their men. Even in other lands women can no more be regarded as a separate constituent than one blade can be said to be a constituent of a single pair of scissors. This has been manifested in politics also. While in Britain men and

women fought like cats and dogs for the franchise, in India not a single man raised his voice against the extension of the franchise to women. That women have not more extensively availed themselves of the rights they possess, is due to the social organisation in India and most other countries which continues to retain the biological concept of division of the sexes. The world is fast outgrowing that ideology. We are in agreement with the main points of the President's address. We entirely agree that the housewife's work is not appreciated at its true value as an economic function and would be prepared to support any measure, legislative or social, which can effectively bring home to men and women its intrinsic importance, and provide for an economic recognition of the housewife's work in every family. We are not aware that women among the middle and upper classes are, as the President said, regarded as parasites. Even Mr. Bajoria, we are sure, does not think so though he objects to expensive wives. It is more likely that many housewives regard men as parasites, and they have good reason to do so. Without women there will be no society. It is strange that Srimati Kamaladevi should have made this remark which might have been of some accuracy fifty years ago but is certainly wholly untenable now when women are organising themselves on an All India scale. The President touched on two questions now being agitated in the country, work of women in coal mines and the two bills drafted by the Rau Committee. We cannot help thinking that the President spoke with more warmth of the coal miners than of the Rau Committee Bills. She objected to the retention of caste and gotra in the Marriage Bill. But the Bill also provides for Civil Marriage in which caste and gotra do not count. Any man or woman who does not believe in caste and gotra, can get themselves married in the civil form. If, as the President thinks, caste and gotra have lost most of their significance in modern Hindu society, here is a ready means for their benefit. We cordially support the President's suggestion that there should be one uniform marriage law for all India regardless of caste and creed.

The All India Women's Conference began as an educational movement. It gradually and almost insensibly drifted into other spheres until it has now become a parallel association of women to other bodies like the Congress, the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha. We cordially endorse Srimati Kamaladevi's exhortation to the All India Women's Conference to confine itself to matters which specially pertain to women, in which women think and act more effectively than men. The President indicated some of these. She referred to the paucity of nurses in proportion to the population and pleaded for more women to join the profession. In our opinion the increase in the number of professional nurses is not the right solution of the nursing problem. In the first place, it is not to the advantage of society that a large proportion of its healthy young women should be detached from their normal life and reserved for looking after the sick. In the next place, the professional nurse almost invariably develops a callousness to suffering which is a serious handicap to her services. The general diffusion of Knowledge of principles of hygiene not only among women but among men also will enable even poor families to enjoy the advantage of an intelligent care of the sick among their own members without being afraid of the daily wages to be paid. We should like the same thing done as regards household management. There is no reason why men should relegate this



exclusively to women. Nature has restricted child bearing to women. Man cannot share it. In all other respects men should share with women the task of keeping the mechanism of life going. He should do his part of the drudgery which, when inspired by love, is divine.

#### MISS. KINNAIRD'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY.\*

With the title "My Adopted Country" the Hon. Emily Kinnaird has published a very interesting book. Miss Kinnaird's main interest and activities centre round the Young Women's Christian Association in India. Equally if not more interesting to the Indian reader is her account of society and family life in England in her early days as a background to her own career. The Kinnaird family belonged to the British nobility. Miss Kinnaird explains the difference between aristocracy and nobility in the British peerage thus: Aristocracy includes lots of people who have no title such as the old county families, and pedigree is the essential; whereas Nobility consists of all members of the peerage and they can be created by a royal charter. Lord Nuffield, Lord Hailey and Lord Reading belong to the Nobility. Lord Curzon, Lord Halifax and Lord Minto are both aristocrats and nobles. Arthur Balfour and Winston Churchill are aristocrats but do not belong to the nobility. When the Brahmins were described by a member of the House of Commons as the closest aristocracy in the world, the term was used in its strict sense as understood in Britain. The Brahmins of India are not, of course, nobles created by any royal charter. The only Indian noble, Lord Sinha, was a Kayastha. Another peculiarity of British social life noted by Miss Kinnaird is that the eldest son alone inherits the property and at the death of the head of the family none of the other children have any more right to the family home, even the widow giving immediate place to her daughter-in-law. Miss Kinnaird contrasts the position in India where all members of the family have a right to return to their old home whereas the British widow is not very often a favourite visitor, and has no right to return except by invitation.

Miss Kinnaird on her mother's side is descended from the famous banking family of Hoare. Her father was a younger son of Lord Kinnaird. He was at first an attaché to the British Ambassador in Russia, the Earl of Durham. Miss Kinnaird relates how the young attaché was once greatly upset at a button having come off his uniform. The Ambassador noticed his subordinate's consternation and remarked, "Arthur, what makes you think that anybody will look at you?" This lesson, she adds, her father never forgot and passed on to his children. Young Kinnaird quitted the diplomatic service for a business career. His elder brother died leaving two sons who also died, though Miss Kinnaird mentions the death of only the elder of the two. Her father succeeded to the title but stuck to his business of banking, though this was at the time not thought quite the right thing to do for a member of the nobility.

The fashion set by Florence Nightingale and Elizabeth Fry of social service for young women of well-to-do families spread rapidly at the time. Lady Kinnaird was an active social worker. She had five daughters, two of whom married. She distributed her social work among the other three. "There was no need," writes Miss Kinnaird, "for us to leave home and become deaconesses or missionaries as we were allowed full freedom and encouraged to go out from home to do social work on our own."

Social and religious celebrities from all over the world visited the Kinnaird home. One of these was George Williams the founder of the Young Men's Christian Association. He suggested to Lady Kinnaird a parallel organization for women who were just then beginning to adopt careers of their own. At the suggestion of the famous Dr. Duff, Lady Kinnaird took a leading part in organizing the Zenana Mission to the women of India. The Y. W. C. A. when it was first extended to India was meant only for Eurasian girls. Of the origin of the community, Miss Kinnaird gives the following account:

It began with the almost universal custom at a time when comparatively few men brought out their English wives, of living with one's bearer's wife, or of keeping one woman between several men in a chummary which continued the production of a mixed race.

This seems to have been a Burmese practice as Miss Kinnaird first came upon it in Rangoon. The Y. W. C. A. in Rangoon was started for the benefit of Anglo-Burman girls. The Anglo-Indian community proper had a different origin.

The Y. W. C. A. has now extended its activities over the whole of India. The Rangoon building was destroyed by Japanese bombs. It provides a home for hundreds of Indian Christian girls. It also provides vocational training for them. Non-Christians are also admitted to its benefits. Without proselytising for its aim the Y. W. C. A. is demonstrating the value of Christian influence among young women who adopt vocations as alternative to marriage. Miss Kinnaird has a broad mind and writes appreciatively of Indian leaders with whom she has made a point of establishing contacts. The Poet Tagore, the Nehrus and Mahatma Gandhi come in for much appreciative reference. Miss Kinnaird praises the Congress Governments for introducing Prohibition in the provinces where they were in power. Although Social Service in her home was a Christian idea, Miss Kinnaird herself has outgrown it and holds that good work can be done in connection with other religions and also independently of religion. Miss Kinnaird represents perhaps a larger number of Britons than are generally thought to share India's aspirations. This book is timely as a help to counteract the growing estrangement between the two nations.

#### AMERICAN DIFFICULTIES ON INDIAN PROBLEMS.

Sir,

In your comment (August 21, 1943) on "The Problem of India's Future" (Information Service of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America), you write, "Foreign propaganda has not appealed to the best Indian minds which still look to the Indian problem as one to be settled with Britain." You touch on a serious impediment. It is clear that the United States has no mandate for interference, and comment may seem entirely gratuitous to both India and Britain. But Americans want to understand, especially as they increasingly realize that this country wields an influence in a contracting world that has been more or less unconscious and often carelessly used. The publications that have been produced by Indians in this country and the conversation of most I have met, seem too passionate for detached and factual statement. General and extreme pronouncements are made unsupported by the relevant data. The tendency extends to Americans who have espoused the Nationalist cause. The fundamental justice of the Indian desire for self-government seems to waken a furious loyalty, and the charm of Indian

\*37, Cantonment Road, Lucknow. Rs. 1/8.

leaders rouses a rather heated devotion. This heat merely clouds issues and it does a disservice to the Indian cause by doubling the caution of the serious student. He is forced to balance in his mental processes his professional distrust of this heat and his moral wariness of cool British facts.

R. Palme Dutt's latest book seems the ablest analysis of the Indian point of view available. Yet he used the highly coloured word "tribute" to characterize payments from India to Britain including return on investments such as almost every country pays to almost every other country.

With regard to "accusations of bad faith," I look in vain for documented statements on this point but find only unsupported generalizations. Statements cited with name and date are useful. They should be available, in cases of interpretations by persons whose authority would render such interpretation impressive.

When my own impression regarding the influence of religion on Congress Party attitudes and its Hindu emphasis, was corroborated by so warm an advocate of the Party as Miss Mitchell, I felt warranted in quoting her. Is it not in disapproval of great wealth and modern big business that Gandhi tries to call India back to the simpler life of the village communities and cottage crafts? I had no thought of labeling any working tool especially Hindu. Yet outstanding political economists have linked Protestantism with the rise of the industrial age, Catholicism with the feudal age, etc. It is certainly not intended to imply that "if the Congress is progressive it is damned, and if it is reactionary it is doomed." Discussion of such a complex problem at this distance may seem only impertinent. However, it is my idea that a delicate and difficult blend of radicalism and conservatism is needed. For one person to arrive at the happy proportion is very difficult; to lead a nation to it is a great ideal that can probably never be more than approximated. It may, however, be a working approximation. The programme would include such modern items as wide electrification. In urban areas this would contribute to industrial development; in rural areas it would make possible extensive development of cottage industries. The latter, however, would need the support of cooperatives for production and for distribution. This would go all the way with neither the radical nor the conservative, but it would help to integrate the opposing pressures upon Indian life so as to allow of a forward movement. A similar approach seems to be indicated in other areas of Indian experience, too.

With reference to non-violence, the resolutions of the Congress Party seem to be at such wide variance that one cannot implicitly rely on any one of them. Also, Pandit Nehru, who seemed to be prepared to support the war when he negotiated with Sir Stafford Cripps, as late as November 15, 1939, in speaking of the Congress and the need for unity, said: "We must therefore stick, stoutly and wholeheartedly, to the method of non-violence and reject all substitutes that might be offered to us." This appears on page 856 of "The Unity of India." At the time of the Bardoli Resolution he seems to have been still opposing cooperation in the war effort. And in view of Mr. Gandhi's demonstrated profound and extensive influence it seems unrealistic to suppose there would not be at least spiritual sabotage of the war. Did he not urgently claim the right openly to oppose this war, as differentiated from general pacifism?

I have had a warm desire to get in touch with someone who could direct me to a workable programme subscribed to by some leading Nationalists. It seems to me that such a plan must exist although

it may not have appeared expedient to publish it in India as yet. But, in view of the contradictory elements in published Congress demands, it seems to me that there must be some other outline of objectives more achievable, not mutually exclusive, which would give better promise of establishing India on a self-governing footing within a reasonable time.

Such a statement, brief, setting forth a reasoned, reasonable and workable programme on which agreement of all Nationalist groups might be at least sought, would do India's cause much good in this country. I think it should either outline a method for resolving the contradictions in the Congress platform or indicate lines of possible compromise between groups. Anything, however informal, that was really accepted in principle by any section of effective Indian leadership, which would suggest a possible harmonization of Indian aims would be effective.

NEW YORK.

Edith A. TROTTER.

#### NEW TESTAMENT ATTITUDE TO PROSELYTISING.

Sir, Your Hindu Lover of Christ's profound 'financial cum-educational cum-religious exploitation' letter of the 25th March prompts me to set down on paper the question that has been running through my mind ever since the early stages of the Sophia College disaffiliation; namely, 'Why doesn't someone set down clearly for us all an authoritative New Testament attitude to the question of winning followers to Christ?' I shall set down roughly a few of the thoughts that have been running through my mind, not claiming for them the full answer to my question, but pointing that way.

One thing that grieved me during the whole affair, was the very guarded references made to trying to influence students along with the several assurances that students would not be unduly influenced. Suppose the parents had thrown up their hands in alarm when Jesus said 'Let the little children come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven', and gotten out a police warrant to get him out of town lest he proselytize? The tender children might be influenced to love this gentle Galilean. What Jesus as a boy of twelve was asking the doctors in the temple we do not know, but at the beginning of his ministry he called disciples to leave all and follow him. It causes us to wonder, doesn't it, if the protectors of the status quo didn't busy themselves in removing this disturbing influence from the midst of their proselytized young men. Let those who believe in the primacy of family ties heed carefully this Carpenter's 'I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law. And a man's foes shall be they of his own household. He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me; And he that loveth son or daughter, more than me, is not worthy of me and he that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me.' Our Hindu Lover of Christ writer should think twice before he uses such an implicating term of address for himself, for Jesus prefaced the above with, 'Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven.' It is unequivocally clear in the New Testament, that Jesus called men to give first allegiance to the Kingdom of God and to Himself as the embodiment of that Kingdom.

Doesn't it seem a bit amiss then, for followers of Him to give an undertaking that, yes, we will teach your children arts and sciences, but we won't influence you to accept Christian truth? What is the value of Christian virtue in a professor if not to influence the student towards the sacrificial service, vicarious suffering, the mightiness of meekness, the prize of peace. If any Christian teacher can teach these truths without presenting the One who embodied them, and does, he is not only losing a grand opportunity of making his abstract teaching concrete, but he is definitely failing to present the *motive power* which Jesus envisaged to carry on his programme. 'I am the vine, ye are the branches: He that abideth in me and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit.'

Perhaps our Hindu Lover of Christ would permit us to present Christian teaching and Christ in the classroom and in the lives of the teachers, but he would draw the line at baptism—though the whole question of proselytism needs clear definition; hence we may be wrong in assuming the length we proselytizers are to be permitted to go. If baptism is the line beyond which the non-proselytized are not permitted to go, it may be asked, what is wrong with outwardly accepting an inner-espoused faith? If one were replying to any other, one might be constrained to touch on methods used to influence the to-be-proselytized-student. But our Hindu Lover of Christ seems to think that the crime laid at the door of Christian schools is that they use the proselytized student's money to proselytize him. The inference is that if all the money were to come from the proselytizer's pocket the 'financial cum-educational cum-religious' exploitation might be permitted, sine-financial. Incidentally it might be asked where the exploiting proselytizers get the balance of their Rs. 26,000,000 budget, having managed to gather the (almost) (Rs. 15,000,000, to use the Hindu Lover's figures) windfall from the exploited. Pretty expensive exploitation!

RAICHUR.

H. A. TOWNSLEY

### MR. SANJANA AND THE SCHEDULED CASTES.

Sir,

Mr. Sanjana has taken your statement, "An onlooker sees more of the game than the participants," literally and waxes eloquent on what he considers to be the solution of the Scheduled castes' problem. As a Parsi, if he invites the Scheduled castes to become converts to Zoroastrianism, it would be something. But to ask them to enter a religious fold to which he himself is a rank outsider seems to another "onlooker" as undue interference. Whatever may be Mr. Sanjana's reaction to Christianity his community has not taken kindly to it as is evident from the strong condemnation the recent conversion of two of his co-religionists received at its hands. In his enthusiasm for Christianity, he does not know that even after embracing that religion the status of the Scheduled castes is not materially affected. A few years ago when all the provincial Governments instituted educational and other facilities for the Scheduled castes, the depressed class converts were clamant that those concessions should be extended to them too.

Dr. Ambedkar and the Scheduled castes are competent to judge for themselves. They are not anxious to be hustled into any hasty and irrevocable action. There is no conceivable reason why Mr. Sanjana should rush in where angels fear to tread.

AJAX.

### V. R. SHINDE.

The late Mr. V. R. Shinde died recently after several years of continued paralytic attack. During the last fifteen years he was not in active life, being bed-ridden and so out of public gaze.

He was one of my four gurus and, next to my father, I took my lessons of public welfare work at his feet. Though younger in age to me, he was far advanced in the study of national beneficial activities. It is wellknown that he was the father of the Depressed Classes welfare movement, and while he was the first man and a pioneer in such an activity, except in the Panjab and U. P. in recent times, I took my first lessons of practical work from him. After a lapse of 40 years, I have not forgotten the vivid description that he gave of a Buddhist Sadhu of inimitable humility and piety and of Irish birth standing at his door in the Bombay Prarthana Samaj building one early morning. When I was in Bombay Municipal Service and in charge of the Kuchra unloading works, in about the year 1906 and 1907, with two or three hundred Mahars and Mangs doing the filthiest work, perhaps more insanitary than carrying night soil by Bhangis, he gave me lessons in how to conduct schools for their children and to obtain as many privileges as I could for the humble low-class workmen of the city of Bombay.

When a technical drafting error in the Bombay Municipal Act of 1888, prevented the Corporation of Bombay from sanctioning the grant for a school I had started, he managed to get me the funds through some friendly Corporation Banker.

Years rolled by, and Sir N. G. Chandavarkar led a group of workers on the path of service to the Harijans, with Shinde as the working Secretary.

Neither the Government of India nor the subordinate Governments of the Provinces of those days were awakened to the sense of duty to the humblest and the suppressed. The Labour Department of Madras, which has led the van-guard in this kind of public service and provided an object-lesson to other Provincial Governments, was not even born. Thank God, it flourished and spends about Rs. 10 to 12 lacs a year, which is not a very creditable percentage, even less than one percent.

However, other Governments have not come up to that stage yet, in spite of greatly added resources.

Temperamental differences divided the President and the Secretary of the Depressed Class Mission after a long period, but Shinde continued to do his missionary task at four different places, Bombay, Poona, Dharwar, and Nagpur, mostly in the Marathi area. He coaxed me to speak at a small meeting in a small state of Kathiawar in the year 1908 for the first time in my life. He encouraged me by complementing me on the Gujarati speech I had made. In the later twenties of this century Shinde was out of action. Thereafter came the famous Gandhiji's movement and whirlwind Harijan tour for 270 days continuously for the service of Harijans in the whole country and for the removal of untouchability from Hindu Society, in the year 1932. But that is another story.

He was an ill-paid missionary, but carrying on his mission all the same with unabated enthusiasm. He lived to the end in voluntary poverty with a small family. His widowed sister was also trained in this missionary work and she has survived him as a living relic. He could ill-educate his sons, one of whom maintained him in his declining years. The younger generation knows very little of Shinde, but he was a man of far-sight, with a lofty mission to do the long denied justice to 5 crores of our nation, one-sixth

of Indian humanity. In his time there was hardly any group of workers in the country for the social service activities, more so for our neglected and suppressed section. May his life be an inspiration to the new generation of field workers in the social service! May his soul rest in peace and be one with the Almighty who had endowed him with a noble mission and only "but one spark" for the regeneration of not an inconsiderable part of our nation.

Delhi.

A. V. THAKKAR.

#### ANTI-SEMITISM IN INDIA.

Sir, While I agree with you in your observations regarding the absence of anti-Semitism in India and the signs of its appearances here, I should like to supplement them by pointing out that there are signs also of Indian Jews becoming infected with the qualities which have roused prejudice against Jews in the European continent. I do not wish to generalise from a single instance. But I think that that instance might well be regarded as a warning. I live in a locality inhabited predominantly by Hindus and Parsis with a few Muslim families. These families have lived side by side maintaining their social identity and as good neighbours. A Jew family has been living in this locality for some time. It has made no difference in the prevailing atmosphere. But one of the boys, apparently not amenable to family control, has created a situation which has not only become a nuisance but also affords some food for reflection. The older boys until he came on the scene used to find scope for their organising abilities by drilling the children in the neighbourhood and singing Bande Mataram and other national and religious songs. The Jew boy has given a new direction to boyish energies. Instead of self-improvement he has placed before them the more remunerative pastime of throwing stones to bring down mangoes and even coconuts from the trees in the locality. He knows his legal rights precisely and recognises no other limit to his activities. He collects the boys before your house and if you remonstrate, he says that he has every right to stand on the road. He does not understand that a road is meant for passage and not a place of assembly. A Parsi neighbour provoked beyond endurance once slapped the boy. Instantly he raised an outcry calling on all to avenge the wrong done to him. I detest the Nazi ways towards dissenting minorities and the Jews. But I confess I have on occasion checked myself in the act of thinking that Hitler might after all have some excuse for his mad fury against the Jews.

SCRUTATOR.

#### DR. AMBEDKAR AND HINDUISM.

Sir,

To "Earnest's" enquiry as what should caste Hindu women do to bring about unity of Hindus and unity of India, I repeat my suggestion that caste Hindu women should not regard themselves as high caste in thought and deed and the thing is done.  
Bangalore.

LAKSHMI.

**Shylock not Othello:**—In the editorial note on the root causes of anti-Semitism in last week's *Reformer* the Shakespearian source was indicated as Othello instead of Shylock.

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## THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

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

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## NOTES.

**Security and Freedom** :—The *Reformer* has more than once of late pointed out that schemes for social stability and security which are being put forward in connection with post-war reconstruction, involve a reversal of the nineteenth century definition of Progress as the substitution of contract for status as the basis of human relationships. In Britain it is not the fashion to look beyond the immediate need. Changes are made as occasions call for them without much consideration of their relation to principles which hardly count in the British mind. But the American mind is differently constituted and there is much speculation among American thinkers as to the incidence of security schemes on traditional theories of Freedom. The Information Service of the Christian Churches in America, which is increasing in scope and value with every issue, summarise the contents of a pamphlet by Professor William Adams Brown of Brown University in which he seeks an answer to the question, "Are Freedom and Security Compatible?" Professor Brown holds that the desire for security has become a dominant passion in the American mind, that the future State should be a Welfare State clothed if possible in the garments of Democracy, and that a new definition of Freedom should be devised which will fit in with Security. Liberty and Equality, the watchwords of Democracy, have not always harmonised. The greatest inequalities are to be found in the countries with maximum liberty. The third watchword of the French Revolution, Fraternity, admits of inequality among brothers and Professor Brown finds in the shape of a Christian ethic the answer to the question. "Is Security compatible with Freedom?"

**British Post-War Finance** :—The Report of the Foreign Policy Association for December 15 is devoted to an examination of Britain's Post-War Trade with reference to World Economy. The author, Howard P. Whidden, estimates, on the assumption that the War will end this year, that Britain's income from abroad will fall short of her obligations to foreign countries by £ two hundred millions a year. India is Britain's largest creditor. She held on September last year five hundred and fifty two millions of sterling balances totalling well over twelve hundred millions. The writer estimates that they will mount up to £ eighteen hundred millions before the war ends, if it does this year. At 8 per cent interest this would

require, if converted into a long term loan, £ fifty-four millions annually. Whidden says that there are three ways by which Britain can meet her liabilities. The first place he gives to devaluation of sterling; the second is direct restriction of imports; and the third is expansion of exports. Against the first there will be protests from other countries; the second would be attended by a lowering in the British living standard; the third will be limited by several factors, the most important of which is that many countries which took British exports have established their own industries during the war and intend to establish more. Whidden thinks that all three policies will probably be resorted to by Britain.

**Monogamy and Divorce** :—The All India Women's Conference would have done well if it had heeded the advice of the eminent Hindu lawyer, Mr. Motilal Setalvad, to have the principle of monogamy first established before pressing for a divorce law in Hindu marriage. Public opinion is ripe for the adoption of the monogamic principle. It is largely indifferent or hostile to divorce. The Baroda law of divorce has been practically a dead letter. Further the Rau Committee Marriage Bill provides an alternative form of civil marriage which admits of divorce. The resolution of the Conference amounts to a demand that the sacramental Hindu marriage, which the Bill retains with the omission of polygamy, should have a divorce provision attached to it. In plain language this means that its sacramental character should be eliminated. We are not sure that the speakers to the resolution realised its full implications. Men and women who do not believe in sacramental marriages and want a door of divorce open to escape from uncongenial partnerships, have the civil marriage. Why they should want to impose their views on others who believe in marriage as a sacrament, that is, an institution affecting not only their physical bodies but their souls as well, it is difficult to understand. The coupling of monogamy with divorce, is calculated to prejudice and has prejudiced it in the eyes of many who are sincerely anxious to have Hindu marriages made monogamous.

**Mr. Jinnah as Social Reformer** :—We are glad that Mr. Jinnah has realised that Muslims like Hindus are suffering from several self-inflicted evils which retard progress. His trenchant condemnation of purdah at Aligarh and of caste and sectarian distinctions in Lahore, find a hearty welcome from all Indian reformers. His leadership will become memorable in the annals of India if his social reforms commend themselves even to a minority of earnest young men and women who may be trusted to carry the torch forward. Mr. Jinnah has expressed himself as disappointed with want of character in Punjab Muslims. His test of character is not ours. We think the Punjabis, Muslims and Hindus, have shown real strength of character in resisting his attempt to wheedle them into support of Pakistan.

**The Conscience Clause** :—The Report of the Lindsey Commission on Higher Christian Education

in India deals with the position as it was thirteen years ago as regards religious instruction in Protestant Colleges. In the United Provinces and Burma there was a Conscience Clause providing that, as a condition of Government grants to mission colleges, exemption from required attendance in Scripture classes should be granted to any student whose parents should request such exemption. "It seems likely," the Commission added, "that it may soon be imposed in other provinces also." The Wilson College, Bombay, wished voluntarily to adopt the Conscience Clause believing it to be right in principle. But the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland which is the controlling authority of Scottish Missions, refused up to the time of the Commission's Report, to sanction the proposal. The Ewing Christian College of Allahabad conducted by American Presbyterians, declined to receive Government grants with the condition of a Conscience Clause attached to them. The Commission, however, expressed the view that receiving Government grants with the condition "was not only consistent with their Christian purpose but in many cases may aid in its realisation." An official statement of the present position in the several provinces on this matter, is called for, particularly in view of the countrywide discussion of the principle of religious neutrality in education, aroused by the conversions of two Parsi girl students of Sophia College. Two-thirds of the expenditure of Protestant Colleges are derived from Government grants and fees paid by students. About a third in 1931 was contributed by Mission Boards abroad. The proportion of the latter to the total should have decreased markedly in recent years. Even before the war they showed a tendency to decline.

**Mr. Polak's American Tour :—**The Journal of the Royal Society of Arts for February prints the text of a paper read by Mr. H. S. L. Polak on his fourteen months tour in the United States. Mr. Polak claimed, and we admit the claim, that his lectures in the United States were in no wise intended as propaganda but were a sincere and disinterested account of Indian life and thought. Nevertheless the facts which he stressed in his speeches, were all in defence of British rule in this country. *The Reformer* has not grudged acknowledging the benefits conferred by the British connection. But Britain is also responsible for serious mistakes of policy. The greatest of these is that in two hundred years it has done much less for the education, health and economic progress of this country than Japan in fifty years and Soviet Russia in twenty years. "India," Mr. Polak told his American audiences, "is full of centrifugal forces." What country is not? Britain too is full of centrifugal forces which are effectively counteracted by a system of Government which makes no distinction on the score of nationality or religious belief. Less than a hundred years ago Roman Catholics and Jews did not enjoy the franchise. They were disruptive elements in the community. The extension of the franchise transformed the centrifugal into centripetal forces. This is even more obvious in the United States. All the nationalities of Europe with their deep-rooted historical antipathies are welded into one people in the course of a generation or two by the unifying policy of the Federal Government. In India we find communal differences emphasised and endowed with weightages and special concessions. This alone should show that British rule has failed in its primary duty of promoting unity among the Indian people. Mr. Polak in a sense is an onlooker and need not have sought to identify himself with the rulers of India. His knowledge of

India and her people since he left South Africa, is derived mostly from the litigious classes whose appeals are heard by the Privy Council. An American in the discussion which followed the reading of Mr. Polak's paper, humourously suggested that the lecturer should undertake another visit to the States to correct the statements in Mr. Brailsford's "Secret India" which had a wide circulation in that country.

**J. B. Petit Girls High School :—**We are glad to see from the Report of the Jehangir Petit High School for Girls for the five years ending March 1943, that the institution has grown and expanded in many directions. The School is attended by girls of all communities. The number of pupils last year was about 350 and the School authorities have wisely restricted further admissions. The School lays more stress on class work than on examinations. A House system enables personal attention to be paid to the students by the staff which consists of several highly competent teachers. The J. B. Petit High School is a happy combination of what is best in the systems of the East and West.

**Communal Franchise for South African Indians:** In the debate in the South African Union Parliament on the Indian question, a great deal of heat was roused by Mr. Clarkson's proposal to give Indians the communal franchise. Mr. Clarkson who is the Minister of the Interior, stood out for giving Indians their rights. But from his speech one would think that much more was intended than communal franchise. A franchise in which Indians would be penned off in separate electorates with under-representation, is not likely to be a very useful gain. All that Indians will get will be the right to ventilate their grievances in Parliament. As they form a negligible minority, their votes will be ignored in most cases.

**Jaipur Reconstruction :—**The Report of the Jaipur State Post-War Reconstruction Committee deals with the question of finding employment for Jaipur soldiers on demobilisation and outlines a long-period programme for developing the economic resources of the State. As regards the first question, the Committee envisages the object to be to ensure that the returning men maintain the standard of life to which they have become accustomed in the army. This in the long run is possible only by raising the standard for the whole population approximately to army standard. Except that the future of the demobilised soldier is a matter which needs immediate attention, the raising of the standard of the general population is of greater importance and also of wider interest. In passing there is no mention of the probable number of men who are expected to return and for whom provision has to be made. This omission is perhaps due to military reasons. The Committee is confident that it is perfectly feasible in Jaipur to achieve both its objects which, it recognises, are closely interrelated. Also the Rajputs' social and family life is moulded on a traditional pattern and the Rajput soldier, even while actively serving in the army, holds fast to it. There is, therefore, practically no difficulty in his resuming his pre-war occupation on his return. Jaipur, like the rest of India, is mainly an agricultural State and the lines of future development are predominantly along the path of agricultural development. The scheme of Postwar industries outlined in the Report can be best carried out as a part of an All India scheme. The Committee's scheme can be fitted into an All India plan. The education proposals are clearly designed to be continuous with the Sargent scheme for British India. The Report is likely to be of use in framing similar schemes for other States and for India as a whole.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, April 15, 1944.

## PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY.

There is a class of economists which traces all India's economic difficulties to industrial backwardness. Even Bengal's famine, we were told, would have been impossible if India had developed her industries instead of being largely agricultural. Yet the lesson of the recent food situation was quite lost on them. Calcutta, highly industrialized, the second city in the Empire, was the one to suffer most from shortage. Had all India been as industrially developed as Calcutta, there would have been a repetition of that experience on a larger scale. On the other hand, we have the evidence of the "surplus" provinces. The United Provinces which is one of these fortunate areas, is mainly agricultural. A large proportion of its surplus comes from the "export" of its agricultural produce to other parts of India. It has been suggested that *The Reformer's* insistence on British India being considered as one unit in any federation scheme was purely academic, theoretical. Was it? With British India at least as a unit, there would not have been the present unnatural system of some administrative areas regarding trade with other areas as "export" trade. The balkanisation of India had reached its full under Lord Linlithgow's regime. It was assisted by political conditions when the Congress Ministries gave place to Advisers' Governments in a majority of the provinces. We do not wish to underestimate the work of the permanent services in carrying on the administration at a very difficult time. But the conditions in which the services are recruited, tend to accentuate provincialism. Men are taken on on an all-India basis but they are posted to districts on a provincial preference. Generally speaking, men from a particular province are posted in that province. British members of the services after long experience in a province, also get provincial-minded. When these individuals are subject to an all-India discipline, there is no great harm done. The discipline can come in two ways. It may either arise out of popular ministers drawn from political parties which have themselves an all-India character or it may come from the Central Government at Delhi. Those who have had any experience of New Delhi's attitude after the Government of India Act of 1935 came into force, will know how the Centre looked after Indian interests as opposed to provincial interests. Provincial autonomy was used as an excuse for laissez faire. The situation today, under Lord Wavell, has improved in so far as the present Viceroy has been ready to take action to enforce an all India view. But now too there are signs which show provincialism. Very few provincial governments seem to be aware of the provisions of the Government of India Act which defined the limits to provincial autonomy. We have quoted Section 297 before but it bears reprinting again. The section runs:

297.—(1) No Provincial Legislature or Government shall—(a) by virtue of the entry in the Provincial Legislative List relating to trade and commerce within the province, or the entry in that list relating to the production, supply or distribution of commodities, have power to pass any law or take any action prohibiting or restricting the entry into or export from the province of goods of any class or description; or

(b) by virtue of anything in this Act have power to impose any tax, cess, toll, or due which, as between goods manufactured or produced in the province and similar goods not so produced or manufactured, discriminates in favour of the former, or which, in the case of goods manufactured or produced outside the province, discriminates between goods manufactured

or produced in one locality and similar goods manufactured and produced in another locality.

The implications of the section are clear. If the Act did not more specifically forbid restrictions on exports, it was because the possibility of any government wanting to restrict export trade seemed remote. It is the essence of Federation that there should be free movement of trade and people throughout the federated States. If it is remembered that British India was one before provincial autonomy and has been split up into so many parts, the weakness of the Centre become even more inexcusable. What has been widely deplored is the bungling of the Bengal Government in dealing with the food situation there. What has not attracted as much comment though it ought to have, is the attempt of the more fortunate or better administered provinces to drive hard bargains with Bengal. The reason for this failure is the growing provincialism of press and public opinion. The Governments of Sind and the Punjab have drawn most attention because the Central Government under Lord Wavell brought pressure to bear on them. In the United Provinces the current budget was adjusted to a surplus owing to "commercial transactions" in gur, oil and oilseeds which mean by interprovincial trade—a great part with Bengal. During all this period of interprovincial bargaining, it is significant to note that the war effort has not lagged. The meaning is that the Central Government found it easier to satisfy Imperial needs than to safeguard All-India interests. The history of the Press-Government relations bears this out in another way. The Central Government was able to get the co-operation of the press in matters concerning defence and the prosecution of the war effort. In getting the provincial administrations to work the consultative machinery, the Centre had to confess defeat. Though today the head of the Government of India stresses the unity of India, conditions could not have been worse under Pakistan.

It is because public opinion has but a vague feeling of these conditions that agitation has centred on the release of prisoners. Even the letter of 112 editors addressed to the Viceroy kept to an appeal for release. Lord Wavell has shown himself capable of realising and putting into effect an all-India policy in food matters. There are many gains already shown as a result of this. But the quality carries with it the danger that he may not appreciate the need for Indian opinion developing on national lines. Whether we like it or not, the Congress today is the only party which can influence public opinion on a countrywide scale. Isolated individuals and even other groups cannot make themselves heard with the Congress leaders in prison. The question now is, can Lord Wavell put through a programme for the nation with a suppressed Congress? All experience is against it. But his speech to the Legislature which he commended to the Editors in his reply, seems to suggest that Lord Wavell hopes to succeed. Supposing he is right, it does not require much vision to see that the outcome will not to be worth the effort. It is unfortunate that the new Viceroy has lost the opportunity of solving the major Linlithgow tangle. The changes in military commands, so frequently made, were justified because the new generals were able to bring fresh minds to situations which had baffled the old ones. When Lord Wavell asks Congress leaders to recant, he is merely repeating an old formula which has got us nowhere. And as months go by he himself is likely to get set in a mould. All the arguments for release have been advanced with much force. Reiteration evidently hinders rather than encourages fresh thinking. But even the Sapru Conference which met recently at Lucknow is unable to get beyond reiteration. The men who met there in

conference are all men who in the past have fought the Congress on an all-India platform. That they should ask for the release of Congress leaders means something. The authorities at Delhi and London may ask themselves if they can deal with [the situation through the present Viceroy's Executive Council itself recruited on a provincial and sectional basis. In the absence of the Congress all the forces of Indian nationalism are ranged against the Government. In the conditions that prevail, the release of the leaders will eliminate that factor. And the fact that they are detained under a Viceroy's ordinance adds to the disequilibrium of Indian politics.

### GANDHIJI, SOCIALISM AND RUSSIA.

In these days with the success of Russia in resisting Nazi aggression, any book on Russia or on Russian Communism is welcome. Mr. M. R. Masani who was for a long time one of our leading Congress Socialists, has contributed his bit to the subject—"Socialism Reconsidered": (Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay, Re. 1/-.) The one quality about "Socialism Reconsidered" is its surprising naivete. Mr. Masani not only admits that he was disillusioned about Russia long ago and suppressed his disillusionment but even says, "I suppressed my doubts and fears and kept them to myself, hoping things would right themselves before long, and publicly continued to praise Soviet achievements. I realize now that I was wrong." The public is entitled to know why Mr. Masani kept silent. As a friend of the Soviet Union, he could have done it greater service by pointing out its errors than by closing his eyes to them and proclaiming aloud that all was good. As one who had the interest of the people of India at heart, surely it was his duty to tell them of the defects of the system he was praising. As a Socialist, he should have had a clear enough hold of socialist principles to detest all deviations from them. It is not with Mr. Masani as with Freda Utley that he had given a hostage to Stalin. Freda Utley in a touching passage describes why she kept silent on Russia. She writes:

So long as I had hope (her husband was a prisoner), I would keep silent. I lacked the courage to proclaim to the world what had happened and to risk his death. I wish I had the courage to proclaim the truth about Russia sooner...Against the tragedy of the Second World War, my own personal tragedy is insignificant indeed. That in itself has helped me to make the decision to speak out boldly about the U.S.S.R., whatever the consequences to my husband if he still lives.—"The Dream We Lost."

This reason to all sensitive minds is one that does Freda Utley credit. Besides, if she did not speak against Russia, neither did she speak for it. Mr. Masani's course of action is difficult to understand. And, being difficult to understand, it inevitably raises the questions, Why is he speaking out now and how much is he keeping back from the public today—for instance, in his present praise of Gandhian methods.

To the first, the answer seems to be the enmity which exists between Communists in India and Congress Socialists, a bitter enmity which makes them often forget their common goal. Some years ago at Haripura, this writer was witnessing a Congress session. Vallabhbhai Patel had just concluded a violent tirade against Socialists. A distinguished Congress Socialist, sitting near by, was livid with pardonable rage. As Vallabhbhai Patel sat down, a Communist spokesman addressed the house explaining why the Communists could not follow the Congress Socialist lead of expressing dissent but voting with the orthodox Congressmen. The expression on the face of the Socialist leader

changed to disgust and, when he followed, it was to deliver a scathing attack on Indian Communists, the Vallabhbhai grievance well forgotten. Today the Communist Party in India, however much one may dislike its ways and its views, is the only active, energetic group and the thought is not pleasing to Mr. Masani who had had so great a hand in building up the Congress Socialist Party. As the Communist Party shines in the reflected prestige of Russia, Mr. Masani turns from praise of Russia to attack.

Mr. Masani unfortunately has not yet made up his mind whether the Soviet Union has achieved great things or not. On one page he asserts: "That is not to say that the Soviet regime has not got great achievements to its credit. It has industrialised the country, put agriculture on a sounder footing, increased material prosperity and spread literacy at a pace which other countries have hitherto found impossible of achievement." Then a few pages later, he writes: "As against the logic of those who would surrender liberty for the sake of a planned economy, I would prefer that of the man who remarked, 'The difficult I shall attempt immediately; the impossible a little later'." The "logic" of this preference seems to be that Mr. Masani sets some value to individual liberty. He would not like to decide which of the two should be sacrificed—individual liberty or material progress. If he has taken in a part of the Gandhian philosophy, his verdict should go against material progress. Yet the fact that Mr. Masani is still prepared to credit Russia with great achievements means that he is ready to compromise liberty for economic ends. Incidentally, it is worth noting that Freda Utley has given convincing figures to repudiate even the claim of material advance made by the Soviet Government and, as Mr. Masani is familiar with the book, many direct and indirect quotations coming out of it into his pamphlet, he might have mentioned the point and omitted his pseudo-philosophic discourse on means and ends. Because if the results are bad, then it is irrelevant to argue that good ends are a justification for bad means. The answer to the second question only time and Mr. Masani can give but it is significant that, while Mr. Masani presents his case against Russia with great fervour, supporting it with quotations and personal experience, he contents himself in his building up a case for Gandhian satyagraha with just reiterating his faith in "intellectual integrity," adherence to truth and love. This credo is newly won coinciding with his realizing he was wrong in boosting Russia against his convictions. Mr. Masani argues at great length on the virtues of trusteeship. Surely it is not necessary to tell Mr. Masani, himself a lawyer, that there is a law of trusts to enforce faithful and conscientious discharge of their duties by trustees, that the law is quite frequently violated? If big business is to act as trustees towards workers, the State will have to enforce the trusteeship and prevent it from degenerating into exploitation, just as it does with individuals now. Besides, do not even Mr. Amery and Mr. Churchill speak of trusteeship!

Mr. Masani is familiar with a great deal of anti-Soviet literature. Among the writers he cites are Freda Utley and Max Eastman whom he includes among those who had championed the cause of Russia. This is stretching language with a vengeance. The contributions of Eastman and Utley are valuable but not because they championed Russia. It is their critical attitude that has given weight to their writings and the fact that they base their opinions on Soviet documents. Unlike Mr. Masani, they have not praised Stalin's Russia before, leave alone championing Russia's Bolshevik

cause. Therefore, the reader of Mr. Masani's booklet would do well to be on his guard against regarding them as witnesses for the defence. Then, again, these writers, like Ciliga, the Yugoslav Communist, trace the present politico-economic system in Russia to seeds laid by Lenin. It was Lenin not Stalin who created the "dictatorship of the proletariat," a bureaucracy to rule the people. Mr. Masani makes it appear that all that was Stalin's doing.

Mr. Masani seems, moreover, to hold it against Stalin that he militarized Russia from 1937 onwards. Do things today, as they have turned out, make that policy wrong? Had Stalin advocated non-violence, could Russia have resisted the Nazis as effectively as they have done? Lord Acton's maxim, "Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely," has been cited in Mr. Masani's pamphlet. If that is true, why quarrel with Stalin? He only went through a natural process. If he could have achieved his ends without a terror regime, Stalin would doubtless have done without it. As a matter of fact, it is not "absolute" power which is most corrupting but power which is insecure and feels unstable. The title, "Socialism Reconsidered", is an ambitious one. Unfortunately Mr. Masani's political thoughts are too scattered, too ranged round a handful of pretty quotations, to enable him to lead a discussion on political subjects.

#### SOCIAL PARASITES.

The President of the All India Women's Conference in her address objected to what she called "the false value allotted to women's economic worth." The correct premise, she went on to say,

is the recognition of the social division of labour between the sexes, which gives the lie direct to the middle and upper class conception of women as domestic and social parasites, living off their husbands and contributing nothing. Woman's power is basic and the woman must be recognised as a social and economic factor on her own, not as an assistant to man.

This and one or two other passages in Srimati Kamaladevi's address strikes one by their evident inapplicability to conditions in this country. Olive Schreiner in her "Woman and Labour" shows that sex-parasitism has been the prelude to race decay at all times and in all societies and that there is danger of its development among European women, and among them more among the British and the American than among Italian and Spanish women, more in great cities than in country places, more among the wealthier classes than the poorer. Her argument is that the rapid progress in the substitution of machine for manual labour, has relieved women of their traditional domestic occupations and that as a consequence women are tending to become averse to work and afraid of child-bearing, and that unless other fields of work are opened to them, women will tend to become "sex-parasites" and the European and American races will inevitably decay. Schreiner sees in the conditions in her own country, South Africa, the signs of deterioration owing to the exploitation of the blacks by the whites. She writes:

The parasitism of the human female becomes a possibility only when a point in civilisation is reached, (such as that which was attained in the ancient civilizations of Greece, Rome, Persia, Assyria, India, and such as today exists in many of the civilizations of the East, such as those of China and Turkey) when owing to the extensive employment of slaves, or subject races or classes, the dominant race or class has become so liberally supplied with the material goods of life, that mere physical toil on the part of its own female members has become unnecessary..... We, the European women of this age, stand today where again

and again in the history of the past, women of other races have stood; but our condition is yet more grave, and of wider import to humanity as a whole than theirs ever was.

Schreiner accounts for the parasitic woman in all ages thus:

The need for her physical labour having gone, and mental industry not having taken its place, she bedecked and scented her person, or had it bedecked and scented for her. She lay upon her sofa, or drove or was carried out in her vehicle and, loaded with jewels, she sought by dissipation and amusements to fill up the inordinate blank left by the lack of productive activity.

Schreiner does not expect or wish the old conditions of domestic drudgery to return.

Srimati Kamaladevi claimed that the Women's Movement is a comrade to the struggle of the backward classes against their lot in life. Schreiner also stresses the analogy between the Women's Movement and the Men's Labour Movement. At the same time, she points out that while the latter took its rise mainly among the poor and hand-labouring classes, the Women's Movement which also is a Labour Movement rises almost exclusively among the wealthy, cultured and brain-labouring classes. She says:

In the Woman's Labour Movement of our day, which has essentially taken its rise among women of the more cultured and wealthy classes, and which consists mainly in a demand to have the doors leading to professional, political, and highly skilled labour thrown open to them, the ultimate end can only be attained at the cost of more or less intense, immediate personal suffering and renunciation, though eventually, if brought to a satisfactory conclusion, it will undoubtedly tend to the material and physical well-being of woman herself as well as to that of her male companions and descendants.

Olive Schreiner has a thesis to uphold, namely, that unearned wealth whether among classes or nations, has a strong tendency to produce parasitism first among women, and then among men, leading to social and racial decadence. This can be prevented only by women sharing with men the tasks and responsibilities, intellectual, spiritual and national, which devolve on them as members of society. But is it possible at any stage of civilization that men and women should have their spheres of activity so completely isolated as Schreiner seems to think? The Greek and Roman civilizations perished—did they really?—because of the parasitism which first affected the Grecian and Roman women and later the whole structure of society and the State. Schreiner more than suggests that this would be the fate of Empires which depend upon slaves and subject races for their economic stability and military defence. But when she points to certain customs such as foot-binding in China and the harem in Turkey as unmistakable symptoms of irretrievable social decay, does she give adequate weight to the fact that foot-binding in China and the harem in Turkey have gone and Chinese and Turkish women have emerged from parasitism with their energies unimpaired? The purdah too may be called a symbol of parasitism but hundreds and thousands of purdah women have, under the impulse of a great idea, thrown off the veil and joined the Women's Movement and are as efficient as women who never wore a veil.

The whole of Schreiner's thesis turns on the uncomplimentary meaning which has come to be attached in a commercialised world to the word 'parasite.' Any one who refuses to bend his knee to the idols of the market is stigmatised as a "parasite". Srimati Kamaladevi herself accepts this position when she calls for the economic valuation of the housewife's daily, endless toil. As a matter



of fact, all living beings with the possible exception of the earthworm and the mould which yields penicillin, are parasites. The whole system of our universe seems to be a series of parasites poised upon one another. The earth and the planets are satellites of the sun. The sun itself is a satellite of some more central luminary. Plants draw their nourishment from the earth and the air. Animals live on plants and other animals. In the most primitive as in the most advanced society those who think live by the labour of those who toil. Factory labourers in modern societies have managed to get the centre of the political stage and all other classes are denounced as parasites. But where would the factory labourer be but for the parasites who consume the goods he produces? Religious teachers in the gospel of Adam Smith are parasites. And so are all artists, philosophers, and men of letters. But the greatness of a civilization is judged not by the output of factory labour but by the creations of genius which are immortal. Gautama Buddha was told by a Brahmin at whose house he had paused for alms, that he was strong enough to plough the field and should not live on alms. The Buddha replied that he was verily a cultivator sowing seed which would yield beneficent harvests to the whole of humanity to the end of time.

Without vision the people perish, declared a prophet of old. The seer is a more indispensable member of society than the scavenger though the latter under threat of a strike can bring the most powerful city government to its knees and the former die unheeded as a parasite in the streets, to be commemorated, it may be, by a later generation as a genius and benefactor of the human race. This is not an apology for the type of woman whom Schreiner had in view. This is only a plea against condemning everything which does not fit into the framework of commercialism, as parasitism. Olive Schreiner reproduces at length the Old Testament description of the Hebrew matron as that of the ideal woman of all time. That description applies word for word to the women of India except for a few insignificant exceptions in the large cities.

ORCHID.

#### EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND PROSELYTISM.

Sir,—Education is the responsibility of the Government, but in India there is room for communal institutions. It is desirable for the different religious communities to help in the education of their children under the influence or in the atmosphere of their particular faith. A Christian institution should be able to teach the Bible, the Mahomedan—the Koran, the Hindu—the Vedas, and the Parsee—the Zend Avesta.

It is now generally accepted that these communal institutions, which receive a Government grant, should not only admit to their institutions, students belonging to the other religions, but should make attendance at their religious instruction classes voluntary and optional. The Government aid and recognition of these Communal institutions are essential; and there should be no attempt at proselytism openly or covertly in these schools.

By proselytism to Christianity we mean the bringing in of converts by unfair and questionable methods of coercion, and making Christian education a means, or an indirect agency, to increase the number of Christians. In an age when converts were made at the point of the bayonet, the early Christian Missionaries in India may have thought it right to use their educational institutions to serve the purpose of adding converts to Christianity, but the Christians of today do not believe in proselytism in any form. While we believe in the spreading of

the knowledge of the life and teachings of Jesus Christ, we consider it unchristian to persuade any one directly or indirectly to become a Christian; for the decision of following any faith by an individual is a personal spiritual relationship between God and man alone.

Bangalore City.

J. R. ISAAC.

#### 'THE GLORY THAT WAS GREECE'—TURKEY AND THE EAST.

Sir,—In my letter kindly inserted by you in your issue of the 1st, towards the end, the name of St. *Josaphat* has been misprinted '*Jehosaphat*'. I looked up Webster's latest to see if the latter form had any warrant for it. It hasn't. It is the name of two kings who figure in the O. T., and has nothing to do with the *Josaphat* who figures in the Graeco-Roman and Islamic hagiology as the hero of the legend of '*Barlaam and Josaphat*',—which is entered in Webster's, in its alphabetical place in the body of the dictionary.—Curiously enough, this same mistake had occurred, I remember, in the editorial columns of the *Reformer* in the middle twenties, when I wrote up a 'letter to the Editor', pointing out the mistake in nearly the same way as I am doing now, and my correction was duly published in the meticulous columns of this your meritorious journal.

Karwas (N. Kanara)

S. D. NADKARNI.

#### TAX ON FUNERALS.

Sir,

The contributors, recently writing in the *Bombay Chronicle*, do not seem to be aware of the fact that caste and untouchability are relative factors in the Indian machinery of the communal polity with the base on sanitation. The evil of the Indian caste as well as that of untouchability, has its roots in the cult of the corpse-bearer. Nations that utilise the services of public undertakers, do not feel the tyranny of caste which exists in every part of the world.

Unfortunately for our mother country, India has not the benefit of a national government and eventually the Labour or the Public Health and Education Departments of the Government of India will not care to raise the Indian standard of life or death, even in the days of post-war reconstruction, by promulgating one more ordinance, to prohibit the bier to be carried on shoulders of the living sons of India, who can hardly trot with the yoke, due to scarcity of nourishment.

Should not the Government that abolished the cult of Sati, also abolish the cult of the corpse-bearer, by making it permissive with a luxury tax for those who may insist on the primitive methods, in the new world order, after the war?

C. TEJPAL.

Mr. Tejpal has persistently agitated for many years for reforms in Indian funerals. His efforts have been crowned with success. A modern crematorium has been erected at Rajkot. The Bombay Hindu Burning and Burial Ground Committee recently obtained the plans for one from Rajkot. Elsewhere too, Mr. Tejpal's efforts are having good effect. There is one consideration which should be borne in mind. While wood fuel is nearly always available, electricity and gas supplies are liable in India, and particularly in war conditions, to be irregular and may even fail altogether.—Editor.

#### BEWARE OF ATROCITY STORIES.

From time to time sensational atrocity stories go the round of the papers and unless well authenticated, these should be received with caution. Some Catholic papers, for example, have reproduced the stories referred to in the following letter which appears in the *Universo* of Feb. 11th:

SIR,—A few lines regarding the article on the front page of your current issue with the bloody title "Japanese Flog Priest to Death."

I know both the priest and the nun referred to very intimately. I nursed both the priest and the nun on their way from Japan. My last visit before leaving South African soil was to the nun in question, who was admitted to a hospital.

And now the facts. The priest was not flogged to death by the Japanese. The nun is in a sanatorium, but *not* as a result of the treatment she received from the Japanese. She was not branded with a V-sign either on the back or the arms. She was not pressed to renounce Christianity nor to embrace Shintoism.

St. Mary of the Angels, H. V. STRAELEN, S.V.D.  
Bayswater, London.

That frightful atrocities have been committed both by Nazis and Japs is certain, and we have the recent declarations of British and U. S. Governments about the condition of prisoners of war in Japanese hands. But stories sent out by propaganda agencies are always suspect. *Examiner* (Catholic).

#### POPULATION OF EUROPE.

The need for international co-operation to make available supplies to rescue the peoples of liberated Europe from famine and disease is emphasized in a new International Labour Office pamphlet entitled: "The Health of Children in Occupied Europe."

The pamphlet views with gravity the depopulation which is proceeding on a scale threatening the occupied nations' power of recovery. The unfavourable relation between births and deaths is entirely attributable to war conditions, it declares. A survey in Belgium shows that 80 per cent of the children had lost from 11 to 13 pounds. In Paris the tuberculosis rate increased from 168 per 1,000,000 in 1940 to 234 in the first five months of 1942. In the first two years of occupation of the Netherlands, the death rate among children from three to 14 years old rose by 27 per cent and among youth from 15 to 24 by 43 per cent as compared with an increase in the general death rate of 17 per cent.

The pamphlet cites figures showing that the excess of deaths over births in France in 1940 and 1941 resulted in a net population decline of 366,648. The abnormal death rate in Greece has reduced the population by five per cent. The death rate among the Jews of Warsaw is reported to have risen in 1941 to ten times its pre-war rate. (*Wordover Press.*)

#### BELGIAN POST-WAR PLANNING.

Belgian planning for post-war readjustment, when examined in a spirit of thoughtful comparison to most United Nations countries does not necessarily reflect on any of the others; but it commands respect and enthusiasm. Few if any of the refugee governments have felt so sure of their own peoples' support, few have been so explicit in announcing the immediate return of democratic rule. Without quibbling or qualification, the Belgians have asserted that "as soon as it is found possible to re-establish on Belgian soil the nucleus of a central organization... parliament will then be summoned immediately. It is the Belgian government's intention.... to submit accounts of their activity to the two Houses of Parliament and thereupon hand their resignation to the King."

It is encouraging to note a deference to realism and honesty which not a few other governments could helpfully emulate. Said the Belgian Prime Minister in London: "After several years of war it will be necessary to form a new government, among other reasons in order to bring into the direction of the country men who, having lived in occupied Belgium, have remained in direct contact with the population and thus have immediate knowledge of their needs and wishes." This, from Belgians, is what those who know them would only expect; but it constitutes more than a statement and is, indeed, an admirable standard for many another government in exile.

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

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## NOTES.

**Bombay Fire:**—"On Friday afternoon an accidental fire broke out in a ship in the docks and before it could be brought under control it spread to some ammunition and caused two explosions." A laconic communique beginning with these words announced what happened on Friday, to the public on Saturday evening. Since then official and non-official reports have appeared and relief measures have been taken up by several organisations. The damage has been serious, though exaggerated reports have been circulated by rumour-mongers. It is regrettable that so many appeals for help and organisations for assisting the afflicted should be based on a communal foundation. Had the Bombay Government taken the lead in time this could have been avoided. As the work of relief was generally relating to helping the homeless, perhaps it is natural that communal bodies should have come forward offering assistance on a communal basis. But all that could have been controlled by the Government, if the authorities had accepted the offers and allowed relief work to be done by all organisations in the name of the State. Further it was essential, to allay public anxiety in such a crisis, to have set up immediately an information bureau to help people to contact missing persons. The Government of Bombay has announced the establishment of an information centre on Wednesday morning five days after the occurrence. Greater promptness would have served the public and official interest better. Nothing creates so much confusion as the anxiety of people who do not know where to obtain news of their relatives. Official and unofficial tributes have been paid to the work of the various services, including the A. R. P. which has been working for some months with a greatly reduced personnel.

**Government and the Press:**—Whilst, generally speaking, the city of Bombay has reason to congratulate itself on the manner in which it reacted to an emergency which was quite unexpected, there have been some unfortunate instances where confusion prevailed. This was inevitable in view of the magnitude of the calamity. On the part of the public, there has been no attempt to add to the difficulties of the administration. The press has had a difficult task to perform. It had to avoid the two dangers of minimising the incident and of magnifying it. The failure of the Government to appreciate its peculiar problems led to a strain being placed on the relations subsisting between Government and the press

which have been the best in this province. It is understandable that in the first shock caused by the tragedy, both Government and the press lost sight of everything but the tragedy. That for security reasons an order should have been felt necessary asking for the suspension of the *Bombay Sentinel* on Monday morning can only mean that the mind of the Government and the mind of the press had not reached understanding. In normal conditions this would have been regrettable. It is doubly so in view of the consultative machinery that has worked well in the past in this province. The bad handling of the press on Friday which has been widely commented on, the suspension of the *Sentinel*—neither of these is as serious a portent as the failure in the past week to re-establish an atmosphere in which the *Sentinel* could resume publication. The ban is imposed for the defence of British India and for the efficient prosecution of the war. Mr. B. G. Horniman has been more enthusiastic about anti-Fascism than most editors, much more than those responsible for the administration of the country during the present war. With that he combines an extreme sensitiveness in regard to all action by Government which appears to use the war situation as an excuse for encroaching on civil liberties. Naturally this leads to a tension in the relations between the Government and the press as a whole since the other newspapers cannot, even while they realise the difficulties of the Government, disregard civil rights. In such conditions the suspension of the *Sentinel* becomes itself a matter of civil liberties. And the restoration of publication rights at an early date becomes necessary for a return to normal healthy relations between the press and the Government.

**Tardy Wisdom:**—Admiral Louis Mountbatten, it was announced this week, has moved his headquarters to Ceylon from New Delhi. The reason given is that in Ceylon he will be nearer the scene of the operations under his command than in New Delhi. This was evident even when he was sent out to the East and *The Reformer* had commented on the inconvenience which would result from having too many Commanders close together. Great men have need of room. Too many trees set together serve only to crush each other's branches, says Lessing. The saying that too many cooks spoil the broth is also applicable to war command. The Commander-in-Chief in India has his headquarters properly in the Imperial capital. We are glad, however, that the desirability of the South Pacific Command having its headquarters somewhere nearer the Pacific than the Himalayas, has been recognised by the powers that be.

**Municipalities on Strike:**—The decision of the Ahmedabad and Surat Municipal Councils to cease functioning because Government have not negotiated with Gandhiji for a settlement of the political question, is a display of petulance which is likely to benefit no public interest. The decision in effect means

that, so far as the Municipal Councillors are concerned, two of the important cities of Gujarat and Bombay province may go without conservancy, without drinking water, without elementary education, and other indispensable amenities because the Government had not negotiated with Gandhiji. The Councillors, we are sure, do not really want themselves and their fellow citizens to suffer. They are quite aware that Government will not allow the city to remain unswept, illiterate and deprived of drinking water because of their recalcitrance. If the Congress-minded members of the Municipal Councils felt that they could not conscientiously serve on the Municipal Councils, they should resign and let others less Congress-minded to carry on the administration. That is what Gandhiji himself would have advised if he were free to do so. The Municipal Councillors who voted for the resolution, do not intend to retire to forests far away from the life of cities. They will, no doubt, continue to live in their cities and watch the effect of their action on the local officials. As a sign of public dissatisfaction with the intransigent attitude of Government, the action of the Municipal Councillors of the two premier Gujarat towns has an importance which it will be extremely shortsighted of the authorities to ignore.

**Mr. Amery Again:**—After a rather protracted absence due to illness, Mr. Amery appeared in the House of Commons on Tuesday to move the continuance of Governors' regime in the provinces in which the constitution has been suspended owing to the policy of Congress non-cooperation. Originally there were seven such provinces. Orissa and the North West Frontier Province have now Ministers who have a majority in the respective Legislatures. The Opposition leaders and members are in detention and they claim that the majority behind the Ministers are not genuine majorities. However that may be, Mr. Amery was technically right when he said that only five out of eleven provinces were under Governors' rule at present. Somewhat irrelevantly, Mr. Amery repeated his assertion that the disturbances of 1942 were acts of sabotage instigated by the Congress. But the Government of India have not been consistent in their opinion of their seriousness. When it added point to an argument the have spoken of them as serious. At other times they have rather boasted that they did not affect the even course of the administration. As regards responsibility, many of the accused in the cases brought before the courts have been acquitted and in some cases the prosecution has come in for severe strictures from the Bench. After all, Mr. Amery in foisting the responsibility on the Congress merely tries to escape his own responsibility which even apart from the disturbances has been serious and discreditable.

**Gandhiji's Health:**—Early this week it was officially stated that Gandhiji had been suffering from malaria for three days, that he was weak and that otherwise his condition was as satisfactory as might be expected. Gandhiji was stated on Wednesday to have got over the fever and was progressing satisfactorily. If Gandhiji is still in the Aga-Khan's Palace, steps will be no doubt taken to prevent the malarial parasite from eluding the vigilance of the sentry guarding the building. Government are incurring enormous responsibility in detaining a man of Gandhiji's years in a place which is not immune to malaria which, by the way, is not endemic in Yerravda.

**Internal Censorship:**—The Government of India announced last week that internal censorship over

civilian correspondence by post and telegraph is being introduced. The Press Note in which this announcement was made, is laboured and unconvincing. Government acknowledge that the great majority of the population and the Press generally, have observed a proper regard for military security. There might have been some leakages through private correspondence. A few instances have come to the notice of the public. One or two which were reported, concerned wives of officials who were perhaps inspired by nothing more than the instinct for gossip and vanity in knowing matters inaccessible to their friends. For the sake of a few to impose censorship on the whole population is hardly wise or prudent statesmanship. The new order would require a very large increase in the staff of censors and necessarily many of these would be irresponsible and almost illiterate persons belonging to the very class whose indiscretions have led to the institution of censorship over civilian correspondence. The real fifth column men or women, if there are any, will find ways of eluding detection. It is the vast innocent majority who will be most inconvenienced by the new order. Many of the controls and restrictions at the present day are of this kind. The communique says that the introduction of censorship over civilian correspondence exists in the United Kingdom. But there are other things which exist in the United Kingdom and do not exist in this country. The analogy is not only meaningless but offensive.

**The Situation In China:**—The only way of relieving gloom in these days is to think of the greater gloom which prevails among neighbours. Eric Sevarid writing of his experiences in China in the *New Republic*, describes the inflation in that Country as comparable only to the inflation in Germany after the last war. Banknotes printed in the United States are carried in ever increasing quantities to China in aircraft which should be carrying munitions. The official rate of exchange is 10 Chinese dollars to one American. On the black market it is 80 or 90. "The immediate problem for China," says the writer, "is how to speed the printing presses to keep up with prices, which rise roughly 10 per cent per month and show few signs of slackening the pace." Dinner for four in a restaurant cost the writer 50 American dollars. Notwithstanding the Japanese occupation of the larger part of industrialised China and the blockade of the coast, shops in Chungking are chockful of luxury articles. The rich and the poor have benefitted by the inflation. It is the middle classes who suffer most. Famous writers and artists are starving. Unlike in India where the officials and soldiers have priority in all things, in China they are reduced to extreme poverty. Schoolmasters are even worse sufferers. Sevarid knew cases where they were kept alive only by contributions from friends. Notwithstanding the enormous inflation, Chinese currency has not collapsed. Dr. H. H. Kung told an American friend, "We are like the man who fell from the top of Woolworth Building (one of the tallest in New York). As he passed the twenty-second floor, he said, So far so good." It was announced recently that a large amount of gold was being sent from America to China. Sevarid fears that much of the gold will find its way to Japanese hands through Japanese-occupied China. What China needs immediately is guns and bombing planes. Recent writings in the United States on China have not erred on the side of optimism.



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, April 22, 1944.

## DESTINY IN HISTORY.

Addressing the annual meeting of the Academy of Political Science in November last year, Lord Halifax, Ex-Viceroy of India and British Ambassador at Washington, developed a theory of history which is rather out-of-date. By way of showing that the road to peace lay through close Anglo-American co-operation during and after the war, Lord Halifax maintained that the growth of the United States and that of the British Empire were parts of a single historical process. There was a family likeness between the two movements. Neither of them was the result of deliberate planning. "They just happened." Often they happened against the declared wishes of the people. The East India Company time and again instructed their agents against extending their responsibilities in India. A great many people in New England at one time did not want to expand westward to the Pacific. But they happened all the same "because destiny is always stronger than men or any Government." In the long view, history is really a predestined process transcending the motives of individuals and nations who were its instruments. This is true not only of the United States and the British Commonwealth but also of ancient departed empires and of those yet in the womb of time. It applies equally to Hitler's Germany, Mussolini's Italy, and to Gandhiji's India. The historical process never ends. It continues until eternity. Where destiny may take the United States, the British Commonwealth, Soviet Russia, Chiang Kai-Shek's China, and Tojo's Japan, no one can prophecy. This is not all. Lord Halifax discerned an unbroken continuity from the wresting of the Magna Carta from King John at Runnymede to the American Declaration of Independence and from that Declaration to the Statute of Westminster. What the Americans won after a bloody war, Lord Halifax told the Academicians, the Dominions received as a free gift even without the asking. India, Burma and Ceylon, Lord Halifax said, have nearly reached the goal of complete self-government. Lord Halifax, when as Lord Irwin he was Viceroy of India, preached the same doctrine of the inevitability of self-government wherever Britain established herself. Centuries before him the Tamil poetess, Ouvai, compared a migrating people to a stream of water containing a solution of sugar. Wherever the water flowed the social pattern deposited was identical. In the Tamil land, it was the village community with the village temple at the centre. As a philosophy of history this is comforting. But the actual process is attended by incidents which are intensely painful to the individuals and nations involved in it. Their Dominion status did not come to South Africa or to Eire as the climax of a peaceful and natural evolution.

What is this destiny which Lord Halifax believes has guided the course of British and American history? In acknowledging the complimentary references by the Chairman of the session of the Academy in his introductory remarks, Lord Halifax justified his selection of a topic relating to the past instead of one relating to the present, by reference to Edmund Burke's saying, "People will not look forward to posterity who never look backward to their ancestors." Destiny then is the direction as well as the momentum which the past of a people imparts to their present and their future. Does this determinism in history apply only to Britain and America? Does it apply to India? If it does, may it not be that Indians who look so much back to

their ancestors look greatly forward to posterity? So far as British expansion in India was concerned, Edmund Burke did not certainly regard it as either the legitimate or the natural extension of the British political tradition of freedom and justice. The crowning event of his career was the impeachment of the first Governor-General of India for high crimes and misdemeanours. Wellesley, Dalhousie, Dufferin, according to Lord Halifax, were not conscious agents but passive tools in the hands of destiny. When Lord Halifax supported Neville Chamberlain's appeasement policy and on the fall of that statesman veered round to support Mr. Churchill's contrary policy, he was not moved by any personal conviction but the impersonal force of Destiny. The colonisation of Australia was accompanied by the extermination of the native inhabitants. It was also no doubt British destiny operating as the fulfilment of Australoid destiny. Lord Halifax's doctrine is an excellent cloak to cover the violation of morality. When Destiny drives, Morality hides its head. The age of independence, said Lord Halifax, is giving place to the age of interdependence. There is a story of an Indian philosopher having been sent by his wife to buy ghee for the household. On his way home with the ghee in a leaf-cup a doubt rose in his mind whether the cup held the ghee or the ghee, the cup. He tried to solve the doubt by experimenting with the ghee in the cup. He turned the cup upside down and the contents, to his disgust, fell to the ground. How he faced the indignant housewife, is not relevant to the present issue. Is India dependent on Britain or is Britain dependent on India? Is the relation between the two countries one of dependence or interdependence? It would seem that in the case of Britain and India there is not much difference between dependence and interdependence. Politically India is a dependency. Factually Britain depends on India for her existence as an Empire or Commonwealth, call it what you will. Indian troops are defending the Commonwealth in all parts of the world. Indian materials are being freely drawn upon for inter-allied uses.

**Authoritarian Religion:**—An analysis of trends in Church Membership in the United States in the last twenty years shows that the Catholic Church increased its membership at a higher rate than any single Protestant sect. This is partly due to the fact that there are no sects in the Roman Catholic Church, but largely also because of the tendency in religion as in politics to prefer authoritarian to democratic government. Democracies by force of arms may overpower authoritarian regimes but there is no assurance that they will be able to substitute democratic regimes in their place which would endure without their armed support. The American Commissioner for the main Southern Italy region is reported to have declared at a recent Conference of Allied Commissioners that there has been a revival of Fascism and the Italian Government has been putting people whom the Allied Commissioners had dismissed, back on the pay-roll. For "practical" reasons religion, economics and politics may have to be dealt with as independent of each other but the human mind which supplies the impulse for action is unitary and motives which influence politics also influence economics and religion. Men who are content to obey the Church are generally content to obey the State also. Catholic nations have successfully worked democratic institutions only to the extent that they had emancipated themselves from clericalism.

### J. MATHAI ON TARIFFS.

The latest addition to the series of Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs is one by Dr. John Mathai entitled "Tariffs and Industry." Dr. Mathai first deals with the origin and working of the present policy of Protection in India and, secondly, with the problem of industrial development and the extent to which protective tariffs can help it in the post-war period. His treatment of the first part of his pamphlet is objectively correct so far as it goes. He sets forth the main facts in the order of their occurrence without the slightest reference to their ethical sequence. The imposition of Free Trade on India without the least reference to her economic and industrial requirements, figures as nothing more than an incident, as do the imposition of countervailing duties on home-made cotton goods, the quaint doctrine of Discriminate Protection which Dr. Mathai equates, wrongly in our view, with J. S. Mill's exemption in favour of infant industries, and the progressive restriction of the tests of discrimination in order to secure Protection, recalling the Constitutional Declaration of 1917 and its interpretation by the Indian bureaucracy. Dr. Mathai's account of the origin of the movement towards Protection in this country is incomplete. Indian Professors in lecturing on Free Trade doctrines from the standard works of the Manchester School, called the attention of their students to Frederick List's theories on national Economics as representing another view of promoting the economic prosperity of a country. In fact, they more than hinted that List's was the better way in the conditions of India than the Free Trade way. Dadabhai Naoroji was a Cobdenite. Nevertheless, he condemned a policy which had the effect of killing the indigenous industries. Ranade was a nationalist first and economist afterwards and he and his school advocated Protection. The National Congress gradually adopted the same view notwithstanding that Sir Dinshaw Wacha, the principal economist in the Congress group at the time, was a staunch, even fanatical Free Trader. Thus Protection originated in the mind before it manifested itself as a demand by Indian politicians. Mr. Chamberlain's revolt against Free Trade in the beginning of this century stimulated the Indian movement for Protection. The adoption of Tariffs by Britain left the Government of India without an excuse for persisting in undiluted Free Trade. More revenue was needed and Customs duties had to be imposed. Still full Protection was not to be conceded. Discriminate Protection was a compromise and, as Dr. Mathai shows, an illogical one. The chief condition for securing Discriminate Protection was that India should grow the raw material for the proposed industry. Dr. Mathai points out that Britain does not grow cotton and still the textile industry there became its most important industry. That it did so under a policy of Free Trade, only shows that another condition of Discriminate Protection was equally untenable. This was that the industry applying for Protection should have reasonable chances of establishing itself permanently in a period of fifteen years. Protection, Dr. Mathai points out, was denied at first to the glass industry on the ground that India did not produce soda ash. This decision was reversed at a subsequent enquiry which showed that soda ash can be imported! Notwithstanding the efforts to whittle down Protection by restricting discrimination in the official policy, India has been able to establish some important industries the most important of which are steel, cotton, sugar, match and paper.

It is when Dr. Mathai comes to deal with post-war conditions, that he seriously misconceives the actual position. He divides the post-war period in two

parts: One immediately following the termination of hostilities, which he tentatively fixes at between five and ten years. Dr. Mathai thinks that during this period "the assistance which Indian industries will require from the State will be direct assistance in such essential matters as finance for capital requirements, scientific research, transport, education and public health rather than the kind of indirect assistance which protective tariffs afford." He bases his opinion on the belief that conditions which during war largely eliminate foreign competition in manufactured goods, will prevail after war ends. These are the abnormal demand for articles of all kinds for war purposes, the restriction of imports and the difficulties of shipping and of foreign remittance. In the editorial note on British post-war conditions in last week's *Reformer*, we summarised the contents of the Report of the Foreign Policy Association of America showing that Britain will be faced with a considerable fall in her income from foreign investments, side by side with a large increase in the sums needed for payment of foreign obligations; and that she will have to resort to the three ways of devaluation of sterling, restriction of imports and expansion of exports. Every one of the three methods will first be tried on India which is under the political control of Britain. And every one of them will have the effect of imperilling Indian industries, by withdrawal of capital, by reducing prices and by reducing, if not altogether eliminating, India's favourable balance of trade. Other European countries also will be in the same position and India is a market, to which they will naturally turn. Referring to Canada and Argentina as "younger nations" which will come out of the war as creditor nations, Professor Williams, Dean of the Graduate school of Public Administration, Harvard University, remarked in the course of a paper on "Policies of the United States as a creditor nation" read at the Academy of Political Science last November, that they "will probably in the longer run again become net capital-importing and interest-paying countries." He did not mention India among them but the probabilities are not less that India too will lose her status as a creditor country after the war and become again sooner than either Canada or Argentina a capital-importing interest-paying country even if the present Protection is continued. Its discontinuance, as favoured by Dr. Mathai, will only hasten the transformation.

Indeed Dr. Mathai himself visualises this contingency. He writes:

If she (India) is to achieve her object of bringing about a substantial change in the present balance between agriculture and industry, she must be prepared for a large scale importation of the capital goods and technical services necessary for establishing new industries. To some extent these imports will be paid for by the sterling balances which she has accumulated during the war.

Dr. Mathai's speculations for the period following ten years after the war are even more difficult to follow. It is perhaps unnecessary to do so because ten years after this war there is almost sure to be the third world war in which the present allies and enemies may be differently aligned. The war aims of the Allies today are totally different from those when the war began. The restoration of freedom to small countries was the declared object of the war when it began. Today it is proclaimed almost as a settled doctrine that there is no room for independent small nations in the post-war world order. This is one instance but it involves nearly all issues which can arise in the relation of nation to nation.

## A BANDRA DIARY.

On Friday afternoon (April 14) I heard two loud explosions. I took them for practice exercises, although the sounds, particularly the second, was louder and more alarming than usual in practice firing. It was only when a relative telephoned to enquire how it was in Bandra, mentioning that there had been splintering of glass windows in his office, that I realised that something unusual had happened. Shortly after another relative returning from the City area described to us how he dodged splinters by diving under a table. He was an ex-A. R. P. warden. Others returning from offices brought further information. The Government communiques were too cryptic to be reassuring. The same technique as was adopted in respect of the Bengal famine, was at first repeated here. Gradually the reports in the papers have become more adequate. The loss in life and property has been considerable. Relief funds have been started. Twenty-five thousand ration cards have been issued in the last few days and the Government of India are sending food grains to make up for the quantity destroyed by the fires.

The echoes of the tributes paid to Kasturba had scarcely subsided, when Kamaladevi's presidential address at the India Women's Conference reminded India and the world that it had to reckon with another type of Indian womanhood. Kamaladevi is the antithesis of Kasturba in every respect. Complete self-effacement was the key-note of Kasturba's character. Kamaladevi is all self-assertion. There is a striking similarity between Mr. Jinnah and Kamaladevi in this respect. Addressing Muslim students in Lahore a few days ago, Mr. Jinnah compared the position of the Muslim League and Indian Muslims generally as it was before he took over the leadership and as it is now. He said that the Muslim League then was, an insignificant body but now it was a power in the world. Similarly Kamaladevi expressed the opinion that previous women's conferences were dull and formal as compared with this year's Conference. Also, according to one report, she warned the Conference in her concluding remarks that they had now a President who would sit on their heads and make them work. Mr. Jinnah is a product of India just as much as Gandhiji. Kamaladevi is a type of Indian womanhood just as much as Kasturba. The differences between them are all on the surface. The Indian mind is peculiarly attuned to discern the unity underlying differences. God is not only the Creator and Protector but also the Destroyer. Parvati is the name of Shiva's consort in her gracious aspect. As Kali she is Nature red in tooth and claw. The common trait of Kasturba and Kamaladevi is their infinite capacity for endurance. I may leave the comparison there for the present.

The incompatibility between Freedom and Security which is being discussed today, is wholly the result of the extravagant sense in which they have come to be understood in western politics. Rightly understood, there is not only no antagonism between the two. They are but two aspects of the same state. There can be no Freedom without Security or Security without Freedom. Freedom in Security and Security in Freedom and not Security or Freedom, is the correct conjunction. This is not apparent to people who conceive of both in material terms. President Roosevelt's idea of securing freedom from fear by some organisational arrangements such as the New Deal, is illusory. As a rule fear of anything is less common among the poor than among the well-to-do.

It is a common observation that blind people are cheerful. Gnawing anxiety is seldom the lot of the poor. Longfellow's Village Blacksmith was a poor man. "Something attempted, something done had earned his night's repose." A Hindu saint prayed that he should *not* have more than what is necessary to subsist upon and do the tasks which Providence had put in his way. People must be trained to contentment which nineteenth century economics have made them despise. Europe and America are fast outgrowing that philosophy. Indian economists are now almost its only exponents and advocates.

RECLUSE.

## THE WORD LEPER.

(BY T. N. JAGADISHAN.)

The dictionary says 'Leper' means 'one who suffers from leprosy', but in people's lips it conveys a world of prejudice and derision. The word is harsh and offensive and mixed up with mediaeval notions of leprosy. As a relic of the irrational outlook, coming down through the centuries and thoroughly disapproved by modern ideas of the disease, the word should go into disuse.

At the Leonard Wood Memorial Conference (on Leprosy) at Manila (1932) it was suggested that the name Hansen's Disease<sup>1</sup> may be brought into general use in place of 'leprosy'. But 'leprosy' is still in use and there seems to be no need to change the name of the disease; nor will a new name alone take away the horror that has been fastened on the disease through the centuries. The word 'leper', however, stands on a different footing. What we need with this word is not to find a less offensive equivalent for it, but a complete disuse of it. People should cease to use the word because we can well do without this offensive word. The person suffering from leprosy need not be called by a special name. In no other disease do we call a person suffering from a disease by a special name. The word 'consumptive' which had gathered round it in Europe a stigma, is no longer used, and we speak of a tuberculosis or T. B. case instead. Similarly, we must scrupulously avoid the use of the word 'leper' and use, instead, a 'case of leprosy' or 'a person with leprosy' or 'a leprosy patient'. This need is particularly felt because of the age-long horror and prejudice that has gathered around the word.

Unfortunately the word persists not only in the vocabulary of the ordinary citizens, who entertain hopelessly prejudiced notions of the disease, but also in the language of leprosy workers who are vigorously advocating a new rational and humane outlook on the disease. It would appear that the tyranny of words is of all tyrannies the hardest to overcome. Even when people cast out old world ideas they will cling, perhaps unconsciously, to the old world phraseology. It becomes necessary to abolish the word 'leper', because it stands for a whole outlook on leprosy, which we are now endeavouring to abolish.

When a person uses the word 'Leper' a moral connotation enters the minds of the speaker and of the hearer. For the word is heavily soaked in the secret prejudice or dread of the disease that lurks in almost every one of us. Such a word, with a complex association of fear, prejudice and scorn, cannot obviously fit in with the scientific phraseology that should be used by scientific men in leprosy work. What need is there to say for instance "of a million or so of lepers in India, about a quarter million are only infective lepers" when we can say "of a million or so cases of leprosy in India about a

1. A Norwegian Hansen, discovered the leprosy bacillus.

quarter million only are infective'. Sometimes the use of the word can take amusing lengths. For instance I read in an issue of the *Leprosy Review* an extract of "*Social problems connected with the internment of lepers*" (a perfectly sympathetic account) where the following passage occurs:—

A big coffee planter, who had been interned as an infective leper asked permission to go to his plantation to arrange for the coffee harvest and for the sale of his crop. This would entail weeks of more or less close contact with the workers of this plantation. His request was denied. His anxiety for the business prevailed. He made his escape from the leper home, and only returned after having completed all his necessary work on the plantation. Although such cases are reported from all leper lands these are given from Brazilian report as indicating how similar leper conditions are in different countries.

It is amusing that we should hear not only of 'infective lepers', but of 'leper lands' and 'leper conditions'. Apparently the temptation to use the word results from the brevity which the use of the word offers. It is briefer to say 'leper' than a case of 'leprosy', 'Leper lands', 'than countries where leprosy is prevalent', 'leper conditions' than 'conditions governing leprosy'. But brevity is obtained at the expense of promoting the persistence of the ancient prejudice which we are, all the time, trying to combat. *If it is remembered that the word hurts a leprosy patient and his relations and friends like some physical pain, we shall find it easy to avoid it scrupulously.*

It may be contended that the word can be used of infective cases, because, there, the association of shunning, which the word carries, may be thought not inappropriate; *but isolation is different from shunning or banishment.* Moreover, when once we keep the word in use, it would be impossible to apply it only to particular types of cases. It would be indiscriminately applied to all cases. Would one call a tender infant with some patches of leprosy a 'leper' or a 'child leper'? Is the word to be used of non-infective or arrested cases, which according to modern medical opinion need not require isolation or even restriction?

It is a matter of great joy that the report on '*Leprosy and its Control*' of the Central Advisory Board of Health does not contain anywhere the word 'leper' except when the 'mission to lepers' is mentioned. Obviously we may expect that there are leprosy workers increasingly striving for the disuse of the word. The writer was present at a talk between Dr. R. G. Cochrane and Dr. Paul Harrison of South Africa at the Silver Jubilee Children's Clinic Saidapet. Dr. Harrison happened, most innocently and as a matter of course, to use the word, 'leper'. It was a joy to see the alertness and the earnestness with which Dr. R. G. Cochrane protested against the use of the word. I have known Dr. G. Rajogopalan, the officer in charge of Silver Jubilee Children's Clinic, also scrupulously avoid the use of the word and protest against the use of the word by others. There must be many more, who similarly take care to avoid the use of the word themselves and insist upon others not using the word. The day cannot be far off when the word is abolished from the language not only of leprosy workers but also of people in general. It is mixed up inextricably with the confusions and prejudices of the mediaeval outlook on leprosy. It is true that the Bible has the word, but that is no reason why, in accordance with modern ideas, we should not cease to use the word. Words seem to live longer than thoughts. Very often an out-moded phraseology lives longer than the thought which it clothed. The word 'leper' is the garment of all the old-world mistaken outlook on

leprosy. We are casting away, or endeavouring to cast away, the old outlook. When we throw the body, let us throw the garment too with it.

#### DEMOCRACY IN TRADE UNIONS.

A programme of action to extend "democracy in trade unions" was made public recently by the American Civil Liberties Union in a pamphlet sent throughout the country to trade-union leaders and federal and state officials. The study on which the report is based, and the recommendations offered were endorsed by 26 authorities on industrial relations, none of whom are employers or trade-union officials.

The report is the result of a two-year inquiry by a Civil Liberties Union committee headed by Prof. Eduard C. Lindeman of the New York School of Social Work, with research directed by Prof. Frank C. Pierson of Swarthmore College.

The study was initiated because of "repeated complaints of violations of civil rights of trade-union members made to the Civil Liberties Union, resulting in intervention in the courts, and in the support of state legislation to penalize race discrimination in admission to trade unions."

The signers say: "It is evident that unless the abuses in trade unions which have aroused widespread hostility are corrected, the drive for legislative control may not only undo the great gains for labour's rights of recent years, but also impose unwarranted restrictions. Those abuses arise largely from lack of democratic practices in many unions—resulting in the exclusion of Negroes, women and others qualified by their skills, in limitation of membership by high fees, in control of autocratic cliques, or in a few unions by racketeers—and in the failure of some unions to hold regular and fair elections and to account to the membership for union funds.

"These practices are, it is true, exceptions to the generally democratic methods of most unions. But they are exceptions conspicuous enough to furnish ammunition for labour's enemies, by which public sympathy is alienated and unreasonable public controls thereby more easily imposed."

The recommended programme of action is directed primarily to reforms within unions, based on what the signers call a trade-union "Bill of Rights" for members. All of the recommended reforms, the report states, are already in effect in one or another union. Of democratic guarantees in unions the authors say

"The majority of unions satisfy reasonable requirements of democratic practice, though few are entirely free from criticism for lack of it in one respect or another. The chief complaints by rank and file members concern lack of opportunity for full participation in the conduct of a union's affairs, tending to the perpetuation in office of entrenched officials; the difficulty of organizing an opposition to the leadership; the lack of adequate machinery for review of expulsions and suspensions; the penalties imposed by varied means on critics of the leadership; the lack of control over expenditures and assessments in many unions; discrimination in assignment to jobs; and exclusions from membership based on race, sex or political connections."

Two legislative measures only are recommended, both for Congress and the states; one to extend the statutes in effect in five states to penalize discrimination in admission to membership on racial, religious, political and similar ground; and the other to afford relief through state and federal agencies for members who complain of unfair expulsions, with ultimate

appeal to the courts. The report opposes additional legislation regulating the internal affairs of trade unions, holding that they are not properly matters of public concern.

The report in surveying the practices in typical unions covers restrictions on admission, closed unions, disciplinary action, division of powers within unions, and how union policies are made. It observes: "It will be maintained by many trade unionists that their affairs are of no concern to 'outsiders.' That argument has been destroyed long since by the unions' acceptance of public protection in organizing and bargaining collectively and in the public regulation of industrial conflict."—*Information Service.*

#### PORT TRUSTEES ON THE BOMBAY FIRE.

After a visit to the affected areas, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas and Sir Shantidas Askuran issued a statement to the press on the damage caused to the city by fire on Friday. The statement was a reassuring one and coming as it did from an unofficial quarter, it had added value. The feeling of having "cordoned off" an area creates a mystifying effect and the public anxiety has been allayed by the fact that non-officials were allowed to visit the affected localities. The signatories observe that though the damage was serious it was not so bad as some of the exaggerated reports had led them to believe. Many buildings said to have been destroyed were standing.

The concluding paragraph of the statement as published by the *Times of India* lacks the clarity which runs through the rest of it. It reads:

We understand that the Transport Member of the Government of India promptly arrived here by air yesterday afternoon and is seeing the damage personally. We strongly urge him to take effective steps to prevent any such accident in the future, and we have every hope that the Chairman of the Bombay Port Trust will put before him the point of view of the Trustees of the Port of Bombay who pressed their views on the Government of India frankly soon after the war broke out. Any short cut at a little more speed in the prosecution of the war should be prevented without hesitation.

An early opportunity should be taken to clear up the meaning of this paragraph. Owing to the wide gaps which it leaves to the imagination of the reader, it is extremely unsettling. The suggestion that such accidents could be prevented, in view of the calamity itself, sets the mind on several possible and impossible lines of thought. We hope the signatories will give an adequate explanation of what exactly they had in their minds.

**Hur Recrudescence in Sind;**—Several months of martial law administration and the execution of their leader, Pir Pagaro, and the confiscation of his estates have not reduced the Hurs to submission to lawful authority. They have returned to their old ways of terrorism soon after the withdrawal of the army regime and some thousands are in concentration camps. Side by side with detention and repressive measures, endeavours should be made to understand their grievances and to redress them. Mere repression is not of permanent value in reclaiming people like the Hurs to a peaceful life.

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Islampur ( " " )	Nandurbar ( " " )
Kirloskarwadi ( " " )	Shirpur ( " " )
Satara ( " " )	Shahada ( " " )
Shirala ( " " )	Sakri ( " " )
Koregaon ( " " )	Sindkheda ( " " )
Tasgaon ( " " )	Nasik (District Nasik).
Wai ( " " )	Malegaon ( " " )
<b>Ahmednagar (District Ahmednagar).</b>	Satana ( " " )
Belapur ( " " )	Lasalgaon ( " " )
Rahuri ( " " )	Nandgaon ( " " )
Shevgaon ( " " )	Ghoti ( " " )
Kopergaon ( " " )	Dohad (District Panch Mahals).
Pathardi ( " " )	Godhra ( " " )
Vambori ( " " )	Jhalod ( " " )
Bhiwandi (District Thana.)	Aklui (District Solapur).
Kalyan ( " " )	Panvel ( " Kolaba )
Paigar ( " " )	Nadiad ( " Kaira )

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## THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

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

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## NOTES.

**India at the International Labour Conference:—** One of the incidents of democracy is that anyone who desires to gain a hearing, must secure a platform. He can do this only by posing as the spokesman of a party. He may attach himself to an existing party or evolve one for himself. When Mr. M. N. Roy was released, he made efforts to attach himself to the National Congress. But the Congress did not want him. Then he turned to capital and labour. He became associated with a political party of which the President is Sir Homi Mehta, a wealthy Parsi of Bombay. He also worked in association with Mr. Jamnadas Mehta in what is known as the Indian Federation of Labour in contradistinction to the All India Trades Union organisation of which Mr. N. M. Joshi has for long been the recognised leader. The International Labour Conference is meeting in Philadelphia. Mr. Joshi in the ordinary course would have gone as Indian Labour representative but Mr. Jamnadas Mehta was nominated instead. On the eve of his departure a question was asked in the Indian Legislative Assembly which happened to be sitting about a subsidy of Rs. 18,000 a month to the Labour Federation. Dr. Ambedkar, the Labour Member, admitted that this was the case and that the subsidy was given for propaganda. Mr. Mehta before leaving India denied that the Federation was in receipt of any subsidy from Government and that it was doing any propaganda. Mr. Roy has called in question the authenticity of the contradiction but the General Secretary of the Federation has declared that he issued the contradiction on the instructions of the President, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta. A protest has been lodged with the International Conference authorities against Mr. Mehta's credentials to represent Indian Labour.

**The Pegging Act:—**The announcement that the Act passed last year by the South African Union Parliament confining for residential and trading purposes Indians in South Africa, beginning with Natal, to specified areas, was to be withdrawn from operation, created much surprise in India. The Act was passed in the teeth of the strong opposition of the Government of India and South African Indians. When General Smuts secured a decisive majority in Parliament in the last General Elections, *The Reformer* hoped that he would signalise the event by a liberal policy towards Indians. He has not only not done anything of the kind, but has made statements showing that he meant

to do nothing. The first enthusiasm gave way to a critical attitude when it transpired that the Pegging Act is to be replaced by an administrative arrangement to decide each case individually. There will be a board set up of four members, two of whom will be Indians with a European Chairman, for this purpose. Trading is to be allowed and only residences are to be restricted to special areas. It is not clear whether the Board is authorised to discriminate between Indians for residential area. The earlier messages left the impression that Indian opinion in South Africa unanimously welcomed the proposed change. Later messages do not confirm this. It will be unfortunate if the proposed arrangement has the effect of creating division among the Indians there.

**Watson Fears Civil War:—**Sir Alfred Watson, retired editor of the *Statesman* has started a new bogey to frighten Britons against granting self-government to India. He says that Hindu-Muslim differences will develop into a civil war when the Indian soldier return to civil life at the end of the war. They will, according to him, use the arts learnt in war to solve the communal question. The probability is quite the other way. The men who have fought side by side, and shed their blood to restore freedom to Italy, France and other Nazi occupied countries of Europe and Japanese occupied countries of Asia, may not inconceivably ask themselves why their own country should continue to be under foreign domination. The old obsession that the white man is invincible by coloured men has been driven clean out of people's minds. They have seen the diminutive and despised Japanese sweeping half a continent over the heads of white men and they have themselves driven Germans and Italians out of Africa and have worsted them in Italy. The colour question, unless it is peaceably solved, will become the main issue of another and a more bloody war. We agree with Sir Alfred that a unitary Government of India is desirable and we do not disagree with him when he says that India should be in the British Commonwealth. India will naturally prefer to continue within the British orbit if she can do so on equal terms with all other component parts of the Commonwealth. She cannot so remain if her present role of hewer of wood and drawer of water for the white population is to be perpetuated.

**The British Budget:—**Notwithstanding that the receipts of revenue in the current financial year exceed the budget estimate by over 40 per cent and the expenditure was less by over 30 per cent, there was a deficit of over £ 2750 million which was made good by borrowing. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has nevertheless refrained from new taxation, though private savings during the year also showed a marked increase. In India under less favourable conditions the Finance Member has raised taxes in order to combat inflation, which Government policy has itself caused and is causing. In Britain inflation has been rigidly kept down by increased imports of consumers goods including food.

The Indian situation is directly due to the anti-nationalist policy of Government but the penalty for it is being paid by the people.

**Extension of Air Services:**—We are making the same mistake in the plan for extension of Air services as we did in regard to the extension of railways. In most other countries, in Soviet Russia for instance, the manufacture of airplanes has preceded or at least accompanied the extension of Air services. We, on the other hand, are to depend on Britain and the United States for planes. If for any reason there is an interruption the whole service will come to a standstill and the social and economic life of the country will be disorganised. It will be prudent to regulate the pace of expansion of the services in keeping with the production of aircraft.

**Late C. Vijayaraghava Charya:**—The death of C. Vijayaraghava Charya at the age of 94 in his native town of Salem last week-end, calls forth memories of services rendered for nearly three-quarters of a century to the public in various spheres. Of strict orthodox habits Mr. Vijayaraghava Charya held broad views on social matters and lent his support to all liberal movements. In politics he never swerved from loyalty to the National Congress of which he was one of the original members. He was a firm believer in the principle of a strong Central Government for India. He did not share Gandhiji's views about non-co-operation though he did not feel it would be right for him publicly to dissociate himself from it or to sever his connection with the Congress like other Liberals. His stern and rather set features concealed a warm heart and an intensely affectionate disposition. He was wise in counsel and firm in his convictions. To have lived for 94 years and retained to within one or two years of the end his physical and mental powers in full vigour, is itself a high achievement which bears testimony to his clean and disciplined life. His memory will be long cherished by his friends as that of one who never paltered with his conscience for place or power.

**Punjab and the Muslim League:**—Mr. Jinnah has returned to the Punjab but his efforts to persuade the Ministerial Party to become a Muslim League one has met with no more success than during his last visit. Thus the Premier Pakistan province remains obdurate against her inclusion among Muslim League Governments. The fact is that the Sikh and Hindu elements in the Punjab are too powerful to be treated as camp-followers of the League. The ruling families in the provinces have many interests and sentiments in common. Mr. Jinnah does not understand the peculiar position in the Punjab and Bengal. Meanwhile, the Governor of the Punjab has dismissed one of the Ministers for gross injustice in the administration of his Department. The injustice, it is stated, related to the dismissal of the Lady Superintendent of Municipal Girls Schools in Lahore. It is strange that notwithstanding the reason given, a local newspaper heads the message as if the Minister was dismissed for his leanings to the Muslim League. He was, we are told, on the point of crossing the floor of the Punjab Assembly Chamber with his followers, when his action was anticipated by his dismissal. It is hard to believe that the other Ministers and the Governor would have made the specific allegation against the Minister, a son of the late Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, owing to his political leanings.

**Sophia College:**—The letter of the Government of India to the Bombay University should set at rest the agitation over the conversion of two Parsi girls of Sophia College to Christianity. While Government disapproves of the Senate's recommendation to disaffiliate the College, it shares

at the same time the Senate's disapprobation of affiliated colleges aiming at the conversion of students from one religion to another. This is an important declaration of policy. Government make no distinction between Colleges receiving grants and those not receiving them. All affiliated colleges are affected by the declaration. Colleges which maintain that they exist to propagate Christianity and that to agree to make no conversions will virtually mean closing down or working without University affiliation, will have no place in the education of Indians. This goes further than the requirement of a conscience clause. The position of the Government is in keeping with the trend of modern religious thought. The burden of proving that the conversion of any student attending a missionary college is not due to any activity on its part, will lie with the college.

**"Sentinel" Ban Lifted:**—The Bombay Government in a communique issued last week-end announced that the ban on the *Bombay Sentinel* had been removed. This decision was taken as the result of the Government and the particular editor understanding each other's points of view. The suspension order was an unfortunate act which threatened to vitiate the good relations subsisting between Press and Government in the province. It had evoked countrywide protest. The general restraint shown on the occasion greatly helped in restoring healthy relations. The fuller reports of the disaster sustained by the city on the night of April 14 have shown that the damage has been less severe than was at first suspected even by the authorities. The Mayor, Mr. Nagindas Master, who was under detention at the time of the disaster, is now free and is the coordinating centre for relief activities.

**Inquiry into Bombay Explosion:**—The Government of India in a press note announce that they are appointing a commission of inquiry presided over by a High Court Judge on the Bombay explosion of April 14. The Commission will inquire into the causes of the explosion. Government also state that they will issue a further press note regarding relief to those who have suffered through the disaster, particularly those who are not likely to obtain relief from insurance companies. A sum of Rs. 5,00,000 has been allotted to relief work in the city. The Government action has been taken promptly on the return of Lord Wavell from his visit to the city and the distressed areas. It will go a great way to restoring confidence in the public, particularly in the business section of the community among whom considerable dislocation has been caused both by the losses sustained and by the reported decision of insurance companies to bear only part of their liabilities.

**Divorce and Hindu Public Opinion:**—Lady Nilkant in her letter we publish to-day takes exception to our objection to the coupling of divorce with monogamy in its resolution supporting the Rau Committee's Bill passed by the All India Women's Conference. Our point was that Hindu public opinion, while being fully ripe in favour of monogamy, is either indifferent or hostile to divorce. The resolution is, therefore, likely to prejudice the acceptance of the Bill by the Legislature. We also pointed out that the civil marriage included in the Bill provided divorce and those who objected to the sacrament may have recourse to it. Lady Nilkant speaks of the misery of Hindu wives and husbands for want of a divorce law. We rather think that the number of such sufferers are fewer than she thinks. We agree that even for the few a way out of their predicament should be found. But we feel that a divorce law at this stage will operate more harshly against women than against men.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, April 29, 1944.

## CLOSER UNION OF BRITISH COMMONWEALTH.

The discussion in the House of Commons on the Bill to extend for another period of twelve months Governors' rule in five Indian provinces, was distinctly depressing from the point of view of Indian self-government. It was closely followed by a debate on the closer union within the British Commonwealth. Mr. Emmanuel Shinwell, a Labour Member who often takes a critical view of the Churchill Cabinet's domestic and foreign policies, on this occasion appeared in the role of supporter of Mr. Churchill. He differed from the Prime Minister, he said, in other matters but he agreed with him that the British Empire is not to be liquidated. Mr. Shinwell particularly attacked the Americans who sneered at the British Empire and wanted to capture markets within the Commonwealth. Mr. Shinwell asked that British capital should be invested in the Colonies rather than in South America. The aim of the British Commonwealth, he declared, was to raise the standard of life among all its people, black and white. The other speakers in the debate were not so blunt about the United States as Mr. Shinwell. India came in for casual mention from one or two of them and from the Prime Minister. One speaker said that India's problem was more economic than political. Another said that Indians felt that the economic problem cannot be solved unless the political problem was solved. In all the Indian plans for post-war development, not entirely official, the urgency of a national Government obtains at least a pious mention. Mr. Churchill in a parenthetical remark hoped that India will find a place as a Dominion in the Dominions Conference to be called at the end of the war. While Mr. Shinwell and other speakers stressed the need for discussing closer economic union at the forthcoming Dominions Premiers Conference, Mr. Churchill laid more stress on the problem of defence. Mr. Shinwell frankly warned Government that Britain's greatest competitor for Empire markets was the United States. At the end of the war, he said, America will need markets to dispose of her surplus productions and the British Commonwealth would naturally attract her attention. Mr. Churchill pointed out in reply that in the Atlantic Charter he had a clause inserted which exempted imperial preference policy from its provisions. The clause was "with due respect for their existing obligations." He added;

These are the limiting words and they were inserted for the express purpose of retaining to this House and to the Dominions the fullest possible rights and liberties over the question of imperial preference. Again in February 1942, when the United States was our closest ally, I did not agree to Article 7 of the mutual aid agreement without having previously obtained from the President a specific assurance that we were no more committed to the abolition of imperial preference than the American Government was committed to the abolition of their protective tariffs.

We would in passing call Dr John Mathai's attention to the trend of the discussion in the House of Commons and its bearing on his notion that in the ten or five years immediately following the end of the war, tariffs will be of less importance to India than during the past twenty years. Some months ago Lord Halifax delivered an address in Canada advocating closer union between the Dominions and the Mother Country. The Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, at once protested and Lord

Halifax was promptly disowned by the British Government. The Press reports of the debate on Mr. Shinwell's resolution does not contain any reference to this incident. But the Prime Minister took particular care not to commit himself to any definite plan and contented himself with enlarging on the significance of the Dominions' rally round the Mother Country in this war as proof that in the years intervening between the last war and this the bonds between Britain and the Dominions, with but one lamentable exception, have grown stronger secretly and silently. Returning to London after the Ottawa Conference, Mr. Neville Chamberlain remarked that inter-imperial bonds have worn thin. Viscount Snowden in his autobiography describes the opposition of the Dominions to every proposal in favour of the Mother Country. During this war both Australia and Canada have developed marked leanings to the United States. Pleading for an understanding between Britain and the United States Mr. Whidden in his Foreign Policy Association Report "Britain's Post-War Trade and World Economy" says that no one in Britain or the States expects that vital American interests will be sacrificed to solve Britain's post-war problems. Mr. Churchill has more than once thrown out the idea of the British Commonwealth and the United States forming a sort of zollverein for trade and finance. Mr. Whidden definitely dismisses as beyond the realm of practical politics the formation of an international tariff authority, inclusion of the United States in the Ottawa Preferential system or the creation of a "free market area" between Britain and the United States. Mr. Churchill's faith that United States' relations with Britain will not be affected by measures of closer economic Union is not shared by any American writer and it was clear from Mr. Shinwell's observations nor by several British authorities. From the Indian point of view there is not much to be said for it. The Dominions cannot expect India to overlook the invidious distinction against Indian nationals acquiring citizen rights in them. Mr Arthur Greenwood acknowledged that Britain's treatment of her Colonies and Dependencies has been discreditable but that a complete change has now taken. We do not see much evidence of the change in India.

Answering the criticism that his present devotion to Imperial Preference was totally inconsistent with his fierce opposition to it when first it was proposed by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain forty years ago, Mr. Churchill remarked that he did not intend to spend the remaining years of his life in defending and explaining his previous opinions. This was a prudent decision as if he undertook to reconcile his past with his recent positions, not the life of Methuselah would suffice to complete the task. Less than five years ago when Britain embraced Russia as Ally on Hitler's invasion of that country, Mr. Churchill declared that he did not withdraw a single one of his denunciations of Bolshevism during twenty five years of its existence in power. Now there are no words adequately fervent to express his admiration of Stalin and Soviet Russia. The fact is Mr. Churchill's attitude towards any question depends very much on the circumstances of the moment. It is, therefore, idle to try to fix him to any position on the strength of his statements in the speech with which he wound up the debate on Mr. Shinwell's resolution. But there is one reference in it which reveals the working of his mind and the sources of his inspiration. In quoting Rudyard Kipling's description of the Dominions as "daughters in their mother's house but mistresses in their own", he spoke of Kipling as "that remarkable fountain of our imperial ideas." Rudyard Kipling has long been out of date.

He is no longer quoted by reputable public men except to be repudiated. Kipling will be remembered as the author also of the sentiment that East is East and West is West and never the twain will meet. Nothing proves the frequent criticism that Mr. Churchill lives in a world of ideas which has passed away, more than his resort to Kipling to describe the status of the Dominions. The Westminster Statute has done away with the idea of the Dominions being daughters of the Mother Country. The present war has further demonstrated the independence of the Dominions. The end of the war may see even more radical changes. The reference to Rudyard Kipling is therefore meaningless so far as the Dominions are concerned. But it has a sinister significance to India and the Colonies inhabited by non-White races. Kipling was the great apostle of colour prejudice. His two lines about the East and West have crystallised it and propagated it among all white races. The British Commonwealth is steeped in colour prejudice. We understand Mr. Churchill's speech to mean that, so far as he is concerned, nothing should be expected to liquidate the colour bar in the British Commonwealth.

#### DEMOCRACY AND THE POST-WAR WORLD.

Mr. Harold Butler speaking at the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia expressed his fears about any attempt to set up democratic systems in the world. He felt that "European countries new to democracy, the semi-barbaric tribes of Africa and the untutored masses of Asia" were not capable of exercising political responsibility in the same measure as the citizens of the U. S.A., Canada, Britain, Holland, France or Australia. In these countries, he said, the habit of forming political judgments by themselves had been developed through generations and it was foolish to think the rest of the world could show the same maturity. He spoke of the need for education in political thinking.

Mr. Butler is British Minister to the United States. The summary report of his speech cabled out does not say what his views were on Russia or on the various South American Republics. In South and Central America there are nations which represent a high degree of assimilation of different races. The process which in Canada stopped at the incorporation of the French Canadians among nationals, which in the United States stopped at the assimilation of all Europeans, has in these nations extended to the Negro and the Red Indian. Soviet Russia has worked out a remarkable experiment in minority treatment which takes no notice of race or creed. Surely in these matters democracy has gone further than in the so-called democracies,

If the democratic idea is to grow in the post-war world, it is not enough that Britain and America should assume the role of teachers. They too have something to learn. The Anglo-Saxon peoples have the worst tradition in race matters.

The conception of educating people in democratic thinking is not new. It was developed to a very high degree by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, the founder of Modern China. He enunciated the principle that political rights without the necessary training the citizen in how to exercise those rights, were mischievous. Therefore an intensive system of education or propaganda was set forth. Unfortunately, the notion is open to abuse in execution. A political party entrusted with the task of educating the people of a country, even when it belongs to the country in which it is to operate, tends to regard education as

training in its own peculiar point of view. Those who do not learn easily, are coerced or interned or executed. When it is a question of one country educating another, the mischief can be done more subtly. It is to be seen whether several countries working together can achieve better results. The danger would seem to be greater of weak nations not being able to influence world opinion.

Obviously the best education for democracy is practice in the actual working of it. It should not be difficult for the great powers to agree on certain principles which are universal, to observe these principles scrupulously in their dealings with other nations, and to enforce them on minorities which happen to wield authority over backward peoples. This can be done during the war, without waiting for the peace to come. If these measures are taken, then there is no question about the bonafides of the great powers.

Not only, however, are these things not even contemplated today, but the occasional pronouncements of responsible leaders in the democratic countries are calculated to rouse serious misgivings. Russia is an Ally of Britain and America. So is China. In several ways the political structure of these countries do not conform to the traditional Anglo-Saxon conception of democracy. At the moment, under the stress of war, no attempt is made to redefine democracy to include these two countries. But if a future conflict is to be avoided, democracy will have to be redefined. To such a rethinking Mr. Butler's catalogue of difficulties gives on help.

#### RUSSIA RETURNS TO NATIONALISM.

The *Information Service* of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America has in two issues of its bulletin discussed the social, economic and cultural changes that have occurred in Soviet Russia. As a detached presentation of developments, the bulletins, "Russia and the Western Democracies", are valuable. The future of world peace depends on adjustments between Russia and Britain and the U.S.A. The two democracies will find it easier to collaborate if Russia gives up world communism. There have been several practical measures taken by Stalin to show his readiness for adjustments—the most noteworthy being the dissolution of the Comintern. But Soviet Russia has herself a definite attitude and she would like to ensure that American and British missionaries give up all ambitions in Russia. In asking for the abandonment of World Communism, Western democratic leaders wish to place restraints on a type of missionary activity. "Communism," says the Bulletin, "with all its irreligion, is propagated as a sort of religious faith. We cannot eat our cake and have it. Does freedom of missionary activity cover the emissaries of what most Christians regard as an 'ersatz' religion?" In Russia itself, in spite of increased tolerance in recent years, the position is clear. "What has been permitted is worship within the churches. There is no freedom of religious propaganda, that is efforts to convert, or religious teaching to persons under 18 years of age in groups larger than three. This limits religious education largely to the family. Ordinary parish activities, including the giving of material aid to members, the holding of special meetings for children, youth, etc., or general meetings of departmental, literary, handicraft or study groups, are banned by law. Only liturgical books are permitted in church buildings. Religious teaching in schools is prohibited and religious schools have not been allowed." The position is summed up in a sentence, "Religion as a corporate, institutionalized experience seems to be relegated to a place of minor importance."



The recent acts of the Soviet State allowing greater religious latitude have been interpreted to mean a change in the "right direction", to liberalism. But the reason why the Communist Party which is made up of "professional unbelievers", should adopt more liberal policies is quite clear: Russian Communists have appreciated the value of religion in terms of endurance and discipline; further, the possibility of the orthodox exercising any great influence in national life has been ensured against. "Into another mystic order, religion provided an escape from present miseries, uncertainties and fears. Religion, the Communist does not deny, performed a certain function." The supremacy of the secular State having been established, the old controls on religious practice are removed.

Nor is this the only difference between Russia and the Democracies. In the economic sphere, the close understanding which Mr. Churchill hopes for after the war, will be much jeopardised by the fact that in dealing with Germany Russia can import machinery, reparations in kind and labour from Germany without having to placate private enterprise and trade unions. In politics already there are disputes on boundary questions, notably in Poland. Stalin has committed himself to respect for national sovereignty but European hegemony is within his grasp.

*Information Service* comments on the main features of "Soviet Democracy". The astonishing military development of the nation shows, says the bulletin, a degree of morale which seems to rest on a widespread conviction among the masses that they are coming into their own. Under the existing system, people, peasants for the most part, are given opportunities denied to their forefathers. The Soviet's record of dealing with minority groups is very impressive. On the other hand, the old governmental classes have been removed from power. Feudalism has been destroyed. There is a revealing extract from Stalin which gives the clue to Soviet Russia's easier understanding of the United States of America. Stalin is quoted as saying:

You exaggerate. We have no particular respect for everything American. But we do appreciate American efficiency in everything—in industry, in technique, in literature, in life. We never forget that the United States is a capitalist country. But among the Americans there are many healthy people, in the spiritual and physical sense; healthy in their approach to their job and business. Regardless of the fact that their country is a highly developed capitalist country, their habits in industry and production contain something democratic which cannot be said of the old European capitalist countries where the spirit of feudal aristocracy still prevails.

This kind of talk is very flattering to Americans, though the Bulletin thinks it will irritate many. For all over Europe there is little admiration for the American spirit.

The first issue has an important section dealing with the implications of recent changes on national life, in the social, cultural and economic spheres. On the social side, there is an increased emphasis on the family. The life of the school is closely interrelated with that of the home. When the government was less sure of itself, the family was less trusted. Along with this change has come about more emphasis on discipline and systematised study, in place of the old stress on ideology. William Henry Chamberlain in "The Russian Enigma" contrasts the difference between the earlier system of education and the prevailing one. He observes:

The most marked tendency of the Soviet school in the early phases of the new regime was extreme experimentalism. The teacher possessed no disciplinary authority and the children ran the classroom pretty much to suit themselves. Marks and examinations were abolished. There was no teaching by subjects. The method of imparting instruction by means of projects for study, a street, perhaps, or a town, or a season, was favoured.

During the early thirties this whole educational method was scrapped completely and finally. Strict discipline is now the watchword in the Soviet educational system, from elementary school to university. All the means of testing a pupil's precise knowledge that were tossed out of the window as repressive and undesirable by Lunacharsky and other theoretical dilettantes in the first years of the Soviet regime, have been brought back. Marks and regular examinations have been restored. The teacher is given full disciplinary authority and may expel unruly pupils.

The Bulletin speaks of the great achievements of Russia in education, in eradicating illiteracy, in industrialization. But Stalin's greatest achievement has been in persuading the leaders of the democratic countries that his action in putting through the "counter-revolution" was right. "It is one of the ironies of history," it observes, "that the collectivization programme that we all condemned for its ruthlessness, seems to have laid the foundation for the vast development of the nation's resources that made possible the resistance to Nazi arms in which we so greatly rejoice. The blood purges which Stalin carried out in the thirties seems to have been directed against the Revolution itself in its original form. The roster of the liquidated is like a Communist 'Who's Who' of the twenties. The party leaders who were purged were called Westerners."

Russian society today is free from the profit-motive, according to G. D. H. Cole whom the Bulletin quotes with approval. Although the old ideal of the Communists "to each according to his needs" has given place to the slogan, "to each according to his work", differential wages have the sting taken out of them because there is practically nowhere he can invest his money and get a return. The change which is most pleasing to nationalists everywhere, is the return to patriotism and nationalism of which several instances are given.

#### INFLATION IN CHINA.

Eric Sevareid writes in the *New Republic* January 3:

A few weeks ago, I stood on a dusty road bordering a great air base in southern China watching the dark green planes coasting in one after another, all coated with dust from the plains of India. There were bombers, fighters, American transports and, off in one corner, transports marked with the large white Chinese character which is the sign of the China National Airways Corporation.

A truck backed up to the door of one of these planes and took over its cargo of heavy boxes. The boxes contained Chinese banknotes—intravenous injections for the feverish body of economic China. More and more of these boxes arrive every month. Not since 1923 in Germany has the world witnessed an inflation of such proportions as that which exists in China today.

Most of these banknotes—none below 10 dollars (Chinese) any more, because hardly any item in the stores costs less than that—are printed by the American Bank Note Company of New York. They come by ship to India, then by plane into China—tons every few weeks.

The immediate problem for the Chungking government is how to speed the printing presses to keep up with prices, which rise roughly 10 percent per month and show few signs of slackening that pace. The amount of currency in circulation today in China is so staggering that the government dares not publish the true figures. One of the government's financial experts told me that a year ago the situation had passed the point at which collapse had seemed inevitable. But China's economy is not collapsing. Not yet.

The legal exchange rate is now 20 Chinese dollars for one American, though diplomats and foreign correspondents are allowed 30 to one. On the black market you get 80 or 90.

The purchasing power of an American dollar, at twenty to one, is down to five cents. It will buy you a half-package of the cheapest kind of cigarettes, or a half-pound of peanuts, or six sheets of cheap typing paper, or a ride on the express bus in Chungking for a few blocks, with enough change left over to buy a box of matches.

The strange thing is that despite the fact that the Japanese occupy the best industrial areas of China, control the railroads and all the ports, so that China cannot import consumer goods from abroad, you find the shops crammed with all manner of luxury items. After our \$50-meal, my friends and I wandered along the streets, looking at the labels on the packaged sweets, the imitation Kleenex, the wines and fake liqueurs, the thermos bottles, towels, cigarette lighters, the toilet articles—everything you might want, if you had the price, and nearly all of it from Shanghai or Hong Kong, or from Tokyo itself. The "illegal" trade is enormous between Free China and enemy-occupied territory. The stuff comes up the Yangtze Kiang on junks and sampans, by pony cart and on the backs of coolies, and thousands of Chinese and Japanese are growing rich from this steady trade.

To the People's Political Council, China's nearest approach to a parliament, Generalissimo Chian Kai-shek admitted in September that "there is much left to be desired" in enforcement of the price-control programme he presented a year ago. That was something of an understatement. Discussions by council members revealed that in some provinces prices had multiplied by 250 since 1937—25,000 per cent!

By strenuous effort, the government has been able to keep the price of rice, the basic food, from rising at such a dizzy rate. Had it not done that, millions would now be dead of starvation. Even so, around Chungking, rice tripled in price between March and September of last year, rising from 500 to 1,500 Chinese dollars a picul (110 pounds).

What the government has done is to buy up supplies of rice and resell it to the government workers, who crowd Chungking, at controlled prices, held reasonably low. Otherwise, there would be few government officials and clerks alive today. These are the people, along with the school-teacher class, who are bearing the brunt of the inflation. They are almost the only salaried groups in China and in any country it is always those on fixed salaries whom inflation ruins.

Even the diplomats, whose salaries are high, are having a rough time of it, since they must exchange their money at thirty to one. The ambassador of a great and rich nation, hearing that I had lost most of my clothing in the Burma jungles, offered to sell me one of his shirts. Just then the Ambassador's butler brought in the card of the Polish First Secretary. The Ambassador asked that he be

shown in, and cautioned the butler to return the card. Cards are expensive.

One day in October a servant from the Standard Oil house appeared at the door of the American Embassy residence. It seemed that two years ago Ambassador Nelson Johnson had borrowed two meat platters and Standard Oil wanted them back.

Some groups in China are actually better off under the inflation, though not so many as the official government spokesmen like to pretend. It is hard to get a Chungking rickshaw man to pull you now; he is not anxious for new business when he is already making around \$2,000 (Chinese) a month, which is more than most trained civil servants get. Half-naked coolies ride the express bus on which the fare is \$15.

One night a civil servant revealed, in answer to my perplexed questions, how he was able to keep his family fed and clothed. Like so many others in Chungking, he once lived in Shanghai and had accumulated savings. Now he rents out his money to one of the many technically illegal finance firms, which pays him a round 30-percent-per-month interest for its use. The firm, of course, is engaged in speculation. It buys up stocks of drugs, for example, holds them while the price skyrockets, and then sells at enormous profits. These practices, by the way, affect American Air Forces operations inside China to a considerable degree. Cabals of Chinese profiteers are forever attempting to corner the market on such essentials as motor cars, for resale at inflated price to army purchasing agents.

Recent studies made by the University of Nanking now at Chengtu, show that big property owners and landlords are as well, or better, off than they were before war. The small, landowning farmer finds his real income is about 10 percent below the prewar level. What the university economists term the "labourer-peddler" class enjoys a rise in prosperity of about 75 percent. On the average the income of a family in this class has multiplied by 38 while his cost of living has multiplied by 22. Real incomes of the merchant, storekeeper class has gone down about 12 percent.

The common soldier and the school teacher, however, as well as many government workers, are reduced to extreme poverty and suffer from malnutrition. I know teachers who are alive only because their friends, including Americans, privately contribute to their income. On the September 12, the government authorized special allowances for teachers in the official schools, but these are inadequate. Some of Free China's best writers and artists are too ill and weak to work.

#### ALL INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE AND DIVORCE.

Sir,

I was a little upset by your remarks on divorce in connection with the resolution passed by the All India Women's Conference. (Your issue of 14-4-1944).

First and foremost the line of least resistance has not been the method of social reform in many problems. Because people are indifferent or hostile to a particular measure it does not lose its utility. One can understand the attitude of Legislators as this line of work might help them in getting consent from the largest number of colleagues. But that ought not to be the stand of Social Reformers.

Mr. Motilal Setalvad said that a law of monogamy without an escape of divorce is incomplete and that the necessity for introducing it would soon be felt. He was strongly in favour of having this law.

As a matter of fact sixty per cent of Hindu Castes or perhaps more, I am not sure, *have* divorce according to their caste regulations. Even those who are wearing sacred thread (e. g. Lohanas and Tapodhans) are free to take recourse to divorce. These castes are not low castes. The rest of Hindus might as well have it if the sacramental character of Hindu marriage is not affected in the case of those who are allowed divorce. That Hinduism and divorce do not go together is misreading the prevailing customs.

Gour's civil marriage is not liked by many as it involves change in succession and partnership in a joint family. The Hindu law has been changed (before the British administration) several times and there may be people who wish to be Hindus in every sense of the word and yet wish their marriages though performed by religious ceremony to permit divorce and be monogamous.

To insist on monogamy and fight shy of divorce is sure to result in extra-marital relations as is becoming so very common under the thin cover or transparent guise of civilised ways of life. It is all right for those who are happy and well settled in life (may they ever remain so) to disregard other peoples' troubles. But those who like us have to hear and learn heartrending facts of the unhappy lives of hundreds of women and several men too, have their bitter conviction that the alternatives to such persons is either to continue in the hell in which they are living or lead open or secret immoral life.

My contention is that even though the Baroda law may have been a dead letter it has served its purpose if a few or even one life has been saved by it from the wreck of misery and sin.

Ahmedabad. } Vidyagauri Ramanbhai Nilkanth.

There is no necessary connection between monogamy and divorce. The Roman Catholics have monogamy but no divorce. The Muslims polygamy and divorce. Hindu women have had monogamy and no divorce, since, so far as women are concerned, the Hindu marriage is monogamous.—Editor.

#### RAJKOT CREMATORIUM.

Sir,

Your note on the Rajkot Crematorium in your last number, I beg to submit that, it is a blessing both for the rich and the poor people because it saves time and half the cost of fuel in comparison to the method of open-pyres and it is only one step-forward.

At present, looking at the back-ground of general understanding of no changers, its use is hardly more than 5% but the Rajkot Seva Samiti is also going to have a smokeless one in future when its use will reach to about 50% in course of time.

RAJKOT.

C. TEJPAL.

#### DESTINY IN HISTORY.

Sir, Lord Halifax's theory of destiny in history, if carried to its logical conclusion will necessitate the resumption the practice of having astrologers attached to royal courts in western lands. Indian rulers even today have *gyotishis* in their entourage. It is reported that belief in astrology and soothsaying is spreading in European countries. Hitler is said to have an astrologer whom he consults before taking important decisions.

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

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## NOTES.

**Baroda Dewan's Resignation:**—We are not surprised at the announcement that Sir V. T. Krishnamacharya, Dewan of Baroda for the greater part of two decades, has resigned. That his resignation did not come off earlier, was no doubt due to his solicitude for the interests of the Gaekwar dynasty and the Baroda State. The second marriage of the Maharaja made it impossible for Sir Krishnamacharya to continue to administer the State under the law. When he came to know of the marriage he immediately gave the Maharaja to understand that he, as head of the Government, could not take cognisance of it and that the newly wedded wife will have not the status of Maharani or any of the dignities attaching to that status. The Baroda Hindu Code made polygamy an offence and made polygamous marriages void. Every reputable authority on Hindu law has declared that the ruler of a State is subject to the law of the State. The Maharaja was, therefore, guilty of an offence punishable in Baroda with imprisonment, for which many persons were suffering the penalty. The first duty of an administrator is to enforce the law of the land. So long as the monogamous statute remains in force, every case of polygamy will have to be dealt with under the law. The Courts would be embarrassed in dealing with them if accused pleaded the august example of their ruler as their excuse for thinking that they were committing no offence by marrying a second or third wife. This was a serious difficulty but there were also involved moral principles which a man of Sir Krishnamacharya's character and calibre cannot overlook. The legality of the steps adopted to bring the ceremony within the law, have been publicly questioned. The Dewan, as the custodian for the time being of the interests of the dynasty and to avoid future complications, was bound to have the matter placed beyond all possibility of differences of opinion. Until the responsible Minister was satisfied the Paramount Power cannot be approached. The delay in announcing the Dewan's resignation is obviously due to the necessity of ascertaining authoritatively the legal implications of the marriage the morality of which has been denounced by a consensus of opinion throughout the country. Sir Krishnamacharya is one of the outstanding personalities of our time and has before him a public career of great usefulness in shaping the course of Indian progress, constitutional and social, in the crucial period of national reconstruction.

**Dismissal of a Punjab Minister:**—Dismissal of a Minister does not carry with it the moral and material consequences of dismissal of a Civil Servant. Palmerston was dismissed from the Foreign Secretaryship by Queen Victoria and later became her Prime Minister. The great Bismarck was dismissed by Kaiser William II but it did not affect in the least his standing in the public estimation. Usually dismissal is cloaked as a request for resignation. Nevertheless, the announcement that the Governor of the Punjab had dismissed Captain Shaukat Hyat Khan, Minister for Public Works in Malik Khizr Hyat Khan Tiwana's Cabinet, created a sensation in the public mind. The explanation that the dismissal related to the dismissal of Mrs. Durga Das, Lady Superintendent of Education in the Lahore Municipal Corporation, only added piquancy to the sensation. Subsequent messages made it clear that there was no personal intrigue involved in the matter. It still remains unexplained why the Minister of Public Works should dismiss an official of the Department of Education or Local Self-Government and under what authority. However that may be, if the Lady Superintendent was wrongfully dismissed, the right course was to reinstate her in office with arrears of pay for the months during which she was out of office and not to dismiss the Minister unless there was an element of moral turpitude which has not been alleged in this case. The dismissal and the manner of its announcement are obviously inappropriate in the circumstances so far disclosed of the case. It does not appear either that Captain Shaukat Hyat Khan was requested to resign and had refused and had thus invited dismissal. A special responsibility rests on the Prime Minister and the Governor to protect women officers from victimisation at the personal whim of a superior, and this responsibility is particularly great in the case of Indian Christians who stand in danger of becoming political orphans in deals between Hindus and Muslims as the two major communities. The fact that in this case the Prime Minister and other Muslim Ministers as well as the Sikh and Hindu Ministers have accepted the dismissal of their erstwhile colleague shows that Captain Shaukat Hyat Khan's action was too flagrant to be condoned. The delay in taking action and other incidents have not been satisfactorily explained but that should not be taken to mean that they are not capable of a satisfactory explanation. The Muslim League, if it tries to make the dismissal a political issue without exonerating the dismissed Minister from the charge of gross injustice to the Lady Superintendent of Schools, will discredit itself in the eyes of fair-minded men. Captain Shaukat Hyat Khan evidently wants the public to believe that he has been sacked for his political infidelity to the Unionist Ministerial Party which Mr. Jinnah insists on getting liquidated.

**Christian Churches and the War:**—The peculiarity of the present war is that it has rapidly developed into a war of ideas. In the leading article



we deal with some aspects of the conflict which it has created in the industrial and economic sphere. It does not stop there. The conflict has extended to religion. The Catholics and the Protestants are ranged on opposite sides. The Catholic Church is dead against Soviet Russia and all that it stands for. The Protestants, notably the Church of England and most of the denominations in the United States, are pro-Soviet and pro-Russian. The divergence between the Catholic and Protestant churches on Democracy are not so clearly marked. The Protestants stand solidly for Democracy. The Catholic attitude is rather vague. A recent Report of the American Foreign Policy Association is devoted to an analysis of the foreign policy of the Vatican. The author, Sherman S. Hayden, has a sympathetic understanding of the difficulties of the Roman Church. To begin with, the Church is international and is obliged to refrain from taking sides with any particular nation against any other. The next fact is that the Popes in modern times have invariably been Italians. Inevitably their attitude towards other countries is influenced, unconsciously it may be, by their nationality and upbringing. The Church is indifferent to forms of Government but is keen on securing through agreements with different National Governments three things: Freedom to practise and propagate Catholicism, recognition of Catholic marriages and the maintenance in its hands of the right to educate Catholic children. Hayden thinks that there is a fundamental antagonism between Fascism and the Catholic Church in that, while the former defies the State, the latter regards the State as a secular institution owing allegiance to God and the Church. "In spite of this basic antagonism, ultimately inescapable," Hayden observes, "the Vatican has shown an inclination towards Fascist governments in the past." He thinks that the Vatican at first did not understand the full implications of Fascism. We do not think he is right. The Vatican has always been famed for its deep insight into human psychology. Its sympathy towards Fascism is capable of a simple explanation. It is authoritarian and Fascism is authoritarian. The Duce is the Pope of Fascism. In fact the Fascist State has been modelled on the Papacy just as the Papacy itself was modelled on the Roman Empire. The other reason given by Hayden is more probable. The Vatican, he says, long cherished the belief that Fascism would defend civilisation more effectively than the democracies against Communism.

**Mr. Churchill's Indiscretion:**—Answering a question in the House of Commons about reported British intentions to part with bases to the United States of America, the British Prime Minister emphatically declared that there was never any intention of ceding British territory to any foreign power. The statement has apparently created a stir at Washington where the unofficial army and navy newspaper has commented that Chiang Kai-Shek has been perturbed by it. The Chinese leader, it is said, feels that Mr. Churchill's answer covers the case of Hong-Kong and other British possessions in China as well as the rumoured deal with America. The Washington newspaper's anxiety for Chinese interests does not seem disinterested. Though Mr. Churchill has been insistent that Anglo-Americans have a common object both in war and peace, there are many Americans who do not feel confident of cooperating with Britain without losing their identity. The U. S. A. has historically a wider outlook than Britain has. The lead in the world after the war will rest with that nation whose leaders are able to take an inclusive attitude to all races and nationalities. Mr. Churchill, for all the great services he has rendered to Britain during this war, is obviously not equipped for world leadership.

**Indians in British Guiana:**—The August-November number of *Indian Opinion*, official organ of the British Guiana East Indian Association, is a Special Silver Jubilee number. It gives a full report of the functions held to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Association. The Silver Jubilee Conference was opened by the Governor, Sir Gordon Leatham. His Excellency praised the industry, thrift, careful investment of savings, broadbased on agricultural pursuits, which Indians, whether in trade and commerce or in the professions, did not lay aside. He expressed the hope that the Indian community, holding fast to their best traditions and not lightly abandoning all that is good in their national genius, would develop a strong common citizenship with the other communities of Guiana as the only true foundation of democratic progress. In the course of his address Sir Gordon said that in his experience of many colonies, he had nowhere seen so much as in British Guiana of the distressing weakness "where the older sanctions and restraints of religion, of communal and family life, have lost their hold and no new body of authoritative rules and practices of life, of conduct or of thought had taken their place." While there were excellent specimens of the old tradition and of modern education among Indians in the Colony, he found particularly in the country districts people who were lacking in steadiness and mental balance. His Excellency called on the Indian community to develop high standards of leadership. In this matter India can do much to help her people not only in British Guiana but also in other colonies. The community as a whole, however, has made marked progress in the last quarter of a century. The Hon. J. A. Lukoo, who has visited India more than once and was the first President of the Association, mentioned some of the directions in which Indians have made noteworthy progress. In trade and agriculture, he said, their advance has been so marked that, it can be truly said that without the East Indians the Colony could not have maintained its present high standard among British Crown colonies. In education, Indian students compete equally with the other races in the higher standards and display brilliance which is surprising in descendants of indentured labourers. Indians are now taking active part in the government of the colony, added Mr. Lukoo. The present President of the Association, Mr. D. P. Dehidin, called attention to the backward condition of Indian labourers in the sugar plantations. They had not the opportunities of education and self-improvement which Indians in the cities or even in villages had. It was among these no doubt that the Governor noticed the weaknesses which he mentioned in his opening address. At a banquet given by the Association, the Governor and many high officials were present. The Jubilee celebrations were attended by members of all communities. Referring to the fact that two-thirds of those who attended a variety concert were non-Indians, *Indian Opinion* observes: "Either the different peoples of this Colony are at last fraternizing more or Indians have reached a state when they are fraternizing less." It is pleasing to note that the racial and colour prejudice which is an ugly feature of colonial Africa has not been reproduced in South America.

**Russia and the War:**—Stalin in his message on May Day gave a definite indication of Russia's intention to prosecute the war even on German soil. This should set at rest all suspicions of Russian intentions to abandon hostilities the moment German forces are driven back to their own territory. Stalin further indicated the need for a concerted attack by Britain, the U. S. A. and the Soviet Republic on the Nazis. Reports are also current of the imminence of an Allied invasion of Europe. The European stage seems to be set for decisive action.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, May 6, 1944.

## CAPITALISM OR COMMUNISM?

Professors P. A. Wadia and K. T. Merchant have condemned the fifteen years Rupees ten thousand crores plan of industrial development for India formulated by some Bombay industrialists and business magnates on the ground that it is based on the capitalist principle and is inspired by the profit motive. They favour socialisation of industry under control of the State. The words Capitalism, Profit Motive and Socialism are used by them in the sense in which they are understood and criticised in the highly industrialised countries of the West. They do not pause to consider whether in the social economy of India these terms have the same connotation as in Britain and the United States. In this respect they commit the same mistake as the authors of the Plan which they criticise. The industrial economist fixes his attention too exclusively on the material resources of a country and assumes that the human factor is or should be amenable to be used in the way most effective for their development in industries. The social economist does not ignore the material resources of a country. He does not under-rate the importance of industrial development. But he realises that the aim of industrial and all other planning should be to add to the sum total of human happiness and that all schemes should be tested on this touchstone. Human happiness is almost synonymous with human freedom. To be free is to be happy. To be unfree is to be unhappy. President Henry M. Wriston of Brown University, speaking last December at the second War Congress of American Industry in New York, pointed out that enterprise and freedom are not necessarily related. He said :

Impressive manifestation of energy, imagination, skill, and daring invention, development and production have occurred under tyranny. The oil industry, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, yarns, fabrics, and many others have had to compete with *I. G. Farbenindustrie*. They have good reason to know that between the two wars German business was enterprising.

The Soviets have astounded friend and foe alike. They have led the world in the application of higher mathematics to engineering problems, substituting exact calculations for wasteful empiricism. In medicine and more particularly in surgery, they have shown vigour in conception, resourcefulness in technique and skills which have produced modern miracles of healing.

Even the Japanese, that faceless and selfless, but fearless and energetic people, have shown enterprise. Without natural resources, without an industrial tradition, without widely diffused wealth, they boldly proclaimed an enterprising programme. They snatched markets from beneath our noses, and territories from beneath our feet. We are hard put to win them back.

The authors of the Fifteen Year Plan make no secret of the fact that they have been inspired by the success of Soviet Planning. Mr. J. R. D. Tata in his address to the Bombay Rotarians avowed as much. Though the plea for a National Government finds a place in the Plan, the concept of Freedom as essential to human happiness, receives scant recognition. Indeed, Mr. A. D. Shroff, another of the sponsors of the Plan, declared in an address to the Progressive Group that compulsion may be necessary to carry out the Plan. Strange to say, Professors Wadia and Merchant are also admirers of Soviet Planning. They write :

For the first time in the history of the world, an experiment in collective ownership of a different kind

(from Nazi and Fascist systems) is being conducted in the U. S. S. R. The general results so far achieved in that country have profoundly affected the thinking of people in other countries and have raised questions of valuation with regard to planning.

The two Professors designate the Soviet system as Democratic Collectivism which, "while it involve the formulation of plans by small groups of experts, implies that the plans will be ratified by democratic methods and, if they are not acceptable to the masses, there has to be machinery for rejecting or modifying them." Stalin would smile as he reads this definition of "democratic collectivism" as practised by him. His plans might have been ratified by the Supreme Soviet Council but that there was any alternative open to it, we can hardly believe. Indeed, there is not much to distinguish Soviet from Fascist or Nazi methods. As for the approval of the masses the other day, the Italian Crown Prince, Umberto, admitted that Mussolini's plans and policy had overwhelming popular support, so overwhelming that the King and he himself could not have resisted him. Hitler also had the German masses behind him. Neither he nor Mussolini had to put down by force any group of dissentients in their countries as Stalin did the Kulaks. Dr. Wriston is right in grouping the Soviet with the Fascist and the Nazi systems as an instance of efficient industrial enterprise without political freedom. What has impressed observers is that the Soviet has achieved in twenty years some part of what the United States, for instance, has achieved in 150 years. What is overlooked is the price paid in freedom. If the Russian masses had been consulted about the Stalin plans, it is highly doubtful if they would have endorsed them if they had a free choice in the matter.

Professors Wadia and Merchant say that "the thinking portion of humanity today is faced with the question of a choice between Fascism and State capitalism and Democratic collectivism which undertakes to subordinate the machine to the human being for the creation of a civilised existence for all men." We agree that the machine should be subordinated to men but fail to see that the Soviet system has this aim or has materially contributed towards its fulfilment. This is much too ahead of the fact. Capitalism is by no means dead. Britain and the United States, the two most industrialised countries as well as the wealthiest, still adhere to individual private enterprise as the basis of their economy.

Professors Wadia and Merchant urge that we have to view any plan for industrial development in India in relation not only to the trend of economic development of our own country in the past but also in relation to the development of economic forces in the international sphere. The international sphere is a big phrase but in practice those who talk of it are intensely national in their aims and outlook. Whatever is beneficial to their own country is pictured as beneficial to the whole world. This is particularly the case with British spokesmen. They never advocate anything as beneficial or profitable to Britain. They always work for the benefit of humanity in the spirit of the saying, Seek ye the Kingdom of Heaven and all these things will be added unto you. English-educated Indians have caught this trick, some of them. If we plan our industrial or political future in the light of our own past history extending for several long centuries, we shall be doing the best we can to help the world. It is our complaint that both the fifteen year planners and their critics practically ignore the trend of India's past development. They speak as if they have a clean slate to write upon. No reformer has

that privilege. Even the Russian revolution, a total departure as it seemed to be from the Tsarist tradition, revealed itself even during Lenin's life-time to be "Tsarism with a little Soviet oil." Indian planning should be in consonance with Indian tradition and temperament. The task of national reconstruction is the function of the statesman who is alive to the historical processes which have moulded and are moulding the destinies of his people and not that of the industrialist or businessman who has mastered a part, though an important part of these processes. Dr. Wriston referring to the N. R. A. observed that it was dominated by practical men who knew so little theory that they did not recognise obvious similarities to Fascism :

We should have learned from it that, if business should not undertake the function of Government, there is equally good evidence that democratic government cannot take over the function of business. Business and government are different kinds of activities; neither should do the work of the other. Government should be primarily concerned with law and its enforcement, business with production and exchange in a free market. Government should operate principally by fixed rules made by representatives of the people chosen in free elections. Business should function by fluid decisions that find their ultimate test in a free market, where the public reveals what it wants and what it is willing to pay.

This is what Dr. Wriston called the philosophy of free enterprise, which four thousand manufacturers assembled in the Congress of American Industry were determined to uphold. It is obviously wrong to believe, as do Professors Wadia and Merchant, that the age of Capitalism is past and Fascism and Communism are the only competitors to the political economic field. Communism under Stalin is tending to compromise with Capitalism. Capitalism under President Roosevelt is tending towards some aspects of Communism.

The probabilities are that, as the result of the present conflict between Capitalism and Communism, a system which combines the advantages of both without their defects will emerge. It will bear a close resemblance to the Indian traditional socio-economic organisation which had for its ideal the harmonising of the profit motive in the individual with the larger interests of society and the State. Typical of this method is the principle of *danduyat*. Usury is not prohibited as in the Mosaic code but interest is not allowed to accumulate in excess of the amount of the principal. Accumulation of wealth is not condemned. Rather it is the duty of the merchant caste. The authority of Church and State, however, is effectively protected from becoming appendages of wealth. Dr. Wriston's principle that government and business should function independently was anticipated by the ancient planners of the Indian socio-economic system. Instead of turning to Soviet Russia or Nazi Germany, Indian leaders should turn to their own traditions for light in planning reconstruction.

**A Single Script for India:—**The adoption of a common script for all Indian languages is an important step towards evolving a common language for India. The scheme outlined in the article which we print elsewhere by Mr. Shahid Pravin, General Secretary of Bhasha Samiti of Calcutta, offers a good basis for discussion. The Bhasha Lipi is an adaptation of the Roman script to meet the requirements of all the Indian languages. A chart has been prepared, and is available at four annas a copy, showing the alphabets of all Indian languages with Bhasha Lipi.

#### PUNJAB AND PAKISTAN.

The Punjab is the corner-stone of Pakistan. Without the Punjab Pakistan is a castle in the air. Mr. Jinnah clearly realises this as, indeed, anyone with far less intelligence could not help doing. He has told foreign Press correspondents that the Punjab is the first of five provinces in which Muslim League Governments are working smoothly. The statement had been taken exception to by the *Reformer* among others on the ground that the Punjab Government has consistently maintained that it is not a Muslim League Government. The late Sir Sikander Hyat Khan repeatedly declared that his Ministry was not a Muslim League Ministry without Mr. Jinnah once contradicting that statement. It was not known until after Sir Sikander's death that there had been a Pact between him and Mr. Jinnah according to which Sir Sikander undertook to support Pakistan outside the Punjab and Mr. Jinnah undertook not to interfere with Sir Sikander's policies in that province. Sir Sikander died a year ago and the existence of the Pact came to light in connection with the election of his successor to the Premiership of the Punjab. Until about a month ago, Mr. Jinnah preferred to remain silent about the Pact although it was the subject of vehement controversy among Ministerialists, Muslim and non-Muslim. The former or some of them held that the Pact died with Sir Sikander. Others, mostly non-Muslims, held that it continued to be in force and that Sir Sikander's death did not affect it. No one denied its existence during Sir Sikander's Premiership. The next Premier, Malik Khizr Hayat Khan Tiwana, accepted the Pact concluded by his deceased leader and was elected by his colleagues to be their Chief in the Cabinet, although, as the Malik mentions in his letter to Mr. Jinnah, some of them had superior claims on the ground of seniority. Mr. Jinnah has recently denied that there was any Pact between him and the late Punjab Premier. The Malik avers that the Pact did exist, that it was accepted by Mr. Jinnah and discussed in the Muslim League Council and that Mr. Jinnah had promised to abide by it. Now, Mr. Jinnah demands that the Punjab Premier should disavow the Pact and function as head of a Muslim League Ministry in coalition with other parties. "I am a true Muslim and a follower of the Prophet of Islam," the Malik declares, "and will not be guilty of a breach of faith!"

The difference between the Punjab Premier and the President of the Muslim League is explained in a statement to the Press. Malik Khizr Hyat Khan says :

The only material point is that the Muslim League rather than the Unionist Party should be regarded as the primary and the only political party of the Muslims in the Punjab. My non-Muslim colleagues agreed to this and it is to the credit of their earnest desire for cooperation with the Muslims of this Province that they agree to cooperate with the Muslim League as the only Muslim party in the Punjab and to cooperate with it in running the Government of this province for the duration of the war. It is highly regrettable that no use should be made of this achievement and that, instead, I should be invited to be guilty of a breach of promise to the other communities of the Punjab by forming a Muslim League Coalition Ministry.

To those who are ignorant of the origin of the Unionist Party this may seem to be a distinction without a difference. But in the light of the account which Malik Khizr Hyat Khan gives of the origin and objects of the Unionist Party it is quite clear that there is a fundamental difference. The Unionist Party was formed by the late Sir Fazli Hussain as a party whose main object was to work for the uplift of the backward classes. The great

majority of these classes in the Punjab is Muslim and it was, therefore, sure to benefit most by the work of uplift. But there were Hindu and Sikh backward classes also and these too would benefit by the uplift measures of the Unionist Party. There were critics who said that Sir Fazli Hussain's Party was only a Muslim Party camouflaged as a Party for the uplift of all backward classes. But Sir Fazli was not moved from his position by such criticism and he definitely refused Mr. Jinnah's personal appeal to him to merge his Party in the Muslim League. Malik Khizr Hyat Khan says that what Sir Fazli Hussain refused, he is now called upon to do. The Pakistan slogan had not been invented during Fazli Hussain's lifetime and there can be no doubt that he would have refused to join it if it had been. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and Malik Khizr, Hyat have avowed their loyalty to Pakistan outside the Punjab which is like playing Hamlet without the Danish Prince. Even in this statement Malik Khizr Hyat Khan avows his adherence to the Pakistan idea. His Hindu and Sikh colleagues in the Ministry have been declaring their strenuous opposition to Pakistan. They can work together only on a platform which is intended for the benefit of all communities and by not mentioning Pakistan in each other's hearing. To designate the Ministerial Party as the Muslim League Coalition Party, would necessarily imply that the non-Muslim Ministers have acquiesced in Pakistan. This is what Mr. Jinnah wants them to do and Malik Khizr Hyat Khan has pledged himself not to ask them to do. The cornerstone of Pakistan is cracked beyond repair. Another circumstance which definitely rules out Pakistan is the reappearance of Russia on the borders of India as a Power, greater than Tsarist Russia was.

#### GANDHIJI'S HEALTH.

A day after Mr. Amery had declared in the House of Commons that Gandhiji's condition was not serious enough to bring up the question of release, the Bombay Government issued a communique to the effect that Gandhiji's condition was causing anxiety. His recovery from the recent attack of malaria had not been as rapid as it had been hoped it would be. The Bombay Government is not likely to have kept Mr. Amery uninformed about the state of Gandhiji's health particularly if it was anxious about it. The occasion has been used to press for Gandhiji's release both here and in Britain. The agitation in India is not likely to carry any more weight than earlier agitations have done. But the agitation in Britain is significant as it marks a departure from the wartime practice of subordinating all differences to the needs of a nation at war. Labour and Liberal leaders who had abdicated their functions, are asserting themselves now. On foreign policy and India, these parties had put their principles in cold storage for the duration. They find themselves unable to do so any longer.

The reason for this is not Gandhiji's health so much as the failure of Mr. Amery to respect the responsibility of Parliament. In his periodic presentation of Bills to extend Governors' rule in the provinces, Mr. Amery, instead of rendering an account of the administration of the provinces as he was expected to do, has indulged in intemperate attacks on the Congress. His chief grievance seems to have been that the Congress displayed totalitarian tendencies. The onus was on him to prove that the present system was more democratic than any other that could be set up in the existing circumstances. But he has consistently evaded this task. The Constitution of 1935

provided that the Governor of a province in which the constitution was suspended, would be responsible to the Secretary of State for India and ultimately to Parliament. Mr. Amery has seen to it that the responsibility of Parliament in Indian affairs has been nullified. Whilst in the past he has evaded issues, now he has gone to the length of withholding information.

This introduces a dangerous element in British politics—the encroachment of the Executive on the rights of the Legislature. There have been reports which fix the number of acts done without legislative sanction at over 300. But none of them are as serious as this insidious assumption of dictatorial powers by a Secretary of State over a vast area of the Empire. The M. P.'s who raised the question about Gandhiji's health, are not likely to sit quiet under the developments that have taken place after the questions were asked. Mr. Amery has mismanaged affairs. It is unlikely that he is still ignorant of the growing "anxiety" of the Bombay Government even if one can think that he was before. In the last resort, it is a case of vindicating the Bombay Governor, Sir John Colville, and the Government of India whose prisoner Gandhiji is. It remains to be seen whether Mr. Amery will stand by them or leave them to their fate.

#### THE DOMINIONS CONFERENCE.

The Dominions Premiers Conference is meeting in London. Eire is not represented at it because Eire is neutral in the present war. Evidently Eire's exclusion has been decided on by agreement. Britain feels that, as Eire is not in the war, she cannot hope to share the benefits of the special measures arising out of the war. Mr. Churchill has not only withheld the special benefits of wartime measures from Eire but has even imposed certain disabilities in the matter of trade. On the other hand, Eire has not pressed for representation at the Dominions Conference as it would be an embarrassment to her in her neutrality. Mr. De Valera, however, has said that the interests of Eire in regard to post-war policies have been safeguarded.

The position of India at the Conference is even less satisfactory. She is represented by Sir Feroze Khan Noon, Defence Member in the Viceroy's Executive Council, and by the Maharaja of Kashmir. The Maharaja has decided to content himself with seconding Sir Feroze Khan. The reports of speeches made by Sir Feroze Khan Noon in London are far from reassuring. In a broadcast soon after reaching London, India's "representative" went out of his way to state that India was the most peaceful country in the world. Sir Feroze must have his own peculiar definition of the word "peaceful". Had it been that India was peaceful in the generally accepted sense of the word, surely he realises, what everyone who hears him must have done long ago, that he would not be attending the Dominions Conference on behalf of India.

At the Conference itself, Sir Feroze Khan's statements must have been heard by the Dominions Premiers with surprise. He said that no one in India wanted to break with Britain and that all sections were in favour of maintaining the ties of empire. There is no Dominion which does not have restrictions on Indians. South Africa which has substituted a convention and a licensing board for the suspended Pegging Act, is under no illusions about the strength of Indian resentment at the treatment meted out by the Union to Indians born in South Africa. The difference between South Africa and the other Dominions is only one of degree so far as

India is concerned. Sir Feroze Khan's effusive satisfaction at India being included among the Dominion representatives though her people were not of the same race as the peoples of the Dominions, was the courtier's way of representing discontent at her treatment. That is the most charitable construction to place on his opening speech. But it is a way which cannot carry weight among persons who are used to speak out openly. Apart from Eire's abstention, Australia's representative, Mr. Curtin, took the opportunity of expressing Australia's gratitude to the United States of America. He even said that Australia came under America's sphere of influence.

The attitude of India towards the Empire is largely determined by the capacity of the other units to accommodate themselves to peoples of other races and traditions. The purpose of the Dominions Conference is to strengthen Britain in her dealings with other Powers. It can hardly lead to a solution of the Indian problem. Sir Feroze Khan took the opportunity to state categorically that there was no pro-Japanese feeling in India. This should not need saying in an Empire Conference. The fact that he had to say it, where other representatives were under no compulsion to prove their bonafides, shows that he realised the weakness of his position at the Conference.

#### BOMBAY FIRE INQUIRY.

We publish below the text of the Government of India's communique announcing the personnel of the Commission appointed to inquire into the fire of April 14. The Government have not yet announced their decision as to the compensation to be given to those who had suffered loss owing to the disaster which is of greater importance than finding out how it occurred and what steps were taken to bring it under control. Besides, the fact that for security reasons the inquiry has to be held in camera and only such parts of the report will be published as in the opinion of the Commission are safe for the public to know, detracts from the value of the inquiry so far as the public are concerned.

The *Free Press Journal* has shown a commendable degree of enterprise in placing all facts before the public. Owing to its enterprise, the public is now aware that the disaster was caused by the bringing of explosives into Bombay harbour. It is the common practice of all ports to prohibit the use of general harbours to ships carrying explosives. In 1917, the port of Halifax in Nova Scotia suffered severe damage when a French ship carrying 3,000 tons of T. N. T. collided with a Norwegian vessel. One-tenth of the city was destroyed as a result of the explosion. There is no other precedent.

The responsibility for the disaster lies with the authorities who suspended the bye-law of the Port Trust banning the use of the harbour for ships carrying ammunition. The suspension has proved a costly wartime necessity and there should be no hesitation in admitting it. A frank admission would go far to reassuring the public, particularly the business community which has been hard hit by the disaster. But far from any frankness in admitting their error, the Government have been pursuing a policy of keeping things back. The Bombay Government did not give out the news that a ship carrying explosives had been the cause of the disaster. In its first communique it said that fire broke out on a ship which spread to ammunition. The real nature of the accident was only let out in the debate in the Bombay Corporation on April 27. But for the outside public, fuller information was given six days earlier. In a special message to the *Hindustan Times* of Delhi, Mr. A. V. Thakkar

mentioned that a ship carrying ammunition had caught fire.

There has been some discrepancy too about the time the fire occurred. The Government communique mentioned "shortly after four." Mr. M. D. Bhatt, the Municipal Commissioner, however, said in the Corporation that the Fire Brigade Control Room was informed of the fire first at 1.18.

There is probably some simple explanation of these discrepancies. If it is so, it should be made known at once. The main consideration now should be to restore public confidence and nothing else should stand in the way.

#### INQUIRY COMMISSION PERSONNEL.

It is announced that the Governor-General-in-Council has appointed a Commission to inquire into and report on the causes of the fire and explosions in the Bombay docks on April 14, 1944, and also inquire into the adequacy of the action taken before, during and after the disaster. The Commission will be assisted by five assessors to be appointed by the Government of India.

The Commission of Inquiry will consist of: The Hon'ble Sir Leonard Stone, Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court (President);

Mr. S. B. Dhavle, I. C. S. (retired), lately a judge of the Patna High Court; and

Rear Admiral C. S. Holland, R. N.

Mr. N. Storr, I. C. S., will be Secretary to the Commission.

In view of the state of war existing and the consequential considerations of security, the commission will hold its inquiry *in camera*. Nevertheless, the report of the Commission, except such parts, the disclosure of which, in the opinion of the Commission, would be detrimental to the public interest or the successful prosecution of the war, will be published for general information. The President of the Commission will have full powers to appoint times of meetings, to adjust and arrange methods of procedure, to settle the course the inquiry shall take, to fix the place or places at which the Commission shall sit, to hear such persons as he shall think fit, to admit or reject in his absolute discretion any evidence, oral or documentary which may be tendered before him, and to call for such evidence oral or documentary as he may think fit.

#### A COMMON SCRIPT FOR INDIAN LANGUAGES.

(BY SHAHID PRAVIN.)

The necessity for a common script for all of our languages is not guided by one reason alone, but by many. Under a national Government which we all anticipate, a child in one of the Provinces (excepting parts of U. P., Maharashtra and Behar) will have to learn three different scripts in his school career, one of his provincial language, another of Hindi or Urdu, the national language, and the third of a modern European or foreign language which would by all means be English. If according to the present dictations of the leading political parties the Dewanagari and Urdu scripts are to be in use side by side, the number of scripts to be learned by a child would be increased to four and one who has attempted to learn the script of more than one language will alone realise the difficulty and the wastage of effort involved in this process of learning four different scripts. As a way out of this, certain leaders have suggested the devising of two common scripts, one for the group of North Indian languages, and another for the four South Indian languages. Evidently these leaders haven't cared to know what are the major Indian languages and their requirements. If a common script can be evolved for one set of languages it is easy enough to apply the same script for the other set; in fact in India there are



no two group of languages as currently understood. All the Indian languages can be conveniently and scientifically termed as belonging to one family that is the Indian Speech family.

If such a script is evolved, which according to current trend of thought would be Devanagari or some adaptation of it, there would be still the necessity of learning two scripts, one this common script, another English. Another thing which demands our attention is how far this script would be adaptable to printing, typewriting and for use in other mechanical devices in general. Secondly comes the question whether Muslims would acquiesce in the adoption of the new Devanagari script. And when will this pious hope be realised and how would the transformation be brought about?

The Roman script by reason of the tremendous progress in mechanization in the West has been adapted for use in a large number of mechanical devices to which use the script has been found very suitable on account of the limited number of characters in the Alphabet. The adoption of the Roman script to Indian Languages is objected to purely for sentimental reasons by many. They confuse it as representative of the alien English culture while the script itself is not of English origin and the form is the result of a series of transformations as in the case of our own scripts. The Germans call it their own script, the Italians theirs and in fact it is everybody's. Knowledge is a common heritage of mankind and not of one people or the other and for this reason the Bhasha Samithi has thought it fit to name this script as adapted to Indian languages as Bhasha Lipi instead of the Roman, Latin or English script.

#### 'DEADLOCK IN CHRISTENDOM'.

Sir,

Very few, outside the missions, are aware of another deadlock, besides the political deadlock, which exists today in Christendom, between laymen and the missionaries over the sales of the mission properties. The two parties have prodigiously drifted away, and an ignominious relation has developed among them.

While the missionaries see no harm in disposing off mission properties, and absorbing its income in whichever manner they deem it fit, the laymen view it with abhorrence because, as a substantial amount of subscription was raised on India's soil for mission work, the missionaries are not at all justified in handling matter singly. They, laymen, advocate the appointment of a Trust, comprised of laymen and missionaries (Indians, Europeans and Americans) to adopt a policy by which the disposal of the mission properties and expenditure in the interests of the Christians and the Church, will co-operatively be guided in all cases. The Trust will be the only authorised body to accept and reject proposals for the sales of the mission properties.

No effort is made yet to bridge the gulf, and, I am afraid, continuance of such an unhappy state of affairs, would have a very deteriorating consequence in the long run.

The best and most suitable solution, in my opinion, to end the deadlock is to call a conference of representatives from both the sections, discuss the subject thoroughly and come to some definite agreement. Once this is done, I see no reason why hostility and antagonism should remain against one another. My friendly advice to the missionaries is to abandon their old imperialistic attitude. The times have now changed. They have got to take the Indians into confidence and work together on equal status. There is no other way.

SETH W. HOWARD.

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

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## NOTES.

**Gharpure's Hindu Law Texts:**—Gibbon has left on record his feelings after writing the last pages of his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Principal J. R. Gharpure of the Poona Law College would have experienced similar feelings on the completion of the series on Hindu Law Texts that began in 1909. The last volume now issued is the twenty-ninth. In a Foreword to one of the Hindu Law Commentaries published in another series, Sir Sivaswami Aiyar remarked that the old texts were of not much use now as most points of Hindu law have now become settled by decisions of the Courts. Principal Gharpure in his valuable introduction on the evolution of Hindu law in the present volume, shows that this is not altogether right. The early British Indian Courts had Pandits attached to them to assist them in administering Hindu law. These Pandits interpreted the texts with due regard to usage and tradition, and their opinions met with general acceptance. Mr. Gharpure evidently does not attach importance to the allegation that the Pandits were corrupt. But later British Indian judges began themselves to have recourse to the texts (often in English translations) and the result was what came to be known as Anglo-Hindu Law and not Hindu Law as it should have been. Principal Gharpure in a comparative study appended to his volume brings out the divergences between the Hindu Law as it was and Hindu law as interpreted by the British Indian Courts. Now that a Committee is framing a Hindu Code (Mr. Gharpure is one of its members) there is an opportunity to restore the Hindu law to its original purport.

**Kasturba Memorial Fund:**—It is a pity that the Kasturba Memorial Fund should have given occasion to controversy which might and should have been avoided. The New Delhi correspondent of the *London Times* who generally reflects the opinion of official circles in such matters, would seem to have suggested that Gandhiji by accepting the chairmanship of the Kasturba Memorial Trust might have hoped to revive interest in the Congress which, according to the correspondent, has waned in the country. He seems also to have suggested that Gandhiji's association was needed to stimulate contributions to the Fund. Mr. A. V. Thakkar, General Secretary of the Fund, has issued an indignant protest against the insinuation that Gandhiji, in accepting the chairmanship of the Fund, was actuated by a desire to revive interest in the Congress. He points out that the

promoters of the Memorial Fund had expressed the hope at its very inception that after the termination of his detention Gandhiji would be in a position to function as chairman of the Trust. Mr. Thakkar next denies that it was necessary to have Gandhiji as chairman in order to stimulate the collection of contributions to the Fund. He is sure that even without Gandhiji's association 75 lakhs would be collected easily by October when Gandhiji's birthday falls. Lastly, he emphatically repudiates the suggestion that Gandhiji had in view the stimulation of Congress activities in accepting the Chairmanship. "In spite of my experience of wanton misrepresentation of Mahatma Gandhi in the past," he writes, "I was not prepared for this particular hit below the belt so soon after Gandhiji's release on medical grounds." Gandhiji could not possibly have had an ulterior motive in accepting the chairmanship. At the same time, he must have anticipated and sought to avoid the likelihood of his motives being misunderstood and the consequences of such misunderstanding on the Memorial Fund as well as the Congress with which he has come to be identified, when he showed himself reluctant as Mr. Thakkar says, to assume the chairmanship. The promoters of the Kasturba Memorial would have done well to have submitted to Gandhiji's judgment which in such matters is unerring, owing to his wide and varied experience of public life. Besides Gandhiji though released is not yet in a position to function as Chairman of the Trust and being a figurehead would not be his idea of being the principal Trustee. He went into a fortnight's silence last Sunday to spare himself the importunity of admirers who have no thought but for their own gratification at exchanging a few words with Gandhiji.

**Another Executive Councillor:**—The Committee of the All India Manufacturers' Organization has telegraphed to the Viceroy expressing satisfaction at the work being done in the different Departments for postwar planning, and recommending the creation of a new portfolio for co-ordinating their results and the entrusting of it to an eminent Indian industrialist enjoying the complete confidence of the Indian public. The departmental work which has evoked the satisfaction of the Committee is yet a matter largely of surmise. Government seem to have already decided to appoint another Member to the Viceroy's Council. The choice, we fancy, will be guided more by communal claims than by personal qualifications. There are among industrialists men who are capable of taking a whole view of national life. But not all industrialists belong to this category. The selection should not be made on the ground solely of industrial prominence. Having regard to the conditions besetting India's economic future, it is likely that more can be done by Indian leaders bringing pressure to bear on Government in any department than becoming parts of the Government themselves. Responsibility will be put upon

the Indian Member for policies framed in London. In that event the Indian Member for Co-ordination may be found functioning as the mouthpiece of Mr. Amery.

**Distinction without Difference :—**The Private Secretary to the Maharaja of Baroda in a message to the Press denies that Sir V. T. Krishnamacharya resigned the Dewanship. He has, he says, only availed himself of the leave due to him preliminary to retirement. This is a distinction without a difference. Sir Krishnamacharya does not wish any longer to be responsible for the administration of Baroda. From the reference to the overwhelming loss it means to the State, in the Maharaja's tribute accompanying the contradiction, it is clear that His Highness would have tried his best to persuade him to continue in the office. Any attempt to blur the issue which has led to this situation, is a distinct disservice to the highest public interests. The new Dewan, whoever he may be, must first disentangle the legal knot created by the Baroda Monogamy Act. In its very first comment the *Reformer* foresaw that great difficulty would be experienced in finding a worthy successor to Sir Krishnamacharya. If we refer to the fantastic rumours that Sir Maurice Gwyer, lately Chief Justice of India, is being thought of in this connection, it is only to point out that the prestige of the highest Court of Justice in the country will be seriously lowered if it comes to be thought that the Judges on retirement may take service in some province or State on whose disputes it is the principal function of the Supreme Federal Court to adjudicate.

**Punjab Politics :—**The Muslim Committee of Action met this week in Delhi and summoned the Punjab Premier to attend and answer the charge of violating the creed of the League by refusing to change the name of his party as required by Mr. Jinnah. The Premier declined the invitation. His answer to the indictment against him was to appoint two new Ministers in the place of Captain Shaukat Hyat Khan dismissed by the Governor. The two new Ministers are both landlords and also Pirs, that is, religious preceptors. The *Tribune* notes that both are bald-headed. Sir Mahomed Jamal Khan has the smallest constituency in the world, consisting of nine Tumandars. He has also the distinction of having sat twenty-five years in the provincial legislature, the last seven years on the front Government bench, without making a single speech. He owns one hundred and twenty thousand acres. The other Minister, Major Ashiq Hussain, is the son-in-law of Nawabzada Liaqut Hussain, elder brother of the late Sir Sikandar Hyat, and General Secretary of the Muslim League who issued the ultimatum to the Punjab Premier. Interviewed soon after they were sworn into office, the two Ministers said that they believed the Jinnah-Sikander Pact was alive and they stood by it and the pledge which the Premier had given to the non-Muslims. The Khizr Hyat Cabinet has thus been strengthened by the addition of two Ministers instead of the one who had been dismissed.

**Kanheri Caves :—**The *Free Press Journal* published last week the impending sale of the site of the famous Kanheri Caves near Bombay, to an Arab pearl merchant by the present owners, the firm of Sassoons. These caves, Buddhist in origin, are a remarkable feat of engineering skill. Particularly the supply of fresh water to every one of the one hundred and twenty cells in the group has astonished modern engineers. The caves contain valuable inscriptions dating from the fourth century and even earlier. They have also been regarded as Hindu shrines. When the Portuguese acquired Bombay and Salsette, they converted the principal cave into a cathedral. There is a tradition that the caves are joined by an underground tunnel to some distant city

in the North. A Roman Catholic monk who undertook to explore the tunnel found after going seven miles that the darkness and stuffiness prevented further progress. The site of the caves has passed through several hands since the last century. The caves themselves are protected monuments but the surroundings are liable to be built upon or otherwise used so as to mar the historical importance of the caves. The only way of preventing this is for Government to acquire the site. Some years ago when there was a proposal to remove the Bombay University outside the city, the site of the caves was considered as most suitable for the location of a University. The Buddha Society of Bombay has passed a resolution urging Government and the public to prevent the contemplated sale.

**Autonomy in the Soviet Union :—**In February Stalin startled the world by promulgating a constitutional amendment permitting each of the sixteen Soviet republics to have independent international relations and sign treaties with foreign powers, and giving them the right of secession from the U. S. S. R. The Red Army was to be converted into sixteen federal republican armies each with a Commissar of Defence. This announcement had immediate repercussions in this country. It was seized upon as a model admirably suited to India. Irving Brant writing in the *New Republic* (February 28) analyses the situation in relation to the Moscow Government and the component republics and shows that the new order will be very little different from the present one and that Stalin was confident that the sixteen republics will never think, can never think, of exercising the powers conferred on them against the interests of the Soviet Union. The reason is, in the words of Irving Brant, that when a socialist system is fully established as it is in Soviet Union, the political forces engendered by it are centripetal. The capitalist order, on the other hand, engenders centrifugal forces and the writer is sure that the promulgation of a constitutional change similar to that introduced in the U. S. S. R. in the United States would mean instant disintegration. In India where there are several other factors promoting centrifugal tendencies, not the least of which is the policy of the British Indian Government, the right of secession which Nationalist Muslims have postulated in the future Indian constitution, will be a thousand times more disastrous than in the United States. Brant suggests that the main object of the Russian move is to attract and facilitate the voluntary entrance of European States into the Soviet Union.

**The Dominions Conference :—**At the conclusion of the Dominions Premiers Conference, a statement signed by the members has been released. The five signatories are Mr. Churchill, Field Marshall Smuts, Mr. Peter-Frazer, Mr. John Curtin and Mr. Mackenzie King. India's two representatives and the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia associated themselves with the five Premiers. There have been reports that an attempt would be made to settle Indian political and constitutional problems through the intervention of the Dominions Premiers. Evidently the point has not even been considered. This is fortunate. Though there still exists a feeling in Indian political circles that it would be preferable to continue India's connection with Britain, which have pursued reactionary policies towards India present a serious obstacle. Sir Feroze Khan Noon's utterances at the Conference were fulsome in the extreme. He seems to have been overwhelmed at the dignity conferred on him. The Five Premiers' statement is a record of congratulations, goodwill messages and unity resolutions. It does not seem to bear any relation to what actually took place at the discussions.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, May 20, 1944.

### INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE.

The International Labour Office which held its 26th annual Conference at Philadelphia, has drawn up minimum demands for Labour regarding employment and conditions of work. The demands are called the Social Charter and the intention is that they should be incorporated in the Peace Treaties after the war. The approach is naturally along the lines of Western Democratic thought. Whatever contribution the totalitarian systems have to make to Labour problems was not made at the Philadelphia Conference. The Axis powers were unrepresented and Soviet Russia chose not to take part in the deliberations because the I. L. O. is an offshoot of the League of Nations. The reason is not valid since Russia has been in the League of Nations herself and will be in it if it is revived after the war. The more likely reason is that Soviet Russia felt disinclined to participate in a conference in which all the other members would represent a different politico-economic system to the one she has evolved. The central feature of the Social Charter is the recognition of Government's obligations to the worker. The first Workers' State as Soviet Russia claims to be, cannot without hypocrisy join in discussions designed to fix the extent of Government's responsibilities to workers. Had it joined and had it subscribed to the Charter, then the question for Russia would have been how to relax Government control not how to enforce it.

This difference between Stalin's Russia and other nations appears clearly in the decision to guarantee freedom of association and collective bargaining. Russia's chief advantage at the peace conference will be her ability to put through trade agreements without considering the views of workers' organisations or consulting trade unions. The right of collective bargaining includes the right to strike. This right has been contested by the Soviet Government. There are other Governments which have opposed it. The Philippines ruled out both strikes and lock-outs and enforced arbitration by the State in all employer-employee disputes. The Congress Government in Bombay followed the Philippine lead in adopting the Trade Disputes Act. President Roosevelt has taken the same line as a wartime emergency. Of all these States, Russia's position is the strongest. Since it recognizes the right to work, it can refuse to allow strikes. The right to strike is peculiar to the system which evolved under *laissez faire*. The I. L. O. Charter involves a departure from economic thought in capitalist countries in so far as it contemplates a large measure of State control. It seeks to do this while retaining all the workers' rights under the old system. But before it is finally adopted by the international organisation which replaces the League of Nations, it will undergo modification. A State which guarantees work to all its citizens, cannot be expected to give them as well the right not to work. The weakness of the I. L. O. Charter lies in its failure to recognize the workers' obligations to the State.

Apart from this the Charter lays down certain broad principles in regard to standards of employment and minimum wages. It provides for an annual review and for special conferences during times of economic depression. The Mandates Commission after the last war had similar provisions but they failed to yield results. Unless an international standard is evolved it is not possible to enforce standards on nations. The difficulties of

arriving at an international standard are great. There are differences between nation and nation in matters like the size and composition of the family which bear vitally on employment standards. How are they to be adjusted? Labour Conferences, moreover, are dominated by industrially-developed countries. Their delegates oppose any lowering of living conditions in their own countries which are built up on foreign markets. The United Nations are now indulging in a scramble for post-war markets and, in that atmosphere, the more industrialised feel it is necessary that some countries be kept undeveloped.

### THE ATLANTIC CHARTER.

Mr. Winston Churchill in his speeches on post-war policies has stressed his confidence in the semi-permanence of Anglo-American understanding. The British Premier is famous for the rhetorical firmness with which he grasps nettles. His confidence itself rouses suspicion. Something seemed wrong when he went out of his way to say in the Commons debate on Commonwealth policy that in all their negotiations, he and President Roosevelt had always kept in mind the advisability of respecting the preserves of the countries and the political systems they represented. Mr. Churchill said:

At my very first meeting with President Roosevelt in Newfoundland at the time of the so-called Atlantic Charter and before the U. S. A. entered the war, I asked for the insertion of the following words in the Atlantic Charter which can be read in that document, "with due respect for their existing obligations."... We were no more committed to the abolition of imperial preference than the American Government was committed to the abolition of its protective tariffs.

He said, moreover, that President Roosevelt had given him a specific assurance to this effect before they adopted the Mutual Aid agreement.

If this is the basis of Anglo-American agreement and understanding, they are being subjected to severe strain now—hardly a fortnight after Mr. Churchill's optimistic and somewhat thoughtless boast in the Commons. The American press has been agitating for a modification of some clauses in the Atlantic Charter ever since discussions on an international monetary agreement commenced. Mr. Beasley who represented Australia at the I. L. O. Conference at Philadelphia, uttered a strong protest against America's failure to shoulder responsibility. He attacked the United States' refusal to commit itself to a policy of maintaining high employment and consumption of goods. Though the British representative spoke up for the U. S. amendment, the I. L. O. Conference adopted Australia's resolution. London has been agitating for some time against America's high tariffs. Mr. Cordell Hull first reminded the world that the Atlantic Charter was not a legal document. London is now asserting that no member state of the Allies is bound by the Charter.

While the two countries which took the initiative in putting out the Atlantic Charter and in inducing other nations to subscribe to it, are now themselves feeling it an encumbrance, it is being attacked from other quarters. Russia under Stalin declared its adherence to the Charter after a long delay. Now there are suggestions in the controlled press in Soviet Russia that there should be modifications in the Charter in the light of subsequent talks at Moscow, Cairo and Teheran. Russia's claim rests on more reasonable grounds than those of Britain and the U. S. A. The "existing obligations" of Russia before the war were nil. Britain had given Poland full support and Poland had denied herself any benefits she might derive from Soviet assistance



When Russia marched into the eastern part of Poland as soon as the Nazis struck a fatal blow at Poland, she did it against the wishes of the Polish Government exiled to London. Nevertheless, Poland has been delivered of the Nazi invaders by Russia today and a new situation has arisen which the Free Polish Government refuses to recognize. It is significant that Dr. Edouard Benes, President of Czechoslovakia, who was prevented by the attitude of France and Britain during the Munich 1938 negotiations from taking Soviet aid, has now accepted the fact that Eastern and Central Europe has to depend on Russia. Yet Poland hesitates. The sanctity of "existing obligations" precludes Russia from asserting her views in matters relating to the British Empire and to U. S. A.'s traditional sphere of influence in South America. But it does not place a complementary ban on Britain and the U. S. A. intervening in Polish politics. We print this week an article which protests against the manner in which Russia has asserted her claims with regard to Poland while supporting the rightness of those claims. The objection is untenable. So long as Britain and America are bargaining in politics and economics to withhold certain questions from an international settlement, they cannot rightly object to Russia adopting a similar method.

The Atlantic Charter has already collapsed as a document embodying certain fundamental principles of settlement. The question arises what is to take its place. The recognition of separate spheres of influence for the Great Powers is an unsound approach to a world order based on justice and equity. It has been the basis so long and it has led to wars. Mr. Churchill at the Dominions Conference has busied himself with plans for reviving the League of Nations in a different and perverted form. In it the greatest "responsibilities" are to be borne by the most powerful nations. The meaning of this is sinister. The old League of Nations was, when everything has been said against it, at least a recognition of equality in the international sphere between nation and nation. The Churchill plan is built on a "realistic" outlook. It recognises inequality and so perpetuates it. It is a scheme which ignores the small nations. That does not count. What matters is that it causes disharmony among the Great Powers and sows the seeds of future wars and conflicts. Mr. Churchill has expressed his conviction that a world understanding can be developed without sacrificing individual national and imperial interests. History is against this conception. The emptiness of Mr. Churchill's policies is being exposed.

#### LATE MR. RAMASWAMI SASTRY.

We regret to record the death of Mr. V. S. Ramaswamy Sastry, Information Officer and Special Press Adviser to the Government of Madras. Ramaswamy was connected for nearly twenty-five years with the *Hindu* of Madras and that journal in its notice of his death pays a high tribute to his services to it in the days when it had not reached its present dominant position in the Indian Press. On his retirement from journalism, the Government of Madras chose him to be its special public relations office with the Press. According to all accounts, he discharged the duties of the office with admirable tact and good sense. It is due to his modesty and retiring temperament that he did not come prominently in the public eye. Much of the good work of the journalist has necessarily to be hidden from the public view. Ramaswamy Sastry's services to the public were, in their own sphere, as valuable as that of men whose lot is cast in spheres which involve greater publicity. The journalist's function is to provide publicity for others while himself remaining out of public view.

#### ST. AUGUSTINE AND MARX.

The first place in the current number of the Journal of the Benares Hindu University is given to an essay by Professor S. V. Puntambekar on the large number of similarities presented by St. Augustine and Karl Marx in their approach to and conceptions about the necessity, origin, nature and function of the State. Except that St. Augustine gave the central place in his philosophy to God and Marx to Mammon, there is according to Professor Puntambekar's showing, very little, difference between the methods of the two men. To both there is a pre-political stage of society and a post-political state which is non-political and the best. According to them the political process is not co-extensive with the history of man or human society. It starts at a certain stage when there comes into existence greed and private property which makes for man's fall, and it ends when that greed or self-love in the sense of private property is removed by a process of mental conflicts leading to conquest of the spiritual over the sensual, or by a social revolution created by class warfare leading to a communistic society. We have taken this summary of the ideas of the origin and nature of the political State from Professor Puntambekar's essay. We do not know if and how far it is a correct statement. It rather goes against our impression that the State in its origin was for protection against aggression by outsiders rather than for the protection of private property. There were certainly kings before there were thieves. This seems to be established by the cruel punishments such as amputation of hands prescribed as punishment for the offence of stealing. Such punishments, in the history of penology are inflicted chiefly for crimes which deeply outraged a moral order accepted and practised by society as its law of life. It is impossible to determine when men became greedy but we find it difficult to believe that private property had its origin in greed. Even the Hebrew Prophets and Jesus Christ who denounced the rich in unmeasured terms, did not object to private property but only to the depriving the poor, by deceitful means or by coercion, of their smaller possessions. The widow possessed a mite which she threw into the charity-box in the temple. In fact, we can think of no religion which does not recognise the right of private property and denounce stealing as a cardinal sin. This is no doubt the reason why Communists are against religion as being the opiate of the people. Professor Puntambekar understands the golden rule which, by the way, was not first promulgated by Christ, to mean that no one should have more possessions than his neighbour, as the same idea as that of the Nicene creed that in the life of the world to come all will produce in common and share in equity. Professor Puntambekar equates the Nicene creed with the Marxian maxim of from each according to his ability, to each according to his need. Neither St. Augustine nor Marx excluded force from the means to be used to convert men to their views. Their ideal society was to be imposed on those who refused to come within its fold. The Professor writes:

Both wanted to release mankind from the narrow and selfish bonds of private property, or class or race interests, and state loyalty and put them on the higher plane of common love, joint property and human loyalty.

Marxism, according to Professor Puntambekar's reasoning, is but St. Augustine's doctrine in a materialistic garb. Protestant Christianity has perhaps recognised this and has reconciled itself to the Marxian gospel. The Catholic Church, however, is bitterly opposed to Marxism notwithstanding the close analogy it bears to the teachings of one of its Fathers.

### THE RUSSO-POLISH CONFLICT.

R. D. ALFREDSON writes in *Worldover Press* :—

The dispute over the unilateral establishment of Poland's eastern boundary by Russia seems in some ways more important than any news reaching us from the battle-fronts. It raises anew the whole question of boundaries in Europe, particularly in the East. It brings up a question of fundamental principle which cannot be ignored—whether unilateral decisions based on the will of the strongest are to be accepted or rejected.

Historically, Russia's claims are justified. The Paris Conference of 1919 established the eastern frontiers of Poland on a line known subsequently as the Curzon line. Pilsudski, then leader of the Poles, did not accept the decision but in 1920 launched a military campaign against Russia with the help of the reactionary Ukrainian separatists. He succeeded in advancing as far as Kiev, in the Ukraine, but was finally beaten back. The Treaty of Riga in March, 1921, settled the border question in Poland's favour. Russia was too weak to continue the fight and Poland had behind her the support of the French. Moscow had to accept the Riga decision, which cost her 87,000 square miles of territory and 6 million Russian souls. Now the tables are turned, and Russia dismisses the Riga decision and reverts to the decision of the Paris Conference which had the approval of the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Curzon, and the American Under-Secretary of State, Mr. Polk. History is on Russia's side.

Add to this the political facts. Poland during the period of her post-world-war existence was a dictatorial country. The Polish dictatorship was thoroughly reactionary. The "Colonels' Clique" which took over after the death of Pilsudski, was characterized by militant anti-Semitism and brutal oppression of Ukrainian and White Russian minorities and politically progressive groups in the country. In foreign affairs the regime was pro-German, even pro-Nazi, and actively anti-Russian. This policy reached its culminating point with the stab in the back of Czechoslovakia after Munich in September, 1938, and the occupation of the Teschen territory by the Polish army.

The Warsaw regime protected the big landowners and the aristocracy and neglected the social and economic rights of the rural and industrial workers almost entirely. In this respect Poland was one of the most backward countries in the world.

After the Polish people's heroic but unsuccessful defence of their country against the Nazis in 1939, a new Polish government was set up in Paris. This government was extremely conservative. Some of its members had even been among the former leading reactionaries. The situation remained unsatisfactory. In the army, consisting of about 100,000 soldiers, militant anti-Semitism was and is commonplace.

Thus history and politics justify Russia's claims. There remains, however, the question of principle, which is not likely to be answered by the present Polish issue. It is unfortunate that it was over Poland that the question arose, for in this case Russia has cogent arguments on her side. But none the less, these factors give Russia no right to take unilateral decisions and to execute them by force. If we accept these decisions without protest, the hope for a real settlement after this war dwindles, and we must prepare for a peace based upon the ancient assumption that might makes right.

### THE NEW RUSSIAN ENIGMA.

IRVING BRAND writes in the *New Republic*:—

The Soviet Union has a penchant for surprising the world. It did so most effectively with its February 1 constitutional amendment permitting each of the sixteen Soviet republics to have independent international relations and sign treaties with foreign powers. Coupled with this was a decision to convert the Red Army into sixteen federated republican armies, each with a commissar of defense. Taken in connection with the constitutional right of secession, these steps looked to many Americans as if Stalin was gambling for high international stakes, even risking the dissolution of the Union for the ends in view.

Since it is axiomatic that the Soviet leaders have no intention of weakening or dissolving the USSR, it is necessary to ask why they think it is safe to take these steps. In my opinion there are three reasons.

*First.* The new autonomy does not extend to economic affairs or to the Communist Party, which directs government and industry throughout the Soviet Union. The sixteen republics will continue to have a centralized socialistic economy directed from Moscow. The directing force will continue to be a political party headed either by a dictator or by a small governing body made self-perpetuating by its control of the pyramided soviets below it. As long as centralized socialism exists, those who direct it will control all of the regional governments. Any international move contrary to the will of the Supreme Soviet, any refusal of military cooperation, any attempt to exercise the right of secession, will be branded as counter-revolutionary. The government that attempts it will be removed at once, either by party action or military power.

Great Russia—the RSFSR—contains 110,000,000 people against 81,000,000 in the pre-1940 Ukrainian SSR and 6,000,000 in the third largest, Uzbek. Successful counter-revolution in the lesser republics is impossible except as an incident to foreign wars. Counter-revolution in Great Russia does not depend on regional rights, and its secession would not be secession, but expulsion of the others.

*Second.* The Soviet Union has pursued so broad and tolerant a policy in regard to national minorities that only the fire of war was needed to cement them into an apparently indissoluble union. This unity existed or at least I had the feeling that it did, before the war for on returning to the United States in September, 1939, after visiting Russia in July, I wrote the following to a high executive of our government:

"The thing that most impressed me in Russia was that the country was stronger defensively than it was credited with being..... Two other (than the army and heavy industry) sources of strength are the improved food situation and the absence of nationalist separatist movements. The Soviet policy of toleration toward non-Russian national minorities is paying dividends. It is only in the light of these facts that present Russian policy can be appraised. Russia has shifted from a policy based on weakness to one based on strength.....and feels strong enough to stand alone against Hitler after Germany has been weakened by the campaign in the west.

*Third.* When a socialist system is fully established, as it in the Soviet Union, the political forces engendered by it are centripetal. They tend to draw the parts together by making them mutually interdependent, by dissolving sectional and racial economic rivalries and by turning individual rivalries into a competition for place and power inside the organized state economy. This contrasts strongly, and in a manner totally foreign to American experience, with the centrifugal force engendered by our competitive capitalism, out of which

come intense sectional jealousies and the constant need to strike down state laws in the federal courts.

Taking account of these three factors, it appears that Stalin and company see no internal hazard whatever in the grant of sovereignty they are making to the individual republics. With no centrifugal force operating in the economic field, Russia feels able to take steps safely which, if taken in the United States, would revive on a larger scale the lament of George Washington in 1780: "I see one head gradually changing into thirteen. I see one army branching into thirteen.....I see the powers of Congress declining..... and am fearful of the consequences of it."

How great will these grants seem to the sixteen Russian republics? Probably very slight additions to an autonomy which they regard as national but is cultural only.

The right of the Ukraine to deal with foreign nations and to have a commissar of defense for Ukrainian armies must appear as a moderate but pleasing extension of national privileges. The first effect is to fortify that "friendship of the Soviet peoples" about which Russians are always orating but which has back of it, in addition to sentiment, a firm federal structure on multi-national lines, with an all-powerful economic and political dictatorship at the centre. For the fourteen lesser republics, the new international system may be more significant as a matter of national privilege, but even less so as a factor of power. In all of them, the one unmistakable purpose and assured effect is to strengthen the spirit of voluntary union, without noticeably lessening the compulsory ties. The change for the Red Army is slight. It is already organized, for convenience and morale, along racial and language lines, and these substantially coincide with the various republics, except in the Siberian maze. It avoids a multi-lingual requirement in officers and men.

What conclusions can be drawn from this analysis of the relationship of Soviet reorganization to the multi-national state and centralized economic control?

It is evident first of all that state socialism, managed by a strong central government, is looked upon as permanent in Russia. Its abandonment would bring into play the centrifugal force of competitive capitalism and would leave only the military power of the main Russian republic, and the sense of common danger and devotion to "Mother Russia," to hold the Soviet Union together. Such a reliance might prove sufficient. But if there were any thought of moving toward it, the present changes would not be made. They would be too dangerous.

Next, the move confirms the belief I expressed in "Road to Peace and Freedom," that Soviet Russia would not seek to bring a communized Germany into the USSR. My statement that "the entrance of Germany into the Soviet Union would be like a man swallowing a cannon ball" would apply with multiplied valid to a system in which Germany, thus incorporated, would have a separated army and independent foreign relations.

The final definite conclusion is that Soviet Russia has no intention of entering upon a policy of expansion by military force outside the boundaries of the old Russian empire. A system of autonomy as complete as this one does not fit subjugated countries, nor countries in process of transition to socialism, for in the latter the vertical cleavages of the class struggle accentuate the centrifugal force of "free enterprise." If Russia were planning the absorption of Europe by force, every diplomatic move that could cause uneasiness would be avoided until the war was over and the Allied armies had gone home.

As a tentative conclusion, it may be doubted that the step is being taken to give the Soviet Union sixteen votes at the peace table or in a world organization. That would put it on the level of a crude trick, which a nation as powerful as Russia has no

need to employ, and which would cost more in lowered prestige and confidence than it would gain in voting power. At the same time, it might be exceedingly useful to Stalin when he comes to discuss the single or multiple status of the British Commonwealth of Nations in a world body. Its most probable use in that respect is an argument for some agreed ration of multiple votes for Russia, the British nations, the United States and China in the postwar organization—but only as a by-product of the plan, not as the motive for its adoption.

Finally, we come to the most important conclusion of all, but it can only be stated as a question. Is the move intended to facilitate the voluntary entrance of European states into the Soviet Union?

#### LATE PROFESSOR J. B. PRATT.

The news of the death of Professor James Bissett Pratt, Professor of Philosophy in Williamstown College, was received last week. In him India has lost a sincere and understanding friend who by his writings and personal influence did much to spread a just estimate of this country and her people and their culture among a wide circle in the United States. Two years ago he had one of his legs amputated owing to some defect of blood circulation. Nevertheless he intended to pay a third visit to this country when he had his furlough at the end of seven years, according to the practice followed by important American Universities. His book "India and Its Faiths" is the best and most informing work on the subject by a non-Indian. It has often been quoted in *The Reformer*. His book on Buddhism in Eastern Asia of which he made a deep and detailed study, is an authoritative work embodying the results of the latest research. His earlier work on "The Psychology of Religious Belief" was a valuable supplement to William James' "Variety of Religious Experience." In his "What is Pragmatism?" also he followed up the trend of William James' philosophy. He was a warm personal friend and took much interest in the *The Reformer*. The last we heard of him was from a gentleman in Williamstown whose son is serving somewhere in India. We convey our sincere sympathy to Mrs Pratt and Miss Pratt in their bereavement.

#### KASTURBA'S LAST ARREST.

Many tributes have been paid to Kasturba Gandhi. One of the best is that which is published in the April *Bulletin*, the monthly review issued by the National Council of Women in India. The following on the last arrest of Kasturba Gandhi is given for the first time in the course of this tribute. The writer (name not given) says :

When she was to enter an Indian prison for the last time I happened to be present. She was just her sweet gentle self putting her simple belongings together when the Police Officer arrived. Ba wanted to go and give Bapu's message at the great Shivaji Park meeting which had been announced the day before. The proceedings of the arrest were the strangest imaginable. The massive looking Officer joined his hands together (of course he was an Indian) and with downcast eyes asked Ba if she would stay in the house or go to the meeting—"What was her Hookum?" He seemed uncomfortable that a small being like him should have a hulky massive body whilst somebody so big as Ba should be housed in a body so small and fragile. Ba promptly looked up with her sweet smile and said, "I am going to the meeting." The Officer looked still more uncomfortable and said, "Then will you please come in the car with me and I shall take you to Bapu." That was Ba's arrest. At once a younger member of the Ashram wrote on a piece of paper, "*Kareng or Mareng*" and wanted to pin it on her blouse. Ba with a gentle movement pushed her hand aside and said with a smile, "These things are not for me."

# R

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

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## NOTES.

**Gandhiji's Letter to Dr. Jayakar:**—It was announced some days ago by Gandhiji's Secretary, Mr. Pyare Lal, that Gandhiji has written to three Indian Members of His Majesty's Privy Council, Srinivasa Sastri, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Dr. M. R. Jayakar, requesting them to inform him of their views on the present situation. One of these letters, that to Dr. Jayakar, was published in a Bombay weekly journal in a garbled form. Mr. Pyare Lal, therefore, has issued for publication the correct version of the letter to Dr. Jayakar. It is as follows:

JUHU, 20-5-44: Dear Dr. Jayakar. The country expects much from me. I do not know how you feel about this release. I am not at all happy. I feel even ashamed. I should not have fallen ill. I tried not to, but failed at length. I feel that they will imprison me as soon as I am declared free from the present weakness. And if they do not arrest me, what can I do? I can not withdraw the August resolution. As you have very properly said it is innocuous. You may differ about the sanction. It is the breath of life for me. I am silent till the 29th. Meanwhile, shall I send Pyare Lal to you? That too depends upon your health. I know you are none too well. Yours sincerely. (sd) M. K. Gandhi.

Any sane person reading this letter will see that it is as an outlet for the agony of the spirit which Gandhiji is experiencing as the result of his illness and sudden release. We are sure Dr. Jayakar would have understood this. His reply is not published. But the *Times of India* has taken upon itself to deliver a portentous homily which is as impertinent as it is irrelevant. The *Times* interprets Gandhiji's perplexity as to what he should do if he is not rearrested on recovering from his ill-health as a request for advice as to the course of conduct he should pursue and undertakes to answer the question for Dr. Jayakar. It advises Gandhiji to understand the significance of the recent happenings in the Muslim League. We do not know how the *Times* understands them. But to us they portend the imminent break-up of the Jinnah regime. THE key province of the League, the Punjab, has repudiated his authority. There is a steady drift of Muslim opinion away from Pakistan and Mr. Jinnah. As for the Congress itself, the release of Gandhiji, whatever may be the reason assigned, has strengthened the Government position with the large section of the

public which has been observing a sort of Turkish neutrality between Government and the Congress. Gandhiji's expectation that he will be rearrested on completing his convalescence is a piece of wishful thinking. Sarojini Naidu, and others who were similarly released have not been rearrested although they are apparently in good health now. Gandhiji if rearrested would fall ill again and will have to be released. It is perfectly clear that detention even in palatial surroundings is detrimental to his health. Mr. Amery's reply to a casual enquiry was non-committal. Gandhiji has taken it to mean that he will be rearrested if he recovers. Government would be losing the advantage they have gained if they put Gandhiji back in the Aga Khan's palace as soon as his pulse and blood pressure return to normal. For the present, Gandhiji's only duty is to get well.

**Scheduled Caste Converts:**—Among the measures adopted to ameliorate the backward condition of the depressed classes of Hindus, were stipends to children of these classes in educational institutions. These were given avowedly to help children suffering disabilities due to their social inferiority as members of the Hindu community. This and other special concessions to the depressed classes were bound to have an adverse effect on mass conversions to Christianity on which foreign missions in India are now obliged to concentrate, owing to the difficulty of securing converts from among caste Hindus. An agitation was set up to have the concessions given the scheduled caste extended to converts from these castes. The United Provinces Government, among others, conceded this demand notwithstanding that it amounts to a demand to subsidise conversions. But in order to make sure that the stipends would go to children of parents converted from the depressed classes, Government required in the application form a statement of the castes from which the child or its parents were converted. This was acquiesced in for the time being. But recently Government was requested to omit this requirement. Government has agreed. The stipends are to be given, according to the *Indian Christian Missionary*, to children of Indian Christians "who are socially and economically as backward as the scheduled castes". The proselyter claims by conversion to remove at least the social backwardness of the scheduled castes. Now it is admitted, though not in so many words, that conversion does little to redeem the converts from social backwardness and this has to be effected as in the case of the depressed classes of Hindus by secular concessions at the public expense. In other words, the general population has to pay for the uplift of persons who changed their religion under the promise that their apostasy would be rewarded by social advancement. It is the duty of the State to look after all its backward classes but what exactly is the benefit derived from the formality of persuading a Hindu to call himself a Christian?

**Caste Panchayat as Political Committee:—**

The expulsion of Malik Khizr Hayat Khan, the Premier of the Punjab, from the Muslim League by the Committee of Action brings out clearly the thinly veiled fact that our political parties are but the old caste Panchayats or Jamats of Muslim Sects in a modern garb. In this respect there is little to choose between the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha or the Congress for that matter. In each of these bodies there is a semi-ecclesiastical dictator, with his college of cardinals and any deviation from the *bukum* of the leaders is visited by excommunication with bell, book and candle. The progress of education and notions of individual freedom has discredited the caste Panchayat but it has reappeared in the garb of political party management. Malik Khizr Hayat Khan with the two Pirs lately added to his Cabinet may retaliate by launching a bull of excommunication against Nawabzada Liaquat Khan and even the Quad-i-Azam. The long statement issued by the Nawabzada proclaiming the expulsion of the Malik Sahib is merely a recital of well-known facts. Nothing new is said in justification of the excommunication except that the Malik Sahib has defied the authority of the Muslim League. The Malik has said that as a Muslim and follower of the Prophet he would not break a solemn pledge given to non-Muslims. The Committee of Action virtually says that pledge or no pledge Muslim or no Muslim you have got to obey the Party commands and the penalty for disobedience is excommunication. The Malik will no doubt say that he values his soul more than the membership of the League, Malik Khizr Hayat Khan has acted as a man of honour and whatever may be the consequences of the action of the Committee of Action which has involved itself in a great responsibility—the Punjab Premier will pass into history as a man of conscience.

**Oath of Secrecy:—**Every Minister and Member of the Executive Council is required to take the oath of office undertaking among other things not to reveal what happens in the Cabinet or as between the Ministers and the Governor or the Governor-General to any one outside the Government. This is the oath of secrecy. It has always been a puzzle how the Congress Government which, like the Muslim League Ministers, were subject to the control of a Parliamentary Board acquitted themselves of the obligation entailed by this oath. The only way one can think of is that the Ministers first took instructions from their respective Boards as to what advice they should give on all important questions to the Governor, so that the need for any revelation cannot arise. When as in the case of the Punjab Ministers there was friction between the Party and the Cabinet, this is impossible. The Council of Action of the Muslim League demanded of the Punjab Premier that he should communicate to it particulars of the advice which he as Premier tendered to the Governor on the question of the recent dismissal of Captain Shaukat Hayat Khan, Minister of Public Works. Malik Khizr Hayat Khan promptly replied that the oath of secrecy prevented him from giving the information required. Nawabzada Liaquat Khan points out in his reply that, according to Lord Linlithgow whose words he quotes, even when a Governor acts under his special powers, Ministers are entitled to tender their advice and if he does not accept their advice they can publicly declare that his action was not in accordance with their advice. But this was not all that he had asked to be told. He wanted from the Premier "the full facts of the case." We have already expressed the opinion that the dismissal of the Minister under the Governor's special powers is not satisfactorily explained by the facts so far made

public. Nothing has been said to prove that the dismissal of the Lady Superintendent of schools was the outcome of a motive calling for the exercise of the Governor's special power to protect minorities. The fact that the Ministers have not protested against the dismissal but have quietly filled the vacancy caused by the dismissal, shows that they are not in disagreement with the Governor's decision. In fact, it was stated at the time that the Cabinet approved of it.

**Parsis and Pakistan:—**Having regard to the historical background of the Parsis in India, it would surprise outsiders that some prominent members of the community have been in favour of Pakistan for Indian Muslims. Professor P. A. Wadia, President of what is known as "Freedom Group", has publicly revealed this fact which was not mentioned in public except as a surmise. Sir Ghulamhussein Hidayatulla the Sind Premier, at the end of his nine years tenure as a Member of the Bombay Government, became convinced that separate electorates for Muslims was an evil and that salvation lay only in joint electorates. When he became Minister in separated Sind he gave effect to this conviction by introducing joint electorates for Municipal Councils, including the important Karachi Municipal Corporation. Succeeding his murdered chief, Allah Bux as Prime Minister, he made his peace with the Muslim League and agreed to call his Government, Muslim League Government with the consent of his two Hindu colleagues who did not see any principle involved in the change of name so long as the policy followed remained unchanged. As the Muslim League stands for separate electorates, however, Sir Ghulam has adopted separate electorates on a communal basis for the Karachi Corporation. In the distribution of seats under the new arrangement, the Parsis who held four seats have been given a single seat and that in association with the Jews. Professor Wadia has issued a statement to the Press admonishing Parsi supporters of Pakistan for their short-sightedness pointing to the reduction of their representation in Karachi as an earnest of what they can expect in Pakistan. But when did these gentlemen express their intention to migrate to Pakistan?

**A New Portfolio:—**Both the institution of a new portfolio and the selection of a Member of the Government to take charge of it, had been anticipated in the Press. The announcement that Sir Ardeshir Dalal of Tata Sons has been nominated to the Viceroy's Executive Council to be in charge of the Work of Planning and Development "free from ordinary departmental responsibility", has not come as a surprise. Sir Ardeshir was one of the ablest members of the Indian Civil Service and had served in some key posts in the Bombay province before he was picked up by the Tatas as a suitable Director of their manifold concerns. He is one of the signatories to the fifteen year plan of industrialization and his selection by the Government of India has been naturally interpreted as signifying that Government have accepted in principle the plan of which he is one of the sponsors. It was mentioned as part of the Plan that a National Government should be installed in New Delhi as a condition of its successful execution. Sir Jeremy Raisman, the Finance Member of the Government of India, by his friendly attitude to the Plan indicated that the present Government was willing and was competent to undertake the execution of the Plan. Sir Ardeshir by joining the Government practically renounces the position that a National Government is a pre-requisite of the industrialisation of the country on the lines of the Plan. No doubt the present Government may not do more than Planning Development leaving the actual execution to a National Government.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, June 8, 1944.

## REVIVING INTEREST IN BUDDHISM.

One of the noteworthy features of the present day is the revival of interest in Buddha and Buddhism in India. The movement began some thirty years ago and has since been growing. To some extent, it is due to the desire to have as a rallying point a human personality less legendary than the author of the Bhagvad Gita. The Sakyamuni is to a large number of non-Christians a more inspiring figure than Jesus Christ. The fact that Buddhism is the religion of China and Japan has perhaps also a share in reviving the interest in it as a pan Asiatic force. A third reason may well be the tolerant attitude to other religions which Hinduism and Buddhism have uniformly exhibited. The tendency among writers and scholars is to stress the close parallelism between Buddhism and Hinduism. Indian scholars do not admit that Buddhism was expelled from India as Judaism was from Palestine. They maintain that the essence of Buddhism is contained in Hinduism, that post-Buddhist Hinduism is three fourths Buddhism. In a striking article in the *Buddha Prabha*, the official organ of the Buddha Society of Bombay, one of the Honorary Secretaries of the Society, Dr. V. M. Kaikini, summarises an article by Shastri Revashankar Meghji Purohit in the Benares weekly, *Sanskritam*, maintaining that Gautama Buddha was a Vedic Hindu, his protest being limited to the portion of the Vedas favouring animal sacrifice. The Shastri indeed maintains that Buddha saved the Vedas from being interpreted as atheistic. On the much discussed point, whether Buddha believed in God, Professor Subodh Chander Mukerjee's observation in his article in the Benares Hindu University's *Journal*, that prior to the Gita all schools of Hindu philosophy were indifferent to the question, is significant. He writes :

It will be observed that the idea of God is either entirely absent or occupies a very subordinate place in the methods prescribed in the philosophical systems of India. The Samkhya is frankly agnostic; to the Yoga, meditation on God is only one of the methods for acquiring the quiescence of mind (and there are no less than eight such alternative methods, among which figures even the idea of meditation on any object which pleases one), to the Vaisesika and Nyaya, the idea of God is not necessary for attaining liberation; and to the Mimamsa even the gods are bound by the transcendental merit, *apurva*, which arises out of the proper performance of *Yajna*. This idea of God, which is so much neglected by our philosophies, is the central idea of the Bhagavadgita, and round it the whole of the system of the Gita revolves.

Buddha, in not emphasising the existence of God, was thus only following the trend of the six orthodox schools of Hindu philosophy. The Gita, therefore, stands in the same relation to Buddhism as to the orthodox schools of philosophy. In some respects, indeed, it is closer to Buddhism. The term Nirvana is familiar in the Gita (occasionally as *Brahma Nirvana*) and denotes nearly the same idea as in Buddhism.

The *Buddha Prabha* publishes a paper read by Mr. K. A. Padhye, one of the original members of the Buddha Society, before the Oriental Conference held at Benares in December. The subject of the paper is the influence of Mahayana Buddhism on Hinayana Buddhism and Hinduism. The difference between the two schools of Buddhism is that, while the Hinayana is concerned only with the perfection of the individual, the Mahayana envisages the salvation of all beings as the

duty of emancipated souls. The Bodhisatva or the man who having qualified for Nirvana still remains in the world to work for the benefit of others is a Mahayanic concept. The Gita refers to devotees of the Unmanifested as those intent on the good of all beings who attain the same goal as the worshippers of Sri Krishna, though their path is very difficult for human beings. Mahayana Buddhism might have influenced Hinduism but that it itself was the impact of Brahmanical ideas on the Hinayana teaching is evident from the fact that the great Mahayana preachers were Brahmins by birth and wrote in Sanskrit not in Pali. On entry into the Sanyasi stage, all caste distinctions are eliminated among Hindus as among Buddhists. Buddha admitted all castes to his order of monks but the Buddhist laity observed caste as much as Hindus. It is noteworthy that all the patriarchs of Buddhism, beginning from Mahakasyapa who was the immediate successor of Buddha, were Brahmins by descent. There is good ground for Shastri Revashankar's claim that Buddha was a Hindu reformer.

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## PARANJPYE FOR AUSTRALIA.

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**Caste Panchayat as Political Committee:—**

The expulsion of Malik Khizr Hayat Khan, the Premier of the Punjab, from the Muslim League by the Committee of Action brings out clearly the thinly veiled fact that our political parties are but the old caste Panchayats or Jamats of Muslim Sects in a modern garb. In this respect there is little to choose between the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha or the Congress for that matter. In each of these bodies there is a semi-ecclesiastical dictator, with his college of cardinals and any deviation from the bukrum of the leaders is visited by excommunication with bell, book and candle. The progress of education and notions of individual freedom has discredited the caste Panchayat but it has reappeared in the garb of political party management. Malik Khizr Hayat Khan with the two Firs lately added to his Cabinet may retaliate by launching a bull of excommunication against Nawabzada Liaquat Khan and even the Quad-i-Azam. The long statement issued by the Nawabzada proclaiming the expulsion of the Malik Sahib is merely a recital of well-known facts. Nothing new is said in justification of the excommunication except that the Malik Sahib has defied the authority of the Muslim League. The Malik has said that as a Muslim and follower of the Prophet he would not break a solemn pledge given to non-Muslims. The Committee of Action virtually says that pledge or no pledge Muslim or no Muslim you have got to obey the Party commands and the penalty for disobedience is excommunication. The Malik will no doubt say that he values his soul more than the membership of the League, Malik Khizr Hayat Khan has acted as a man of honour and whatever may be the consequences of the action of the Committee of Action which has involved itself in a great responsibility—the Punjab Premier will pass into history as a man of conscience.

**Oath of Secrecy:—**Every Minister and Member of the Executive Council is required to take the oath of office undertaking among other things not to reveal what happens in the Cabinet or as between the Ministers and the Governor or the Governor-General to any one outside the Government. This is the oath of secrecy. It has always been a puzzle how the Congress Government which, like the Muslim League Ministers, were subject to the control of a Parliamentary Board acquitted themselves of the obligation entailed by this oath. The only way one can think of is that the Ministers first took instructions from their respective Boards as to what advice they should give on all important questions to the Governor, so that the need for any revelation cannot rise. When as in the case of the Punjab Ministers there was friction between the Party and the Cabinet, this is impossible. The Council of Action of the Muslim League demanded of the Punjab Premier that he should communicate to it particulars of the advice which he as Premier tendered to the Governor on the question of the recent dismissal of Captain Shaukat Hayat Khan, Minister of Public Works. Malik Khizr Hayat Khan promptly replied that the oath of secrecy prevented him from giving the information required. Nawabzada Liaquat Khan points out in his reply that, according to Lord Litchgow whose words he quotes, even when a Governor acts under his special powers, Ministers are entitled to tender their advice and if he does not accept their advice they can publicly declare that his action was not in accordance with their advice. But this was not all that he had asked to be told. He wanted from the Premier "the full facts of the case." We have already expressed the opinion that the dismissal of the Minister under the Governor's special powers is not satisfactorily explained by the facts so far made

public. Nothing has been said to prove that the dismissal of the Lady Superintendent of schools was the outcome of a motive calling for the exercise of the Governor's special power to protect minorities. The fact that the Ministers have not protested against the dismissal but have quietly filled the vacancy caused by the dismissal, shows that they are not in disagreement with the Governor's decision. In fact, it was stated at the time that the Cabinet approved of it.

**Parsis and Pakistan:—**Having regard to the historical background of the Parsis in India, it would surprise outsiders that some prominent members of the community have been in favour of Pakistan for Indian Muslims. Professor P. A. Wadia, President of what is known as "Freedom Group", has publicly revealed this fact which was not mentioned in public except as a surmise. Sir Ghulamhussein Hidayatulla the Sind Premier, at the end of his nine years tenure as a Member of the Bombay Government, became convinced that separate electorates for Muslims was an evil and that salvation lay only in joint electorates. When he became Minister in separated Sind he gave effect to this conviction by introducing joint electorates for Municipal Councils, including the important Karachi Municipal Corporation. Succeeding his murdered chief, Allah Bux as Prime Minister, he made his peace with the Muslim League and agreed to call his Government, Muslim League Government with the consent of his two Hindu colleagues who did not see any principle involved in the change of name so long as the policy followed remained unchanged. As the Muslim League stands for separate electorates, however, Sir Ghulam has adopted separate electorates on a communal basis for the Karachi Corporation. In the distribution of seats under the new arrangement, the Parsis who held four seats have been given a single seat and that in association with the Jews. Professor Wadia has issued a statement to the Press admonishing Parsi supporters of Pakistan for their short-sightedness pointing to the reduction of their representation in Karachi as an earnest of what they can expect in Pakistan. But when did these gentlemen express their intention to migrate to Pakistan?

**A New Portfolio:—**Both the institution of a new portfolio and the selection of a Member of the Government to take charge of it, had been anticipated in the Press. The announcement that Sir Ardeshir Dalal of Tata Sons has been nominated to the Viceroy's Executive Council to be in charge of the Work of Planning and Development "free from ordinary departmental responsibility", has not come as a surprise. Sir Ardeshir was one of the ablest members of the Indian Civil Service and had served in some key posts in the Bombay province before he was picked up by the Tatas as a suitable Director of their manifold concerns. He is one of the signatories to the fifteen year plan of industrialization and his selection by the Government of India has been naturally interpreted as signifying that Government have accepted in principle the plan of which he is one of the sponsors. It was mentioned as part of the Plan that a National Government should be installed in New Delhi as a condition of its successful execution. Sir Jeremy Raisman, the Finance Member of the Government of India, by his friendly attitude to the Plan indicated that the present Government was willing and was competent to undertake the execution of the Plan. Sir Ardeshir by joining the Government practically renounces the position that a National Government is a pre-requisite of the industrialisation of the country on the lines of the Plan. No doubt the present Government may not do more than Planning Development leaving the actual execution to a National Government.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, June 8, 1944.

## REVIVING INTEREST IN BUDDHISM.

One of the noteworthy features of the present day is the revival of interest in Buddha and Buddhism in India. The movement began some thirty years ago and has since been growing. To some extent, it is due to the desire to have as a rallying point a human personality less legendary than the author of the Bhagavad Gita. The Sakyamuni is to a large number of non-Christians a more inspiring figure than Jesus Christ. The fact that Buddhism is the religion of China and Japan has perhaps also a share in reviving the interest in it as a pan Asiatic force. A third reason may well be the tolerant attitude to other religions which Hinduism and Buddhism have uniformly exhibited. The tendency among writers and scholars is to stress the close parallelism between Buddhism and Hinduism. Indian scholars do not admit that Buddhism was expelled from India as Judaism was from Palestine. They maintain that the essence of Buddhism is contained in Hinduism, that post-Buddhist Hinduism is three fourths Buddhism. In a striking article in the *Buddha Prabha*, the official organ of the Buddha Society of Bombay, one of the Honorary Secretaries of the Society, Dr. V. M. Kaikini, summarises an article by Shastry Revashankar Meghji Purohit in the Benares weekly, *Samskritam*, maintaining that Gautama Buddha was a Vedic Hindu, his protest being limited to the portion of the Vedas favouring animal sacrifice. The Shastry indeed maintains that Buddha saved the Vedas from being interpreted as atheistic. On the much discussed point, whether Buddha believed in God, Professor Subodh Chander Mukerjee's observation in his article in the Benares Hindu University's *Journal*, that prior to the Gita all schools of Hindu philosophy were indifferent to the question, is significant. He writes :

It will be observed that the idea of God is either entirely absent or occupies a very subordinate place in the methods prescribed in the philosophical systems of India. The Samkhya is frankly agnostic; to the Yoga, meditation on God is only one of the methods for acquiring the quiescence of mind (and there are no less than eight such alternative methods, among which figures even the idea of meditation on any object which pleases one), to the Vaisesika and Nyaya, the idea of God is not necessary for attaining liberation; and to the Mimamsa even the gods are bound by the transcendental merit, *apurva*, which arises out of the proper performance of *Yajna*. This idea of God, which is so much neglected by our philosophies, is the central idea of the Bhagavadgita, and round it the whole of the system of the Gita revolves.

Buddha, in not emphasising the existence of God, was thus only following the trend of the six orthodox schools of Hindu philosophy. The Gita, therefore, stands in the same relation to Buddhism as to the orthodox schools of philosophy. In some respects, indeed, it is closer to Buddhism. The term Nirvana is familiar in the Gita (occasionally as *Brahma Nirvana*) and denotes nearly the same idea as in Buddhism.

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Ministers and these have generally responded. Fancy! That is the spirit of democracy.

These sentences written in the confidence of domesticity, are more revealing about the conditions in which Indians in Australia live than bulky official reports loaded with statistics. Indian immigration was prohibited but the two thousand odd Indians who were already there are accorded absolutely equal rights and treatment with Whites. There is none of the cruel persecution of Indians which prevails in South Africa and which the *Manchester Guardian* has denounced as disgraceful and dangerous. The White Australia policy is solely motivated by the fear of lowering the standard of life which in Australia and New Zealand is higher than in any other country in the world. It appears from a recent report that the Australians propose to persist in the same policy after the war. In discussing the lack of population in Australia, some of the leading Australians have declared that the immigration of able-bodied adults and children from Britain and other European countries will be the chief means of replenishing it. It has been declared, on the other hand, by British spokesmen that Britain herself needs, all the men and women available after the war for her reconstruction and children are not too plentiful as the birth rate has been receding. Australia will have to prepare for another war in which China and India will be obliged to cooperate, if she continues to deny coloured settlers the vast empty spaces which white men cannot cultivate. The standard of life need not be affected. On the contrary with the lands which are barren wastes at present flourishing through cultivation, the country will be able not only to retain but to raise the standard of life. Melbourne University is one of the great universities of the world and Sir Raghunath will find in the institution many congenial spirits. Sir Raghunath will have the immense advantage of having his gifted and cultured daughter, Shakuntalabai, to do the honours of High Commissioner's House. During her connection with the League of Nations at Geneva she would have met many Australians and will not feel that she is amidst strangers.

#### SARASWATS AND SOCIAL REFORM.

The Saraswats are a small community inhabiting Kanara, North and South. Until the sixties of the last century both Kanaras formed part of the Madras Presidency. Since then North Kanara has been part of the Bombay Presidency while South Kanara has continued with Madras. The administrative separation has led to difference in the pace of educational and social progress. South Kanara has become one of the main centres of education in the country and the Saraswats of South Kanara are educationally a highly advanced community. North Kanara has been an isolated and rather neglected district of Bombay and the Saraswats of North Kanara have not kept pace with their kinsfolk of South Kanara. The tendency recently has been for both North and South Kanara Saraswats to congregate in increasing numbers in Bombay and there has been a steady movement of amalgamation between them. The community has produced several distinguished men and women. Pandita Ramabai and Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya are Kanara Saraswats. Sir Vithal Chandavarkar, Dr. R. Row are Saraswats. South Kanara has produced a number of high officials. Mangalore had once a flourishing Brahmo Samaj. But the movement there as elsewhere has been languishing due largely to the adoption of Brahmo ideas by Hinduism. This is clearly brought out by the organisation

called the Kanara Saraswat Association of Bombay with its monthly journal the *Kanara Saraswat*, which, in a special edition to commemorate its Silver Jubilee, has published articles recounting the progress of the community during the last quarter of a century. The Kanara Saraswat Association, it is interesting to note, is organised with the support and guidance of the Head of the Chitrapur Mutt. The Mutt not long ago was bitterly opposed to social progress of any kind. It excommunicated Saraswats who travelled overseas. In the issues of the *Reformer* of the last decade of the last century, a furious controversy was carried on between the Swami and Saraswats prominently connected with social and religious reform. The present Swami, it appears, holds liberal views. He has approved of inter-marriages with Brahmins of all subjects. Sea voyages he has also approved. Nevertheless the Kanara Saraswat Association, being organised under the patronage of the Swami and looking up to him, the names of prominent Saraswats who hold progressive views on religion are conspicuous by their absence in the history of the Association. Some of the relatives of the old stalwarts have evidently accepted the authority of the Mutt and they have contributed to the progress of the Association. In cooperative housing, the Association has achieved distinction due chiefly to the efforts of Rao Bahadur Talmaki. It has helped poor students of the community with scholarships and financed industrial and commercial enterprises started by its members.

It is evident, however, that the Association with its communal outlook has nearly reached the limit of its usefulness. The problems which affect Indian society as a whole, affect the Saraswats equally and these are outside the resources of communal organisations. This is brought out in three striking articles in the Jubilee number of the *Kanara Saraswat*. In the first Mr. Sanjeeva Rao calls attention to the increasing difficulty of girls of the community in securing acceptable husbands (the Saraswats unlike several other Indian communities and the population as a whole have a surplus of women) and recommends the cultivation of subliminal view of sex in order to avoid the increase of polygamous marriages. He writes.

The social reformer of the last generation sought to give the widow her right to live the normal life. The social reformer of today is trying to find a way of living for those spinsters and bachelors who are unable to exercise the right of parenthood. The way of undisciplined and unbridled licence which must be the logical outcome of the ultra modern believers in human freedom, must lead to social chaos. I believe that it may be feasible for the men and women of the Hindu community to create a new order of social workers, consisting of those who are unable for reasons economic social or psychological to enter the married state and invest it with the prestige, the dignity of a religious order.

As a statement of the position of the Hindu community as a whole this is somewhat premature. But it would seem that among the Saraswats, a point has been reached calling for immediate action. Saraswat girls are themselves working out a solution to their problem. The Chitrapur Swami has sanctioned intermarriage with other Brahmin sects. Mr. S. R. Dongerkery writing on "Saraswats and Social Reform," says that marriages with Hindus of the Kshatriya, Vaiya and Shudra castes and even with persons professing Christianity and Islam, though rare, do not shock the Saraswat conscience. He adds that marriage is no longer regarded as the sole end of women. The fear of old maidhood is gone. Professions and careers in the Government have attracted many girls. Mr. Dongerkery does not view the future with undue

alarm, although he hints that it may be necessary to take stock of the progress made. He writes

Society has been progressing with such breath-taking speed during the last forty years that we have neither the time nor the patience to inquire whether we are moving in the right or the wrong direction. We have passed what may be described as the self-conscious stage in reform, and are inclined to take for granted the rapid transformation that is taking place in our customs and ways of life.

Though there may be occasional aberrations, Indian girls and women have inherited instincts which guard them from the dangers of the impact of external conditions on their moral and spiritual personality. The recent outburst of admiration for the Indian ideal of womanhood not only in India but even in other countries on the death of Kasturba Gandhi, is proof that the heart of Indian womanhood is sound and can stand any shock that may come from ideas alien to their heritage.

### M. N. ROY IN INDIAN POLITICS. (BY B. BANNERJI, NEW DELHI.)

With all his great qualities, Roy is comparatively ineffective in Indian politics, because he has insufficient grasp of the conditions of the Indian problem. Having lived in foreign lands and having been nurtured on foreign culture during the formative years of his life he is a stranger in his own country. He does not fully understand his own people because he totally lacks that sympathy without which such understanding is not possible. He joined the Congress because it was a mass organisation and he hoped to "transform it into a political party of the people fully conscious of its progressive striving and the power to attain the revolutionary objective". But he failed. The Congress was a mass organisation because it was led by the Mahatma. It was Mahatma, the saint, not Gandhi, the politician, that made the irresistible appeal to the masses. No logic, no appeal to intellect had any chance against the dictates of the Saint's inner voice. Had Roy understood this fully he would have, like Veer Savarkar, kept out of the Congress.

For good or for evil religion—or religiosity, if you please—sways the masses of this country as nothing else does. It is not wisdom to ignore this fact. It is worse, in your anger and frustration to misrepresent history and philosophy as Roy has done in his book on "Fascism". To establish that Gandhism will lead to Fascism did not require the reckless attacks on the Upanishadic philosophy in which Roy indulges. He mentions no other Upanishad in his book except the Gita. Gandhiji's interpretation of the Gita is at complete variance with what the commentators from Shankracharya down to Tilak had told the country what the Gita meant. Gandhism is thus at best but a very rusty link between the Upanishads and Fascism. Roy is certainly not more convincing when he attempts to connect the Upanishads and Fascism through Schopenhaur and Nietzsche. Nietzsche, the philosopher of Fascism, was the disciple of Schopenhaur, who found solace in the Upanishads—so runs his argument. No one who takes a balanced view of things can accept this argument as sound. What is there in the Upanishads which can be cited as an authority for Nietzsche's theory of the exploitation of the down-trodden masses? On the contrary in the Gita, Lord Krishna again and again emphasises that the yogi looks upon all alike, from the Brahmin versed in the Vedas down to the lowest animals of the creation. It is a matter of surprise

that Roy considers the works of the Western philosophers against the social background but not so the Upanishads and the Gita. Had he done so he would have found his thesis absolutely insupportable.

It is not my purpose to reply to Roy's attacks on the Upanishads and the Gita. I am only pointing out that Roy does not appeal to the Hindu masses as Gandhiji or Savarkar does or Tilak did. He has also tragically enough, no appeal for the intellectual Hindu either. One could at least understand his position, if he were out to wear down all religious beliefs alike. But that that is not so is evident from his other book "Historical Role of Islam". He wants the Hindus to live down the hatred of the conquered for the conquerors, and, to induce a sober sense of history. He untolds before their eyes the achievements of the Saracens and the Arabs. He need not have gone so far away from his country to offer that inducement. It was a great Muslim Emperor—I refer to Akbar the Great—who night after night sat meditating on the problem of evolving a system of Government which the country would accept. And he succeeded so well that when three centuries later Indians had a vision of independence, Hindus and Moslems combined to set on the throne at Delhi a tottering old man, the last of his line, as the embodiment of that independence. For this great achievement in statemanship Akbar has been acclaimed by Col. Sleeman as "among Kings of the world what Shakespeare is among poets". But the Leaguers vehemently objected to the recent celebration of Akbar's anniversary and the Secretary of State's participation in it. This gives us some idea of what the communal problem at present in India is, and how far it is soluble by a sober sense of history.

Roy calls his book a "realistic reading of history." His thesis is that "Islam showed a way to the masses of the Indian people out of the social chaos for which Hindu philosophy was responsible." But stubborn facts do not lend support to that thesis, for had it been correct the whole of India would have been an Islamic country and there would have been no communal problem in the country to-day. Roy realises this and therefore finishes the book on this counsel of despair. "Unfortunately India could not be fully benefitted by the heritage of Islamic culture, because she did not deserve that distinction." Is this realistic reading of history?

It is extremely unfortunate that Roy's feet are not firmly planted in the soil of this land. There fore even when he advocates right policies he talks to the people in a language that does not carry the appeal to their hearts and often passes over their heads. Once when reference was made to Roy, Savarkar said, "I do not know Fascism; I know Imperialism and I fight it." Savarkar has got his finger on the pulse of the country. What happened when the Finance Bill was voted down last March? The only sponsor of Royist principles in the Assembly, the author of the eloquent address on the opening of the grand Jhari Conference, the father of the resolution on the fundamental principles of Constitution, Babu A. N. Chattopadhaya, quietly walked into the Congress lobby to refuse supplies to the Government to carry on the "international civil war," "the war to end Fascism." The Mahasabha members, with the more limited but more easily understandable objective of militarizing and industrialising the country, firmly refused to be caught in the League-Congress trap, and went to the opposite lobby.

### A CRYING SOCIAL EVIL.

Mrs. Kamala S. Dongerkery writes in the Silver Jubilee number of the *Kanara Saraswat* :

Among the many problems that confront the social worker to-day are two major ones which arise occasionally, but baffle solution. They are very difficult to handle and he has to be content to play the part of a mere onlooker distressed and sore at heart. His helplessness tends to create a feeling in his mind that his efforts in the cause of social welfare are fruitless. Social work takes many forms. It may only be in the nature of a first aid to prop up the patient or of continuous treatment, depending upon the virulence of the disease. Whatever the form of the disease and the mode of treatment, he cannot afford to neglect its mental and moral aspect and the harmful influence it has on society.

In the course of this brief article, I wish to stress the mental and moral aspect of two of the questions that have presented themselves to me in the course of my rescue work among women, and are looming large in Hindu society to-day. These are the problems of the deserted wife and the guardianship of children.

Let me deal with the problem of the deserted wife, in the first instance. Desertion can assume many forms. To the world at large it may not appear to be actual desertion, for appearances may be kept up, money may flow towards the wife and earthly comforts may be lavished on her, and yet it may be, in truth, a case of desertion. Statistics show that the numbers of the women who have left their homes are more than those of wives who have been deserted by their husbands. What is this but a glaring fact which reveals to us that conditions of life must have been made so unbearable to the woman that she had no recourse but to leave her home with full knowledge of the treatment that the world at large would mete out to her? What help can the world give her? The shadow of her husband's claim upon her is ever present on her path. She has undergone terrible mental agony which has bereft her of all capacity to work for her livelihood. Very often, she has children whose future is too precious to permit her to leave the home. Invariably, she has not had enough education to give her courage to step out of the house. She hears the unimaginative world preaching to her the ideals of womanhood, conveniently skipping over those which ought to mould the conduct of man. To crown all, the law, even for a bare separate maintenance, requires proof of physical cruelty and actual desertion.

The problem of an unhappy marriage, leading to separation is not a personal question affecting only the party concerned but has social implications. What is marriage but a social institution, after all, which expects certain obligations to be fulfilled by either party entering into the agreement, and which for its success depends upon mutual adjustment and goodwill? With the changing times our ideas about the obligation arising from the institution of marriage have undergone such transformation that what might have been tolerated in the past calls for the severest condemnation to-day. For example we should be extremely unhappy, if, following an obsolete ancient custom, a woman took more than one husband, or a husband took many wives. I do not think the present cultural standards and ideals should be relaxed in favour of such practices on any account. It is not a new standard, but an ideal held up from Vedic times.

I am aware that the deadlock cannot be solved until there is a change in the law, since there is legal sanction for a man marrying any number of

wives. Those who contract a second marriage generally argue that it is their own personal concern, and society has no business to interfere in their actions. They pretend that they do not care for public opinion. If this is true, I fail to see why they should go through the farce (?) of a marriage ceremony, were it not out of a sneaking respect for public opinion. If it is a question of love, why conceal it under the cloak of a formal marriage?

What can society do to improve the existing conditions? If legal sanction is sought because of society and to stop people from gossiping, then have we not as members of society a right to set our faces against this cruel practice, which amounts to a "murder" of the feelings of the wife? Could we not as individual members of society inflict a "capital" punishment for this "murder" on the man's feelings by a rigid social boycott? We should refuse to recognise the second marriage, or to give to the girl who happened to enter into such wedlock the status of a wife.

In most cases of desertion the root cause is the other woman. This type of case is the most heart-rending, because desertion in any circumstances is sad enough, but, when it is due to the fact that another woman has been responsible for the disturbance in the family it becomes a matter of shame for our sex. There can be no greater tragedy than this, and we should try to prevent it at all costs. One effective way of doing so would be a determined refusal by society to recognise the other woman as a wife, despite the position she may occupy in the eye of the law, because it is the social rather than the legal status that such women hanker after. Such women disturb not only the family peace but are a menace to society, and the attitude of society should be firm and organised in order to put an end to such unhappy situations.

The ban which orthodox Hindu society places on widows participating in religious and other auspicious functions, or on the entry of the so-called untouchables into the places of worship, could be imposed with justice on such women "interlopers" at all social functions.

I do not think that either public opinion or law can provide a complete remedy for the evils that follow in the wake of desertion though they may bring about a considerable improvement in the present state of affairs. The real remedy lies in another direction, namely, the economic independence of women. In western countries where women enjoy such independence, desertion does not lead to such tragedies as we see enacted in the lives of an increasing number of Hindu women, particularly among the middle classes.

### THE RAJKOT CREMATORIUM.

Sir,—Emerson has said somewhere that, wars, fires, plagues and famines, break up immovable rootings, clear the ground of rotten ideology and dens of distemper, and open a fair field to a new man. Of course there is no direct connection between the new man and plague, fire, famine or war, as there is none between polygamy and divorce or Indian marriage reforms and Indian funeral reforms. But everybody will agree that death is a truth greater than marriage or divorce and that a human being, as a unit of the Universe, is connected with each and every matter including academic welfare and progress of his or her posterity.

If the Indian reformers hope to make India a creator of new history and of her own destiny, they will have to make modern crematoria popular in

every city ; so that India can make all round progress in raising the standard of living and create unity in the diversity of Hindustan, without creating communal differences or bad blood of our Indian community.

The improvement of the Rajkot burial and burning ground is due to all the donors of Rs. 25 thousand rupees, for which the Seva Samity of Rajkot is very thankful to the donors. Mahatma Gandhiji has seen the Rajkot crematorium when he was here for the famous Rajkot agitation, and has approved of its construction. The good-citizens of Rajkot understand that death is as good a truth as birth and that untouchability has nothing to do with Dharma, but as for principle of cause and effect it is only the result of insanitary outlook of the purohit or the priestly class, on the conduct of Indian funerals.

C. TEJPAL.

#### DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD.

Sir, For disposal of the dead, there are two general usages among the Hindus of Hindustan, namely, that of burial and of cremation.

Regarding burial, the Encyclopaedia Britannica lays down that this method can only be temporary one, since ultimately it is a sanitary question. The soil is gradually filled with bones and the houses crowd round cemeteries and we should escape the horrors of putrefaction of human flesh and the small cold worms that fret the dead-body. Regarding cremation, experience all the world over has shown that the most scientific and decent method of disposal of the dead is through modern crematoria. By cremation, even the bones are disposed of at one and the same time.

Will the Research Association try to convince those Indians who believe in the wisdom of burial, that, apart from religious faith, an Indian Christian is as good a Hindu as a Sikh, Jain, Swaminarayan, or a Lingayat, who are being taught that he is not a Hindu and his culture is quite different from that of the so-called Hindus of Hindustan?

SCRUTINIZER.

## THE ARYAN PATH.

Editor : SOPHIA WADIA

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of the Indian delegation. The idea that the sterling will be converted into international currency and that India will be able to make her purchases in to her the most favourable markets, has enraged the *Financial News* and driven it to indulge in observations which transcend the bounds of political decency. A stranger from another world, who read its lucubration will think that India's being involved in this war was entirely her own fault. Japan, he would think, had been provoked by her into hostilities and she was too weak to defend herself. Britain who had no interest whatever in the matter, the stranger would imagine, from purely disinterested motives came to the defence of India and all the sterling balances represent what Britain has spent to save India from falling into the clutches of Japan. Britain stands to gain nothing, the stranger might fancy, by thwarting the sinister intentions of the Japanese. This is what a stranger from another planet would infer from the observations of the *Financial News*. Every one who lives on this planet, however, knows that the facts are all the other way. India has no quarrel with Japan. Britain, too, had none for the greater part of this century. And it is through Britain India being a dependency, possession, or ward of Britain, that she is in this war. If this was not always plain, it is plain beyond any manner of doubt since the British Prime Minister's declaration in his last review of the war in Parliament that the war has ceased to have any ideological significance. The rights of small nations, the liberties of weak nations, the God of humanity and the greater glory of God, all of which in the first stages of the war figured prominently as the sole aims and objects of the War, are no longer even side-issues. This is now a war for raw, crude, unadulterated lust of conquest and greed of power. In the war of ideas, India might conceivably have been allotted a place. In this war of power and conquest, India has no position except that of a humble instrument in the hands of Britain which itself is tied down to other Powers. Many people in India have all along doubted if India's fiscal position in relation to Britain will be different from what it has been before the war; and the *Financial News'* outburst confirms their scepticism. Other journals, notably the *Economist* and the *Manchester Guardian*, have adumbrated the theory of India being the chief beneficiary in this war but they have done so with some show of decency. The *Financial News* has cast all decency to the winds and stated it in its naked brutality.

**Keynes' Plan :—**Lord Keynes virtually urges the same course as the *Financial News* but he puts it on the altruistic ground of the good of the Indian people. There can be no question of exploiting India, he declares or placing additional burdens on the people who live all too close to the margin of bare subsistence. As a matter of fact the people of India, he points out, are bearing the burden of the whole war and the sterling balances do not affect the immediate issue. It would make no practical difference to them if Britain was altogether exempted from paying for what India supplies to the Allies in the shape of men and material. On the contrary, it would be to their own benefit. The Indian currency system is based on and linked to the British sterling and any thing which weakens sterling weakens the Indian currency. The larger the sterling balance, the less the chance of their being made available to India for post-war re-construction. Keynes condemns as crude the Government's expansion of the rupee currency on the security of the sterling balances and urges that the transfer of the full burden of expenditure in India and abroad to the Indian taxpayer, would be in the best interests of the latter. He

repudiates the idea of repudiation but there is to his mind nothing sacrosanct about the settlement between India and Britain as regards the distribution of war expenditure and he calls for a drastic revision of it in view of the entry of Italy and Japan in the war after the settlement was reached! Lord Keynes is too shrewd a judge of world sentiment to urge, as the *Financial News* does, that the war is fought by Britain mainly in the interests of India and that Britain is in it because India cannot defend herself. If pressed, Lord Keynes may even admit that it is cruel to have dragged India in the war. But being in it, it is best for her to take the full consequences on herself directly and with open eyes than to rely on the sterling balances which Britain cannot pay immediately and perhaps not at all in the best interests of India, of course. India's well-being and safety are bound up with Britain's prosperity and power. The liquidation of the sterling securities will seriously undermine them and, consequently, India would be the loser. This way of advocating what in ordinary intercourse would amount to a bare-faced swindle, is characteristically Keynesian and the sanction behind it is the British political domination of India.

**Birla Answers Keynes:—**Lord Keynes whose authority, in economic questions is now pre-eminent on both sides of the Atlantic, has pleaded for not paying the sterling liabilities to India on high altruistic grounds. Mr. G. D. Birla has issued a statement in reply which so far as reasoning goes is unanswerable. But who is going to listen to him? What is the "sanction" behind him? Britain ceased to pay her American debt and the American Government has avoided repudiation by announcing that it does not intend its advances to the Allies in the present war to count as a debt. But America has secured from Britain many concessions and expects to secure more after the war. But India is not a Great Power like America. And if Lord Keynes' view prevails that it is for the good of India that she should forego the sums due as sterling balances, the Indian industrialist will have to accept the argument with as good a grace as possible. What happened at the Ottawa Conference? Every Dominion refused to yield anything to the Mother country. India alone agreed to some concession. What this was has not been officially stated but that India agreed to British industry having a finger in her pie, is generally known. If the question is to be decided as between industrialists the result is a foregone conclusion. Unless the industrialist can invoke the support of the politician, that is, popular opinion he will be powerless to make any impression on his adversary. The problem is primarily political and should be solved on political principles.

**The War :—**Almost simultaneously with the fall of Rome, the Allied invasion of Europe began on Tuesday with an enormous number of ships and war planes on the coast of France bordering on the English Channel. The British Prime Minister announced the event to the House of Commons the same evening. The Allied armies in Italy are attacking the Germans still in that country, while the Nazis are being hard pressed on the north by massed forces on land, sea and air. The Russians on the east are also pressing hard. That the Nazis will not give up the struggle without a bitter fight, is clear but the outcome of the unequal contest must be the complete surrender or the annihilation of the Hitler tribe. What exactly is the significance of the sudden onslaught of the Soviet Press on the Chinese for being half-hearted in their opposition to the enemy? The Soviet organ makes light of the economic plight of the Chinese, which according to all accounts is extremely precarious.



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, June 10, 1944.

### NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AND THE BOMBAY PLAN.

The first reaction of British opinion to the Bombay Fifteen year plan was distinctly hostile. There was nothing in the plan which had not been put forward by other Indians who had felt the need for advancing the country on the industrial front. Sir M. Visvesvaraya, for example, has for the last twenty years advocated in books, pamphlets and many well planned schemes the development of industries in India on American, Japanese and Canadian models. What arrested attention in the Bombay Plan was the names and positions in the business world of the signatories and the attempt to present a single plan covering the main heads of industrialization. Great Britain's resources have been considerably depleted in the war. She has incurred liabilities which she can discharge only by intensive exportation to foreign markets. This is needed also to provide Britain with the means of importing food for her people and raw material for her manufactures. Among foreign markets, India is the one which under the political control of Britain can be expected to absorb a large proportion of British manufacture. In respect of cotton goods, once the main import from Britain, India has established or can soon establish self-sufficiency. In iron and steel likewise she is on the high road to manufacture all her requirements. Under the inexorable necessity of war, some other industries have been developed and they may be expected to relieve India from the necessity of foreign imports. The sterling balances to the credit of India also relieve this country from the need of borrowing from London. The outlook for British trade with India was thus not exceptionally bright. The adoption and execution of the Bombay Plan will at least temporarily aggravate the situation. It was natural, therefore, that British industrial and commercial opinion should take fright at the prospect of India rapidly industrialising herself at the end of the war. Fear is the parent of hatred. Hatred breeds hostility. The Prime Minister, in one of his reviews of world affairs in Parliament, had denounced the Indian National Congress as the tool of Indian capitalists and financiers. By the loss of Honkong, Burma and Malaya, Britain has lost valuable sources of raw material. If India sets up industries for herself and becomes independent of the British manufacturers and financiers, the consequences to Britain would be unpleasant. After all India is Britain's dependency. She should not be encouraged to become self-sufficient irrevocably. No doubt the war has transformed her from a debtor to a creditor country. What of that? The British are still her political overlords. The Bombay Plan should not be allowed to proceed further. Such was the first reaction among British publicists to the Bombay Plan.

But the Englishman never acts on an impulse, generous or otherwise. He is not warm-blooded like the Latins. He takes time for reflection. Very little reflection was needed for him to realise that his position in India was not the same as at the end of the first world war. Then Burma, Malaya, Honkong were securely his. The Jap was his close friend and Ally and had undertaken to protect the British Empire in Asia. Britain had acquired German colonies in Africa. She owed some money to the United States. But this was set off by what the countries of the European Continent owed to Britain and the reparations exacted from Germany.

The position of Britain was stronger than before the world war. The withdrawal of the United States from all commitments in Europe left Britain undisputed master of half the world. The position is totally different today. Even after the reconquest of Honkong, Burma and Malaya, the liberation of China and the surrender of Japan, Britain will still have to take her chance not only with the United States which has taken its place as the financial hub of the world but also with Soviet Russia which with its new constitution will dominate Europe. Any attempt to treat India in the old cavalier fashion will lead to her further alienation which will be taken advantage of by the great rival Powers. Gandhiji and the Congress and the Muslim League have proved intractable. They must be left to stew in their own juice. Britain must settle with some other elements in India which are less intransigent. The industrialists by temper and vocation are amenable to negotiation. Deals with them are the normal way of settling differences. It would be silly to antagonise them. They are far easier to deal with than politicians. They do not prate about freedom. They share the profit-motive with their British competitors. And so long as Britain is politically sovereign, Indian industrialisation can be adapted to the exigencies of British industrialism. British opinion veered round; Schuster and others frankly expressed their pleasure that Indian industrialists are ousting politicians and taking control of the Indian situation.

True, that the Fifteen Year Plan had postulated a National Government as essential to work it out. Let us tell them that they need not go to the trouble of making a political revolution to implement their scheme, became the new watchword. The Government of India as at present constituted will itself do that for them. In proof of its earnestness, it will take one of them into its bosom and put him in charge of the reconstruction business. Sir Ardeshir Dalal has accepted the position. A *Times of India* representative asked Sir Ardeshir what had become of the National Government proviso. His reply is revealing. The report runs:

Questioned regarding the Bombay Plan's emphasis on the necessity for a National Government, Sir Ardeshir denied that the Plan had any political motive. The authors' desire was to stimulate governmental and public opinion. Since the Plan involved regimentation of capital, commerce and industry, possible interference with the customs of the people in such matters as land, inheritance, and also heavy taxation, they considered a national Government necessary. The Bombay Plan could not be carried out without the goodwill and support of the people.

The present Government of India will not agree that for regimentation of life and changing laws of inheritance and so on, they are not quite as equal as any National Government. There are few things which have not been left unregulated by ordinances. Everything is controlled except the birthrate. Everything is rationed except children. The late Home Member declared his delight that experience had shown that the most stringent controls on normal activities can be enforced by the Government of India. The "goodwill" of the people is a superfluous luxury for executing any plans in this country. Sir Ardeshir's other observations in the *Times of India* show that he takes a view of his functions rather different from what the public had been led to expect. The belief that a National Government which is national in spirit and not merely in name will undertake so readily, as Sir Ardeshir thinks, the regimentation of Indian life which, according to him, is implicit in the Fifteen Year Plan, is optimistic. He knows, of course, that a nation

according to Edmund Burke's definition is not only those who live in a given moment but all those who have gone before and all those who come after. The past determines the present and the future. Unless in planning for the future we keep in view the long shadows cast by the past, our schemes are likely to be writ on water. There has never been a more impressive illustration of this than in Russia where Stalin has backed the Soviet car very near to the old Tsarist pavement. The Bombay Plan has no roots in the Indian soil. It is all leaves and flowers, a pretty decoration on the dining table but nothing more. Sir Ardeshir's acceptance of office has knocked such small bottom as it had in the business eminence and integrity of its sponsors.

### AGRICULTURE IN INDIAN RECONSTRUCTION.

The voice of Industrialists has been so clamant of late that the existence of movements to urge the importance of agriculture which is also an industry, had gone almost unnoticed. The publication of "The Indian Rural Problem" by Sir Manilal Nanavati and Mr. J. J. Anjaria is almost the first outstanding evidence of the existence of such movements. The book is the first publication of the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics which was started some four years ago and has since then been carrying on its work without the publicity which is nowadays considered essential to the success of any undertaking. The composition of the Society deserves passing notice. Sir Manilal Nanavati, lately Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, is the President. With the exception of Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas none of those who have come into prominence as Industrialists, figures in the list of the supporters, office-bearers or members of the Society. Considering that the object of the Society is almost identical with that of the Industrialist, namely, the raising of the standard of life of the rural masses who constitute nine-tenths of the Indian population, this clean-cut division between the Agricultural Industrialists and the Factory Industrialists, is unfortunate. "The Indian Rural Problem" (Price Rs. 8) is a comprehensive survey of the whole field of Indian Agriculture and is a valuable addition to the few works of importance which we have on the subject. It is the first important work on the subject which we have come across, to rank beside Dr. J. A. Voelcker's classic report on the "Improvement of Indian Agriculture" issued in the closing decade of the last century. Dr. Voelcker's admirable contribution to Indian economic progress remained unrecognised until a few years ago when he was awarded a belated C. I. E. This is because his Report cut across most official theories and sharply showed up the futility of several official measures for the improvement of Indian agriculture. To begin with, Dr. Voelcker rejected the view, accepted almost as an axiom then and now, that Indian Agriculture as a whole is primitive and backward. "I believe", he wrote, "that in many parts of the country there is little or nothing that can be improved while where agriculture is manifestly inferior, it is more generally the result of the absence of facilities which exist in the better districts than from inherent bad systems of cultivation." During his tour of different parts of the country, Dr. Voelcker came across iron ploughs lying derelict because the local cattle were not strong enough to draw them. He found that the wooden country plough was best adapted to the country, was not only cheap and light and could be easily repaired by the village carpenter but that it was the best for the work and produced a better plth than the iron imported ploughs. He found that

the Indian peasant was not averse to adopt new methods or machinery where they satisfied his requirements and gave good results. He observed that the indigenous breeds of cattle included some fine varieties by intercrossing with which, rather than with imported stud bulls, cattle breeding in the country can be raised to a high level. In fact, his whole conception of Indian agricultural improvement excluded the introduction of outside agencies except under special conditions. Dr. Voelcker did not leave out of his consideration the social structure of India as having a bearing on its industrial life.

Sir Manilal Nanavati has more or less followed the same plan though his survey is and recommendations are less wide in scope and depth. As a complete and comprehensive treatise on the Indian rural problem it is easily the best and most authoritative work published in recent years. The *Reformer* noticed in a recent issue an essay on the effects of the fragmentation and partition of land under the prevailing law of inheritance and we turned to the chapter in Sir Manilal's book dealing with the topic. He deals with it in a few paragraphs in which he gives the results of measures adopted in some parts of the country to prevent excessive subdivision and fragmentation. He distinguishes between the two and thinks that while fragmentation can be dealt with with comparative ease, the change in the law of inheritance has to be cautiously undertaken so as not to dislocate the labour available in the locality. Baroda took the lead in this as in other reforms. Sir Manilal thinks that the results have not been satisfactory. They have been better in the Punjab but on the whole Sir Manilal is not satisfied with the measure of success which has attended the measures for preventing subdivision of land. A resolution favouring legislation to prevent fragmentation was rejected by the Bombay Legislative Council, Sir Manilal can find no more convincing reason for the failure of the attempts to check this process than the inertia of the people. The assignment of such a reason for any widespread social phenomenon is itself the outcome of mental inertia. Dr. Voelcker found that where the advantages of a reform were evident and its cost and other incidents not prohibitive, the Indian peasant is not backward in adopting it. This is also the experience of social reformers. Sir Manilal's book is the work of an administrator, not that of a scientist. If he is against drastic measures it is because he fears their effect on Law and Order and not because he is constitutionally averse to them. Though the book concerns Rural Improvement, Sir Manilal has dealt with the subject of education and even the constitutional problem.

**India at the International Labour Conference:—**  
We are indebted to the International Labour Office in New Delhi for summaries, received by Air Mail, of the speeches of the Indian delegates at the International Labour Conference held in Philadelphia. There was some protest against the selection of the Indian Labour Delegation. Government had selected a representative from a comparatively new and not much known organisation instead of the old Trades Union organisation. But the choice of delegate from the new organisation made little difference. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta spoke on the resolution recommending that the International Labour Office should devote more attention to Asiatic countries, with a vigour and conviction which could not have been surpassed by Mr. N. M. Joshi who would in the ordinary course have been expected to represent Indian Labour. Nor was there any substantial difference between the Indian Labour delegate and

the Indian Employers' delegate, Mr. Mulherkar, on main points. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta went out of his way to express his agreement with Mr. Mulherkar in the latter's insistence that exploitation of one country by another should be suppressed by the efforts of the International Labour Office. How that Office which has no armed force under its orders can do this, we do not know. But we are glad that it was a point on which the two Indian delegates joined hands, alas, only to part on the Bombay Plan which Mr. Mulherkar had inadvertently introduced in his speech. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta after expressing his agreement about exploitation of one country by another, told the Conference that the members should distinctly understand that the Fifteen Year Plan about which the Employers' delegate spoke "is not a plan but a plot". Mr. Jamnadas Mehta told the Conference that the Plan was one for the exploitation of the people of India and the large mass of workers. He launched into a tirade against the Government of India which he accused of not giving effect to the international conventions which it had signed. The Government delegate in all such gatherings has perforce to play the role of a apologist. In this case he does not seem to have done even that.

#### ATROCITY STORIES.

Atrocity stories in this war need to be scrutinized with just as much care as in the last. It turned out that most of the worst tales bandied about during World War 1 were sheer fabrications, though some atrocities there certainly were. But that war actually began in 1914, whereas this one went on, just short of its military phase, for several years prior to 1939. So savage have been the true stories of Nazi brutality, so fanatical the Japanese under their military dictators, that everyone knows there is more truth today in charges of cruelty and bloodlust. However, there is no reason to swing completely over, as many have done, and accept all the horror yarns as fact. This may seem a fine distinction, but the difference between sound judgment on any thing—the war and the peace no less than on any thing else—and in going entirely berserk, consists of fine distinctions.

Those who care about Truth will have volumes to write after this war, just as after the last, exposing propaganda and falsehood, even though they will have to treat the present conflict some what differently. One good rule for the current day and for people who are not propaganda experts, is to try to see what social effect, what emotions, are produced by the more horrible reports, and judge whether these fit patly into some desired political aim. Cool, dispassionate judgment is abhorred by the ghouls who blindfold truth and stand it up against a wall, and for precisely that reason everyone who is capable of careful thinking, and a refusal to be shoved around by manipulated emotion, ought to stand firm.

Photographs are playing their propaganda role just as a quarter of a century ago and when you see a picture which, if the label were taken away, might be any place in any particular period of time, take it easy. Nobody can be expected, or ought to be expected, to lose the capacity for just indignation at brutality and wrong. But it would be simple to gather, without much time or trouble, no slight collection of sales and photos from the press which on the face of them are just as phoney as many a crude device of the other conflict. Our own agencies have tried little of this hitherto, and have won confidence because they held contempt for such methods; but if they have not been slipping lately into the old game, all indications are misleading.

Whispered tales are probably worst. There is for example, the one which went around in Britain for a while about the war prisoner who wrote home, "Please save the stamp." Underneath it were the words, "They have cut out my tongue." Red Cross officials overseas ridiculed this yarn, and pointed out what every student of propaganda knew that it was used first, in Germany, against the Allies, 29 years ago. Some of the stuff being fed out is so preposterous that it would be funny if it did not play havoc with sensitive people who love their boys. There is the distinguished sociologist, so called, who gravely wrote that the Japanese, unlike the Chinese, were Oriental in their outlook. The implication is that Oriental civilization is basically cruel, a sweet compliment for our Chinese allies!

A dilemma for the gotta-hate boys is the fact that in order to build up the fervor they want to create, they have to prove that our enemies are by very nature uniformly ferocious. But they also have to use Japanese—Americans in Italy to fight helpfully and bravely, in the U. S. armed forces, against the Germans. And if they succeed in showing fundamental evils in the German character as a whole, they ignore the thousands of anti-Nazi Germans who have gone through most suffering of all in their fight against Hitler, and upon whose judgment and guidance we all must depend to a considerable extent for the democratizing of Germany after the war. As in most wars, the fighting men often show more discrimination and realism than the fergawdsakers at home. In this war, it is often said (if only with partial truth), civilians are suffering the greatest deprivations. Must this be the case, also, with common sense? (Worldover Press.)

#### SCIENCE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

The address delivered on January 1, by Professor Arthur H. Compton, as retiring president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science was noteworthy for its interpretation of the relation of science to social progress. He undertook to indicate "the direction in which science makes it necessary for the world to move". And he began by recalling the Greek legend of Daedalus, who fashioned a sword of steel to replace the king's sword of bronze. The citizens remonstrated with him, declaring that the sword would not bring them happiness, but strife. To which he replied, "It is not my purpose to make you happy. I will make you great." Science, like the steel of Daedalus, brings conflicts but it is compelling man to follow the sure road to a greater destiny.

Granted, science and technology have made possible the present disastrous war. It is, nevertheless, "one of the great safeguards of the stability of modern society that the weapons with which wars are now won are the product of cooperative research and manufacture on so large a scale that the effect cannot be hid.....The large scale of modern military preparations makes.....policing much more practicable than was true before technology became the basis of military power." The threat of a "new weapon" is minimized by the nature of scientific progress. "More and more the major inventions and industrial developments are the result of the cooperative efforts of large groups of research men. An idea may emerge in the mind of a lone inventor, but it passes through many hands before it is ready for use. Also, parallel developments by competing groups are the rule. It is rare indeed that a completed new industrial development catches the world by surprise. If this is true in industry, it is yet more un-

likely that the balance of the world's military power will be upset by an idea kept secret from a vigilant enemy. To be of conclusive military significance not only must the idea be perfected; the new weapon must also be adapted to industrial production and be manufactured on a major scale. But such a development is difficult to hide. ..The net result is that with the use of a world police force of a feasible size, it should be possible for a dominant governing body to maintain a stable peace in the new world that science builds. In spite of mighty new weapons that may tempt some ambitious leader to try again to snatch control of the world, the need for vast scientific and technical development to produce such weapons gives a stability adequate for a vigilant governing power to keep the peace."

Speaking more positively, there is something in the nature of science that compels "(1) increasing cooperation, (2) better and more widespread training and education, and (3) rise of commonly accepted objectives toward which society will strive." It is in respect to the third point that the moral urgency appears. The will to cooperate must be present. "Perhaps the great objective for us will be that of the common welfare as discovered by a hundred million citizens who become educated to the possibilities of common men". Thus the inevitability of the cooperative trend is not complete. Man has an unprecedented opportunity to "master his own destiny"; but the address ends with a fervent hope that God may "grant us a vision of the possibilities of man which will challenge us to the worthy use of these great new powers."

#### GANDHIJI'S HEALTH.

Sir, What exactly is the state of Gandhiji's health? On one side are published reports that he is weak, has undertaken long spells of silence, complete or modified; that his improvement is slow and that visits and interviews retard his recovery. On the other hand, we read that he is in correspondence with several leaders, that he has addressed a letter to the Viceroy and that that leading citizens with elaborate plans of post war reconstruction in various fields, had paid courtesy calls on him, lasting in one case for one whole hour. The public is puzzled by these contradictory reports. It is obliged to infer that all this is due to a measure of stage management being mixed up with the laudable desire to give the public correct information of the state of Gandhiji's health. Would it not be wise to eliminate the stage management part altogether? PUZZLED.

#### HOOKWORM.

Sir, Gandhiji after his release was examined by doctors and some of them diagnosed his trouble to be due to hookworms. A message in a daily paper says that the remedy for hookworm had to be obtained from distant places and that it was not got until this week. Hookworm was practically banished from East Africa, wrote an English Governor, by the cheap shoes imported from Japan. That was before the war. When there was an outcry against the Japanese capturing markets with their cheap shoddies. The English Governor pointed out that this was not altogether an evil. ENQUIRE.

#### THAT AUGUST RESOLUTION.

Sir, Gandhiji agrees with Dr. Jayakar that the August resolution is innocuous. By innocuous, I understand, harmless, meaningless. If, nevertheless, Government regard it as dangerous, why should Gandhiji object to withdrawing a resolution which he

considers meaningless? He may tell the Government that he regards the August resolution as innocuous but since they think otherwise, he will withdraw it so far as he is concerned, leaving the other Congress leaders to act as they think right. SCRUTATOR.

#### BRAHMAN COLONY.

Sir, Mr. K. M. Munshi, a former Congress Minister and an advocate of Akhand Hindustan, has contributed Rs. 500/- to "build up at Amritsar a self-contained and self-supporting colony of Brahmans." What does this show? Why do the Brahmans want a Ghetto an exclusive colony at Amritsar? Do they want to demonstrate to the world even now that they are racially and culturally different from the mass of the people? Do they want to preserve their communal individuality? If so how can they denounce Mr. Jinnah for vivisectioning India by demanding Pakistan. Hindus blame Muslims for communalism, but the fact is that they themselves are the worst communalists in the world. They are political Democrats but social Tories.

What else does Mr. Munshi's donation towards building a Brahman colony at Amritsar show? If democracy is to thrive in India, caste consciousness must be scotched as one would scotch a cobra. It is an evil which is the root cause of India's slavery and communal friction.

Jat-Pat Torak Mandal, }  
Lahore. }

SANT RAM.

#### PEACE CONFERENCE.

Sir, Anent Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri's strenuous propaganda that India should be represented by Mahatma Gandhi, and Pandit Nehru at the ensuing Peace conference, it would be interesting to recall that after armistice of World War I, Lokamanya Tilak played a prominent part in demanding India's representation on terms of equality with the other Dominions at the Peace conference of World War I; and in anticipation of this, Tilak, Gandhi and Syed Hasan Imam were chosen by the Congress as delegates to the same. The British Government of the day refused to grant Tilak pass-port; thereupon, Tilak wrote to M. Clemenceau, Premier of France and President of the Peace Conference, claiming that "with her (India's) vast area, enormous resources, and prodigious population, she may well aspire to be a leading power in Asia, if not in the world. She could therefore be a powerful steward of the League of Nations in the East, maintaining the peace of the world and the stability of the British Empire against all aggressors and disturbers of peace whether in Asia or elsewhere." China has been recognised to be one of the four great world powers; but more than China, Free India is better fitted for the role of leadership, in every respect in the Asiatic sphere. But considering the role assigned to India at the recent Dominion Premiers conference, it is evident that the march of world events during the last quarter of a century has not improved India's status in the Imperial and the International world, and that Britain feels nervous of the influence of Nationalist India at the Peace Conference. India's representation at the Peace Conference of World War II by the Leaders of the Indian Nation is as highly problematical as before.

Peelamedu. }  
29-5-44. }

R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.

**PUNJAB LIBERAL FEDERATION'S  
PRIZE ESSAY.**

The Punjab National Liberal Federation offers two prizes of Rs. 1,000/- and Rs. 500/- respectively for essays adjudged the best and the next best on the "Cause and Solution of India's Communal Problem."

The essays should not exceed 15,000 words and should be submitted to the President of the Federation on or before the 31st of December, 1944.

The copyright of the essays for which prizes are awarded shall vest in the Federation.

Correspondence on the subject may be addressed to the Conveners, Communal Problem Committee, Punjab National Liberal Federation, 17, Maclagan Road, Lahore.

The Committee reserves to itself the right not to award any of the prizes if in its opinion the essays submitted are of not much value.

Abdul Aziz (Mian) C. L. Anand  
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B. L. Rallia Ram Ujjal Singh (S. B.)

RAM SARAN DAS (R. B.)  
Member, Council of State  
President.

Punjab National Liberal Federation,  
21st May, 1944. 17, Maclagan Road, Lahore.

**DIVORCE AND ECONOMY.**

In *Social Forces* Hornell Hart and Henrietta Bowne present some astonishing figures with reference to the trend of the divorce rate. The curve is plotted showing an accelerated rate from 1888 to 1938. The report is in large part technical but the conclusions are startling. The authors see as probable a marked increase in the divorce rate by 1945 (assuming that this will be the maximum year following the present war). It "seems safe," they say, "to estimate that the maximum divorce rate after this war will be between one-third and one-half of the marriages."

The common assumption that the business cycle is an important factor in the divorce rate is discounted in the findings. The correlation with economic trends is relatively low.

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

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## NOTES.

**British Legal System in India:**—Mr. Penderel Moon quitted the Indian Civil Service for remonstrating with his official superior against the treatment accorded to a political prisoner. He went to England and wrote a book and was able to get it published. We have not seen the book but a review of it by that "friend of India" Edward Thompson in the *Observer* of London has been summarised for the Indian Press by Reuter. Mr. Thompson quotes with approval Mr. Moon's opinion that the introduction of the British legal system in India has been harmful. It has, he says, created vested interests of lawyers and the universal belief that lying is right according to the rules of the game. Are there no vested interests besides the lawyer to account for this, assuming it is true? The legal profession in India has been long an eyesore to the bureaucracy. The National Congress and other political movements have had eminent lawyers as leaders and supporters. In the districts the lawyers, not every one of them, have been the sole obstacles to the autocracy of the district officials. In the last thirty years, several laws have been passed excluding the jurisdiction of the Courts in matters within the purview of the Executive and, in several other matters, the presumption that a person is innocent until he is proved to be guilty has been either expressly or tacitly reversed. The combination of the executive and judicial functions in the magistracy, against which Indians have protested for many years, makes the Magistracy subservient to the Police and Revenue officials. This is the case in normal times. In these war days, of course, these evils have taken an aggravated form. Ordinances are daily being issued creating new offences as a rule triable summarily. The jury system except in the Presidency towns, has been watered down by a system of assessors whose opinion is not binding on the judge. Naturally jurors as well as assessors take their functions lightly since they are not responsible for the ultimate result. The British legal system, which is one of the best in the world, has not been in operation in India. What has been in operation is a weak solution of the British system. Even that in the opinion of Indian leaders is an improvement on the personal rule which it supplanted and Ranado regarded the introduction of a reign of law as the great achievement of British rule in India. The Indian educational system has, for many years past, been the butt of criticism and now the judicial

system has been included in the category. What in the opinion of these gentlemen is the best for India is executive justice which, as an eminent Indian practitioner of it said, meant sentence first and trial afterwards. "Jedwood Justice" is the term used for it in British parlance. That innocent people are being sent to prison or otherwise punished, only shows that the British legal system is not observed in spirit though the form exists.

**Keynes Leader of British Deputation:**—The response of the British Government to the protests from India against Lord Keynes' observations on the sterling securities held on India's account, has been prompt. The *Economist* hastened to disavow responsibility for them as being merely a quotation from Lord Keynes' speech in the House of Lords. His Majesty's Government, however, have thought this the most opportune time to announce the nomination of Lord Keynes as leader of the British Delegation to the Inter-Allied Monetary Conference to be held in the United States on July 1. It has since been explained that Lord Keynes' observations have not been properly understood. That a number of independent individuals, prominent business men and journalists should have interpreted them in an identical sense, is a fact which cannot be explained in such a facile manner. It may be that Lord Keynes did not mean what he said but that is another matter. India must take it for granted that Lord Keynes meant what his words convey. It has been unofficially stated that the Secretary of State for India has accepted the Government of India's plea that the Indian delegation to the Monetary Conference should be independent of the British delegation and free to raise whatever points it thinks essential in India's interests. But there are inherent in the relation of India to Britain, conditions which place very clear and close limits to such an acceptance. Apart from that, the Indian delegation is weak on the theoretical side which in International Conferences is of greater importance than in departmental negotiations between the British and Indian Exchequers. The addition of an independent Indian economist to the Indian delegation is not only desirable but necessary as a counterweight in part to Lord Keynes. Dr. Ziauddin of Aligarh University, for instance, would be a weighty addition to the delegation besides continuing the convention, hitherto almost invariably observed, of including a Muslim in every important delegation. It cannot be urged that no suitable, or competent Muslim is available for inclusion on this delegation.

**The Role of Indian Delegates:**—In what relation will the Indian delegation stand to the British not on paper but in actual fact? In passing, it may be remarked that the contention that the Government of India and Sir Jeremy Raisman had driven a hard bargain with the British Government, is all bunkum. Sir Jeremy is a subordinate of the British Government and he is not in a position to bargain with his masters. He

might have represented what he thought would be the reaction in India to any given proposal but more than that he could not have done. We may be sure that the so-called settlement was accepted by the British Government according to their notions of what was decent, at the time when it was agreed to. At Washington, Sir Jeremy will have to support the Keynes Plan, if the sterling balances are allowed to be discussed, unless Lord Keynes himself sees fit to modify it in any particular. There are no doubt the two Indian non-official members. One of them, Mr. Shroff, has already revealed his attitude. If the agenda at all permitted, he said, in a statement to the Press with reference to the Keynes Plan, he would bring up the question of the sterling balances before the Conference. He does not seem to feel that he can do something to bring the topic up, agenda or no agenda, if he is determined to do so. He might even withdraw from the Conference if a question of such vital importance is not allowed to be discussed in the Conference. As for Sir Shanmukham Chetty, that he represented India at the Ottawa Conference is rather a drawback than a point in his favour. Even if the subject was forced on the agenda of the Conference and even if the Indian view prevailed with the majority of members, the British and the Americans who generally follow the British where their own interests are not involved, may ignore it as President Wilson waived aside the Japanese amendment as regards racial equality in the last Peace Conference. But if the Indian delegates are not prepared even to make an attempt to get the question on the agenda, they might as well stay away. Lord Linlithgow spoke of the Indian constitution being the result of the joint deliberations of British and Indian statesmen because there were Indians present at the Round Table Conference, though every one of their proposals was rejected by the British majority. In India, there should be a strong protest against the appointment of Lord Keynes to lead the British delegation in view of his declared opinion about the sterling balances. It may lead to no result. Nevertheless it should not be possible for anyone to say that India acquiesced in the selection.

**National War Front:**—There have been forecasts of an impending reorganisation of the National War Front on lines completely different from those followed under Mr. P. G. Griffiths. This gentleman who was responsible for the pictorial advertisements some of which aroused keen public resentment, has retired and his place has been taken by M. R. A. Baig, a popular social figure of Bombay. Mr. Baig, we may be sure, will not countenance any of the vagaries which disfigured his predecessor's efforts on the National War Front. But we wonder if there is any need for the Front itself. From a message to a local journal, it appears that Sir Sultan Ahmed, Member of the Government of India for Information and Broadcasting, is himself thinking of changing the name of this department into National Welfare Front. National Welfare, however, is the function of the whole Government and the Information Department can do much less for it than the other Departments of Finance, Education, Health, Communications and immediately, Food most of all. Sir Sultan would seem to have especially in view the promotion of communal harmony. Communal goodwill is the most essential thing in India at present but like all essentials, Sleep, Health, Happiness, it is not to be achieved by deliberate planning. It must come as an incident of a national life devoted to a high absorbing purpose. Every effort so far to promote communal harmony by institutional methods has only aggravated it, just because it was sought as an end. The situation is more hopeful today than it has been in the last ten

years and that, not because (of any) purposeful effort in that direction but because of the courageous, straight and upright conduct of the Punjab Premier in his adherence to his undertaking to his non-Muslim fellow Punjabees. His conduct has had consequences wholly beneficial and extending far beyond the immediate issue between him and the Muslim League. It has raised Muslim statesmanship in the esteem of the whole country and the world at large.

**University Examinations:**—The Senate of the Bombay University discussed at its sitting last week recent leakages of the results of examinations before they were officially published. This is a minor matter but it is a symptom pointing to more serious laxity not merely in the management of examinations but in the attitude of parents and elders to higher education. The general tendency in the discussion was to blame the examiners. They cannot be exonerated. But the root cause is the absence of scruples on the part even of several educated and highly placed parents and relatives of candidates at examinations, not merely in obtaining information of the results prematurely, but in respect of the results themselves. The underlying idea seems to be that the hall-mark of the University is needed only to set backstairs influences in train. In fact there is no teaching profession in Bombay as such. With a few honourable exceptions teachers are looking to other avenues to improve their prospects and to attain distinction.

**Indians and Motor Cars:**—The *Times of India* announced last week in special type that an Indian firm was to produce motor cars. The Government of India had sanctioned the issue of capital for an indigenous automobile company sponsored by Birlas. Sir M. Visvesvaraya had spent several years and a fortune in travelling to Europe and America gathering materials for the starting of a motor industry in India. He had collected the necessary capital and negotiated with an American firm to help in the earlier stages of the industry. He wanted from the Government of India two undertakings: the continuation of the present import duty on foreign cars and the purchase of its requirements from the Indian concern. The Government of India refused both. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar had given some highly imaginative reasons for the unresponsive attitude of Government. Sir Visvesvaraya had appealed to Lord Linlithgow on the eve of his departure to leave on record a note in favour of promoting the industry. Mr. Birla has got permission to raise the capital. But unless he has the goodwill of Government in the two respects desired by Sir M. Visvesvaraya he, with all his great business capacity, may find that the industry does not thrive. The difficulties in his way are greater than in the way of Sir Mokshagundam. The war is fast approaching to its end and there will be tens of thousands of motor cars in India alone for which Government and the Army will have no use and which will have to be disposed of. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar held a conference in Bombay last month on this matter. He referred only to the cars and lorries that will be thrown out of use in India. In the United States, in the United Kingdom, and in Europe delivered from the Nazis, in Russia and in Japan and Eastern Asia, there will be tens of thousands more of automobiles seeking purchasers. The Birla firm will have to overcome this; embargo on imports and high duties will not be able to keep them out. The permission given does not amount to much. It has only a value as lifting one of the many bans on Indian enterprise. Since this was written, Mr. Walchand Hirachand has also been permitted to issue capital for a motor industry. For the time being, this is just an anti-inflationary measure and nothing more.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, June 17, 1944.

## THE NEW WORLD ORDER.

Maulana Muhammad Ali is the author of many important works on Islamic religion, culture and history. He is president of the Ahmadiyya Anjuman-i-Islam, Lahore. This is a body of dissenters who have separated from the main body of Ahmadiyyas who have their headquarters at Qadian. The point of difference is that the present head, Mirza Mahmud Ahmed of Qadian, a son of the founder of the movement, claims not only Prophethood for the founder of the movement but has declared the whole Muslim world to be outside the pale of Islam. The Lahore Ahmadiyyas rejected both doctrines as being against the teaching of Founder of the movement and its two basic principles are that there is no Prophet after the Founder of Islam and that no one who believed in the prophethood of Muhammad could be held to be outside the pale of Islam.

The Lahore Ahmadiyyas are therefore orthodox Muslims who differ from the main body only in the interpretation of the Islamic injunctions in the light of modern ideas. This is very evident in the Chapter on the Home. Christianity had regarded married life a hinderance to spiritual progress. Islam stabilised the relation of the sexes. Islam gave equal rights of earning and owning property to men and women. Marriage, according to Islam, is not against the spiritual progress of man. It is rather a help. Monogamy is the ideal marriage. Polygamy is permitted only as a temporary measure of relief when wars had decimated the male population. The Maulana expects that at the end of this war Europe will be obliged to resort to polygamy for the same purpose. Divorce is allowed but "with Allah the most detestable of all things permitted is divorce." With all the facilities afforded for divorce, it is much less common among Muslims than among Christians. The materialistic civilization of the West has destroyed home life. In the work of reconstruction the first task for Europeans is to restore the home to its original purity and stability and this Islam is the best incentive to do. In Economics also Islam provides the most reasonable and humane method of reconciling private to public right. The Maulana contrasts it with Bolshevism whose object is to reduce the rich to the level of the poor. Islam, according to him, aims at raising the poor on an equality with the rich. The Chapter on State is in some respects the most original of the Maulana's concepts for the New World. The three western types, the Fascist, the Bolshevik and the Democratic, all fall under his lash. He writes :

Broadly speaking, material civilisation has developed three kinds of States :— the Democratic State, the Fascist state and the Bolshevik State. Of these the Fascist tells us in plain words that the State is all in all, the individual being only a slave to carry out its will. The Bolshevik State which may rightly be called the Capitalist State, goes a step further than the Fascist and carries to the extreme in practice the Fascist theory to deprive the individual both of his freedom and his property. As regards democracy its claims are high sounding so far as theory goes, but in practice it goes, further than even its two rivals by enslaving under different names more than half the human race, whose only fault is their weakness.

All the three States which spring from a materialist philosophy, are dangerous to human happiness. As against these, the Islamic State by making fear of God and the sense of righteousness the indispensable condition of rulership provides the surest road to

human happiness and stability of social life. The Maulana's attack is, it will be noted, directed against the materialism of the West. He holds the Christian Church responsible—not the simple teachings of Jesus Christ—for the triumph of materialism. Does he not here make the mistake of comparing the ideal of Islam with the actualities of the Christian Church? If Christianity has failed, so has Islam and so has every religion. Islam once had the mastery of the world. It forfeited it and the condition of the subjects of Muslim States fell to a lower level than those of Christian States. The truth is that ideals, especially, spiritual ideals, tend to deteriorate and have constantly to be maintained by men with direct religious experience. Materialism is not confined to Europeans. We are all materialists. Only the European makes no pretence of being religious—not except on Sundays—while we Hindus and Muslims professing to be religious are hankering after the same objects but in a shame-faced and ineffective way. While the American thinks in millions and billions, the Indian thinks in tens and hundreds and gets nothing. The New World Order must certainly rest on spiritual foundations. The Western man through his materialist way has come to realise that Spirit is the sole Reality. He has realised that his Science has led him to the truth that nothing material is real. "Netthi" is the refrain of the Vedic seeker after truth among temporal phenomena. That too is the verdict of the Scientist in modern times. But while we know that Spirit is the only reality we have, while wearing this earthly vesture, to act as if it was real. Dreams are unreal but real so long as they last. The task of making the New World requires the cooperation of all great religions. We should not be too hasty in condemning one and exalting another. The criticisms which the Maulana levels against the West are equally applicable to us all.

## OUTLOOK FOR JOURNALISM IN INDIA.

Speaking at what is called the third Journalism Day in Lahore last week, Mr. F. W. Bustin, Editor of the *Civil and Military Gazette*, deplored that the newspaper worker had become the wage slave of his employer. In fact, he said, the free lancer was better off in that respect except some lucky men who find employment in offices where their own views are generally shared. These, he added, are fortunate enough to fulfil themselves while getting paid for it. He estimated that their number was hardly 5 per cent. This was a picture of what has already happened in Britain and the United States. The Press in India may be tending to the same condition but it has not as yet succumbed to it. Said Mr. Bustin :

At present the personal element loomed large in the vast majority of newspapers in this country. The popularity of a newspaper frequently rested on respect for the views its editor expressed, and the respect arose from his known worth as a thinker and a citizen. But this phase was passing. Commercialism has already set in and whereas many who had conducted India's Press in the past had regarded their activities as a calling rather than a trade or even a profession, the time was fast approaching when all of them who remained would be merely cogs in a vast industrial machinery.

That there has been deterioration in the status of journalists is only too evident. But the main share of responsibility belongs to the journalists themselves. The Indian owner who invests his capital in a newspaper rather than in a cotton mill or a match factory has, in present day India, a modicum of public spirit and regard for intellectual honesty. If his employee possesses these qualities and shows in his relation with his employer that he means them for

use and not for show, speaking generally, the employer would not venture to treat him like an ordinary wage earner or a cog in a machine. Where the employee himself is shifty, has no definite convictions and deems no sacrifice of convictions too great to keep his job, the employer cannot be expected to regard journalism as being different and entitled to different standards of treatment than say, canvassers and salesmen for his goods. The difference between a calling and a trade can not be maintained by the most scrupulous employer, when journalists themselves are advised and exhorted to organise themselves in Trade Unions. The danger to journalism lies first and foremost with journalists themselves. If they themselves think of journalism as no more than a trade they can not expect the public to regard it as a high calling. Much depends on what journalist and journalism means. Those employed in the mechanical production of newspapers are not journalists nor is their work journalism. The man who tends a printing machine may, without difficulty, tend a weaving or spinning machine. Neither are compositors journalists because they may with the skill they have compose a company prospectus or a religious discourse. The Indian law which makes the printer responsible for what appears in a newspaper is monstrously unjust. *The Tribune of Lahore* of June 6, publishes a number of resolutions passed at the Punjab Working Journalists Association one of which is that proof-readers employed in newspaper offices should be treated as journalists. Every journalist must be able to correct proofs as a part of his work. But surely, every proof reader, even if employed in a newspaper office, is not a journalist. The brain worker in journalism belongs to to a distinct category from the mechanical and manual employee. This distinction is particularly important between the editor and his associates who think, write and give the lead to public opinion on public questions. The equipment, mental and moral, of this class is identical with those of statesmen who often derive great help from the writings of well-informed, competent and responsible writers. The first requisite of this class is a vast amount of reading in almost every branch of literature, history, geography, ethics, etc. In fact, no subject is outside the purview of the writing journalist. "Working journalist" is an invention of the last few years the meaning of which is not obvious. The editor of a newspaper may himself not write much but that any one who cannot write can belong to the class from which editors should be drawn is absurd. That brings us to another important question. It concerns the journalists' relation to political parties. An editor, in our opinion, should not belong to any political party. He must be above party affiliations. Otherwise, his criticisms and appreciations lose much of their value. Politicians should look up to the journalists not journalists to politicians. The true journalist class can never be organised in trade unions. Outside this limited circle, employees in newspaper offices are entitled and are badly in need of protection through organised labour unions.

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SPECTATOR.

#### MISSIONARY METHODS AMONG ABORIGINALS.

(By Verrier Elwin.)

The establishment of the Partially Excluded Areas by the Government of India Act, a measure that deeply offended every shade of Indian sentiment, aimed at giving some kind of protection to the religion and culture of the aboriginals. All that in practice it appears to have achieved has been to give encouragement to proselytizing missions that have not hesitated to exploit to the full the opportunity of occupying areas so remote from the scrutiny of public opinion. In the Santal Parganas, for example, thousands of Santals have been converted to Christianity and quite recently, since the passing of the Act, Catholic missionaries have been admitted and though kept under some examination by the police—are progressing by leaps and bounds. It is the same story in Chota Nagpur and in another area no fewer than ten thousand aboriginals were converted last year. In Mandla, the situation has grown serious, for here the Fathers of the Apostolic Prefecture, Jubbulpore, are proselytizing on an unprecedented scale and by methods that would have been considered disgraceful in the Middle Ages.

I must confess that it is distressing to me to be forced into opposition to the missionaries. My father was a missionary Bishop and I have no doubt that there are many of my old friends who must look on me as a traitor to their cause. I would remind them, however, that my opposition to proselytizing is no new thing; it dates from my Oxford days. I joined the Christa Seva Sangh in Poona because I had been informed that the society existed only for study and the monastic life. It was a deep disappointment to me to discover that this was not so, and that the Sangha—though liberal and intelligent—was as deeply committed to the policy of conversion as any other. This discovery led to my resignation and my going to the Central Provinces. Here the Bishop of Nagpur refused to allow me to practise as a priest unless I gave up wearing khadi, took an oath of allegiance to the King-Emperor and began forthwith to convert the Gond and Baigas of Mandla to Christianity. All these things I refused to do. The Bishop also refused even to consider my friend Shamrao Hivale (who had been trained for the priesthood in England) for ordination unless he accepted the same conditions. Ultimately this led, after some years of strain and conflict, to my resigning my orders with the formality of legal papers and my severing my connection with the Church of England. To-day I belong to no Church and at the Census in 1941 I returned my religion as nil. I say this in no arrogant or dogmatic spirit, but merely to explain that my attitude to proselytizing missions is nothing new, but goes far back in my life and has led to serious changes in it.

Christianity, like Islam, is a missionary religion. It must expand or die. Let us be frank about it. All substitutes for missionary Christianity, as can well be seen in my own history, are in the end inadequate. The Christian cannot be content to sit about smelling like a rose or work in penance in the spirit of *nishkama bhakti*. He has the goods and he must deliver them. Why should he be ashamed of that? But he cannot deliver the full Christian goods except within the sphere of the divine community, the Church. That is the essential, the historic theory and all forms of Christianity that reject it will perish. But let no one condemn this. I cannot understand the modern missionary who is so eager to deny that he wants to make anyone a convert. Why should he



be ashamed of bringing people to the sacred feet of Christ, to free them of the weary burden of their sin, to help them to win eternal life beyond the grave?

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Mandla District is being invaded on two fronts. The Fathers of the Apostolic Prefecture of Jubbulpore are the Chindits of the Christian army. Compared to them, most other missionaries get to work like Italian infantrymen. These Fathers are from Holland. Fortified by the *philosophia perennis*, inspired not only by a divine love of souls but by the remarkable Dutch instinct for colonial expansion, they are busy turning Mandla into a Dutch colony. Attracted by the rich harvest of souls so eagerly reaped by their Catholic brethren, a Protestant mission—the South India Gondwana Mission—has also entered this favoured field. Many years ago there were some hundreds of Protestant converts. Nearly all of them reverted to Hinduism and were readmitted into caste at enormous expense. Now they are being hunted out and threatened that they must be Christians again. There is a crisis in a village called Singhpur. The mission has declared its intention of opening a hostel here and of building a church. The landlord, a simple Gond, declares that he will not have them on his land. The villagers have sent a petition to the Deputy Commissioner begging that the school and church may not be allowed. But the mission claims a right to the land on the grounds that it was theirs twenty years ago. But they have not paid rent all this time and the land is not theirs. If they were ordinary people, these missionaries would be prosecuted for criminal trespass.

But to return to the Chindits. The public seems to be under the impression that the withdrawal of part of the grant to the Sijhora Training School means that there is no more trouble in Mandla. Far from it. The Catholic Church is the wealthiest Corporation in the world, and is independent of pittances from Governments. The Sijhora School is flourishing with its thirty fine buildings and is leading many to the church. The Fathers have 100 smaller centres and are planning to open 100 more. Nearly every day I hear of new centres being opened and of new converts tricked, bullied or purchased into the Church; within ten years Mandla—the ancient home of Rishis, former kingdom of the Gonds, whose fields are blessed by the sacred Narbada—will be virtually a Dutch colony with a hundred thousand Catholic converts.

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that they are the real Sirkar. There is genuine and widespread terror among the aboriginals that they will be beaten by the missionaries or that the Fathers will go into their houses and drag out their women—not for any immoral purpose but to examine whether or not they are legally married—a threat that would cause consternation even in the higher cultures. A missionary propagandist even threatened one of my workers that the Father would bring his gun and shoot him if he dared to oppose the Christians. The Fathers, finally, have an extensive money-lending business, and this is one of their most effective means of bringing their aboriginals under their control and forcing them into the Church.

How disgraceful this is—that the simple and ignorant aboriginal, who all his life has looked to the paternal Government for protection should now, in a Partially Excluded Area and at a time when the public voice cannot make itself heard in the Legislature for his assistance, be exposed to this kind of social and religious disturbance. A distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service, so distinguished that it would be unfair to give his name, writes to me from England, "What a scandal! What on earth is the Provincial Government up to?"

For what, indeed, are the Partially Excluded Areas? Were they intended simply to insult the political capacity of Indians? Were they intended to keep the people permanently backward? This is the common view, but I myself do not share it. Nor do I myself believe that there is a deep plot on the part of Government to make India Christian. I consider the new nickname of the C. P. Government—Christian Proselytizing Government—to be unjust, though a recent Memorandum in which (in striking contrast to the attitude of the Bombay Government) the C. P. authorities declared their enthusiastic and unqualified support to missionary (that is, proselytizing) agencies raised some doubts as to their strict religious neutrality. But I do think that no Provincial Government has considered with sufficient seriousness the duty laid upon it by Parliament to protect the religion and culture of the aboriginals, which was the real purpose of the Partially Excluded Areas.

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## INDIA IN THE AMERICAN PRESS.

The International edition of the American Cotton Trade Journal for 1943-44 is a sumptuous number. It contains two articles on India. In the first Mr. R. C. Suntook of H. M. Mehta and Co. of Bombay, denounces the Indian National Congress as an unrepresentative body. In the second Dr. Syud Hussain, special Lecturer on Oriental Civilization at the University of Southern California, asks and answers the question, "Where do we stand?" We give below excerpts from the two articles. Mr. Suntook writes :

The present political movement in India is engineered by a single political party called the Congress. This party has neither the backing nor the co-operation of the big minorities, among whom are the Moslems numbering 90,000,000, the Depressed Classes called Untouchables numbering 60,000,000 and the other minorities such as the Indian Christians, the Sikhs and the Parsees. Besides this, there is the vast population of the Native States, which owes allegiance to its rulers, the princes, and which does not find sufficient confidence in the Congress party to identify itself with its objects and methods.

The most regrettable part of the whole political situation in India is that the sole aim of the Congress party, which is virtually a Hindu body, is to secure by hook or by crook, domination in the country. By taking advantage of the present war situation, the party hopes to establish what the Moslems fear—a Hindu Raj. The fear of the Moslems and the other minorities is that, once the Hindus have acquired the ascendancy in the country by extracting rights and powers from the present British government in the name of independence, they will utilize those very powers primarily for exercising domination over the Moslems and other minorities.

The Moslems are concerned lest the social composition of India, as it is at present, would lead to the acquisition of all powers by a community which enjoys majority in numbers. Rule by the majority in the countries where people are of the same caste, creed and religion, does not matter in the least, but in a country where the majorities and the minorities are formed only by religious differences, such rule becomes dangerous. There are no political parties of importance and influence here where one may find properly represented elements of the people of all communities.

Unless and until the Congress party shows its sincerity by guaranteeing to the other communities equality of opportunity in the future government of the country, there will be no possibility of creating a truly democratic constitution. There are so many, varied problems inherent in the religious, psychological, social and cultural differences between the Moslems and the Hindus, in the main, that unless and until the Hindu Congress agrees to allow the Moslems and other minorities an effective voice in the country's government, the latter will continue to suffer apprehension as to their future. They will not, therefore, be prepared to commit themselves by agreeing to Congress party demands from the British government, which, if granted, would jeopardize their position later on.

Dr. Syud Hussain writes :

The members of every political or religious group in India own that they aim at the realization of self-Government for India, whether it be called "Dominion Status"—or "Independence"—or "Home Rule." They care not how such government be termed, so long as they are assured of a constitution which guarantees them equality of opportunity in this country. They demand absolute freedom from fear that their aspirations, individualities and personalities will be curbed because they are members of a minority community.

They do not want "independence" if this means their own subservience to a single majority community, and an era of internal strife and disorder. For that reason alone, they would desire the continuation of the present regime which, after all, ensures them justice and

equality of opportunity. All that they aspire to is a progressive realization of self-government, conditioned essentially by such an all-embracing and all-assuring guarantee, whereby their position will be safeguarded. No other mode of dealing with their problem would ever be acceptable to them.

## ALLAHBUX MEMORIAL FUND.

On the 14th of May 1943 occurred at Shikarpur a sad and tragic event. The ex-Premier of Sind, Allahbux was shot dead in daylight near a police chowkee and his assailants made good their escape. This shocked the entire country. A year later, on the occasion of the first anniversary of his death, the citizens of Karachi assembled in a public meeting to pay their homage of love and reverence to their departed leader. While doing so, they resolved that it was necessary to keep green the memory of so great and good a man.

This public meeting constituted with the above object an Allahbux Memorial Committee and the signatories to this appeal were appointed as trustees of the Memorial Fund with Mr. Jamshed Nusserwanjee as the Hon. Treasurer.

The trustees at their first meeting took into consideration the various suggestions as to the form the Memorial should take. It was felt that the Memorial should be worthy of the name that it will bear and that it should fulfil to a certain extent some of the ideals which the late premier had nearest to his heart.

It may not be so widely known that since late Mr. Allahbux went out of office, the service of the poor peasants and workers silently toiling away in their fields all over Sind, was the object nearest to his heart and he was endeavouring to evolve plans which would promote their interests. The bullets from the conspirators' guns, alas! put an abrupt end to a life which was being gradually dedicated, in an ever increasing measure, to the service of the poor and the lowly. It is now left to those who hold Allahbux in esteem to carry forward his work and thus pay an effective and practical tribute to his beloved memory. We send forth this appeal in the confident hope that not only Sindhis whom he served so well but men and women in different parts of the country will contribute generously to the Allahbux Memorial Fund. We are not defining too closely the objects towards which the money collected for this fund will be spent as that will depend upon the size of the contributions received. One thing alone we would make clear and that is that the funds will not be put to any political use.

We earnestly appeal to the public to contribute generously towards this Memorial and to send their donations to Mr. Jamshed Nusserwanjee or to any of the signatories to this appeal.

(Sir) SHAH NAWAZ KHAN BHUTTO  
(Hon'ble) PIR ILLAHI BUX  
JAMSHED NUSSERWANJEE

NIHCHALDAS C. VAZIRANI  
PRATAP DIALDAS  
Dr. KISHINCHAND  
NAVIN T. KHANDWALLA.  
HATIM A. ALAVI  
(Rais) G. M. BHURGRI

## THE FAMILY LAW OF HINDUS.

The Adyar Library, Madras, has brought out in its usual excellent style the text of the *Grihya Sutras* by Asvalayanas price Rs. 6-4-0, one of the leading treatises on the Family observances of Hindus. The present volume contains only the first Adhyaya or chapter. It lays down directions relating to every detail of life which is regarded as a pilgrimage. It includes the ceremonies to be observed in the third

and fifth months of pregnancy, the first shaving of the child's head, the first feeding, the investiture of the sacred thread, the rules of Brahmacharya. Rules for the choice of a bride give first place to the family to which she belongs. In other words, in choosing a bride, more importance is to be attached to the qualities of her parents than of herself. This reminds me of an incident when I was a guest of the late Bishop Fisher (an admirable memoir of whom has been written by his devoted wife) at Ann Arbor. He took us to visit a big cattle farm. After seeing the huge animals yielding enormous quantities of milk, we were taken to the office of the owner's daughter who managed the farm. She showed us big bound volumes in which the pedigree of each animal was carefully recorded for three or more generations. Dr. Fisher turned to me with a smile and remarked, "You see we are very careful about the pedigree of our cows and bulls. But we care little for those of human beings." The Hindu social legislator attached more importance to pedigree for humans than for cattle and to the caste rather than to the personal charms of the bride.

K

#### KASTURBA GANDHI.

Two booklets on Kasturba Gandhi, one by R. K. Prabhu and the other by K. F. Thomas, are useful additions to the worldwide tributes paid to her on her death in the Aga Khan's Palace; Mr. Prabhu's book has a memoir by Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, and is published by Hind Kitabs, Hornby Road, Bombay. It is priced Rs. 1-4-0 and it is stated that the profits of book are to be given to the Kasturba Memorial Fund. Mr. Thomas' book price Rs. 2/-, is published by the Orient Illustrated Weekly, Calcutta. The various phases of Kasturba's Life as described in the two books throw valuable light on the great qualities of Kasturba as wife, mother, and national worker.

#### THE SEAMIEST SIDE OF WAR.

Two brief editorials in *The New Statesman and Nation* (London) of December 18, 1943, comment on the worst side of modern war. A soldier back from South Italy is quoted on the ghastly situation he found there. What had happened was "complete and utter collapse. There was no civilization in the south of Italy at all. No leadership and no hope for the future. There was only one aim for the people: to get as much food as possible.....Beyond survival, life had no meaning for them. He had seen men of the Eighth Army, hardened veterans of the desert, physically sick at all they had seen in the streets of this always poverty-stricken countryside."

The other editorial discussed the attitude of the general public towards the bombing of Germany. "Most people," was the comment, "uncomfortably acquiesce, in the absence of any alternative. They have got used to the idea and don't know many details." Raids are different now from what they were earlier in the war. "We drop liquid fire on these cities and literally roast the populations to death."

#### SOVIET DEMAND ON POLAND.

Sir, The Soviet demand that Poland should have a democratic government virtually means that Poland should become a Soviet dependency. When the Poles were defending Warsaw desperately without hope of repelling the Nazis and in despair of any help from foreign countries, a friend met a Czech in Bombay and asked how it was that while Czecho-Slovakia succumbed without a struggle, Poland was resisting the invader with such astonishing courage and determination. The answer was "The Poles had an aristocracy, we had none." The Russian demand is not so much for a democracy but for the elimination of the aristocrats who inspired the Polish defence.

SCRUTATOR.

**Minorities in India** :— We reprint excerpts from two articles on the Indian problem by Indian contributors to the International edition of the *Cotton Trade Journal* published in Memphis, Texas. Both Mr. Suntook and Dr. Syud Hussain make out that the main issue in India is the rights of minorities. Everywhere, except in India, these rights pertain mainly to cultural and religious freedom. In India minority rights are claimed which would place minorities in exactly the same position as, if not one superior to, that of majorities in all matters. What is claimed is that the minorities must be given weightages and special protection so as to enable them to dictate to the majority. In the Punjab recently the Governor dismissed a Minister under his special powers for protecting minorities for his dismissal of a subordinate official who belonged to a minority community, for incompetence. The irony of it is that in no country have the cultural and religious interests of minorities, even the smallest, been traditionally so respected as in India.

#### BRAHMAN COLONY

Sir, I hold no brief for Mr. K. M. Munshi, but I do not quite understand the point of Mr. Sant Ram's objection to a Brahman Colony. There are Hindu colonies, Parsi colonies, Catholic colonies, even Saraswat colonies in Bombay City and nobody thinks they are on the same footing as Pakistan to which Mr. Ram compares them. All the colonies are under the same municipal and civil administration and are not set up as separate nationalities. Many of the houses in the Catholic colony at Bandra are tenanted by non-Christians. There is no Muslim colony but there are localities where Muslims predominate. It is natural for people of similar habits and ways of life to live together. In New York City there are Russian, Italian, Jewish and Negro localities. So long as there is no prohibition of families taking up their residence anywhere on the ground of race, religion or caste, it does not seem that there is any harm in their organising a cooperative housing scheme.

BRAHMIN.

#### TRAVANCORE INFORMATION.

The Editor solicits contributions on topics of general Travancore interest, in particular on subjects relating to the State, having historical, archaeological, industrial, agricultural or travel significance. Short stories and articles on topical subjects are also invited.

Contributions and photographs accepted and published will be paid for.

All articles should be in English and type-written on one side of the paper only with double spacing between lines. Rejected manuscripts and photographs will be returned only if accompanied by stamped addressed envelopes.

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

## GANDHI WAVELL LETTERS.

The publication of the correspondence between Gandhiji and Lord Wavell in the Sunday papers came as a surprise to those who had received from Gandhiji cyclostyled copies of letters written by him to, and replies from, Lord Wavell among others. They were marked confidential and there was speculation as to how they came into the hands of the Press Agency by whom it was issued and even more how it passed the Censor in New Delhi, Sir U. Sen who until recently was head of the Agency. The Chief Censor would not have acted without consultation with the Home Department. That the Home Department approved of the publication of the Gandhi—Wavell correspondence, is clear from the decision of Government, since announced, to publish all the letters comprised in Gandhiji's book under its authority at the public cost. Obviously Government feel that the publication of the letters would be good propaganda for itself. We trust that Gandhiji's reply to the Tottenham pamphlet will also be included in the forthcoming blue, red or green book. Confining ourselves to the correspondence between Gandhiji and Lord Wavell, the impression left on one's mind is that the Viceroy has availed himself of the opening afforded by Gandhiji's invocation of Wordsworth's Happy Warrior whom Lord Wavell was invited to emulate, to enunciate British policy in India in terms which virtually traverse previous official declarations as to its objective being national independence. Lord Wavell does not say that this is not the goal in so many words but he has surrounded it with so many qualifications and reservations that it practically amounts to a perpetuation of the domination of India by Britain. His Excellency's letter will encourage the several obstructive elements specified by him to harden themselves against any impulse which they may feel to adopt a conciliatory attitude towards their nationalist fellow countrymen. Lord Wavell realises that he has set a sisyphian task for the nationalists and proceeds to lay down a programme of economic development to be carried through "meanwhile" by co-operation by all parties. The whole programme consists of items which the British Government of India ought to have completed in the last one hundred and fifty years and had failed even to attempt seriously. The illiteracy, abject poverty, the low standard of life in the country stand to the discredit of the Government. This same Government, Lord Wavell expects, would now achieve wonders in raising the standard of life of the Indian people, as Gandhiji would have it, or "peoples" as Lord Wavell persists in calling them. The condition of India is an indictment of British rule, the very rule which His Excellency wants perpetuated.

Lord Wavell seems to have a constitutional preference for communicating by reference, if we may adapt the phrase used with regard to a prevailing tendency in legislatures. He referred Gandhiji to the address which he delivered at a joint session of

the Indian Legislature in February and considerably sent him a copy of it. There was nothing memorable in that speech, no scintillating phrase, no stimulating idea. His Excellency in that speech was more clear and confident about social and economic progress than about political advance. If the history of British rule in India proves one thing more glaringly than another it is that a foreign rule, however benevolent in intentions it may be, is a deadweight on economic and social life. A national Government may be bad. But while there is the possibility of an indigenous rule leading its people by rapid strides along the path of moral and material progress, there is very little, absolutely none, of a foreign Government doing more than what Britain has done in India. British rule is about the best type of foreign rule. Yet it could not do for India as much as Japan, Russia and Turkey have done for their people in less than a half and a third of the British period in India. The United States starting at about the same time as British rule in India, has outpaced Britain and has wrenched the mastery of the seas from the hands of the mother country. After all, whatever Lord Wavell might say to Indians, he and every Englishman feel in their hearts that freedom is not only a glorious thing but the most powerful stimulus to self-development and self-expression. We for one are by no means sure that a National Government of India will do necessarily much more than what the British Government has done. But we are sure that the British Government has exhausted its power for good in India and that its continued domination of the social and economic life of the country will be good neither for Britain nor for the world at large. Gandhiji's phrase "Quit India" has been perverted by political hostility. It merely means and meant to people who had no motive to distort its meaning—"Leave us to ourselves to manage or mismanage our own affairs." Such a demand involves no reflection on any body. A plea for freedom, Edmund Burke declared, needs no offset of grievances. Lord Wavell's assumption that Britain has greater interest and obligations in India than Indians themselves is a bit of exaggeration which was not expected of him. The old saying that the wearer knows where his shoe pinches, has a deeper significance and covers a larger range than a pair of shoes. Britain's failure in India is no longer a matter for discussion. The growth of the population is put forward as proof of its beneficence. That growth itself, so far from being a tribute to British rule, is its most damning condemnation. People breed because you have left nothing else for them to do. While deploring the increase of population, you take full advantage of it and boast of the two million soldiers who have voluntarily joined the army and are fighting for you in all the war fronts. Gandhiji's analysis of this oft repeated boast, will remain a classic in Indian political literature. If Government are sincere and earnest in the request for cooperation, they should make it not merely possible but easy and pleasant for self-respecting Indians to offer

cooperation. How have they done this? By imprisoning men of whose high character Lord Wavell himself is appreciative, without trial against the elementary principles of British jurisprudence?

So far as any concerted movement, to oust British rule from India, armed or unarmed, is concerned, there is at present no sign nor even possibility. But Britain will have to face world opinion and world competition, even jealousy. To an increasing extent, India sullen, silent, gloomily obedient, will be an uncomfortable dependency. There are sensitive people, even in Britain, who are already shy of taking up responsible positions in India. No English public man of suitable status could be found to come out as Viceroy. This is an open secret. A soldier had to be sent. Even soldiers may not be found to succeed Lord Wavell. That is how we visualise the future of British rule in this country. There is an American saying that if you want to keep a man in the gutter you yourself will have to remain there. The repercussions of Indian bureaucratic rule are already making themselves felt in British politics. India's freedom means Britain's freedom.

**Industrialist Deputation to Britain :—**The idea of a deputation of Indian industrialists going to Britain to discuss with British Industrialists plans for Indian industries, was wholly misconceived. No one need be sorry that it has been postponed. The reasons given for the postponement need not be taken at their face value. The Second Front in Europe might have opened at any time during the last two years. The International Monetary Conference will not deal with the industrial problems of India or any other country. Its conclusions as to the feasibility of having an international currency will not materially affect the need of building up industries in this country. The Indian problem must be considered and solved with reference to Indian conditions by Indian leaders in India. If the British manufacturer has anything to say, he should come to India and place his case in full view of the Indian public which, and not industrialists alone, is vitally concerned in the question. A hole and corner agreement arrived at six thousand miles away, must in the nature of things be unsatisfactory. With notable exceptions Indians visiting England are too apt to lose their bearings and forget the interests of their country in their anxiety to make themselves pleasant to their British hosts who are also their political superiors. Contrariwise, there is an equal danger of Indians assuming an attitude of needless truculence in an effort to avoid a too complacent attitude. Speaking at a social function at Karachi, Sir C. Deshmukh, first Indian Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, who is one of the Indian representatives to the International Conference, declared that we were not in a position to deliver ultimatums. There is no question of delivering ultimatums at the Monetary Conference. The remark was irrelevant. But it revealed the mentality of one of the important delegates who is expected to speak for India. If Sir Deshmukh is not in a position to speak authoritatively on behalf of his country, which is what he meant by ultimatum, he would have ultimatums delivered to India which he must meekly accept. Another delegate, Sir Shanmukham Chetty

by way, perhaps, of answer to the allusion to his delegation to the Ottawa Conference, prefaced his remarks at the same function by declaring that he went to the Monetary Conference in a happier mood than to any previous International Conference. We fear that the India delegates will find themselves at a serious disadvantage vis-a-vis the British delegation headed by Lord Keynes who has made a clean breast of his ideas about India's financial relations to Britain, on the eve of the announcement of his selection to lead the British delegation.

**Late Dr. P. C. Ray :—**Dr. P. C. Ray whose death at the age of 83 after a brief illness took place last week, was a practical mystic. Although known as an industrialist he says, he had from early days had a keen sense of the ephemerality of the world of phenomenon. His "Life and Experiences of a Bengal Chemist" published in 1932 is one of the most interesting autobiographies by an Indian author. The book gives a vivid description of the evolution of India social and family life under the influence of British rule and English education. Like many other young Bengalees who distinguished themselves in after life, young Ray came under the influence of the Brahma Samaj but he confesses that it was the social rather than the religious side of Brahma reforms which most appealed to him. His natural bent was to history and literature and these subjects always remained his favourites. He was also strangely attracted by Science, in particular Chemistry. A remarkable feature of Dr. Ray's reminiscences is that they are uniformly appreciative of the work of British officers, educationists and missionaries in India. Although Dr. Ray never took kindly to western ways and throughout life retained the simple habits of his rural upbringing, his feeling towards Europeans had no taint of prejudice. On the contrary he frankly avows his debt to them for guidance, example and inspiration in his scientific as well as his social work. The stimulus to write his "Hindu Chemistry" came from Berthelot, the eminent French Chemist. He wrote congratulating Dr. Ray, then an Assistant Professor in the Calcutta Presidency College, on some papers he had contributed to scientific journals on alchemy in ancient India. Mr. Ray did not preserve the letters but this one somehow managed destruction and he came on it by accident. The Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, now grown into a large industry had its origin as a small private laboratory started by Dr. Ray. While as a boy he had a robust constitution, an attack of diarrhoea at the age of 18 left him a permanent invalid. That he was able to put in an enormous amount of work social, literary and scientific in spite of poor health and to live to the age of 83 was due to his strict habits of diet and exercise. The pages in which he reflects on how his ill-health proved a blessing promoting his social interests are some of the most fascinating in his autobiography.

**Paper Economy :—**In compliance with the extraordinarily drastic orders issued this week by the Government of India, *The Reformer* appears as a two-page sheet. The Order cuts down the size of newspapers and magazines not printed on newsprint paper to less than one-third of their size, 30 per cent to be exact.

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WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## ECONOMICS, MEANS TO SOCIAL ENDS.

The first item on the agenda of the International Labour Conference which met at Philadelphia last month was the status of the Organisation which had convened it. This was necessary as the League of Nations which was born at the same time as the International Labour Organization and with which it had, until the outbreak of war, been in close but loose affiliation, has virtually ceased to exist. The relation between the two is described in the following passage in the brochure on the "Future Policy, Programme and Status of the Labour Organisation" prepared by the International Labour Office to form the basis of discussion at the Conference:

The International Labour Organisation had its origin in the decision of the 1919 Peace Conference. The Constitution of the Organisation recognised the close relationship between the purposes of the Organisation and those of the League and the Members of the League had pledged themselves by the Covenant to "endeavour to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for women and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend" and for the purpose to establish and maintain the necessary international organisations. In virtue of its constitution the Organisation was "part of the organisation of the League."

Nevertheless, the International Labour Organisation is described as a body associated with the League as an autonomous and coordinate body. When the League fell into abeyance on the outbreak of the present war, the International Labour Organisation moved to Montreal and has been carrying on its activities from that city. It is international only in the sense that it is open to all nations. It is not so in fact as Germany and the countries occupied by her in Europe are no longer its members. Nor are Japan and Italy. It cannot be called even an Inter-Allied Organisation because Soviet Russia declined to send delegates to the Philadelphia Conference as it was held under the auspices, though only nominal, of the League of Nations. The International Labour Office avoids direct reference to this issue and enlarges upon the various substitute connections which it has sought, in some cases with success, in one only with partial success, with other international bodies like the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture. Its endeavour to get invited to the former was successful but not so its request for a similar invitation to the latter. The word Labour in the name of the Organisation, too, is out of place. The International Labour Conference consists of delegates of Governments, Employers, and Labour. It is as much a Governments' Conference or Employers' Conference as Labour's.

There is another and more important reason for changing the name of the Organisation. Economic questions, whether of Employers or Workers, are no

longer regarded as ends in themselves. "The general proposition that economic policy is to be regarded as essentially a means for the achievement of certain social objectives," observes the International Labour Office brochure, "has secured a degree of agreement which measures the extent of the response which men's minds have already made to the challenge of two world wars within a generation separated from each other by the most devastating and tragic economic depression in the history of industrial civilisation." It is in no spirit of self-appreciation that *The Reformer* can claim that this proposition has been self-evident to its conductors for years before the first world war and without the stimulus of the depression which followed it. Economic and industrial questions have always been of interest to them but as means to social ends. President Roosevelt has grasped this truth much better than the British Premier, his co-signatory to the Atlantic Charter. The President's words are worth quoting:

We have learned too well that social problems and economic problems are not separate water-tight compartments in the international any more than in the national sphere. In international as in national affairs, economic policy is merely a means for achieving social objectives.

Mr. Winston Churchill recently told the House of Commons that both as regards the Atlantic Charter and the Mutual Aid Agreements, he had taken care to ensure that British policy will not be deflected from its course by the principles laid down in the two documents. Since economic policies are but means to social ends and since the International Labour Organisation was established to deal with the economics of Labour, the Organisation may now be known appropriately as the International Social Organisation. Industrial Labour is not an isolated patch of society. It can not prosper unless the whole society in all and each of its component parts prospers. "The problem of post-war reconstruction," to quote the words of the brochure, "is that of determining how these social claims are to be met—irrespective of class, creed, race or sex—and in countries of very various economic traditions and problems in varying degrees of economic development." The International Labour Organisation as originally conceived had in view the conditions of factory labour in the highly industrial countries which controlled the arrangements for international co-operation at the end of World War I. But it was soon enough realised that it was urgently necessary to extend its scope to Agriculture, and so a special Committee, the "Permanent Agriculture Committee", was created for this purpose. "The creation of the Committee at the time," it is explained, "was due to the growing appreciation of the key position of agriculture in the world's economy." Lord Wavell's message to the Policy Committee on Agriculture which met at Simla on Tuesday breathes the spirit of this appreciation.

The following admonition of the Acting Director of the International Labour Organisation is needed not less in India than in other countries :

A theoretical economic solution, however perfect it may be in terms of economic theory, will not work if, because its social consequences have been neglected, it produces so much social unrest that the people who are supposed to live under it refuse to work it. Equally, you cannot solve your social problems unless you have a world economic and financial system which will make it financially and economically possible to meet the social need.

"Regimentation" is a dangerous method, because it breaks down initiative and destroys character in nations as in individuals.

#### THE RUSH FOR SCIENCE.

The opening of the academic year has revealed the existence of a frantic rush for science courses of study and the flood of candidates for admission to Bombay colleges has been far in excess of the capacity of the colleges, particularly for the courses requiring laboratory work. This is partly due to a growing aversion to Government employment among Indian youth, and largely to a somewhat ill-judged propaganda about the superior earning power of science education. The same phenomenon occurred a generation ago in Bengal. Gokhale once said that what Bengal thinks today, the whole of India thinks tomorrow. As a corollary to this, perhaps, where Bengal errs today the whole of India errs tomorrow. Dr. P. C. Ray in his autobiography has described the result of the sudden hankering after science. The science graduate drifted to the same jobs in the Revenue, Police and other executive services as the Arts graduate did. Dr. Ray points out that in all countries cultivation of Science came after industrial development and not before it. In other words a society must become industrially-minded before it becomes science-minded. Industrial developments have taken place in India as part of war effort—It may be hoped that the ground gained will not be lost on the advent of peace. What will be immediately needed is technical skill. Dr. Ray has some hard things to say of the Indian Institute of Science in Bangalore which, he roundly declares, has failed to fulfil the objects for which it was founded. Conditions may have improved in the twelve years since the book was published but Dr. Ray's observations should serve as a warning to enthusiasts who proclaim that what Indian education needs is a switch on to science from the humanities. The lack of a proper balance between the two, is the cause of the present plight of civilisation.

#### GANDHI-GOVERNMENT LETTERS.

The Government of India has published a book containing the letters which passed between Gandhiji and the Viceroy and the Home Department during the period of Gandhiji's detention in the Aga Khan's Palace in Poona. There is, however, a noteworthy omission. The letters relating to Kasturba's illness are not included in the collection. They have a psychological interest exceeding all the other letters put together. So far as physical comforts were concerned, Gandhiji was amply provided as he himself acknowledges. But the mental anguish which he suffered owing to Government's unresponsiveness to his requests for Kasturba's relief, was evidently regarded as an essential part of the penalty prescribed for his political activities. How excruciating the anguish was, may be judged from Gandhiji's request that he might be removed to some other place of detention, where

he would be spared the sight of Kasturba's agonies. Gandhiji has faced death many times in his fasts. That he should find the sight of Kasturba's sufferings unendurable, shows how excruciating the mental torture was that he wished to escape.

The other letters which are published, are, to our mind, of comparatively less permanent interest. On the main issue, of the responsibility of Gandhiji and the Congress for the disturbances which followed the arrests of August 1942, the verdict of history will most probably be the same as the verdict of the Coroners' Jury on the Bombay explosions. Slogans like cotton are liable to spontaneous combustion. The Congress and Gandhiji are as much or as little responsible for the disturbances because they raised the "Quit India" slogan, as the authorities who considered cotton as a safe cargo to place alongside of high explosives.

#### KARMA NOT FATALISM.

In his English Introduction to Asvalayana Grihya Sutras noticed in the *Reformer* (June 16), Swami Ravi Tirtha rather goes out of his way to maintain that the doctrine of Karma is not a doctrine of fatalism. He writes:—

This law of Karma, and of transmigration is not a philosophy of fatalism where a man is doomed till eternity by his starting-point. On the other hand, it is a philosophy of full freedom for the will of man, where even God does not interfere. Man can get guidance and aid from God: but God does not stop him or ruin him. At every particular moment—man can shape his future according to his will.

The Swami says that the past produces in a man tendencies only. These tendencies can be counteracted by other tendencies which he is free to create for himself in the present so as to influence his future. Surely the tendencies induced by the past shape the tendencies which one can create for himself. Otherwise there is no meaning in saying that the past inheres in the present either as tendencies or impulses. All religions profess to find a way of release from the evil tendencies which one may inherit from the past. The Bhakti religions point to faith as the counter-acting or releasing force. Buddhism in the Hinayana School provides no escape. It teaches endurance and right conduct in the present so as to accumulate good Karma for the future. The Swami finds an analogy in Astrology which also, according to him, indicates tendencies only. There are compilations which profess to be encyclopaedias of horoscopes in every permutation and combination of the stars, forecasting the life story of each of the horoscopes. Such a work pre-supposes that the influence of the stars lead to permanent results not merely to tendencies. The Swami's explanation of the doctrine is not in accord not only with popular notions but with the authoritative teaching of the Bhagavad Gita which declares that the striver after knowledge starts in his next birth exactly at the point at which he broke off at his previous birth, being reborn in a family and in conditions favourable to further onward progress. The scheme described in the Gita is in perfect accord with the law of conservation of energy. The Gita also prescribes the method by which a man may work without being bound by Karma. The method is, to work with detachment, not caring for the rewards of action. This is the grand lesson of the Gita, a stupendous discovery in social philosophy. Work you must, says the Gita, you cannot live without action. But work without a selfish motive. That is the highest worship. That is the way to salvation.



## TELL IT TO THE PADRE.

The Executive Secretary of the Greater New York Federation of Churches makes an impassioned plea for a revitalized religion. The natural law of human relations, like physical law, he says, is cooperation. "Does law extend thus far and anarchy follow at the place where the universe can be consciously used and appreciated? Our present vast and profound disasters "warn us that law exists and that law has been broken." The Golden Rule, as stated by Jesus, "is a law, an inexorable law, an immutable law," and its focus is upon man's relations with his fellowmen.

The Church's concept of God, its vocabulary and its liturgy, have been carried over from the pre-scientific age and have no relevance to modern mental furnishing. But the concept of God found in Jesus' teaching coincides with that which emerges from the contemplation of natural law. The God of Nature, hidden in His works, "unfailingly demands of man that he understand and obey the law upon which his material welfare depends."

The Church must reevaluate its message, reformulate its vocabulary and revise its ritual, and also rethink its strategy. The implications of its principles for its own organized life, for interchurch and inter-denominational relations, for worship, fellowship, Christian education, and demands on Christian people must be translated into action.

## MENACE OF PROSELYTISM.

Proselytism is a great menace to our life, civilization and religion and has to be stopped. It has been going on now for the last one hundred and fifty years, and Protestant missions have been no better than the Catholics. As a matter of fact Protestants have taken the lead during this period. The things that are being done by the Catholics according to Mr. Verrier Elwin are being done more or less all over the country. That sinister work, Christian mass movements, has given a new charter to all the missions in India, and the pity of it is that we are blind to this menace.

The Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle* wrote in his editorial on the question discussed by Mr. Elwin that proselytism cannot be prevented. No land can allow itself to be invaded by alien missionaries as India has been for the last century and more. It cannot be tolerated and if it has been, it is because we are helpless. In 1815 Ram Mohan Roy raised his protest against this business of proselytism, and it is a pity that since his time none has felt the evil so much as he did then. The new order that must be established all over the world cannot allow such proselytism to go on, especially at the hands of aliens.  
—A HINDU LOVER OF CHRIST.

## ECONOMIST'S CASUISTRY.

In its attempt to meet Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas's criticism of its plea for whittling down the sterling obligations to India, the *Economist* is driven to a curious piece of casuistry. It says that British purchases in India were made at inflated prices. The inflated prices in India are not the result of scarcity of commodities. They are due to the depreciation of the Rupee owing to the expansion of the currency far beyond the needs of the country. This depreciation is directly due to the policies adopted by Britain not at the instance of India or even in consideration of her interests, but entirely from motives of imperial policy.

## SIR P. C. RAY'S TESTAMENT.\*

I have often said in my addresses to young men that I became a chemist almost by mistake; my predilections being always towards history, biography and general literature. There is nothing uncommon in it. Huxley has told us that though he earned his name and fame as a zoologist, philosophy and history having laid hold of him in this eccentric fashion have never loosened their grip. The monograph on Hume in the English Men of Letters series amply bears it out. Lord Haldane, eminent as he was in the field of philosophy, shed lustre on his profession as a lawyer and shone with equal brilliance as a statesman. Such instances can be multiplied.

I confess I am a strange contradiction. Although I am generally credited with being an industrialist, yet from the dawn of my intelligence the ephemeral character of the phenomenal world has haunted me, a disregard for worldly effects has become my second nature. Thus the writer lacks the essentials of a successful industrialist or businessman, as he has always realised the force of the saying, *Arthamanartham Bhavaya Nityama* that is to say:— "love of money is the root of all evil". So the dominant note running through his life is: "Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth; for where thy treasure is, there is thy heart also".

Any one who will take the trouble to go through these pages will, I hope, all the same find that there is a connecting link pervading my life-work and that activities are but part in a comprehensive piece. In other words, he will probably be convinced that I have not lived an aimless life.

It is unfortunate that in one's own memoir the frequent use of the first person singular cannot be dispensed with; one naturally lays oneself open to the reproach of egotism. An awful burden of responsibility has borne me down whenever I have to use it. Whatever field I have ploughed I have ploughed as an humble instrument in the hand of Providence: my failures are my own: to err is human. But my merits, if any, are to be attributed to the guidance of the All-knowing. Who chose me to be his humble instrument. After all, a Divinity shapes our ends. Lord Haldane in the closing words of his autobiography gives expression to his consciousness of this aspect in human efforts:—

"I have no sense of success on any very large scale in things achieved. But I have the sense of having worked and of having found happiness in doing so. Better that than mere honours and mere wealth, and mere esteem from men. For the happiness gained has a character in it of which nothing beyond can take the place. So far as external circumstances are concerned, I would not if I could take the chance of living life over again. A distinguished living statesman and man of the world once asked me whether, even with the aid of such knowledge as experience had brought, I would like to try to begin life anew. My answer was in the negative. "For", I added, "we are apt greatly to underrate the part which accident and good luck have really played in the shaping of our careers and in giving us such successes as we have had." His rejoinder was to the same effect as my answer to his question. 'I would not,' he said, 'myself try again, for I do not feel sure that good fortune, irrational as it has been, would attend me in the same way'. The contingent plays a large part even in the best ordered lives, and we do well to ask of philosophy to teach us how to make ourselves detached from the circumstances it brings, whether happy or otherwise. The best that ordinary mortals can hope for is the result which will probably come from

\* Epilogue to Dr. Roy's "Life and Experiences."

sustained work directed by as full reflection as is possible."

J. S. Mill, who is taken to be an agnostic (by some even regarded as an atheist) almost hints his belief in the doctrine of fatalism and predestination in the following passage :

"Some are born rich without work, others are born to a position in which they can become rich by work; the great majority are born to hard work and poverty throughout life, numbers to indigence. Next to birth the chief cause of success in life is accident and opportunity. When a person not born to riches succeeds in acquiring them, his own industry and dexterity have generally contributed to the result, but industry and dexterity would not have sufficed unless there had been also a concurrence of occasions and chances which falls to the lot of only a small number...Energies and talents are of much more avail for success in life than virtues. In the situation of most people no degree whatever of good conduct can be counted on for raising them in the world without the aid of fortunate accidents."

All through my varied activities I felt the force of the saying: "I commit myself to Thee, O Lord I make me Thy agent,"

I have ventured to say many things about the shortcomings of the Bengali with the fond hope that my timely note of warning will not be a cry in the wilderness. The Bengali has got many noble qualities and I am proud of my nationality and I glory in being a Bengali. In one essential aspect, however, he has proved to be a dismal failure, namely, in the art of earning his livelihood. The bread problem of the Bengali has been my obsession during the last forty years, and to my dismay I have been watching that in the land of his birth he is least able to stand the keen competition which faces him in every field. As I am writing these lines, I have been touring from village to village in my native district and keeping an eye on the boys and young men. Their stunted growth, and pale, anaemic, lack-lustre looks bear ample evidence of malnutrition. Helplessness is writ large on their countenance. A spirit of defeatism pervades, they are daily sinking down into a despondent rut. When the manhood of a nation in the prime vigour of life is sunk in despair and struck with mental palsy there can be no hope for the future. And yet, in the evening of my life, I cannot afford to to give up hopes.

As an humble educationist all through my life, it has been my painful duty to point out how the craze for university degrees has become an unfortunate source of many fatal drawbacks. The Bengalis are perhaps the worst victims of this craze and the result is, as Bernard Shaw puts it:—"A fool's brain digests philosophy into folly, science into superstition and art into pedantry." "Hence University Education." It is only too true that "a learned man is an idler who kills time with study. Beware of his false knowledge. It is more dangerous than ignorance. Activity is the only road to knowledge." Let me echo once more with the great writer: "When a man teaches something he does not know to somebody else who has no aptitude for it, and gives him a certificate of proficiency, the latter has completed the education of a gentleman." And thus becomes a failure all his life.

I have not spared any pains to dissect the Bengali character and to lay bare its weak points. Like a surgeon I have plunged the lancet deep into the flesh so as to remove the morbid tissue and apply healing balm. The Bengali people, after all, is my people, its faults are my faults; and its many redeeming qualities are equally my own. I have thus a moral right to take any liberty I like with it.

History is being recast and remade before our very eyes. Not long ago the Chinaman and the Turk, "the sickman of Europe", were held up to public ridicule and contempt by the overbearing occidental and were cited as instances of effete and worn out races. Under the guidance of Heaven-born leaders these people have at last been roused from their age-long slumber, have rejuvenated youth, to the amazement of an incredulous world.

There is no reason why the Bengali, or for the matter of that, the Indian, should lag behind and not fulfil his destiny. I almost hear the echoes of the organ voice of the author of *Areopagitica*.

"Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation, rousing herself like a strong man after sleep and shaking her invincible locks."

#### THE REACTION AGAINST CHINA.

Intelligent onlookers foresaw that the extravagant praise lavished on the Chiang-Kai-Shek regime during Madame Chiang's visit and even earlier in the United States was bound to bring its inevitable reaction. China has been placed on a pedestal as the fourth Great Power and she is finding the position uncomfortable. Help from the Allies, particularly from Great Britain and United States, without which China can hardly maintain herself against the Japanese aggressor, has been forthcoming in small measures. It has been explained that this is entirely due to difficulty of transport but the explanation does not improve the Chinese position. It is now alleged that the Chiang regime is corrupt and inefficient, that it is using its best troops to fight Chinese Communists and not the Japanese, that the Communists are really representative of the Chinese masses, and it is hinted that the United States should support the Communists against the present regime. Vice-President Wallace's visit to Chungking is reported to have for its object to promote a good understanding between the Chinese Communists and the Chiang Government. It may be recalled that recently a Soviet journal attacked the Chinese Government for half-heartedness in fighting Japan. While there is general agreement about the deterioration of the economic position, reports of the military situation are conflicting.

#### CATHOLIC COLONY, BANDRA.

Sir—"Brahman" refers in the *Reformer* of the 16th June to the Catholic Colony in Bandra. This is really not a colony for, as he says, a large proportion of the houses has non-Christian tenants. The Catholic Housing Society has leased a big slice of the best land in Bandra and its members have built houses on plots sub-let to them which they let to tenants without regard to religion, they themselves staying in their ancestral houses in Chapel Road and Chimbai.—OBSERVER.

#### CORONER'S VERDICT.

Sir,—Some time back an article with the above heading was published in your paper. The writer commented on the fatuity of finding that a person who deliberately does away with himself acts in a fit of temporary insanity. The Coroner's Jury on the Bombay Explosion victims has found that cotton in the ship carrying explosives took fire spontaneously and that nobody was responsible for the explosions which followed. Smoking a cigar where gunpowder is stored is by comparison a less dangerous act than storing cotton alongside of high explosives.—CURIOUS.

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

## THE REFORMER

The *Reformer* of July 8 was published 8 days later on Tuesday July 11. This had never happened before, and an explanation of the circumstances is due to our readers. The matter for the *Reformer* of July 1st was three-fourths ready, when the Paper Control Order was promulgated in Bombay. The Secretary of Industries and Civil Supplies Department was at once requested by telegram to exempt the *Reformer*, a journal of fifty-four years' standing, which had twice reduced its size since the commencement of the war, to its then size of eight foolscap pages, pointing out that its further reduction would cause considerable hardship. His reply did not come until Saturday. The *Reformer* of the 1st appeared with only two pages the quota prescribed, as usual printed on Friday. A short note in that issue explaining the reduction of size, referred to the "extraordinarily drastic and ill-considered" control order. The Manager of the Commercial Press at which the *Reformer* had been printed for twelve years took the unprecedented step of striking out the word "ill-considered" as objectionable. Protests were of no avail. There was obviously no alternative to changing the press. The matter left out of the *Reformer* of June 24, was printed off in the issue of July 1. The change of press thus necessitated led to the much regretted delay in the publication of the *Reformer* of July 8.

## MR. RAJAGOPALACHARI'S FORMULA

On Monday, the daily newspapers published the correspondence which had passed between Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and Mr. Jinnah. It related to certain terms for co-operation between the Congress and the Muslim League. These terms, to which we shall refer presently, had been put by him before Gandhiji, according to Mr. Rajagopalachari, in March 1943—this date should be noted. Gandhiji, according to Mr. Rajagopalachari, had expressed full approval of them and had authorised Mr. Rajagopalachari "to signify his approval of these terms should I convince you (Mr. Jinnah) of their being just and fair to all."

The terms, it would appear, were presented and discussed personally with Mr. Jinnah in the first week of April this year. The letter conveying them formally is dated April 8. Mr. Rajagopalachari understood Mr. Jinnah to have rejected them at the personal interview and requested him to reconsider his rejection. Mr. Jinnah did not reply at once. Mr. Rajagopalachari wrote to Mr. Jinnah on April 17 and receiving no reply telegraphed to Mr. Jinnah on April 30 informing him that he proposed to publish the terms and their rejection by Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Jinnah was at last moved to telegraph in reply that Mr. Rajagopalachari was wrong in thinking that he (Mr. Jinnah) had rejected the terms and that what he had said was that he would place them before the Working Committee of the Muslim League which would decide whether to accept or reject them, since Mr. Rajagopalachari had declared that they could not be modified.

Mr. Rajagopalachari thought that this was not necessary. He wanted Mr. Jinnah to express his personal approval or disapproval of the terms. The League Committee, he suggested, would not approve of the terms unless they had Mr. Jinnah's support beforehand. To a possible objection that Gandhiji's approval had not been endorsed by the Congress Working Committee, whose members were in detention, Mr. Rajagopalachari answered by anticipation that Gandhiji's personal influence will ensure their acceptance by the Congress Working Committee. Mr. Jinnah not only stuck to his position but wanted that Gandhiji himself should submit the terms in writing to the Working Committee of the Muslim League. Thereupon, Mr. Rajagopalachari wired back that private negotiation with Mr. Jinnah was at an end and he was publishing the correspondence. The terms proposed are:

1. Subject to the terms set out below as regards the constitution for a free India, the Muslim League endorses the Indian demand for independence and will co-operate with the Congress in the formation of a provisional interim Government for the transitional period.
2. After the termination of the war a commission shall be appointed for demarcating contiguous districts in the north-west and east of India wherein the Muslim population is in absolute majority. In the areas thus demarcated, a plebiscite of all the inhabitants, held on the basis of adult franchise or other practicable franchise, shall ultimately decide the issue of separation from Hindusthan. If the majority decides in favour of the formation of a sovereign state separate from Hindusthan, such a decision shall be given effect to, without prejudice to the right of the districts on the border to choose to join either state.
3. It will be open to all parties to advocate their points of view before the plebiscite is held.
4. In the event of separation, a mutual agreement shall be entered into for safeguarding defence, commerce and communications and other essential purposes.
5. Any transfer of population shall only be on an absolutely voluntary basis.
6. These terms shall be binding only in case of transfer by Britain of full power and responsibility for the governance of India.

Our first feeling was one of surprise. Gandhiji, if not Mr. Rajagopalachari, is a great stickler for obedience to rules on the part of a prisoner. Political talk had been forbidden to visitors to security prisoners. That Mr. Rajagopalachari should have discussed these terms with Gandhiji in April 1943, was against our preconception derived from the antecedents of the two men. It may be that permission had been obtained for this breach of rule. If so, why did not Mr. Rajagopalachari make the terms public or communicate them to Mr. Jinnah sooner than twelve months after their approval by Gandhiji? There was another and a weightier reason for our doubting the reliability of Mr. Rajagopalachari's statement.

In his speech at the All-India Congress Committee on August 8, 1942, Gandhiji had said:

Rajaji said to me: "I do not believe in Pakistan. But the Mussalmans ask for it. Mr. Jinnah asks for it, and it has become an obsession with them. Why not then say 'yes' to them just now? The same Mr. Jinnah will later on realise the disadvantages of Pakistan."

and will forego the demand." I said it is not fair to accept as true a thing which I hold to be untrue, and ask others to do so in the belief that the demand will not be pressed when the time comes for settling it finally. If I hold the demand to be just I should concede it this very day. I should not agree to it merely in order to placate Jinnah Saheb. Many friends have come and asked me to agree to it for the time being to placate Mr. Jinnah and disarm his suspicions and to see how he reacts to it. But I cannot be party to a course of action with a false promise. At any rate it is not my method.

What had happened between August 1942 and March 1943 to make Gandhiji resile completely from this clear and unequivocal declaration of his dissent from Mr. Rajagopalachari's method?

Our next feeling was that Gandhiji might not have grasped fully what he was agreeing to. Gandhiji had lost his devoted Secretary, Mahadev Desai. He had undergone the ordeal of a voluntary fast. He was suffering acutely from the imputations officially made against him. His appeals to the Viceroy to meet him in the detention camp or to grant him an interview has been refused. His life-partner, Kasturba, had died after long and painful suffering. The spirit may be willing but the flesh is weak. Even Gandhiji is a creature of flesh and blood. If Mr. Rajagopalachari who is his kinsman by marriage, had no scruple in pressing his formula on the broken-down spirit, even Gandhiji might not have been able to withstand it. If he had acquiesced or even given his full approval to the terms, should his approval be regarded as a free and valid approval?

There was yet another fact which added to the perplexity surrounding the episode. Mr. Rajagopalachari has withdrawn from the Congress. Gandhiji too was not even a four anna member of that party but he had nevertheless been formally chosen to be the leader of the movement by the A. I. C. C. Would Gandhiji who rightly insists that he cannot without consultation with his colleagues of the Working Committee of the Congress withdraw the August Resolution, have made Mr. Rajagopalachari, his spokesman in a matter affecting the policy of the National Congress? Our doubts were not allayed but rather aggravated by Mr. Rajagopalachari's appeal to the public to communicate with him and not with Gandhiji as the latter is too weak to deal with the question. All doubts, however, have been set at rest by Gandhiji's avowal to the correspondent of a London newspaper, published on Tuesday, that he approved and endorsed Mr. Rajagopalachari's formula. Gandhiji, notwithstanding his weakness, conversed with this correspondent for three hours.

Gandhiji has abdicated. He has after long years of toil and strife amply earned the right to request his people to relieve him of the burden which he has borne with infinite patience and steadfastness. Indians of all shades of political opinion would have joined in homage to the veteran of many hard-fought battles when he lays down the non-violent sword which he has wielded with marvellous skill and dexterity. But Gandhiji has not chosen the direct way. Instead of leaving it to his followers to choose their own leader, he has sought to foist upon them one who has great abilities but who does not inspire confidence in the integrity of his political judgment. Mr. Rajagopalachari has accepted a creed which Gandhiji denounced as lacking in honesty of purpose. Gandhiji too now accepts it and calls upon the country to deal with Rajagopalachari, on the proposal to vicesect India. Mr. Rajagopalachari has asked Indians to examine his formula on its merits. It is asking them to do the impossible. A plan which contemplates in cold blood even the remote possibility of dividing India has no merits to discuss. And Gandhiji's surrender comes at a time when the force of circumstances has daily impressed on every politician, economist, soldier and administrator the imperative need of Indian unity and, when as a consequence, the Pakistan section of the Muslim League is fast breaking up. We said it was impossible to discuss on its merits a scheme which countenances

the principle of a disruption of the age-long Indian unity. But, on its merits, the formula does not stand a moment's scrutiny. The interim arrangement, as Gandhiji explains it, is based on the division of the civil and war administration into two separate compartments, assigning the former to the Indian section of Government and the latter to the British section. In a "total" war such a distinction cannot work. The Civil or Indian section will have to comply with every requisition of the War section at the risk of being swept out of office. There will be constant friction between the two. The plan will not work. We are afraid, Mr. Rajagopalachari, after alienating the great non-Brahmin communities of his own province by his high-handedness, is seeking to overawe them with the help of the Muslim League.

#### LIBRARIES IN INDIA

The influx of a considerable number of foreigners, civilians and soldiers has induced enterprising publishers to issue small books dealing with various aspects of Indian life for their use. Many of these publications present a fairly correct picture without bias, racial or political. One of these, published by the Punjab Library Association, Forman Christian College, Lahore, is entitled "Library Movement in India", and is written by Mr. K. Nagaraja Rao, Librarian of Annamalai University. The booklet so far as it goes is a fair account of the movement to establish popular libraries in rural areas. The author explains that by the modern library movement he means the transmission of wisdom and culture recorded in books to every member of the community by Librarians and those connected with Library Associations. Even with this rather far-fetched definition, the statement in the opening paragraphs that the Library movement began in India about 1910 and that it was initiated by the late Sir Sayaji Rao in Baroda, is liable to mislead the foreigner whose notion of India is a primitive country, into thinking that Libraries did not exist in India before 1910. The author would have avoided this misimpression if he had prefixed a short introductory note about the existence of great ancient libraries in the monasteries, temples and palaces of Indian rulers. There is no reference also to important Modern Libraries, public and private, in several cities. The Baroda Library Movement was started by the late Maharaja not for any such ambitious purposes as the dissemination of wisdom but as an adjunct to popular education to prevent students from the elementary schools introduced in the State from lapsing into illiteracy for want of suitable reading after leaving school.

#### ORIGIN OF PAKISTAN

Mr. A. Forrester who is evidently in touch with Muslim League propaganda in London, in his letter published in last week's *Reformer* says "the Pakistan demand was formulated as long ago as 1933 by Mr. Choudhary Rehmat Ali, Founder-President of the Pakistan National Movement". The full story of the origin and growth of the Pakistan idea is given in Prof. Coupland's "Indian Politics". Prof. Coupland traces the idea to a speech of Sir Mahomed Iqbal in 1930 and its later propounders including Mr. Rehmat Ali's "Pakistan National Movement". But, he observes, "before 1937, Indian Muslims had taken the political unity of India for granted." There was no question of separation. Pakistan or Pakstan (as it was then spelt) was to be a part of India. Even this idea did not meet with the approval of the League Leader at the time. Prof. Coupland writes:—

When the delegation of the All-India Muslim Conference and the Moslem League appeared before the Joint Select Committee in August 1933, their spokesman was asked "whether there is a scheme for Federation of Provinces under the name of Pakistan?" "As far as I know," was the reply, "it is only a students' scheme." "So far as we have considered it," said another member of the delegation, "we have considered it chimerical and impracticable."

## INDIA AT THE MONETARY CONFERENCE

We complained last week of the meagreness of the news supplied of the Monetary Conference. We have since had a somewhat increased allowance. We were wrong in stating that Russia was not represented at the Conference. She is there all-right and made her presence felt by declining to disclose her gold holdings and production for the benefit of her competitors. Sir Shanmukham Chetty and not Sir Jeremy Raisman is leader of the Indian delegation. Mr. A. D. Shroff from Bombay has proved himself to be an able and energetic spokesman on behalf of India. In his speech demanding the release of sterling securities to be applied to industrial development he likened the position of India to that of a man who had a million dollars in the Bank but had no cash to pay his taxi fare. The analogy was not wholly apt. In such a case the position of the Bank would be more unenviable than that of the man. This point does not seem to have struck the leader of the British delegation, Lord Keynes, who left his economic hack, to get upon the high ethical steed. Britain and Russia, he claimed, had entered the war without counting the cost and Britain should not be penalised by being called upon to repay to India what she had taken from her. The French delegation also opposed India's demand on the ground that their assets have also been frozen by the Germans in occupied France, and if Britain was to clear her obligations to India, Germany should be required to return her loot to occupied France. The apology, besides being wide of the mark, is not complimentary to Britain, but as France voted with Britain against India, the British delegation made no protest against the comparison. It is the vote which counts.

## COTTON IN INDIA

Sir Sorab Saklatvala in a letter to the Press has stressed the importance of paying special attention to the cultivation of superior grades of cotton in India. It is necessary, he says, to devote maximum attention to the production of food crops during the war but after it, steps should be adopted to promote the increased cultivation of cotton. Even during the war, cotton should not be allowed to drop in the background. Among the largest section of the population cloth is as much a necessity of life as food. Indeed, it may be said to be an even greater necessity. Women will face starvation but they will die rather than go naked. Cases have been reported of women committing suicide because they were not able to buy saris. An undue curtailment of cotton cultivation may cause more grievous distress than want of food. But there is ample room for readjustment of the scales on which food and cotton have been grown in India. We grew cotton at the sacrifice of foodgrains in order to export them to countries like Japan which returned them as cloth to the detriment of the Indian textile industry. If India grows cotton primarily for her own consumption, there will be no occasion to trench on the acreage needed for growing food sufficient for our population. While on this point, we would stress the vast difference between our needs and the requirements of countries like Great Britain the raw material for whose industries, like their food, have to be imported from abroad. The principle of self-sufficiency is perfectly legitimate for a country circumstanced like India. The International Conferences are nearly all convened in the interests of the exploiting countries and India stands to gain nothing by them. The raw materials clause of the Atlantic Charter is positively prejudicial to India.

## CHINA — THE MARTYR NATION

The Vice-President of the United States, Mr. Henry Wallace, has returned from his visit to China. The object of his visit was stated to be to put heart into the Chinese struggling with meagre resources to resist the Japanese aggressor. It was said that Mr. Wallace would bring about a settlement of the differences between the Chinese Communists and the Chiang Kai-Shek Government. Mr. Wallace on his return had a two hour interview with the President and in answer to a question from newspapermen, said that the situation in China was "very grave." What exactly this meant, whether the Vice-President intended to suggest that the Chinese may not be able to hold out longer against the invader and that the Allies, especially the United States, should to all intents and purposes themselves undertake the defence of China, it would be interesting, as it is important, to know. If China which is on the verge of economic collapse, if she has not already collapsed, is able, as the British Premier seems to believe, to hold the enemy at bay for an indefinite period until the Allies after disposing of Hitler, are free to turn their arms against the Japanese, it would be a remarkable disproof of the belief that only wealthy nations can preserve their independence. The alternative to this is that the Japanese are content with the large slice of China under their control and do not do anything more for the present except by way of reminding their neighbours occasionally of their presence. The American bombers have been busy over Japan but it seems generally to be admitted that it is impossible to subdue Japan solely from the skies. The position is not at all clear to lay people. Anyhow China and the Chinese have the whole-hearted sympathy of India in their long-drawn-out agony and the warm good wishes of the people of this country for a speedy end to their trials and tribulations. It is seven years since the Japanese invaded China proper, and the end seems to be not yet in sight.

## THE POST-WAR WORLD

(By E. Dixell Chase)

The struggle of German churchmen against the Nazis has been a long and bitter one. By material standards the Nazis thought for a time that they had won. But they know better now. Not only in Germany, but throughout Europe, the Nazis have suffered a defeat at the hands of religion which in the long run will count for more than their defeat at the hands of the armies of the United Nations.

It has been said that this is a war for men's souls. And so it is. But the "war" has been going on a lot longer than this military war. And it will no doubt continue long after the military war has come to an end. It is the age-old struggle between good and evil, and the fact that the struggle is taking place *within* Germany as well as between the oppressed people of other countries and the Nazi invaders shows how unrealistic it is to try to describe it solely as a war between nations, with all the good residing with one group of nations and all the evil with another. The results of World War I gave us a bitter demonstration of how meaningless victory of arms alone really is.

There is a magnificent account of how the Church in Germany fought successfully against the Nazis to be found in a book entitled *Until That Day*, by Kressmann Taylor, published by Duell, Sloan and Pearce in 1942. It is the story of a young German theological student, whose father was a minister who fought bravely from his pulpit and went to concentration camp. The student eventually escaped from Germany to tell his story to Mr. Taylor, and it is a good thing to read now when there is danger of losing our perspective on such elementary but important



things as righteousness and justice. The student tells how his father, after delivering one of his most challenging sermons against the Nazi doctrines, found outside his church at least a thousand men and women who had not been able to find space inside. His father, the student related, smiled proudly, and said: "There is more toughness in Christianity than the Nazis have counted on." And he put on his robes again and prepared to give a second service for those who had waited outside.

P. A. Sorokin, the Harvard sociologist, points out in his book, *Man and Society in Calamity*, that in the great calamities of history, there has been what he calls a "polarization of the effects of calamity upon ethico-religious behaviour". In other words, the extremes of "goodness" and "badness" in behaviour are accentuated. At one end of the scale there is the increase of lawlessness, hoodlumism, debasement of moral standards; while at the other end of the scale, there is a marked renewal of spiritual and ethical consciousness. Who are the "sinners" and who are the "saints"? Sorokin finds that in general the person who turns toward the "good" end of the scale in a calamity is the person whose system of values is well integrated and not limited to material things, and who carries out his beliefs in his daily actions. The contrary description gives you a picture of the "sinner". There are "sinners" and "saints" in all countries, on both sides of the battle line. Our job is to find the "saints" both at home and abroad and seek common cause with them in the fight that will begin when the war ends.

—*Worldover Press.*

#### RURAL AND URBAN

While Indian industrialists are fascinated by Soviet industrial achievements, and politicians by Soviet constitution, one important aspect of Soviet policy has escaped notice. It is the abolition of the distinction between town and country, rural and urban, which in India is regarded as unchangeable. The new monthly, the *Punjab Times*, has a brief account of this feature of Soviet policy:

How was the old city built? In the centre a fortress, a kremlin, an inner citadel. Around this centre a ring of markets, shops, and stores grew up. And when they began to build factories a third ring of the city appeared—the factory district. Among these shops, markets, and factories they erected dwellings—the better ones in the heart of the city and the poorer ones in the outskirts. A new city will not be built thus. Its centre will be, not a fortress, or a market, but a factory or an electric power station. About each large electric power station, about each large factory or union of factories, a city will spring up. Not the grey walls of a fortress with stone teeth and lookout towers, but a green wall of parks will separate the heart of the city—the factory—from the residential sections. This green wall will protect the city from the smoke and soot of factory chimneys. And the block will be different. From the central square, like the rays of the sun, avenues and boulevards will radiate in all directions. Buildings will not stand in a row like soldiers, all facing one way. Each dwelling will turn towards the sun in order to get as much of its light as possible. White house-communes, schools, libraries, hospitals, will be surrounded with flower-beds. At every entrance you will be greeted by green giants—oaks, pines, lime trees. Happy singing of birds and the calm, sustained refreshing voice of trees, instead of the present clang and rumble and roar, will be heard in the streets of the city. There will be none of that incessant bustle and scramble which now shatter the nerves of all of us city dwellers. Insti-

tutions will be situated far from dwellings. People must live in quiet and peaceful places. There will be less traffic in the streets and no such colossal cities as we now have. A city of one hundred thousand inhabitants will be considered too large. Every future city will be a workers' village near a factory. And factories and unions of factories will not all be brought together in one centre as at present: they will be distributed throughout the entire country according to a rational plan. Our raw materials are found, not in one place either, but in thousand places. This is the way a city will be built. But how about the village? There will be no village. Bread and meat and milk will be secured from factories in *govfarms* and *colfarms*. Around each of these agricultural factories other factories will be constructed—food, flour, conserve, meat, refrigeration. All of these will constitute a single union of factories, but agricultural rather than industrial. And around each of these unions a city will rise—an agricultural city. This means that the difference between city and village, between peasant and workman, will disappear. Even the words *peasant* and *labourer* will pass away. Only the word *worker* will remain.

#### DR. P. C. RAY AND THE ROYAL SOCIETY

"An Indian Scientist", writing in the Dr. P. C. Ray Memorial Supplement of the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, reveals why Acharya Ray was not admitted to the Fellowship of the Royal Society. "The truth may be told now", he writes.

The late Sir Henry Roscoe, Prof. Henry Armstrong and many others in the Royal Society were his great admirers and were anxious that he should be elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. His name was proposed, I think in 1916, and he was requested by Roscoe to come to England and make the acquaintance of certain other members of the Royal Society. But as ill luck would have it, the Government of India appointed at that time an Industrial Commission presided over by Sir Thomas Holland. A gentle hint was given to Sir P. C. Ray that in his evidence to this Commission and also to other bodies which followed as a sequel, e.g., the Indian Chemical Services Commission, of which he was a member, he should be a little discreet. But patriotism was a stronger feeling with Sir P. C. Ray than any other motive. When he found that the object of the Chemical Services Commission was not to help India but it was to provide for a number of young British chemists at fancy salaries to find out the chemical resources of India and exploit them in the interest of the British capitalists, he not only wrote a very strong minute of dissent but carried on an agitation in the British papers. One can hunt up the columns of "Nature" from 1920 to 1923 for the correspondence on the subject. He made no secret that he wanted freedom for India and he wanted that the Chemical Services Commission should be manned entirely by Indians.

In his presidential address to the Science Congress held at Nagpur in 1920, Sir P. C. Ray pleaded in strong terms for the Indianisation of the Indian scientific services. All these activities did not make him a *persona grata* with the powers that be. A campaign was started in England that he was anti-British and anti-Imperialist, in which some of the scientists who came to India in connection with one or two of these Commissions, took a prominent part, e.g., Sir Edward Thorpe, who was the President of the Indian Chemical Services Commission. The result was that all his chances of being admitted as a Fellow of the Royal Society vanished.

The Acharya was made a C.I.E. and a Knight notwithstanding his political views. The Royal Society is generally believed to be a purely scientific body and it is strange that Dr. Ray's politics should have come in the way of his being admitted to its Fellowship.

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

## MR. RAJAGOPALACHARI'S FORMULA

We quoted in the leading article in last week's *Reformer* the "formula" submitted to Mr. Jinnah by Mr. Rajagopalachari as the basis of an agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League. For convenient reference we quote them again:

1. Subject to the terms set out below as regards the constitution for a free India, the Muslim League endorses the Indian demand for independence and will co-operate with the Congress in the formation of a provisional interim Government for the transitional period.

2. After the termination of the war a commission shall be appointed for demarcating contiguous districts in the north-west and east of India wherein the Muslim population is in absolute majority. In the areas thus demarcated, a plebiscite of all the inhabitants, held on the basis of adult franchise or other practicable franchise shall ultimately decide the issue of separation from Hindusthan. If the majority decides in favour of the formation of a sovereign state separate from Hindusthan, such a decision shall be given effect to, without prejudice to the right of the districts on the border who choose to join either state.

3. It will be open to all parties to advocate their points of view before the plebiscite is held.

4. In the event of separation, a mutual agreement shall be entered into for safeguarding defence, commerce and communications and other essential purposes.

5. Any transfer of population shall only be on an absolutely voluntary basis.

6. These terms shall be binding only in case of transfer by Britain of full power and responsibility for the government of India.

Mr. Jinnah had declined to express his opinion on these terms which he had offered to place before the Working Committee of the Muslim League if Gandhiji sends them for that purpose. It is surprising to be told by Raja Maheshwar Dayal, former General Secretary of the Hindu Mahasabha, that these terms were substantially the ones which Mr. Jinnah himself drew up to form the basis of an agreement between the League and the Mahasabha. The *Pioneer* of Lucknow published the following statement of the Raja Saheb:

The leader of the Muslim League endorses the national demand for freedom as adumbrated in the resolution of August 30, 1942, of the Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha and expresses the League's readiness to join other parties to fight for and win freedom immediately provided a settlement is reached with the League guaranteeing certain broad principles. In the event of such a settlement being reached the League will co-operate in the formation of provincial composite government.

The broad principles to be agreed to are that after the war:—

(a) A commission shall be appointed to mark out contiguous areas in the north-west and north-east of India where the Muslim population is in majority.

(N.B.—Mr. Jinnah personally told Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji, Chairman of the Special Committee when he met him in September, 1942, that majority did not actually mean 51 per cent. It should be more, say, 55 per cent.)

(b) In these two areas there shall be a universal plebiscite and if the majority of the population vote in favour of a separate sovereign state, such a state shall be formed.

(c) In the event of separation Muslims shall not demand any safeguard for Muslim minority in Hindustan. It will be open to the two Indias to arrange on a reciprocal basis, safeguards for religious minorities in the respective states.

(d) There shall be no corridor between the two Muslim areas in the north-west and north-east of India but the two areas shall constitute one sovereign state.

(e) Indian States shall be left out of consideration.

(f) A government machinery shall be provided for giving due facilities for transfer of population absolutely on voluntary basis.

Raja Maheshwar Dayal proceeds to say that he placed these terms before a conference convened by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in December 1942 at which Mr. Rajagopalachari was present. He (the Raja) gave a copy of the terms to Mr. Rajagopalachari. The latter called the Raja Saheb to Delhi on March 24, 1943. The Raja adds that he again got in touch with Mr. Jinnah who, to his great surprise, was unwilling to accept the terms which he himself had offered in September 1942. The Raja repeatedly emphasised that he himself did not approve of the terms. He was evidently acting at the instance of Mr. Rajagopalachari who meanwhile had secured Gandhiji's acceptance of them. In view of the Raja's express declaration, Mr. Jinnah's allegation that Mr. Rajagopalachari had misunderstood him to have rejected the terms, requires explanation. It is not clear whether the Raja took the terms as drafted by Mr. Jinnah or as revised by Mr. Rajagopalachari to Mr. Jinnah in March 1943. Why the Raja should have agreed to play the intermediary in regard to terms of which he himself disapproved, also needs explanation. Did Gandhiji know of Mr. Jinnah himself having drafted the original of the Rajagopalachari formula?

## THE STERLING CREDITS

The Monetary Conference, when the question of India's sterling credits in Britain was raised, decided that it was improper to discuss the subject there. The question of sterling credits was a matter for bilateral agreement between Britain and India. Britain, urged the British delegation, would see that India was not victimised for her credits. The Monetary Conference is over and Britain has discovered that the sterling subject is one which is not only between India and Britain. There must be some general basis agreed on to deal with such conditions which were fairly widespread. And the adjustment must be in the interests of both debtor and creditor. Of all relations that of creditor and debtor are the hardest to reconcile. The only basis fair to the creditor is full settlement. This in ordinary circumstances would not be regarded as unfair to the debtor. But somehow expenditure on a war is justified to an unlimited extent. Sir John Anderson, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, observed in Parliament that the sterling disease was general. Many countries had contracted it. The meaning is that sterling is now at a false value

abroad. Britain owes India £1,000 million and it is said with great complacency that it will owe much more. Obviously the credit is unsought by India and thrust upon her. No creditor goes on lending money of which there is no prospect of return. If any international standard is reached, it should be on a world basis. The world is not interested in bolstering up the value of sterling. To British politicians that is the only preoccupation. Mr. Churchill has said that he has no opinion of a man who lives within his income. The British Premier is apt to extend his personal standards to national life. In private dealings the debtor has to settle in currency which he cannot manipulate. If he cannot, there is the technique of the insolvency court which gives him relief but forces him to declare his position. The least that can now be hoped for, is the adoption of similar methods in international affairs.

### DECENTRALIZATION AND THE NEW FRONTIER

Many people consider decentralization a flight from reality or a fad of idealists who want to live their lives above the clouds, potter around with home production and cultivate romantic traditions.

Those who hold such opinions had better change their minds. Decentralization, both of cities and of industries, is likely to be anything but a fad. It may even prove an inescapable necessity if modern civilization is to be preserved and the economic system of our age is to attain stability. It may be the only means of providing the "frontier" which is such an essential characteristic of a dynamic economy. The sooner the process is intelligently set in motion on a large scale the better. If it is not taken up voluntarily as the device of a new social synthesis, it may eventually force itself on our society as an involuntary disintegration.

Involuntary disintegration is a painful experience for any society, whether it takes the shape of bankruptcy or a general prolonged depression or war and revolution. It has happened before, and many explanations have been given for its occurrence, ranging all the way from the direct intervention of providence to the latest idea of Spengler or Sorokin on the life cycle or progressive stages of civilization which unfold as a law of life.

Another suggestion is made here. It may seem novel. It is based on the consideration of very simple physical conditions which apply to production and consumption. Man has no influence over these conditions. For that reason they may play a decisive part in bringing about social disintegration. How this may come about will be clear if it is remembered that development as far as a civilization is concerned consists in the transformation of a primitive agricultural society into more urbanized forms. *Civis* means "of the city". Civilization means growth of cities. As long as this growth continues, society is thriving. People have work and enough of it. They produce. As producers they receive wages. Spending their wages they become consumers.

But the building of cities removes people from the country. It separates the workers from their subsistence. And what is even more important, it changes the character of their work.

The production of food is a continuous process. Year in and year out the farmer must produce a harvest. Day in and day out the housewife feeds the products of that harvest to those who are in her care. The product disappears in the process. Always the work must go on.

The work of the city is different. Building a house, for instance, is a manifold activity. It requires many skills. Fitting it for habitation

requires many more. The same applies to all the many products of a growing civilization. Few men will do many things well. Therefore the more skills, the greater the variety of workers. When civilization develops, workers are in great demand, and as they flock to the city, more houses and furnishings and churches and municipal buildings must be built. The city grows in one place. It grows in many places. Trade grows.

But the things which the industrial workers of a city civilization produce do not disappear within one year as do the products of the farmer. It is our contention that this simple difference in two basic types of production may be the fundamental cause of the trouble which mankind has fallen into from time to time whenever civilizations have declined. Although this cause is of purely physical origin, the consequences may stretch into all spheres of human activity, causing dislocation and disintegration over long period of time.

Why is this true? Man's ability to consume depends on his participation in production as a worker. Since the demand for the farmer's products renews itself continuously, the farmer's work likewise renews itself continuously and on the same scale. Since the products of artisans and industrial workers last, it takes more effort to fill an initial demand of a growing civilization than it will take to maintain what has once been produced. Thus the work in the city does not renew itself continuously on the same scale. From a certain point the demand for a certain product will slacken. Workers are no longer needed in the same numbers. Unless they find other work, they go out of production, which reduces their ability to consume, puts other workers out of production, and so on.

There is something wrong somewhere. Unless new products and new industries are added to old ones, trouble will be growing. Even the addition of new industries or new markets cannot continue indefinitely. And always the products of industry are likely to be more lasting than the food products of agriculture. Sooner or later, therefore, the fact will assert itself in the manner we have indicated. There is no labour movement, or taxation scheme, or manipulation of bonds, or protective tariffs, or free trade, or new deal, or public works, however vast, that can change this basic fact. Man has to accept the fact just as he accepts the law of gravitation, then act accordingly. The sensible thing would be to bring the superfluous workers from a contracting industrial work schedule back into the continuous work schedule of agriculture whence they came only a few generations ago. That means decentralization. It means decentralization on a very large scale.

If the challenge is not met in time, things will begin to work their own way. Indeed, this war itself is but a part of this involuntary and destructive process due to the absence of intelligent application of the principle. The disintegration that begins in a small way at one point will spread. Just as employment adds to employment on the way up, unemployment adds to unemployment on the way down. The process may last for several generations.

Within the last thousand years white man's civilization has seen three major cycles which can be explained in the manner we have indicated. The first cycle began before 1100 A.D. and lasted to the middle or the end of the fourteenth century. This is the great period of city building in North and North-western Europe. The second wave began before the discoveries and lasted to the middle of the eighteenth century, bringing expansion and growth of cities all over Europe during the Renaissance. The third cycle began in England about the middle of the eighteenth century and passed its peak in 1929. All our modern industrial cities have developed within that period.

It is well to keep in mind this basic law when the future of the white man's civilization is up for discussion these days, and ask ourselves whether it is necessary for this process toward equilibrium to be thus involuntary and wasteful.

L. R. NIENSTAEDT.

#### PERSIAN VISITOR'S IMPRESSIONS OF INDIA

H. E. Ali Asghar Hekmat, Leader of the Iranian Cultural Mission to India, speaking at the Anglo-Persian Institute in Teheran on June 6, 1944, gave the impressions of the delegation about India. He said :

The first thing which impressed us was the number of very eminent personalities we were fortunate enough to meet. It was thought in olden days that learning and culture were confined in India among the Pundits and the Maulvis, and that one could only see Yogis and Fakirs with their long hairs and naked bodies busy entertaining people with their miraculous feats. We were soon undeceived, for we found to our amazement that there was a very huge class of learned men and erudite scholars, spread all over the country with M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from various universities of the world, so that people with B.A. degrees were considered as ordinary members of society. These people are becoming experts in various fields of activity—politics, trade, industry and science—and, wherever they are, putting their knowledge to use. This is especially noticed in the Government councils and the provincial ministries, where one finds people from different classes and with different religions rubbing shoulder with each other and all equal in their learning and their standard of efficiency. To give you an example, I may mention that I was fortunate to meet three prominent members of the Government of India : one of them was an Englishman who wore a felt hat and was clean shaven; the second was dressed in Punjabi costume, he had a turban and a long beard; the third had a clipped moustache. One was Sir Olaf Caroe, Secretary for Foreign Affairs; the second Sir Jogendra Singh, Member for Education—a Sikh; and the third, Sir Sultan Ahmed, Member for Information—a Muslim. With such a marked difference in their appearance, religion and race, all three were very learned men and showed very keen interest in Indian affairs.

The same mutual collaboration was noticeable in the cities we visited; for in one city, such as Bombay, we found English Governor and an Indian Collector and a Parsee Mayor. In another province the Minister of Education was a Hindu and the Mayor a Muslim. In some universities an Englishman occupied the post of Vice-Chancellor, in another a Muhammadan and in the third a Hindu. This happy mixture made us realise how the various elements of India, with their different creeds and principles, collaborated with each other in an efficient and well-disciplined manner for the upkeep of their country.

If we are asked what was to be found in India, we are bound to say that India is a very vast country and there can be found nothing but universities. The reason is very plain; for we did see nothing but these educational centres. This reminds me of the story I read about an American tourist who, when his boat dropped anchor at Dieppe, observed from the deck a French lady with very red hair. He returned to his country and published his diary in which it was mentioned that France was a country occupied by red-haired ladies! Anyhow, I do not intend to give you a headache by giving a very detailed account of the Indian universities, for enough has been said on the subject. I only mention that there is a Muslim University called Aligarh University, whose Vice-Chancellor is Sir Ziauddin

Ahmed, a very well-known mathematician and educationist; and a Hindu University at Benares presided over by Sir S. Radhakrishnan who was a professor of Philosophy in Oxford. In these two universities are respectively centred all Muhammadan and Hindu learning. India possesses three very old universities, namely, the universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras founded in 1857.

These three centres will celebrate their centenary within the next 15 years. The universities of the Punjab and Allahabad are relatively younger in age but still quite old. Sir Abdur Rahman, a former High Court Judge and a very prominent and highly esteemed Muslim, is the Vice-Chancellor at Lahore, while Dr. Jha, one of the most erudite Hindu scholars, presides over the Allahabad University.

Persian language forms a special department in many universities. The department works under a professor and one reader and several lecturers who guide the students who choose Persian as one of their main subjects. Among the professors of the universities there are some who have an international reputation. The names of Sir J. Ghosh, Director of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore; Sir C. V. Raman, famous Indian physicist and Nobel Prize winner; Dr. Bainsi Pershad, Director of the Zoological Survey, Dr. A. L. Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University and Dr. Jha, Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University, come easily to one's mind. There are of course other eminent scholars whom we had not the privilege to meet.

Well, when we arrived in India we found that the conditions were quite different from what we had imagined. We saw a very modern country equipped with a system of railroads, hotels, factories, airports and wireless. We also found that ancient and historical monuments such as the tomb of Emperor Humayun, the Fort at Delhi, the Mosque at Lahore and the Golkonda fort in Hyderabad were looked after with the same care as the Greek and Roman monuments of Europe are cared for in the modern world. This is of course due to the valuable services of the Archaeological Department of the Indian Government which has kept up the keen interest for the preservation of historical monuments revived from Lord Curzon's time.

We were of course very keen to see the Indian fauna and more especially the serpents and the cobras of which so much has been said, and a few beautifully coloured peacocks in the zoological gardens. We grew very impatient, however, to see some elephants and were finally forced to ask the help of the Collector of Allahabad. He very kindly telephoned to a place some 20 miles distant, and arranged two elephants to be brought to a public garden for us to look at. This of course seems very disappointing to those who regard India as a place of strange animals. For any curious tourist, however, who wishes to travel inland and go to the northern and eastern mountains or visit villages and go hunting in the jungles there would of course be no disappointment in this respect.

What astonished us most in India was the various costumes one sees in different localities. Every place has a turban of its own. Among some people the Egyptian fez is in vogue, whilst among others you see the lambskin hat after the manner of the Afghans or conical black hat of soft cloth of old Iran. They usually put on very loose trousers tied around their waist, but one also finds very tight trousers which stick very tightly to the legs. At a dinner party where the dinner jacket is usually worn, one may find an Indian with a white shirt or with a tight-collared long coat, sometimes with shining black shoes and at times with sandals or slippers without stockings. Hence India is very aptly called "the country of hundred turbans and hundred tongues."

The Indian varies in physical features according to race and to the place he inhabits. In the northern provinces, one meets white-skinned and tall men—the Punjabis; the brown-skinned and slender people are found in the Central Provinces, Sind and Bombay Presidency. Lastly, very black people with very white teeth, bright eyes, long hair and elegant body are encountered in the South and in Madras.

India is an agricultural country and the Indian lives and maintains himself on agriculture. There are hundreds of thousands of villages scattered all over India, where one always is sure to find a Hindu temple side by side with a mosque and very often, to our special delight, a school. There are of course no big or collective farms as are found in America or in Soviet Russia, but the land is divided into very small lots and this constitutes one of the main reasons for the poverty of the peasantry. If, however, as it is planned for the post-war period, they succeed in changing the present agrarian system of the country they will reap a very bountiful harvest and India can equal the great agrarian countries of the world.

Among many things we did see in India one did strike us as very important and left a lasting impression upon us; and that was the excellent morale of the people. Apparently, India is politically divided into two main parties: namely, the Congress, formed by the Hindu element, and the Muslim League,—both composed of all the various sects and creeds. There are of course other smaller parties, but those two are the most important and widely spread. They differ in political principles.

#### MISSIONARIES IN MANDLA DISTRICT

Sir,—Dr. Elwin in his last article in the *Reformer* brings forward some so-called revealing cases. We have no details and have called for information: owing to monsoon conditions it will take some time to reach us. However, we are not afraid to take up the challenge, even without going into details, because Dr. Elwin's article even so offers plenty of scope for comment. Let us see how this eminent Oxford scholar has forgotten the most elementary rules of debate and caters to mob indignation. Firstly: he bases his attack on the impertinence of those "foreigners to give instructions to and threaten Government officials". But anyone can see that the Patwari was not addressed in his capacity of Government official but as the father of his son, even though he was addressed Patwari Sahib. This, of course, apart from the question whether it was justified or not. Moreover, the name Xalxo very surely is not a Dutch name. It is a name found among the aboriginal tribes, either the Uraons or the Mundas. Xalxo is, therefore, not one of those despicable foreigners speaking to the Patwari Sahib. And is Dr. Elwin sure whether Xalxo wrote that letter on his own authority or with the knowledge of the Priest? Only in the latter case can the Priest be held responsible.

We have shown already in another article why teachers come for their pay on Saturdays and Sundays. We again deny that anyone—Catholic or non-Catholic—has been or would be refused his legitimately earned salary if he refuses to attend Church or say "Jai Jesu".—Then: his referring to the medal having on one side the image of the Queen of Heaven, and on the other side the "unprepossessing features of the Pope who blessed Bodoglio's armies . . . etc." We have never heard that H. H. Pius XI at the time officially blessed the Italian armies on their way to the rape of

Abbyssinia, nor, it may be observed, does the medal show H. H. in the act of any blessing: it has simply the features. The Sovereign Ruler of the Vatican State, with whom His Majesty the King Emperor has friendly diplomatic relations, is at the same time the spiritual head of the Catholic Religion. His Majesty's diplomats enjoyed the hospitality of the present Sovereign Pontiff in the Vatican Palaces as long as Great Britain was at war with Italy, and during the occupation of Rome by the German troops. Mr. Anthony Eden in the House of Parliament repeatedly has expressed his grateful acknowledgment of the signal services rendered by His Holiness towards the British prisoners of war. It is utterly mean of Dr. Elwin to try and use anti-Italian feeling against Priests who are Dutch subjects, a nation for which in a former article he expressed his admiration as a gallant ally. What a glorious thing it would be if he could so scare the Government about those "foreign Priests" distributing medals of "Italian potentates" in inaccessible parts of the country, "far from public control", and have all of them locked up in a concentration camp. Dr. Elwin indeed stoops deep to gain his point regarding the Excluded Areas.

Further: about that unfortunate boy who had been tricked so badly but was finally rescued by the gallant Dr. Elwin. On his being baptised "he was given a horse and a gift of money". As said already: we have no details. Even so, it looks absurd to us on the face of it. Does the public really believe that every person baptised is given a horse and a sum of money, or the equivalent thereof? The public should at least be credited with some horse-sense. Dr. Elwin does not cease to express his admiration for those Dutch Fathers, "their heroic sacrifice and their profound learning", as he calls it in a former article, and implies in his subsequent publication that he does mean those working in the Mandla District. We quite see through that game which is meant only as a smokescreen from behind which he may hit the better.

J. M. NAIRD,  
Secretary, the Prefecture Apostolic  
of Jubbulpore.

#### INDUSTRIALISATION OR CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM?

SIR.—For a week after Gandhiji's release there was a widespread belief that it was the prelude to a liberal policy in Indian affairs. Then suddenly the hope died off. What had happened? The British Press which had sneered at the Industrialists' Plan suddenly veered round and began to praise it. It was welcomed as a substitute for a constitutional reform. The *Manchester Guardian* applauded the wisdom in nominating Sir Ardeshir Dalal, whom the paper identified as the author of the plan, to the Executive Council of the Viceroy. The Viceroy refused the interview which Gandhiji sought driving Gandhiji to seek an agreement with Mr. Jinnah on the basis of dividing the country. It is rumoured that Mr. M. N. Roy or Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, both bitter opponents of the plan, may be nominated to represent Labour in the Executive Council. If this happens, Sir Ardeshir will have his pitch queered pretty nicely and as he is no match in experience of public life to either Roy or Jamnadas, he will have to follow Sir H. P. Mody out of the Council at no distant date.

—Scrutator.



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

## A SPIRITUAL REVIVAL

Nothing is more certain than that following this war or the next—for there is bound to be a next unless there is a regenerated humanity after this war—there would be a great spiritual movement to produce a new and higher type of man. The post-war plans largely contemplate continuance of the old lines of national progress to be made secure from aggression by military power. That this method has disastrously failed to prevent war—has, indeed, been the great fomentor of wars and will be so always—is lost sight of or deliberately ignored. Human nature, we are told, will always remain what it is and cannot be altered. Greed and hatred are permanent inmates of the human heart. Future plans should assume them as postulates and devise means of counteracting them by physical force. This is the materialist view. Religion, however, does not accept this view. Religion believes in the infinite possibilities of elevating and transforming human nature in its perfection. Ample confirmation of this belief is afforded by the example of saints and sages in all ages, and communities so long as they were influenced by great spiritual personages. The method of physical force has been effectively banished in the internal economy of society and nations. Peace and goodwill among nations is not an idle dream. If we did not believe in the possibility of elevating human nature, we might give up all hope of preventing wars and aggression. Happily there are men among all nations who hold as a faith the perfectability of human nature. They are not so vociferous as the economists and politicians. But they are quietly working out their plans and the world weary and worn will turn to them for guidance and help.

## THE RAJAGOPALACHARI PLAN

We reprint passages from leading articles in most of the important Indian daily newspapers on the Rajagopalachari Plan, endorsed by Gandhiji. We are not able to include the comments of the *Searchlight* of Patna and the *Leader* of Allahabad as the two newspapers do not seem to have made any editorial comment on the Plan. Except where specially noted the generality of the papers are pro-Gandhi and pro-Congress in their general policy. The *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*, the *Hindu* and the *Tribune*, three daily newspapers of the largest standing, welcome the publication of the Jinnah-Rajaji correspondence as exposing the insincerity of the former's professions. The *Hindustan Times* though not of similar standing, has an importance in this context as its Editor is related as son and son-in-law to the two sponsors of the Plan, Gandhiji and Rajaji. In contrast to the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*, the other Calcutta daily, the *Hindustan Standard*, speaks of consternation and complains bitterly that the provinces whose interests are most vitally affected by the Plan, have not been given any opportunity of examining it and expressing their views on

it. The two Karachi newspapers, the *Daily Gazette* and the *Sind Observer*, differ similarly in their comments. The *Daily Gazette* argues that it is unreasonable to ask the Congress to concede Pakistan before it is in a position to do so by becoming master of a free India. In other words, the formula means, help the Congress to get independence and it will give the Muslim League Pakistan as the reward for its assistance. The *Hitavada*, the only Liberal paper which has commented on the Plan, condemns it outright. The *Dawn*, the organ of the Muslim League, attacks Mr. Rajagopalachari for representing Mr. Jinnah as having rejected the proposals. He has only asked that Gandhiji himself should submit them to the League and they will be considered and decided upon by the League in due course. Rajaji's demand is that Mr. Jinnah must express his opinion of the scheme offhand as Gandhiji has done, and that the League and the Congress will follow.

## THE FUTURE OF GERMANY

Hiram Motherwell of the Committee for Economic Development discusses the problem of what to do with Germany in a pamphlet, *Germany*, published by Western Reserve University Press in a new series of Reference Pamphlets. He surveys briefly the history of Germany to show some of the reasons for German militarism. He believes that "potential democratic forces" will appear when the Nazi officials are removed. Among these are "newly improvised trade unions, co-operative societies, farmers' leagues, and professional groups, supplied with some measure of emergency political consciousness by the skeleton political parties which may be expected to emerge from underground." These, he believes, will organize local government if they are allowed to do so. The only alternatives to this are "revolution and a restoration of Junker Germany." If the German people are to have a chance to "take their place in a peaceful world society" there must be "at least the breaking up of the large landed estates on which the Junker class has flourished through the centuries, and the collectivizing, in some form or other, of Germany's basic industrial properties which have provided the sinews of war to German militarism." Mr. Motherwell sees no hope for peace in any attempt to treat the whole country as "a congenital criminal" or to break it up into "small hopeless parts." The Nazi army must be rendered impotent but if "popular front" forces are in control Germany should be allowed to retain enough military power "to protect the republic from the outlaw Nazis and from freebooting regiments of the old Junker generals." In so far as possible properties stolen by the Nazis must be returned to their original owners. Where that is not possible the industries and banks should be administered "in trust for the European peoples." Reparations in the form of goods needed for reconstruction should be paid to the extent that is practicable for the receiving countries.

But Germany must also be made secure against attack. Mr. Motherwell believes that this can best be done by the development of a large European federation of which she would be a part. If such a federation were prosperous he does not believe it would be aggressive.

#### KHILAFAT AND PAKISTAN

There is a suggestive parallel between Gandhiji's championship of the Khilafat and his acceptance of the Rajaji Plan envisaging Pakistan. The Khilafat was tottering to its fall due largely to its internal disintegration when Gandhiji backed the Ali brothers in their quixotic efforts to bolster it up. The Ataturk brushed aside the Indian Muslim agitation and today Muslim India has become ardent in its admiration of the Turkish revolution, Pakistan is on its last legs. Pan-Islamism which lent it all its significance is dead. Turkey, Iran, Egypt will have nothing to do with it. The Punjab has broken away from the League and Pakistan without the Punjab is like enacting "Hamlet" without the Prince of Denmark. Russia is once again on our frontiers and though she is now an Ally of Britain, India is by no means unanimous about the merits of the Soviet system. The country has politely declined to follow Gandhiji in his apostacy. And it is greater than the Congress which, if Mr. Rajagopalachari is right, will accept whatever Gandhiji approves.

#### CRIPPS AND RAJAJI PLANS

Earl Munster, Under-Secretary of State for India, told the House of Lords on Tuesday that the Cripps Scheme was still in the field. It is in any case better than the Rajaji Plan. It is more definite. It comes with the authority of the British Government. It has more regard for constitutional proprieties. Of the two, the Cripps scheme is surely the better, and it will be wiser to accept it in preference to the Rajaji Plan. This, in the end, is what will probably happen. We can but marvel at the political shrewdness of the British Government in getting India to accept its plan as the only way of escaping the Rajaji scheme which the Muslim Leaguers suspect to be a trap set for them.

#### POLITICS AND INDUSTRY

The publication of the Rajaji-Gandhi Plan has ousted the industrialists plan into obscurity. The political problem which the latter attempted to bypass has come to the forefront. Rajaji's plan is fundamentally incongruous with the industrialists' plan. Centralisation which is essential to industrial development, is negated by the scheme proposed to conciliate the Muslim League, whose journal the *Dawn* has been from the first ridiculing and attacking it. No wonder that some newspapers which had supported the industrialists, prefer not to comment on the Rajaji Plan notwithstanding their pro-Gandhi antecedents. Rajaji has unintentionally and perhaps unconsciously sabotaged the Industrial Plan.

#### MR. RAJAGOPALACHARI'S FORMULA

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta, July 13 :

It will be seen that some of the terms and phrases used in Mr. Rajagopalachari's formula are reproduced almost verbatim from the Muslim League's now famous resolution on *Pakistan* adopted in 1940. In practically rejecting this offer Mr. Jinnah has betrayed his own co-religionists. But we are not surprised. Mr. Jinnah does not know what he is about. And if he does, he must be a positive hind-

rance to Muslim renaissance and the general cause of progress. The time has now come when appeal should be made from Phillip drunk to Phillip sober, from Mr. Jinnah who in his intoxication is playing a dangerous game, to our Muslim countrymen of whom the majority, we believe, are beginning to realise the mischievous pretensions implicit in the obscurantist and disruptive Jinnah thunder. There is a limit to patience and Mr. Jinnah has been allowed much too long to overstep the bounds of decent public behaviour.

\* \* \*

The *Tribune*, Lahore, July 13 :

After a perusal of the Jinnah-Rajagopalachari correspondence, one must abandon all hope of the Qaide-i-Azam either making a contribution to Indian settlement or giving a correct lead to the Muslim community. By curtly turning down Mr. Rajagopalachari's formula, which in substance conceded the League's demand for Pakistan and which had the blessings of Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Jinnah has reinforced the belief that he is more concerned with the satisfaction of his ego than either the liberation of his country or even the establishment of Pakistan. The political paths he has been treading lead not to the haven of peace and prosperity but the jungles of civil strife and rancour.

\* \* \*

The *Hindu*, Madras, July 12 :

In other words the two-fold Congress principles of independence and unity are sought to be reconciled with the Muslim demand for self-rule. Mr. Jinnah has more than once stated that the only thing that stands in the way of India's independence is the refusal of the Congress to recognize the right of Muslims to self-determination. The correspondence now published shows how incompatible his present attitude is with that claim.

\* \* \*

The *Sind Observer*, Karachi, July 12 :

To sum up, Mahatma Gandhi accepts the Cripps' proposals in their broad outline though not in every detail after two years of trouble, travail, tears, sufferings and punishments. He sees there is something in the post-dated cheque on a fast failing bank after two years. He wants to close the chapter of errors, trials and tribulations. We are awaiting the reactions of His Majesty's Government and of Mr. Jinnah. We shall only permit ourselves to say that at a game of political chess Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Amery are quite as good hands as Mahatmaji and Rajaji. Let us wait and see what their moves are going to be.

\* \* \*

The *Bombay Chronicle*, July 11 :

Gandhiji's support to the proposals gave Mr. Jinnah and the League a golden opportunity to make a big move towards a settlement with the Congress. But by his unreasonableness and intransigence Mr. Jinnah has again thrown it away. Throughout he took up a most unhelpful attitude. After receiving the proposals he did not write for weeks a word to Rajaji about them, let alone making a constructive suggestion. This is particularly regrettable because, according to his own view, the proposals were such as he would not reject. However, he can yet retrieve his blunder by reconsidering his decision. We are sure numerous Muslims including members of the League will substantially support the proposals. The League will be doing a great disservice to the Muslim community as well as the country if it fails to make the most of an opportunity provided by Gandhiji.

*The Dawn* (Muslim League), Delhi, July 11 :

Upon the six clauses set forth as the views of Mr. Gandhi regarding the rights of the Muslim nation, it is difficult to dwell in the din of vituperation against Mr. Jinnah. There are points worth consideration, though we notice that the idea of "district plebiscites" is short even of the Cripps offer and the term "absolute majority" is undefined. Mr. Jinnah asks Mr. C. Rajagopalachari in his letter from Srinagar on July 2 not to misunderstand or misrepresent his position. There was no rejection. He said: "The true facts are that I was willing to place your formula before the Working Committee of the Muslim League, although it was not open to any modification but you did not agree to allow me to do so." This simple version of what passed has not been questioned by Mr. Rajagopalachari. Who refused? Who said "No"? A peremptory demand to say "Yes" or "No" was politely answered by Mr. Jinnah for leave to consult his trusted colleagues in the League Cabinet upon a formula obviously worth consideration. Mr. Rajagopalachari without further reference to Mr. Jinnah flings the correspondence on the public as if to suggest unworthy conduct on the part of Mr. Jinnah. To proclaim that the reply of Mr. Jinnah meant "rejection" is to indulge in nefarious misrepresentation, but we may trust the Congress Press to raise a country-wide jackal-howl against the Muslim League and its President, as having again wrecked the course of negotiation and settlement.

*Hindustan Times*, Delhi, July 12 :

Let us now consider the proposals on their merits. Hindu communalists are sure to raise an outcry that Gandhiji has listened to the counsels of Sjt. Rajagopalachari and damaged the cause of national unity. But calm reflection will show that any such charge is baseless. The proposals are merely an amplification of the principle of non-coercion laid down by the Congress Working Committee in their reply to the Cripps proposals. Though the resolution of Sjt. Rajagopalachari was rejected by the A.-I.C.C. at Allahabad in 1942, it was mainly on the ground that the offer to accept the principle of self-determination for certain areas was not coupled with any understanding for political co-operation in the present. The latest proposals meet this objection since the first clause stipulates that the Muslim League should endorse "the Indian claim of independence and co-operate with the Congress in the formation of a provisional interim Government for the transitional period." The proposals have also defined the conditions for the application of the principle of self-determination in a manner which should appeal to all reasonable persons. The present Provinces have been formed arbitrarily and are not suitable units for the purpose of self-determination. It is proposed that an impartial commission will define the areas which will have an absolute majority of Muslims and which will be free to decide by a plebiscite whether or not to form separate sovereign States. The frontier districts will have the option to join either of the sovereign States in their neighbourhood. Transfer of population will be entirely voluntary and in case the plebiscite votes for separation mutual treaties will settle defence, commerce and other problems. No reasonable person would say that a fairer offer could have been made.

*Free Press Journal*, Bombay, July 10 :

The idea of breaking India up into three States, as the scheme visualises, is not more palatable to Indians now than it has been ever since the League adopted Pakistan in 1940. The Rajaji scheme allows only for voluntary transfer of populations.

If three States are set up in the India of today, what will be the position of subjects of two of them in the third? They will be aliens, subject to all the disabilities of other foreigners. The object of setting up a demarcation committee is to ensure homogeneity in each of the three States. Why then does Rajaji hesitate to push his ideas to their logical conclusion? Rajaji has explained that he is in sole charge of the subject and that it has been left to him by Gandhiji. Gandhiji, he says, should not be disturbed as he is still weak. This is an astonishing position. The chief protagonist of a divided India is to be addressed by those to whom the idea is repugnant; and that too when every body of nationalist opinion in the country has expressed itself against such division. An India divided into three is nothing short of the creation of three weak States. It will nullify independence which is the declared goal of the Congress. The letters to Mr. Jinnah seem to be intended to test the Muslim League President's sincerity in demanding an agreement between Congress and the League.

*Hindustan Standard*, Calcutta, July 12 :

Considerable surprise—and not a little consternation—would be felt at the disclosures just made by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari about a "formula" of communal settlement of which he claims to have secured the "full approval" of Gandhiji and on the basis of which he carried on certain negotiations with Mr. Jinnah ending finally in the inevitable breakdown. We oppose the formula outright and we protest against the procedure adopted in evolving it. The public were throughout kept in the dark though vital issues were at stake and though the formula had been conceived more than a year ago. Even the members of the Working Committee of the Congress were not consulted. Even those Congress leaders who have been released or were out of jail do not seem to have been taken into confidence. In view of all this it is surprising that the Mahatmaji should have given his approval in advance to a "formula" dealing with vital issues. It is our definite opinion that Rajaji's formula is unacceptable. We are opposed to it because it goes against nationalism. It practically concedes the "two-nations" claim of the Muslim League. And the worse part of the affair is that nobody has thought it necessary to consult the nationalists of those parts of the country which are most vitally affected by the formula.

#### RELIGION AND CONVERSION

An editorial in the February 12 issue of the *Indian Social Reformer* which has just reached me here, on the subject, "Hindus and Conversions", reminds me to write you and say again how very much I appreciate getting the magazine, all the copies of which reach me sooner or later so far as I know, sometimes several at a time.

I agree with you heartily in every particular. I would go so far as to say that I am fully convinced that those Christians who work to change peoples' religious labels not only do not do the Christian missionary movement any good but grossly misrepresent the spirit and teachings of Jesus. Jesus as a reformer within his own religion, Judaism, which he never left nor recommended leaving, taught a conception which concerned itself with life, most often called the Kingdom of God, concerned with man's relation to God certainly but also greatly concerned with man's relation to his fellow men, and to things, particularly—riches. This was a philosophy which worked out from its core of profound respect for human growth into the practical, social and economic considerations for

normal human growth and development. This is all in a realm above religions of earth, so much so that one cannot apply the term "religion" without doing the teaching a grave injustice. It is probably for that very reason that Jesus himself never used any term, as applying to his teaching, which is the equivalent of "religion". I sometimes, for convenience, use the term "supra-religion". I find myself often contemplating the meanings and aspects of this realm-above-religions-of-earth in these times when after three years and more I find myself more concerned than ever with what I have given my life to—helping to realize the redemptive intention of God for the human race—but still wholly "outcaste" from the formal operations of my own or any other particular denomination. It seems to me more and more inconceivable that one can freely work to follow Christ in the strict meaning of that expression, within the Church as now in general organized and operating. For one thing, this supra-religion, it seems to me, is marked, as it was with Jesus, particularly by its unconcern about the labels of religion as wholly irrelevant. It was "neither in Jerusalem nor on this mountain" but in "Spirit and in Truth". It is marked also by a sense of having in common universal meanings which know no barriers of caste or creed. I think of C. F. Andrews and Gandhi who were spiritual fellows across the lines between their religions, which lines for them did not exist at all. It is utterly inconceivable that such people should be able to think in terms of pulling their roots out of the soil of the traditional faith in which they have been nourished. It is preposterous even to add the suggestion about them, that one could think in terms of influencing the other to make that change of traditional religion. It is both unnecessary and impossible for them to do so. But there is another mark, and that is most significant of all. That mark is the perfect freedom with which such people can approach any other faith than their own and draw freely from the best that it has to offer; and freely offer the best that religion has given them; and, in general, mingle inter-religiously in a way impossible to all those who erect by their attitudes defensive barriers against "offensive", competitive-numerical or "power-political" religion-building.

I have just been appointed a member of a new Sub-Committee on the Orient of the American Committee of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. The business of this committee is to begin at scratch in developing a fellowship exchange basis of the International F.O.R.'s work in that part of the world. We are beginning by repudiating all going out as superiors common to the missionary imperialism of the West and all thought of flow of influences in one direction only. We assume, in the light of what our world now reveals, that we have more need for what the Orient can give than the Orient has of what we have offered so far. I have been appointed by this Committee, at its first meeting, to draft a statement of policy and you may rest assured that what I have stood for and fought for over some years will, so far as I am able, be written into that first draft. I do not know that I ever told you that I am a member of the Council and Executive Committee of the National F.O.R., and only recently have become a member of the American Committee of the I.F.O.R. It has turned my thoughts Indiward as never before since we were expelled, though I have never once changed from my determination that India would be my field of work, in God's good time.

RALPH T. TEMPLIN.

Suffern, N.Y., U.S.A.

#### WHAT IS ECONOMIC PROCESS ?

E. Stanley Jones, world famous missionary of India, in his book, *Along the Indian Road* (The Abingdon Press, New York, 1939, price \$1.50) writing about India in a chapter entitled "Getting Adjusted to Revolution," declares: "Mahatma Gandhi is not capable of directing things on this (the economic) front. His mind belongs to another setting—it does not grasp the essential factors here. At this place the future belongs to Jawaharlal (Nehru) and not to the Mahatma. I saw the Mahatma sitting in his Ashram spinning his charka on the banks of the Sabarmati River. On the opposite bank the huge smokestacks of forty cotton mills formed the skyline. The ascetic of Sabarmati turned out by hand a few precious bits of yarn while these spinning mills turned out tons. Mahatma Gandhi would win this battle with the power age by sitting apart with his simple charka; Jawaharlal would move across the river and lay siege to that whole citadel of power and capture it in behalf of the collective good and put behind those power looms the social motive instead of the private-profit motive. Obviously, the future belongs to Jawaharlal and not to the Mahatma. Youth in India salutes the saint in the Mahatma, but smiles at the spinner and turns to follow Jawaharlal."

All of this raises questions. What is the economic? Is it only industrialized mass production, or is it any production of food, clothing, shelter, or other necessities or luxuries? Where does it begin, in man's need or somewhere else? As for the social motive in economics, does it mean man's regaining of the ownership and control of his means of production, his economic processes, his furnishing of food, clothing, shelter to himself; or does it mean merely a *coup d'etat*, a shift in the centralized control now exercised over proletarian, wage-taking, house-hiring man, a shift from monopolistic to bureaucratic masters? Stanley Jones leaves unanswered the question of *how* man himself can master the modern economic process. So do most of those who now call for large-scale economic planning. They do not define the economic slavery against which they inveigh.

It seems to us that a common unwarranted assumption underlies all such thinking—that *the economic process is something apart from life*. If we produce in the home or in the co-operative village, that is something not economic. Production in large factories, apparently, means economics. This is sheer superstition. When a man produces anything and uses it, whether direct or indirect, he is busy with the economic process. Gandhi's movement in India has been far more economic, entirely apart from Nehru's Planning Board, than it has ever been political. The All-India Village Industries Association, organized wherever the Congress Party has extended its operations, exists for no other purpose than to develop *swadeshism*, "production for home consumption," in every village. This is economics of the profoundest kind.

Decentralist.

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

## GANDHIJI, NO MORE A NATIONAL LEADER

It is clear from the Jinnah-Rajagopalachari correspondence that the former was not willing to accept the latter as representing either Gandhiji or the Congress. Mr. Jinnah put off noticing Mr. Rajagopalachari's communications until he was forced to explain that Mr. Rajagopalachari was not correctly representing his attitude, and that he had not accepted nor rejected the formula put forward by the latter as having the approval of Gandhiji but only suggested that Gandhiji should write directly to the Muslim League Council which would then consider it and decide whether to accept or reject it, since Mr. Rajagopalachari had stipulated that no modifications should be made in the terms of the formula. Writings in *Dawn*, the Muslim organ, leave no shadow of doubt that Mr. Rajagopalachari's approach is not understood to be actuated by an unadulterated desire to establish cordial relations with the League. Mr. Jinnah's speech at the meeting of the League Council in Lahore shows that this doubt also extends to Gandhiji's endorsement of the formula. The President of the Muslim League was barely courteous to the two spokesmen on behalf of the Congress of which they are no longer even primary members. Nevertheless, he has agreed to receive Gandhiji at his home in Bombay some time this month. Most persons in the circumstances would have deemed it useless to meet Mr. Jinnah, but Gandhiji no doubt feels that the brusqueness of Mr. Jinnah is the very reason why he should call on him. Mr. Rajagopalachari has 'warned' Congressmen that Gandhiji may make concessions which will cover many of Mr. Jinnah's demands. In Gandhiji's present mood it would not be surprising if he accepts Mr. Jinnah's demands in their entirety. Gandhiji recently declared that the power vested in him to act for the Congress had lapsed with his arrest and detention. Mr. Rajagopalachari, nevertheless, maintains that Gandhiji's personal influence will make Congressmen accept whatever he recommends. The leaders of the Congress who are still under detention, will be confronted on release with an agreement which they had no hand in making and the weight of party discipline will oblige them to acquiesce in it at the risk of political suicide. In any case, Gandhiji will cease to be a national leader and his signature will bind no one but himself.

Gandhiji is a satyagrahi. He also prides himself on being a man of compromise. As a satyagrahi he was against the vivisection of India. As a man of compromise he agrees to the vivisection of his country. Pakistan has no basis in truth. That the Hindu majority ever disregarded the cultural and religious rights of minorities is historically a falsehood. In the palmy days of Hindu supremacy, Muslim religious institutions were scrupulously respected according to the testimony of Muslim historians. Until about seven years ago no Muslim leader dreamt of the division of the country into two separate States. Today an increas-

ing number of Muslims are openly denouncing the idea. The Punjab, the corner-stone of the separation scheme, has refused to fall in with Mr. Jinnah's ideology. The Frontier Province has throughout rejected the vivisection plan. Bengal has just been given a subvention of ten crores from All-India revenues in order to keep it going. The Sind Government has been precariously balancing itself between Provincialism and Pakistan. The developments during the war have repeatedly brought home to every administrator the need for Indian unity as an essential and indispensable condition of the security and prosperity of the country. In the ordinary course, Mr. Jinnah, as a practical politician, would have had to abandon the demand for Pakistan. Or he would have ceased to lead the League. It would have been consistent with his past declarations if Gandhiji had said to Mr. Jinnah: "My friend, Pakistan runs against the fundamental axiom of India's historical evolution. Nature has destined the land area bounded by the Himalayas and the triple seas to be one country. The process of unification has been steadily progressing from time immemorial. Hindu rulers, Muslim rulers and British rulers have all consistently worked to achieve this great end. You know well that Muslim or for that matter any other minority never experienced any obstacle to the exercise of its cultural and religious freedom at the hands of the majority in India. Notwithstanding the injunction of the Holy Koran that there should be no compulsion in religion, Muslim rulers in India and elsewhere have resorted to religious coercion. But this is past history. Let us forget it and agree to live and work together for the good of our motherland." Instead of this straightforward attitude, Gandhiji has now agreed to a proposal which he had rejected two years ago and is handing Pakistan to Mr. Jinnah as a means of promoting Hindu-Muslim unity. Gandhiji's endeavours to promote good relations between communities have generally led to increased estrangement. This is because Gandhiji has treated the Muslims and the Depressed Classes as spoilt children to be humoured and cajoled with toys and sweets.

## RAJAJI'S FORMULA

*Hitavada* (Liberal), Nagpur, July 14:

Mahatma Gandhi's changed attitude comes as a surprise. The whole of India strongly condemned the proposal in the Cripps scheme to confer the right on the provinces to keep out of the Indian union or federation. The formula presented by Gandhiji to Mr. Jinnah totally ignores the views and feelings of the Hindus of Bengal and the Sikhs of the Punjab and is capable of enormous mischief. The fundamental unity of India is an acknowledged fact. During the two centuries of British rule, the political unity of India has been recognised and fostered and Britain has always claimed that this is the finest achievement of her rule. Under the Constitution Act of 1935, India has been treated as one political and constitutional unit.



### RUSSO-POLISH PACT

On the eve of the march of the Red Army on Warsaw now under Nazi domination, the Soviet Government has announced the terms of its pact with the Polish Government it has set up as against the refugee Government in London. The latter is declared unlawful and deposed. One hundred thousand Poles are enrolled under the Soviet flag and are participating in the reconquest of their country. Reconstructed Poland will have her ancient boundaries while Lithuania, White Russia and the Ukraine will become autonomous republics in terms of the new constitution promulgated by Stalin early this year, with rights of independent international relations. The significance of this new constitution is now clear. It may be Germany also may prefer to join this block, although Germans do not belong to the Slavonic group racially. The establishment of this ethnic group in Eastern Europe will be of very great significance in the reconstruction of post-war Europe. Mr. Winston Churchill had advised the refugee Polish Government in London to concede the Soviet demand for the eastern half of Poland which the Red Army had occupied at the time of the German invasion of that country and to look for compensation in German territory. This is what the new Pact provides for. It may be assumed that the British Government will now disinterest itself in the fate of the refugee Polish Government with which it has so long dealt. The head of the refugee Government is now in Moscow negotiating with Stalin. This belated diplomatic move is not likely to overturn the pact already announced. Its purpose can only be to stabilise the position of the members of the Polish Government of London.

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The historian, Acton, regarded a Nation-State—that is, a State which was a single nation—as a menace to its neighbours and to the peace of the world. He held up the Austro-Hungarian and the British Empires as model States, composed as they were of different races and nationalities working together in the spirit of co-operation. The Austro-Hungarian Empire was broken up after the last war. Only Vienna and a small strip of territory adjoining the great city was left to continue the name of Austria. Czechoslovakia was one of the Succession States. Poland and Hungary were two others. Unlike Poland and Hungary, Czechoslovakia had a composite nationality consisting of Czechs, Slovaks and Moravians. It had also a German element which led ultimately to its destruction. The Czechoslovak Societies in India have reprinted in a booklet an important address delivered by President Benes before the Overseas Press Club in New York last year. Dr. Benes in that address has recounted the incidents that led to the conquest of his country by the Nazis. Here he has exposed the origin and character of the Sudetan movement, one of the chief sources of inspiration of the advocates of Pakistan in this country. Dr. Benes says that he realized and tried to get the British and French Governments to realize that the annexation of Austria by Hitler was bound to lead to other aggressions on his part and to another European war. He adds that the only countries which were fully prepared for war were Russia, Germany and Czechoslovakia. He says that Germany made repeated overtures to him to enter into a pact of neutrality as Poland had done. He did not reject them offhand although he deeply distrusted Hitler's good faith. But the point for which we looked eagerly for elucidation in the address, was whether it was true, as had been stated in Gedyes' "Fallen Bastions", that Russia offered to help Czechoslovakia in case of invasion, even if France failed to

honour her pledge, and that Dr. Benes did not accept the offer. There is no reference to this offer in the address. Dr. Benes says that it would have been suicidal for Czechoslovakia to have resisted Germany single-handed although she had a large and well-equipped army. But could she not have resisted successfully or with a good chance of success, if she had accepted Russia's proffered aid? The British and French Governments at the time were influenced by Lindbergh's propaganda report about the weakness of the Soviet military preparations. But Dr. Benes knew the fact that Russia was well prepared. Why did he reject the offer of aid, if it had been made? The editors of the pamphlet declare that a fundamental point of Dr. Benes' policy is that Poland and Czechoslovakia should be closely allied to Russia. That is the only way of preserving themselves and the peace of Eastern Europe. That too is the policy enshrined in the new pact between Russia and Poland. Evidently Dr. Benes no longer relies on the Western democracies for the support of his country's freedom.

### BARODA BACKSLIDING

A member, evidently a non-official, had introduced in the Baroda Legislative Council a Bill to amend the Hindu Monogamy Act passed two years ago. A warm debate is said to have ensued whereupon the Dewan-President advised the mover to withdraw his Bill and bring in another not open to the objections raised against it. The Bill is said to have sought to make legal the taking of a second wife in the lifetime of the first wife in certain circumstances. If, as appears, the idea is to validate the Maharaja's second marriage, it is inconceivable what the circumstances proposed might be. There is a Divorce Law for Hindus in Baroda and the "circumstances" which would make a second marriage legal would also sustain an action for divorce. "Circumstances" which would not sustain such an action, cannot obviously justify the supersession of the first wife by a second. The point cannot be made more clear without a measure of indelicacy which would be highly reprehensible in any case, and more particularly in this case. The only possible way out of the impasse is a validating Act applicable retrospectively to this particular case. Such an Act would solve a single difficulty but would give rise to others of a far-reaching character. To repeal the Monogamy Act will be monstrous. It will be putting the calendar back half a century for the convenience of two very erring persons.

### STRANGE WORM

Sir,—It was stated that the cure for hook-worm was not available in the country when it was needed for Gandhiji before he was released, and that after considerable search, it was procured from the Madras General Hospital. Since then I have made enquiries, and I understand that the remedy is extensively available in India. Now, Dr. Jivraj Mehta, Gandhiji's distinguished personal physician, states that the hook-worm in the illustrious patient has not been eradicated, that it still remains and will make itself felt whenever there is deterioration in the patient's general condition. This hook-worm evidently can exist and subsist in a patient's body without any effect on his general condition. How long can it do so?—SCRUTATOR.

## MODERN CIVILISATION AND RELIGION

(By H. H. RAJJA MAHARAJ)

There is today a woeful drifting away from religion. Religion and its principles have lost their importance in the eye of the public at large. The influence of modern civilisation, so rich in the resources of science, is considered to be all-sufficing. So strongly and deeply has the present age become impregnated with materialistic view of life that it has to a great extent abandoned the belief in the spiritual faculties of high potentialities inherent in man. A constellation of the luminaries of science appeared on the canopy of world's heaven and illumined the hearts of people with scientific thoughts. The glamour of materialism in consequence gave rise in man to an unfortunate tendency to run down the very structure of religion. Religion was discarded as being unfit for baking man's bread and science was installed instead. But the precept of J. Mason, 'it will cost something to be religious : it will cost more to be not so', comes out to be only too true and this divorce has, indubitably, made man pay a very heavy premium.

Is not the modern civilisation crashing to confusion and disappearing into a devil's dance of ruin and devastation? Is not the modern civilisation freely exploiting the inventions and discoveries of science to depreciate the value of human life? And is not the modern civilisation tending towards unmitigated barbarism? The advocates of modern civilisation must face the reality stark-naked. They should not be cold and indifferent to the hard and stubborn facts, howsoever ugly and unpleasant they may be. Do not colossal waste, gruesome acts of cruelty and infidelity, mutual hatred and jealousy, partially expose this much-acclaimed modern civilisation? The thinking mind is terrified and baffled and even the scientist stands aghast at the wreckless destruction; and the aurean glitter which erstwhile hung around his ambitions and aspirations seems to have vanished away into thin air. He finds that the blessings of science are proving to be a curse to humanity. Hendrik Van Loon, therefore, rightly remarks: "I have come to have very profound and deep-rooted doubts whether science, as practised at present by the human race, will ever do anything to make the world better and a happier place to live in or will ever stop contributing to our general misery."

By recapitulating these facts, it is far from being the purpose of this treatise to underrate or condemn science or to make little of its vast and valuable structure of magnificent achievements built after strenuous efforts and patient labour. The utility of scientific means and measures cannot in any sense be questioned. Only a biased mind will disparage the remarkable contribution science has made towards the welfare and well-being of humanity. It has given birth to useful discoveries and inventions. The elements which in their wild form used to prove dangerous and ruinous have now been controlled to a great extent and are harnessed into the service of mankind. In fact, science has a proper and useful place in life; only it cannot be maintained that that place is the highest. Its search after truth is, indeed, very commendable, but it cannot be denied that the comprehension of Ultimate Reality is beyond its scope. By reason of the very limitations of human intellect science, as evolved by it, is incapable of comprehending the Absolute Truth.

The modern science, it appears, has reached very near the end of its tether and yet its goal of Ultimate Reality, like the horizon at a distance, seems to recede farther away with its increasing efforts to reach it. Many modern physical theories consist in establishing mathematical relations between entities which can be logically defined, but which are quite unimaginable. The phenomena on a minute scale are covered by the Quantum theory

while those on a large scale are dealt with by the theory of Relativity.

According to the Quantum theory light, like matter, is atomic in nature. A photon, as an atom or quantum of light energy is called, is believed to be something which possesses both the properties of a wave and the properties of a particle. A single quantum of light must be large enough to cover the whole lens or reflector of a telescope, which may be several feet in diameter, and small enough to enter an atom whose diameter is only about one hundred millionth part of an inch. In some mysterious way the photon fulfils both these conditions. Similar vague and baffling ideas exist about the electron, the proton, the positron and the neutron, which are considered to be the fundamental and ultimate bricks of which matter is made. In fact, the very notion of matter has now become more and more abstract and science is not in a position to say anything about it except its mathematical specifications.

According to Einstein's relativistic ideas, which have received powerful experimental verification and which are now accepted by the majority of scientists, the universe in which we live is a four dimensional continuum governed by Riemannian geometry. Eddington by assuming a different geometry has made a very successful attempt to further generalise Einstein's General Theory of Relativity. According to this theory a piece of matter is nothing but a place where the continuum is curved in a certain way. The 'objective reality' is the continuum with different kinds of curvature and when our minds react upon it, matter and its laws arise. Here again, to understand anything, we have to replace our old familiar concepts by a series of mathematical symbols and relationships, which may satisfy the dry demands of logic, but which cannot satisfy our natural inquisitiveness to form a mental picture of what they represent. The scientist gives preference to these unfamiliar and brain-addling ideas over the old ones, because they go to simplify and probably explain nature better.

It will thus appear that the present knowledge of science, even at its best, enables us to form but a very inadequate and indefinite concept of the majesty of existence, of the nature that comes within our ken, not to speak of the Ultimate Reality which transcends all material intellect.

The material science having failed to explain and solve the cosmic problems and riddles, the most illustrious and celebrated scientists like Einstein, Eddington, Oliver Lodge and Haldane have been led to think in terms of religious philosophy. They admit that the universe is not a 'soulless mechanism' nor is it the outcome of blind chance, but that there is an intelligent mind working behind the veil of matter. To quote Einstein who declares:

"I believe in God . . . who reveals Himself in the orderly harmony of the universe. I believe that Intelligence is manifested throughout all Nature. The basis of scientific work is the conviction that the world is an ordered and comprehensible entity and *not* a thing of Chance."

The same is echoed by Eddington who admits:

"Something Unknown is doing we don't know what—that is what our theory amounts to."

And again,

"The old atheism is gone . . . Religion belongs to the realm of Spirit and Mind, and cannot be shaken."

The above statements are further supported by Oliver Lodge and Haldane. They say:

"When we come to ultimate origins science is dumb; we are confronted with the problems of existence and if there is to be any solution of that it is to philosophy and religion we must look and not to science."—*Oliver Lodge.*

"The material world, which has been taken for a world of blind Mechanism, is in reality a Spiritual world seen very partially and imperfectly. The *only real* world is the Spiritual world. . . . The truth is that, not Matter, not Force, not any physical thing, but Mind, personality, is the central fact of the Universe."—Haldane.

In fact, science and religion both are essential and must, therefore, function hand in hand. "Those who speak of the incompatibility of science and religion," remarks Pope Pius XI, "either make science say that which it never said or make religion say that which it never taught." Religion without science ends in airy-nothing or self-delusion and hyper-orthodoxy, and science without religion ends in sheer destruction of the value of life; for the sharpening of intellect without purity of heart is only polished barbarity and disguised cannibalism. Reverence must, therefore, be shown for both and an attempt should be made to cultivate genuine religious spirit side by side with the scientific.

People are, however, not wanting who demand that religion must stand before the bar of laboratory discipline to prove its *bona fides*. But the laboratory-scientists, who are still groping their way in the dark and who have themselves failed to determine the Absolute Truth, are in no way competent authorities to give us the final word on the philosophy of religion. Reality is not to be realised by intellect. It is not to be comprehended by the cabinet of imagination nor can it be fathomed by the council chamber of reason. It can only be comprehended through spiritual experience. The principle of spiritual life is the principle of purity. Even the brightest blaze of intelligence cannot impart purity of heart. Purity means renunciation of egoism or selfishness, the monster evil of the world, while it is in purity and refinement alone that a man differs from a savage.

#### DUTCH MISSIONARY PROTEST

The Apostolic Mission Secretary writes:—

We must not forget the burning of the Gond shrine. Dr. Elwin's article alleges that this has been done by the Protestant missionaries. But his whole article, except that one sentence, is about the Catholic Priest and the result is of course that anyone summing up the publication will pin the burning of the shrine as well on them. We, in no way of course, imply that we accept the accusation against the Protestant missionaries. Instead of conducting a campaign of such an insidious and vilifying character, Dr. Elwin should have addressed himself directly to the rightful authorities and restrict himself to objective statements. If letters written by run-away masters are to be arguments, we could produce some too. And villagers' gossip in plenty. But we do not want to lower our fighting methods to the level to which Dr. Elwin descends.

#### SIGNS OF SPIRITUAL REVIVAL

We publish today a contribution by His Holiness Rajja Maharaj. In a well-thought out thesis, the Swamiji has analysed the causes of the present world conflicts and worked out suggestions whereby those causes may be eliminated. The opening section of the thesis which we reprint, investigates the position of religion in modern civilisation. We published last week a contribution by Mr. Ralph Templin who relinquished a missionary career in India on conscientious grounds and is now engaged in establishing a model community in his native country. He also, it will be seen, looks to a

correct appreciation of true religion as the sole permanent solution of the difficulties and dangers of a material civilisation.

The *Daily Gazette*, Karachi, July 11:

Of all the proposals so far made to come to an agreement with Mr. Jinnah on the communal problem the one offered by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, with the approval of Mahatma Gandhi, comes nearest to the Muslim League demand as enunciated in the Lahore resolution of the League, popularly known as the Pakistan resolution. But the stand taken by Mr. Jinnah has been anything but helpful for solving the communal problem. His intransigence is gradually drifting the two principal communities away from each other. Any discussion to solve the communal problem, he insists, must be on the basis of Pakistan. All negotiations carried on by the Congress Presidents had failed because of this attitude of the League leader. How can Congress, which itself is not the master of the house, partition it? The Congress may concede the right of self-determination; even then the League will not get Pakistan if the British Government refuse to transfer power. That is the reason why the Congress insists that the Muslim League should fall in line with the Congress in its demand for the transfer of power and asks the League to co-operate with the Congress in forming a provisional government for the duration of the war. There is practically no difference between the present offer made by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and the famous Lahore resolution of the League.

## THE ARYAN PATH

Editor: SOPHIA WADIA

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

## MONOGAMY IN BARODA

The Information Officer, Baroda State, writes to point out that our comments in the last issue under the heading "Baroda Backsliding" were based on a wrong report of the proceedings in the Baroda Legislature. That report, he points out, was wrong in two particulars. It was wrong in stating that the Monogamy Act, as it stood at present, did not allow a man to marry a second time in any circumstances. The Information Officer says that, under the Hindu Code in Baroda, a second marriage is permissible in the lifetime of a first wife in two cases. One is, if the first wife is suffering from leprosy or such other loathsome disease; and the second is where the first wife has become a lunatic after her marriage and there are no chances of her recovery after three years of lunacy.

These two exceptions have no current application and the report, in our opinion, was substantially correct. Neither of the exceptions can be justified in the light of humanity or reason. A vigorous propaganda is being carried on by an influential organisation to abandon the use of the word "leprosy" because of its associations in the popular mind. In a pamphlet issued by Mr. T. N. Jagadisan, Honorary Publicity Secretary of the Madras Branch of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association, entitled "What every person should know and can do about Leprosy" we read:

The public must divest themselves of all wrong ideas of the disease, such as that it is loathsome, hereditary, highly infective in every case and even in casual contact and is always incurable. The Report on the Control of Leprosy says that the first need is that misleading ideas about leprosy often entertained by the general public, and even by administrative officers and legislators and sometimes by the medical profession and medical and public health administrators, should be abandoned.

No disease is loathsome to the eye of love, compassion and sympathy, and a wife afflicted by leprosy is entitled to all the care and comfort, besides medical relief, her husband can afford.

The second exception is even more objectionable. Wives have been made lunatics by the marriage by their husbands of second wives. In many more cases men who wished to marry a second wife have alleged lunacy in their first wives. The Baroda Code if it is amended should omit the two exemptions.

The Information Officer's version of what happened in the Legislature differs in only one rather unimportant point from the Press report. The latter stated that the Dewan President advised the mover of the Bill to bring in a fresh Bill with the necessary amendments incorporated in it. The Information Officer does not deny that a Bill to deal with the Monogamy law was discussed in the Legislative Council. He does not say whether it aimed at amending or repealing the law. He simply suggests that the President did not advise the mover to bring in a fresh Bill. The mover, one Mr. Joshi, according to the Information Officer, was so impressed by the

discussion on the motion for leave to introduce his Bill, that he did not press it to a division and it lapsed. This is rather confusing. The man had moved for permission to introduce his Bill. The motion was strongly criticised. A motion once moved cannot be withdrawn without permission of the House. It does not seem that the mover asked for such permission. Perhaps it was talked out, in which case the Dewan President would have had no occasion to make any remarks by way of advice. If the Information Officer wished to convey that the Monogamy Act is in no danger of amendment in the wrong direction, he might have said so plainly to the great relief of the public all over the country, particularly the section of it which wishes well to Baroda.

## PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU ON PAKISTAN

Mr. Rajagopalachari and Gandhiji maintain that the formula which they have offered for acceptance by the Muslim League, is consistent with the policy of the Congress. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru might be expected to know what the Congress policy was and he did not think that any scheme of partitioning the country would accord with Congress policy. In a letter to Mr. Abdul Latif of Hyderabad who had proposed a modified scheme of Pakistan, the Pandit wrote in August 1942:

The Congress position in respect to the proposal to divide up India into two or more parts, is that any such division will be exceedingly harmful to both parts as well as to India as a whole. To cut her up will be, from the economic point of view as well as others, a fatal thing, breaking up that natural economic unity and weakening each part. There are many other arguments against division. There are, of course, also the sentimental, historical and psychological arguments which affect the people powerfully. It is for all these reasons that there is a very strong feeling amongst us, and, we believe, amongst large numbers of people in India, against any division of India. All these arguments are reinforced by recent history and in fact by the course of the war itself. It is essential today to have a planned economy for the nation and for this as well as for defence, etc. a strong Central Government is necessary. Nevertheless we have agreed to this (vesting of residuary powers in the federal units) to meet the wishes of many of our friends who consider it important.

So far as the Pandit is concerned it is obviously officious on the part of Mr. Rajagopalacharya to assume that he will under the influence of Gandhiji go back on this declared opinion of his personal as well as of the Congress attitude. If Mr. Rajagopalacharya's formula is consistent with Congress policy Pandit Jawaharlal's exposition of Congress policy was utterly misleading.

What purpose Government has in view in keeping the members of the Congress Working Committee still in detention, we cannot say. But it is obvious that the effect of their detention is to enable Mr. Rajagopalachari to have a free field. While the release of the Pandit and his colleagues will in no way impede the war efforts of Government, it will materially help to test the claim that

the Rajaji-Gandhi formula is consistent with the declared policy of the Congress. It is not improbable that the Pandit and the other members of the Working Committee, faced with the alternative of repudiating Gandhiji's approval of the Rajaji formula and Gandhiji's leadership, may accept it. They will be then sacrificing the country's interests to party interests. But this is no new thing.

#### A BANDRA DIARY

The prospect of Gandhiji meeting Mr. Jinnah seems to have alarmed Mr. Rajagopalacharya. He had presented his formula of six propositions to Mr. Jinnah as the maximum and he feared that Gandhiji should concede more in order to placate Mr. Jinnah. Really, however, there is no need for alarm. Mr. Rajagopalachari may sincerely believe that he holds the destiny of India in the hollow of his hands. Men, however, are mere flies on the wheel of Time. The destiny of India is determined by the history of five millenia and is not to be deflected from its course by the manouvres of politicians. Gandhiji says that history does not repeat itself. History has no need to repeat itself. History is a continuous process in which every minute is the culmination of all previous minutes, the present moment being the resume of all past moments. The Indian belief that the last thought of a dying man shapes the conditions of his next birth, follows logically from the law of the conservation of energy. Gandhiji may meet Mr. Jinnah as many times as he likes but the agelong movement of India's unity will not be deflected by an inch from its pre-ordained course. Only a week ago Mr. Jinnah was full of gibes and sneers at Gandhiji's expense. Almost overnight he has changed his tone and applauds Gandhiji as being as incorruptible as himself. For a man to claim credit for incorruptibility is like a woman claiming credit for chastity. Every woman is presumed to be chaste and every public man to be above corruption. An unchaste woman would be an outcaste and a corrupt politician would be a blackguard. I am, therefore, unperturbed by the forthcoming interview between Mr. Jinnah and Gandhiji. Mr. Jinnah has never been impressed by Gandhiji's Mahatmic role. He has always regarded it with amused indifference. When everybody else was Mahatma'ing Gandhiji, Mr. Jinnah always addressed him as Gandhi, not even Mr. Gandhi. That was nearly some twenty years ago when we used to have meetings of the organisers of the Malaviya Conference in the home of the late Sir Hormusji Wadia. It must be a relief to Gandhiji to escape from the adulation of his entourage into an atmosphere where he is regarded as an individual like others. For the same reason, I fancy, Indian Princes spend a large part of their time in British India.

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Reading of Gandhiji's approval of the Rajagopalachari formula an incident which happened thirty years ago flashed on my mind. The Gandhi-Smuts agreement provided that Indians in South Africa should be treated as civilised people and to allay the professed fears of the Whites that they would be swamped by immigrants from India, Indian leaders undertook that future Indian immigration would be banned. A public meeting was convened in Bombay to congratulate South African Indians on this settlement. I was deputed to request Sir Pherozeshah Mehta to preside on the occasion. As soon as he heard me, Sir Pherozeshah refused emphatically to have anything to do with the meeting. "They have sold the pass", he hotly declared. "Who gave them authority to surrender our claim as British citizens to have free entry to every part of the Commonwealth?" Sir

Pherozeshah like most Indian politicians of the time was a profound believer in the mission of the British Empire to carry freedom and justice to all parts of the world. That phrase "sold the pass" came to my mind when I read Mr. Rajagopalachari's letter informing Mr. Jinnah and the world that Gandhiji who had all along denounced the division of India as a sin and a sacrilege, had approved of his formula conceding the principle of Pakistan. At the same time I felt that Gandhiji could not be regarded as a free and responsible party. His approval, according to Mr. Rajagopalachari, was secured during his fast last year when he took five minutes to gulp down a spoonful of sweet lime juice. The letters were published from Panchgani where Gandhiji was convalescing after a serious illness which had led Government to release him unconditionally. Lord Wavell with the fine innate sensibility of an English gentleman had declined the interview which Gandhiji had requested, suggesting that it would be more appropriate when Gandhiji had completely recovered his health and strength. The Viceroy was abused for his thoughtfulness. Mr. Rajagopalachari had no such scruples. Mr. Jinnah evidently has none either. Gandhiji's eminent personal physician, Dr. Jivraj Mehta, stated recently that the hook-worm in Gandhiji has not been eradicated. That the presence of this obnoxious insect has affected Gandhiji's habitual poise, was startlingly revealed in his letter to Mr. Sadanand of the *Free Press Journal*. The Bhagavad Gita enjoins on its devotees indifference to praise and blame. In this letter Gandhiji did not exhibit this quality. His reference to Mr. Jinnah as a cloak of British imperialism was also a descent from the habitually high tone of Gandhiji's polemics.

\* \* \* \*

Gandhiji is a great believer in the Bhagavad Gita. So am I. But his methods seem to me to be little influenced by its teaching. The Gita is a philosophical not a political handbook but it gives occasional hints which are of general application. One of these is that you should never unsettle the minds of the masses. The whole tenor of the Gita is opposed to civil disobedience, whether mass or individual. Conformity to the existing order is enjoined but in a spirit of disinterested detachment. You should do the tasks which the common people do but without an eye to personal gain or satisfaction. Gandhiji has declared against mass civil disobedience but has allowed individual civil disobedience. This is rather making a virtue of necessity. A leading citizen in close touch with the current conditions, said: "Not one per cent of those who are now in detention will court imprisonment once they are released. It may be possible to subsidise a few individuals to do so, but it will serve no purpose. It will only discredit the movement."

RECLUSE.

#### THE FOOD SITUATION

Sir,—What is the actual position in the country as regards food prospects in the near future? While the Food Member of the Government of India, Sir J. P. Srivastava, assures us that there is no need for anxiety as the position is steadily improving, Sir Feroze Khan Noon, another Member of the same Government, describes it as grave and likely to become graver still. True, the Food Member is in New Delhi and Sir Feroze Khan in London, but does that account for the contradiction? The new Member for Co-ordination may usefully intervene here.

SCRUTATOR.



## THE MINIMUM ESSENTIALS OF PERMANENT PEACE

By Ralph Borsodi

To insure that this war shall be followed by permanent peace, the United Nations must now announce that when representatives of the victors and the vanquished in this war shall meet, they shall act as the representatives of the determining majority of all the people of the world. The United Nations must formally announce now that the treaty of peace is to be binding upon all nations, not only the belligerents, but the neutrals as well, and that all treaties and agreements between nations, and all constitutions and laws in conflict with the provisions of the treaty, shall immediately after the treaty is signed, become null and void.

Finally, the United Nations must now announce that the treaty will contain provisions for these three essentials of permanent peace:

I. The immediate universal (and if necessary compulsory) transfer by all nations of all their armies and armaments—military, naval and aerial—and all their military and naval bases and fortresses, whether within or upon the boundaries of a nation, to a World Military Police; the rank and file of which is in the future to be recruited by voluntary enlistment from among the peoples of all nations and races; the future officers and commandery to be open to professionally trained persons of any race or nation through uniform tests and examinations of technical, intellectual and moral qualifications. The World Military Police thus to be established shall have the right to dispose of its forces anywhere in the world on reservations of its own selection; to balance the races and nationalities included in each of its divisions and located in the various regions of the world so as to insure impartiality; to move its forces into any area or sea, and to have them there do anything which the commandery finds necessary in order to insure disarmament, prevent re-armament, and restrain any groups, races or nations anywhere in the world from engaging in wars or violent revolutions.

II. The immediate (and if necessary compulsory) abolition of all customs barriers, tariffs and trade regulations and the establishment of universal *free trade* between the peoples of all nations; the cessation of all restrictions of any kind or nature upon *free travel* across national boundaries or between political subdivisions for purposes of trade, communication and social intercourse (genuine health quarantines alone excepted); the nullification of all restrictions upon *free communication* between individuals and in groups or meetings anywhere whether made orally or in written, printed or visual forms; the renunciation of imperialism by all governments which require armies in order to maintain their colonies, and do not in fact therefore rule with the consent of the governed. The right of a nation or state or community to determine for itself the criteria it shall use for the admission of immigrants who desire to acquire land and to live permanently within its boundaries—including such criteria as language, race, religion and political beliefs—shall not be effected by the abolition of its national sovereignty, nor its right to change its social, economic, political and religious institutions at any time or by any method excepting only the use of force.

III. The immediate (and if necessary compulsory) pooling of sovereignty over the seas, the air, and the mines and mineral resources of the earth, excepting from such sovereignty only surface lands, by declaring these resources the common heritage of all the peoples of the earth including the generations to come, by licensing all enterprises (no matter whether native or alien) engaged in extracting raw materials from the earth and requiring them to pay royalties equal to the full economic rent of the resources they use to the Trustees of a World Fund to be established for the support of the World Police and the maintenance of world peace. Sovereignty over surface lands, and therefore control of citizenship, is reserved to the people organized in nations, states or communities.

It is necessary not only to make it clear that there are sound reasons for taking each of the three steps proposed immediately upon the ending of the war, but that each step is interdependent and that all must be taken in order to achieve the high objective toward which they are directed. Without going into details, it becomes self-evident that nothing much less complete and radical will actually resolve the following world problems:

*The problem of peace and security.* Since no nation and no party, other than the World Military Police, will be permitted by the police to acquire the armaments necessary to war or violent revolution, wars will be virtually impossible.

*The problem of tyranny and liberty.* Without requiring any nation to abandon its present form of government or preventing it from establishing even a monarchical or theocratic form of government, and without compelling all nations to adopt a form of government vaguely referred to as "democratic" in order to insure freedom from tyranny, the combination of military disarmament with universal free trade, free travel and free communication will render the destruction of liberty and the maintenance of tyranny impossible.

*The problem of imperialism.* Since colonial governments will be prevented from using imperial armies for the purpose of maintaining their rule, no governments which do not rule with the consent of the governed can survive.

*The problem of immigration.* Since each nation will remain free to determine for itself permanent membership and residence of aliens, mass-immigration which might threaten the native culture or standards of living, can be prevented.

*The problem of progress.* Since the World Police will only be concerned with the maintenance of peace, the existing social, economic, political and religious institutions of the various nations of the world will not be "frozen" in their present forms; and may be changed by the people of any nation by any means other than the use of force.

*The problem of winning this war and making it possible to establish such a peace.* An immediate declaration of such war aims would dampen the ardour of the peoples of the Axis nations; it would enlist the sympathy and even co-operation of some part of their populations in the war effort of the United Nations; it would enormously improve the morale of the United Nations; it would constitute a political offensive of incalculable value against the Hitlerized nations of the world.

These minima will, of course, be decried as impractical and inexpedient by those who pride themselves on being politic and practical. But they are nonetheless useful. For if nothing less can insure permanent peace, they become touchstones by which to judge how long the truce our political peace-makers are planning, will last.

Can the United Nations be compelled to declare their war aims now? My answer is, yes, they can be compelled to do so if teachers in their Institutions of Learning would immediately call all men and women whose profession is concerned with influencing their fellow men to meet in their Schools, Colleges and Universities there and then to formulate *in their own right* the essentials of such a declaration of war aims. It is the literal truth that at this time the people of the United Nations are without adequate leadership on these fundamental matters. They long ago lost their faith in leadership by great captains of industry. They are fast losing their faith in political leadership. The time is ripe for the teachers of mankind to furnish such leadership. If in addition to formulating the essentials of peace, our teachers were to organize themselves into regional, national and international councils for the purpose of formulating a new world order, they could take over the leadership of mankind, and take the place in society which is rightly theirs.

The truth and validity of every plan for a new order must be tested by the manner in which it deals with the problems of peace, prosperity, politics and progress. I have already referred to what I think are the immediate essentials of a permanent peace. But it should be recognized that these essentials listed deal only with an outer peace—the control of *mass-violence*. They do not deal with domestic political problems, nor with the problems involved in the achievement of inner peace, individual by individual and family by family. Nor do these proposals deal directly with

the problems of prosperity and progress: they deal with them only indirectly by creating conditions in which progress and prosperity become possible. In such a letter as this, it is obviously impossible to discuss such problems in detail. But it is necessary to discuss the relative merits of the only two basic alternative principles between which we must choose if we want a new order.

#### SOME MAHOMED ALI REMINISCENCES

The late Maulana Mahomed Ali played a dazzling part on the Indian political stage for nearly a generation. It will be difficult to say what his special contribution was to Indian political and social evolution during that period. Beginning as an official in the Baroda State he ended as a Muslim personage entitled to have his remains interred in the famous mosque of Omar in Jerusalem. He was a member of the Muslim Deputation which waited on Lord Minto with the demand for communal electorates. Later he was a close associate of Gandhiji and in his Presidential address to the Cocanada Congress described this deputation as "a command performance". Then he with his brother, Shaukat Ali, broke away from the Congress owing probably to differences on the Nehru Report. Neither he nor Shaukat Ali ever thought in their most embittered moments of dividing India into two different countries. In *Dawn*, Mr. A. R. Siddiqui gives his reminiscences of how the *Comrade*, Mahomed Ali's meteoric weekly, came to be started. "Realizing that the Muslim case was going by default in the Indian political movement," he says, "and that militant Hinduism was displacing the nationalism the founders of the Indian National Congress had tried to preach to the country, Mahomed Ali, who was Naib Suba of Navsari in the territory of the Gaikwar, had obtained the permission of His Highness the Maharaja Sayaji Rao, to resign and start on the perilous profession of journalism sacrificing all and expecting nothing except the satisfaction of doing his duty." So far as we can remember there was no sign of militant Hinduism in 1911 when the *Comrade* was started with scant resources in Calcutta. How meagre these were is evident from Mr. Siddiqui's reminiscence that between Mahomed Ali and the three others concerned in the enterprise, they could collect only two rupees and a half for their first meal in Calcutta. They borrowed Rs. 250 from Mr. Sultan Ahmed (now Sir Sultan and Information Member of the Government of India) for preliminary expenses on circulars and postage stamps and Mahomed Ali, as they could not afford a typewriter, himself wrote out numerous letters announcing the birth of *Comrade*. Mr. Siddiqui describes Mahomed Ali in those days as a "suited and booted and Curzon-hatted Oxford man who seldom travelled without his large wardrobe trunk and half a dozen suit and hat cases one of them carrying the indispensable *lota*." The following paragraph describing the state of Indian Muslim politics when the Muslim League was started, is of interest:

The Muslim League was established in Dacca, in December 1906, and held its first session in Karachi in December 1907, but till 1911 it was an organisation composed of leaders and intellectuals. Three journals created a Muslim public opinion and a Muslim political intelligentsia with a consciousness of its own in the country. 'The Comrade' of Mahomed Ali took the English-knowing section, the product of Indian universities and a smaller number from English universities by storm. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's 'Al-Hilal' dragged the Urdu, Persian and Arabic-knowing section out of theological dialectics and poetical contentions and forced them to think politically; and Maulana Zafar Ali Khan's 'Zamindar' appealed to the Muslim masses, the men in the streets and the elders in the villages. Italy's perfidious attack on Tripoli, in 1911,

gave enough material to keep Muslim attention concentrated and the Balkan War of 1912, made Muslim India think internationally. Born in poverty the 'Comrade', lived a noble and glorious life. 'The Comrade' was good and great: there shall be none like it again.

#### THE INDUSTRIALISTS' DILEMMA

Some days ago the Government of India in a public document named several textile factories entrusted with the production of Standard Cloth, which had supplied cloth of inferior quality. The communique stated that rebates have been obtained on these goods and that a sort of pre-censorship has been instituted for passing goods from these offending mills in future. Among the factories named were three Birla ones. A spokesman of these mills has issued an explanation which does not explain how the lapse occurred, who was responsible for it and what has been done to those responsible. It simply says that the Birla concerns have sold nearly half a crore worth of cloth to Government and the rebates paid amounted only to a few hundreds of rupees. It is also said that an appeal has been lodged against the pre-censorship. The Birlas are held in high esteem among Indian industrialists for their public spirit and enlightened benefactions. No one expects the proprietors to inspect every yard of cloth produced in their factories. But, surely, the underlings responsible for the substitution of inferior cloth, should have been called to book and regret expressed for their misbehaviour. The people who suffer from such incidents are the poor for whose special benefit Standard Cloth is produced. Incidentally, industrialists who have Government among their largest customers, cannot be expected to conduct constitutional discussions with Government on a thoroughly independent footing. This gives point to the contention of the *Reformer* that the functions of politicians should not be undertaken by industrialists. Nor would a "National Government" sponsored by industrialists be in a better position to exercise control over production of inferior articles.

#### PAPER CONTROL ANOMALIES

The *New Review* and the *Aryan Path* are two of the outstanding monthlies published in this country. The former is issued from Calcutta. The latter a few months ago transferred its printing from Bombay to Baroda. The August numbers of the two periodicals arrived punctually as usual, but there was a difference. The *Aryan Path* as regards size and appearance did not show any change. The *New Review* suffered in both and proclaimed the fact to its readers in a vein of forced raiillery, it says:

Readers are invited to muster all the kindness to their command to speak well of the Paper Controller who has forced publishers and printers to reduce *The New Review* to its present sorry plight. His order marked the only failure in the brilliant Allied record of last month; it was a disaster which periodicals felt all the more keenly, because it was a defeat on paper.

The *Prabuddha Bharata*, published in Calcutta, has also not changed its size. Perhaps as a periodical published by a religious body, the Ramakrishna Mission, it has found favour in the eyes of the Paper Control Authority. But the *New Review* is also conducted by religious people, the Jesuits! And we see a complaint that the publication of the Holy Koran is hampered by the Paper Economy Order. No war-time order has caused so much widespread discontent as the Paper Control Order. The explanation given that it was intended to help the smaller publishers as against the larger ones is completely falsified by facts.

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

## BOMBAY GOVERNMENT PLAN

The Government of Bombay have outlined in a pamphlet a Plan to raise the economic level of the countryside, to increase the well-being of the people, while, at the same time, arranging for the settlement of returned soldiers. The Plan is timed to be completed in fifteen years—the same period as the Industrial Plan which monopolised public attention until the publication of the correspondence between Mr. Rajagopalachari and Mr. Jinnah and Gandhiji's statement to the correspondent of the *London Daily News Chronicle*. The Bombay Government's scheme is claimed to be comprehensive. The Plan covers every aspect of non-industrial rural development. It embraces the fostering of home and village crafts but does not deal with large scale industry. "Industrial reconstruction," it is explained, "is dependent on planning by the Government of India. For it, India must be regarded as a whole and industries located where they can be worked economically". The Muslim League, and more than the League, Mr. Rajagopalachari will not be grateful to the Government of Bombay for that parenthetical digression. The fifteen year Plan is to be worked in three five-year stages. The first five-year period alone will involve the expenditure of fifty crores of rupees—three and quarter per cent of the estimated cost of the entire Industrial Plan in fifteen years. The scheme is divided into four categories. These are Special Priority Schemes, All-Province Schemes, Particular Area Schemes and Concentrated Area Schemes. This is not a clear division based on easily intelligible principles. The reasons given for this fourfold division are commonplace and may be given for postponing the whole scheme indefinitely. All of them have been ignored in the war effort. Staffs have been improvised. Finance has been created where it could not be found. "The ratepayers' money" may be wasted in fifteen as well as in five years. The last reason is curious. The slowness of the programme is intended to quicken "satisfying results in raising the general standard of life and so create a popular demand for the extension of the scheme to other areas." An extravagant claim is that a "concentrated area," intended to mean an area for all-round improvement, "once it has emerged from the workmen's hands, should be a place of envy (*sic*) for its neighbours." All such boosts, the writer of the pamphlet does not seem to realise, are calculated to create doubts as to whether he really means what he says or merely wants to "sell" his plan. The language of propaganda is entirely out of place in what should be a matter of fact official exposition. Few people believe in the possibility of creating a new heaven and a new earth in fifteen years, least of all by a administrative system which during a hundred years of peace has allowed the countryside to go without the elementary provi-

sions of education and sanitation, communications and hospitals. It has required a devastating world war to make it realise its shortcomings in these directions.

All Plans for raising the standard of life are vain without two essentials. The people must have enough food and food which experience has fixed as the most acceptable for them, which they have not at present. They must have enough education to understand and appreciate the reasons for every part of the scheme, which again, they have not at present. You cannot force starving and illiterate people into your Plan to elevate them as they are incapable of intelligent co-operation. We suppose the Government of Bombay would say that the food problem is for the Central Government to solve. As it is the foundation of the people's very existence, all attempts to raise their standard of life should await the success of the Central Government's endeavours to procure and distribute food. If the people have sufficient food, the health problem is three-fourths solved. Without food the provision of hospitals and nurses will not be of much use. You cannot feed a people with medicine even if medicine is more freely available than at present. The Government's excuse for not pushing on with elementary education, is that there are not enough trained teachers. Why do you want trained teachers to teach the three R's? The vice of bureaucracy is that it will not do anything unless it can be done according to a theoretically perfect standard. The excuse that there are not enough trained teachers has retarded the progress of education indefinitely. Another excuse is that there are no suitable buildings and there is no money to build them. If roads are to be made, they must be broad-macadamised roads over which rubber-tired motor cars can run smoothly. In parenthesis, we may remark that in the unsettled state in which the world is bound to struggle on in the next fifteen years and more, the opening up of communications may be as much a hindrance as a help to the defence of the country. It is better to leave a few jungles in which the people can hide themselves against the horrors of aerial bombing. When one does not know what is going to happen next year, it is idle to make plans for the next fifteen or twenty years. They merely distract attention from immediate and urgent problems. The settlement of returning soldiers will not be as great a problem in India as in Europe. The Indian soldier has a social status and is not a proletarian. He will fit into his caste and village economy almost automatically.

Except Anglo-Indians, every other community has vitality enough to absorb its returning soldiers. What is going to be the constitution of India in the next five years? All these plans are like painted ships on painted oceans until that is settled.

### LABOUR AND THE PROVINCES

In his letter to Mr. Abdul Latif of Hyderabad quoted in the last issue of the *Reformer*, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru says that although it is necessary in order to have a planned national economy as also for Defence to have a strong Central Government, Congress has agreed to the vesting of residual powers in the federating units "to meet the wishes of many friends who considered it important". Nationalist Muslims have insisted on the subordination of the centre to the provinces and the Muslim League, of course, was for it before it adopted Pakistan for its goal. Pakistan means no Central Government. No doubt Pandit Jawaharlal was confident that the political forces in operation in the modern world—the logic of events—will ensure the authority of the centre over the provinces as they have in the other Federal Constitutions in which the federating units are sovereign States in their own right. In his paper on "Federalism and Labour Legislation in India" which is given the leading place in the April-May number of the *International Labour Review*, Sir Atul Chatterjee reviews the history of Labour Legislation in India and shows that Labour Legislation and administration would seriously suffer if left to the provinces. He cites the example of the United States where the constitution vests residual powers in the States. The situation as regards Labour became considerably strained between the centre and the States. Sir Atul quotes Professor Macmahon who wrote :

Separate unaided State action seems incapable of dealing with the economic entities of modern industrialism. Nor do all of the States possess within their borders the basis in taxation for adequate services. The country as a whole cannot be indifferent to the deteriorating influences likely to spread, however indirectly, from States lax in regulating standards.

In Australia there is a growing agitation to extend the powers of the Commonwealth Government. As regards India, Sir Atul notes that the Provinces have all along been apathetic to Labour Legislation and that the administration of Labour Laws passed by the All-India Legislature has not been enforced uniformly in all Provinces. One Province in the days of diarchy deliberately adopted a policy of avoiding prosecutions. Sir Atul makes it clear that only a strong Central Government will be able to incur the burden in finance and unpopularity with vested interests needed for the enforcement of Labour Laws. In stressing the need for vesting Labour Legislation and administration in the centre, Sir Atul observes: "India's industrial prosperity would be bought at too great a price if it involved the sacrifice of the well-being of her working class." Nothing can more impressively show that some Indian Labour parties are merely political parties than that they are adherents of Pakistan and the Rajaji formula.

### THE HERO IN MODERN INDIAN FICTION

In last week's *Reformer* mention was made of the monthly *Aryan Path* which has escaped the Paper Controller by migrating to Baroda some time back. The *Triveni*, the quarterly edited by Mr. Koteeswara Rau, has done even better. Just before his detention as a security prisoner Mr. Rau changed the place of publication of his Quarterly to Bangalore. On his release after twenty long months, he finds *Triveni* "not just alive but well established and on the way to prosperity". This flight of periodicals to Indian States, may not have any significance but it may have also. No one who turns the pages of the *Triveni* (June) will conclude that the study of the English language and literature in India is on the decline and that the ultra-nationalist propaganda against it is having any

appreciable effect. There is much interesting and careful appreciation of the trends of modern English prose and poetry, art and fiction, by Indian writers who, it is evident, represent a considerable section of educated India. Indian literature also receives attention. Professor I. N. Madan's article on "The Heroes in Modern Indian Fiction" covers compositions in four Indian languages—Bengali, Hindi, Urdu and Marathi. There is a reference to a Gujarati work also. Professor Madan observes that the hero in modern Indian fiction is essentially a product of a bourgeoisie civilisation :

The novel is the epic art-form of our bourgeoisie society. The bourgeoisie has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound to his 'natural superiors' and has left no other bond between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous cash payment. The bourgeoisie has stripped every occupation of its halo. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the professor and even the poet and artist into its paid wage-labourers.

The hero in modern Indian fiction, according to Professor Madan, is "the superfluous man, a disillusioned member of the intelligentsia". He is "a repentant nobleman, a thief or a gentleman burglar, a peasant and a progressive hero." Professor Madan illustrates his observation from several works of fiction. The 'repentant nobleman' as a hero of fiction, we are told, is the product of the Indian political crises of 1918-20 and 1930-32 periods of storm and stress "when demoralised backward and broken-up people suddenly straightened their backs and lifted their heads in pride." The peasant, says Professor Madan, has been recently introduced into modern Indian fiction.

Without reading all the works from which Professor Madan draws his conclusions, it is not possible to say how far they are justified. But some general observations seem appropriate. Assuming modern India to be India during the last one hundred years, it is true that the tendency has been to eliminate all values except those which can be converted into cash. The Economist is the high priest of this new cult. The same tendency in Britain has been ascribed by Ludovici in his "Defence of Conservatism" to Jewish penetration of British society. And yet even in England this began only during the reign of King Edward VII, that is, the beginning of this century. This was facilitated by the existence of a middle class largely as an offshoot of the industrial revolution leading to the creation of a "nobility" unconnected with the "aristocracy" and without the latter's traditions. In India the caste system was the antithesis of the bourgeoisie pattern which is the gradual growth of a class which owed its importance largely to Government service except in the few industrial and commercial cities. The high value attached to the I. C. S. man in the matrimonial market is a conspicuous illustration. British rule in this country has by the necessities of its position had to destroy all old values, replacing them by the one value of official position and official favour. In two stories written in English by Indians—*Life's Shadows* and *Angry Dust*—particularly in the former, the ridiculous and even dangerous extent official values have come to dominate social and even family life, is painfully revealed. Sir Bamfylde Fuller in his *Reminiscences* says that in his early days in Jubbulpore the rich Marwari Shet in his two-horse carriage with a European coachman would pass unnoticed in the bazaar, while every shop-keeper would stand up and salute the itinerant Sadhu in his yellow robe with begging bowl. This was about the last quarter of the last century. Today a wealthy man as such commands greater regard over a wider area, but the heart of India still retains its pristine reverence for the renunciator, and wealth realising this seeks to sail

under the flag of a Mahatma. What Professor Madan calls "the superfluous man" is the man who cannot be catalogued and labelled. Browning has lines which may be quoted here :

Our interest's in the dangerous edge of things,  
The honest thief, the tender murderer,  
The superstitious atheist, demirep  
That loves and saves her soul in new French  
books—  
We watch while these in equilibrium keep  
The giddy line midway : one step aside,  
They're classed and done with.

The hero of fiction is rarely the good man in real life. He is simply the central figure round whom the story and the other characters revolve. The hero of Milton's *Paradise Lost* is Satan, not God. Broadly speaking a novel which is not written "with a purpose" moral or merely mercenary, is the medium in which the author fulfils himself not having the opportunity to do so in real life. In a subject country, it is about the only way of self-realisation outside religion.

#### A BANDRA DIARY

A point of difference in private correspondence between Mr. Srinivasa Sastry and myself was over the representation of India at the ensuing Peace Conference. There is bound to be a Peace Conference some day and India will have representatives nominated to it. At Versailles the late Maharaja of Bikaner and the late Lord Sinha represented India and presumably voted with the British and Dominion delegations against the Japanese amendment to incorporate racial equality in the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Japanese will have to accept a dictated peace at the next Peace Conference. But it is to be hoped that China and Russia will be able to succeed in getting removed racial discrimination in international relations at the forthcoming Peace Settlement. In any case, India's representatives should be men and women who will not be tied down to the British and Dominion and American point of view on this and other vital questions affecting non-European races. Mr. Sastry has been persistent that Gandhiji should represent India either by himself or in association with others and I heard from a common friend recently that Mr. Sastry was prepared himself to join in it even at grave risk to his health. Mr. Sastry is the same age as Gandhiji—I am a year older than both—and there is no more risk to Mr. Sastry in attending the Conference than to Gandhiji who recently has been released on account of serious illness. But Gandhiji's espousal of Rajaji's formula has disillusioned Mr. Sastry. In a pathetic statement to the Press he pours out his anguish in bitter tears. "Sold the pass" was the phrase used by Sir Pherozeshah Mehta of the Gandhi-Smuts agreement. Mr. Sastry who is a purist in the use of words, uses the identical phrase in connection with the endorsement of the Rajaji formula by Gandhiji. At the Round Table Conference, Gandhiji bungled the issue of the scheduled castes. Dr. Ambedkar was willing to accept reservation of seats for them in the general electorates. Gandhiji in his usual uncompromising style declared he would die before he agreed to the recognition of the scheduled castes as distinct from the Hindus. But the Yeravada Pact a few months later conceded reservation of seats to them. Gandhiji starts with high-sounding slogans but if he sees a chance of a bargain on the way-side he sits down to haggle over the terms and abandons the principle for which he started his campaign. The satyagrahi adheres to Truth at any cost. But Gandhiji is not only a satyagrahi but also glories in his passion for compromise. And

generally it is Gandhiji the compromiser that comes on top in most cases.

It is high time that Gandhiji was persuaded to omit his professions of Truth and Non-violence from his statements. They were all right when they were first used to counter the violence which followed the passing of the Rowlatt Act and the Jallianwala shooting. Friends closer to the Congress than myself doubted at the time of the August arrests two years ago, whether Gandhiji continued to use the terms in the same absolute sense in which they had been until then understood. I more than once argued with them that words are like coins. They had in themselves no virtue. They derived their meaning from the life of the person who used them. You may spend your rupees in relieving distress or in getting dead drunk, according to your predisposition. Gandhiji all his life has preached non-violence. His words, however violent, must be understood in a non-violent sense. Thus I argued with them. Thus have I objected to the accusations of complicity in the violent crimes which followed his arrest, made in the Tottenham pamphlet and other publications. When he says now that he is not responsible for these crimes, I fully agree. But the fact remains that at the time several adherents of the Congress believed that these acts had support in some of his speeches. The reason why I suggest that Gandhiji may drop these watchwords, is that their use is unfair to previous political leaders and to present-day leaders who do not belong to the Congress. I knew many of the former, some of them closely. I know some of the present non-Congress leaders also. None of them are given to lying or to violence. They are constitutionalists which means that they did not contemplate or favour law-breaking with or without violence. Another reason is that I have found that being a Congressman is no guarantee that a person will never tell a lie or indulge in physical violence, against persons weaker than himself.

I referred last week to Gandhiji's letter to Mr. Sadanand of the *Free Press Journal*. That letter has had an interesting sequel. It was provoked by two personal messages from Mr. Sadanand to Gandhiji remonstrating against his approval of Rajaji's formula for uniting Hindus and Muslims by dividing India. The messages were published in the *Free Press Journal* at the same time as they were despatched to Gandhiji. Gandhiji resented this and the statements in the letter. It would seem that Mr. Sadanand had on some occasion declared that he regarded himself as Gandhiji's son. On the strength of this constructive relationship, Gandhiji administered a castigation which few sons would nowadays stand from their fathers by flesh and blood and few fathers would think of administering to their sons however recalcitrant they might be. But Mr. Sadanand accepted it in all humility, declined to answer back out of his sense of filial duty, and withdrew and apologized for every one of the statements objected to. Having thus closed his personal quarrel with Gandhiji, Mr. Sadanand started editorially a campaign of fierce criticism which increased in vehemence every day and reached its climax last Saturday in a leading article which concluded with the imprecation in bold type : "To hell with Gandhiji, his righteousness and abasement to Might, Wavell and Jinnah." How Mr. Sadanand who out of filial piety accepted Gandhiji's castigation without question, could send the same Gandhiji to hell under cover of editorial anonymity, I do not understand.

I have always felt that anonymity imposed more restraint on writers than if they were writing above their own proper or pen names. In some countries



where freedom of the Press is less cherished than feared, writers in newspapers and periodicals are obliged to attach their names to their contributions. The legal requirement in India that the name of the editor should be displayed in every issue, was introduced some years ago as a means of controlling the Press. It was a retrograde step. In Britain there is no such requirement nor in the United States. The principle of anonymity in journalism has important advantages which the requirement to advertise the Editor's name seriously affects. One of these is the sense of collective responsibility of all contributors and of continuity in the tone and policy which constitutes the personality of a journal. Another is that the personal equation of the editor, is eliminated and the readers' attention focussed on the substance of the leading articles. There is however one condition without which anonymity in journalism cannot be kept clear of the evils of anonymity in private correspondence. It is that editorial comment should to the utmost extent possible be impersonal, and directed to the subject matter detached as far as possible from personalities. This is no easy thing in the case of an outstanding character like Gandhiji whose opinions derive most of their weight from his personal hold on the public mind. But it is not impossible and one expects a journalist of Mr. Sadanand's calibre to achieve it. When I read that sentence about Hell a cold shiver went down my spine. I am jealous about the high standard of Indian journalism established by a succession of high-minded men and I felt there was a grievous lapse from it. Mr. Sadanand has great native gifts and is destined to play a distinguished part in the India which is looming before us. As the proverb says a whole pot of milk is curdled by a grain of salt. The tendency to explode into expletives—surely Mr. Sadanand does not believe in a Hell—should not be allowed to come in the way of disinterested national service.

\* \* \*

I fully appreciate the indignation of people who pinned their political and spiritual faith to Gandhiji and find themselves disillusioned. With great respect for Gandhiji I, however, retained a reasonable doubt of his infallibility. Nevertheless I am shocked all the same by the tragic enormity of his backsliding on the unity of India sacred to every Indian heart. He had himself described division of India as a sin but has now reconciled himself to sinning in the hope of passing into history as the Architect of Hindu-Muslim unity. Sinning in ignorance may be expiated but not sinning against Light. None the less, I deprecate consigning people to Hell in leading articles as lowering of journalistic standards. Also, although we deplore Gandhiji's transgression in this matter, we cannot forget all that he has been and done—and may yet be and do—to awaken India from the lethargy which had settled on her during a thousand years.

RECLUSE.

#### SELF-DECEPTION

Sir,—Wednesday the 9th witnessed a new development of satyagraha. It was called symbolic satyagraha. It was to celebrate—I do not know what. There was to be no courting of arrests in any place in the country except Bombay city. In the small hours of the morning of that day some twenty-five persons marched to different appointed places. The Police also were at the appointed places. The symbolic demonstrators were symbolic-

ally arrested and symbolically released the next day. Whom is it intended to deceive by this symbolism: God or Government?—SCRUTATOR.

#### SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS IN ADYAR LIBRARY

The Adyar Library has one of the largest collections of Sanskrit manuscripts in India. It has just published an alphabetical index of them. This volume gives only the names of the works and their authors and is less useful to scholars than the descriptive catalogue, the first volume of which relating to Vedic literature was published two years ago. The present list indicates the other important Sanskrit Libraries in South India where manuscripts included in it are also available. The Alphabetical Index is priced Rs. 10.

#### BRAHMIN COLONY

Sir,—When I visited a Chinese friend in the "China Town" in New York some fifteen years ago, he told me that the early Chinese settlers had by mistake—perhaps through not knowing the English language—created a colony for themselves in the City. Now the Chinese are repenting for it ever being formed in New York, which has isolated them and stamped them as an Asiatic inferior race in the eyes of the New Yorker.

Now for an Indian picture. I belong to a little village in South India, where there is an agraharam—the Brahmin colony. The non-Brahmin is not permitted to walk through the agraharam street. The non-Brahmin servant of the Brahmin can walk in the street of the Brahmin colony, but he should remove his slippers and carry them. I have heard of much worse atrocities in the Malabar Brahmin colonies.

When there is no equality among the castes in India and when there is so much of superiority complex in the Brahmin, it is no wonder that the non-Brahmin looks with much concern at the creation of a new Brahmin colony.

When Brahmins who are Hindus find it hard to agree to live with the other Hindus, what objection could there be for Pakistan? The Brahmin colony is only another form of the White Australia Policy and a counterpart of the Pegging Act of South Africa. If there is to be a Brahmin colony, a Sudra-pet, a Pakistan and a Harijan Cheri in the modelling of a new India, the future of "Ram Rajya" is sealed.

These Brahmin colonies will in no way contribute to the solution of the problem of Indian unity, but they will certainly isolate the community from throwing its lot in the common cause of India. The Brahmin has yet to realise that he has also things to learn from the non-Brahmin through living together.

The recent advice of Gandhiji to Messrs. Mohanlal Har Govind of Jubbulpore, against communal gifts is well worth following.—NON-BRAHMIN.

[The agraharam to which our correspondent refers, should consist of very conservative Brahmins in a remote, isolated corner of the country. Indeed we should have doubted its existence but for the fact that our correspondent avers that he himself has had experience of it. If there are such they should certainly go. But they are no justification for the segregation of Indians including Brahmins and non-Brahmins in South Africa. The South Africans themselves have never justified their policy as a reprisal for the agraharam in India.—Ed.]

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

## THE TALK THAT DID NOT COME OFF

Ever since Mr. Jinnah from Kashmere heights declared he would receive Gandhiji at his house in Bombay about the middle of August, the contemplated meeting has been boosted as "historic", "epoch-making", "momentous". The eyes of the whole wide world, it was said, were focussed on the forthcoming event. One of the untoward effects of the Gandhian era is to deprive publicists of the sense of proportion. As the nineteenth August approached the headlines grew in size and stridency. Gandhiji was to leave on such and such a day. Rajaji was to precede him by a day. Government for their part played up to the press. Public meetings, the citizens were reminded, could not be held without a licence from the Police and gatherings on Malabar Hill were banned during the Gandhi-Jinnah talks. Whether this was meant to be a protective or preventive measure, it was left for the public to judge for itself. Government themselves are perhaps not clear whether they should stress the public hostility to or support for the formula. Friday morning brought the news that the talk was put off. Mr. Jinnah had a temperature the previous day and he had telephoned to Sewagram and telegraphed that the talk was off for the time being. If Gandhiji had been taken ill the public would have been treated to a meticulous description of the ailment, its symptoms, the doctors in attendance. But Mr. Jinnah is of a different metal. He does not want the public to discuss his symptoms. Even the rise of temperature was not definitely indicated. It might be a few points or one or two degrees above the normal. There is a species of malaria prevailing in Bombay in which a fairly high temperature in the morning does not prevent professional men to attend to their business in the afternoon. After the first announcement nothing has been heard of Mr. Jinnah's temperature and the *Bombay Sentinel* hinted half in jest that it may last until Mr. Jinnah has all the materials at hand for appraising the character and implications of the Rajaji formula and the reactions to it in the contemplated Pakistan areas.

On Friday also the Government of India released for publication certain correspondence between the Viceroy and Gandhiji and His Majesty's Government's rejection of the formula submitted to them by Gandhiji. Gandhiji virtually went down on his knees begging Government to make some sign of acceptance of his suggestions in order to enable him to "advise" the Working Committee of the Congress to revoke decisions which have become incapable of execution. Gandhiji has in the past denounced "mendicancy" of the old Congressmen but none of them has ever descended to the limit which has now become normal with him. Government could easily have humoured Gandhiji as regards the hypothetical division between the civil and military administrations in war time. But they have taken the more straightforward course and pointed out that there can be no such separation in

a total war. Diarchy is a harmless toy in peace time but it is meaningless humbug in total war. Gandhiji, it is true, offered co-operation in war effort but having regard to his previous record, Government cannot be blamed if they are afraid to accept his assurances. The Viceroy has been criticised for having published his correspondence with Gandhiji on the eve of the expected talk between the latter and Mr. Jinnah. We wonder if the critics realise the implication of their criticism. It means that Gandhiji had started an intrigue unbeknown to Mr. Jinnah with the Viceroy and expected Lord Wavell to enter into it. The *Dawn* plainly understands the episode in that light. Gandhiji's urgent plea for an interview which he thinks would be more suitable than correspondence for his purpose, lends colour to the view. The Viceroy has done a public service by letting the public know what was passing behind the scenes. The latest news of Mr. Jinnah's health is that the temperature has subsided but that he has been advised not to receive any visitors.

## THE BENGAL PROTEST AGAINST PAKISTAN

Mr. Kiran Shankar Roy is the leader of the Congress Party in the Bengal Legislature. He with six of his colleagues went in deputation to Gandhiji at Wardha to place before him the views of Bengal Congressmen on the Rajaji formula which Gandhiji has endorsed. On their return to Calcutta the deputation issued a statement of their interview with Gandhiji. The deputation told Gandhiji that they had not the slightest doubt that but for his imprimatur "the scheme would have been summarily rejected by the nation". Today criticism of the scheme would be interpreted as want of confidence in Gandhiji. Gandhiji's reply was that "Congressmen would be failing in their duty if they did not express their views freely and fearlessly even though his name was associated with it". The deputation told Gandhiji that "this being a matter which concerned Bengal vitally nothing should have been done and nothing should be done in future without consulting the provinces concerned". Gandhiji did not say anything about what has been done but agreed not to make anything final without consulting the provinces concerned. The deputation had to be satisfied with this assurance, though the members should have known that it means nothing. If after meeting Mr. Jinnah and after talks with him, Gandhiji comes away without reaching any agreement, nothing more will remain to be done. But if the two men should in their eagerness to wrest power from Lord Wavell—Gandhiji at least is anxious to have Hindu-Muslim unity accomplished in his lifetime—patch up a formula, Mr. Roy and his friends would be faced with an accomplished fact or lay themselves open to the reproach of having killed Gandhiji by not implicitly accepting his direction. The Yeravda Pact about representation of

scheduled paper was adopted by public meetings to cry "Save the Mahatma". Mr. Roy and his friends will be left to close the stable-doors after the horses had been spirited away. We are afraid that they could not shirk the alternative which faces them. They have to choose between Gandhiji and the country.

Mr. Kiran Shankar Roy and his friends placed before Gandhiji in concrete form the effect of Rajaji's formula as applied to Bengal. They showed him from the census figures of 1941 that three-fourths of Bengal would become Pakistan. One half of the Hindu population of Bengal will find itself in the Pakistan area and the other half will be in the Hindu area. Compared to the Rajaji plan, the Curzon Partition was nothing at all. Under the Curzon Partition East Bengal with its capital at Dacca comprised an area of 106,500 square miles with a population of thirty-one millions of which eighteen millions were Muslims and twelve millions Hindus. While Pakistan Bengal is to be an independent State, East Bengal continued under the jurisdiction of the Calcutta High Court and was a Lieutenant Governorship, subject to the orders of the Government of India. The Curzon Partition, so very much less consequential, aroused a fierce agitation and had to be reversed within seven years of its introduction. Have the Bengalees and Indians of this generation repented of that agitation? It will indeed be as frightful a reversal of history as the Pakistanising of the Punjab which the British took from the Sikhs. Gandhiji may not know, may not care if he knew, what converted the peaceful, simple sect of Nanak to be a nation of warriors. "I will teach my sparrows to strike down the eagle" declared Guru Govind. Two Muslim Prime Ministers, avowed partisans of Pakistan, have refused to allow it in the Punjab, Khizr Hayat Khan has been denounced by Mr. Jinnah as a traitor to Islam. But the man has never wavered in his determination not to have a Muslim League Government in the Punjab. Is Gandhiji doing a service to the country by joining forces with the League against this intrepid nationalist Muslim?

#### PUNJAB HINDUS' PROTEST

The formidable volume and character of the opposition to the Rajaji formula endorsed by Gandhiji and to negotiations on its basis with Mr. Jinnah, is not adequately reflected in the messages of News Agencies and the selections in the daily Press of news from all parts of the country. It is generally known that the Punjab and Bengal, the two provinces vitally affected by the proposals, are dissatisfied with them and have made protests to Gandhiji. As a rule the protests are prefaced by expressions of respect for Gandhiji and the average reader is not given the opportunity of getting beyond the preliminary compliments. How much deeper and wider is the sense of disappointment and resentment, may be seen from the following statement signed by practically every Hindu of prominence in the Punjab. Among the signatories are Raja Narendranath, the doyen of the Punjab Hindu leaders, Sir Tek Chand, Sir Manoharlal, Finance Minister in the Khizr Hayat Cabinet, Lala Ram Saran Das, Sir Gokul Chand Narang, Leader of the Opposition in the Punjab Assembly and several others. The statement reads:

We, the undersigned, have carefully considered the proposals contained in the formula put by Mr. Rajagopalachari for communal settlement and have also studied the reactions thereto in various circles. Voicing the universal resentment of the Punjab Hindus we declare that Mr. Rajagopalachari is doing grave injustice to the Punjab Hindus by his attempt to foist on them a decision which will put hundreds of thousands of them under a permanent unalterable commu-

nal Raj. The Punjab Hindus question the right and authority of Mr. Rajagopalachari to do so without consulting the Hindus of the Punjab.

Hindus of the Punjab stand united for the geographical and political unity of India, but this formula aims at the dismemberment; and disintegration of the country. It is against the avowed principles of the Indian National Congress, solemn pledges and declarations of Mahatma Gandhi and the latest resolution of the A. I. C. C. passed on May 2, 1942. The formula we are constrained to say, is an ignominious surrender of India's best interests at the altar of rank communalism.

It is our considered opinion that the very basis of negotiation sponsored by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari is fundamentally wrong and unsound. The political deadlock in the country cannot be solved by abjectly surrendering the demands of extreme communalists but by boldly opposing all such demands. We are firmly convinced that this is the only correct method of approach to achieve and maintain freedom. The method of Mr. Rajagopalachari must lead to constant strife and permanent civil war in the country, and thereby perpetuation of foreign rule.

We are against the separation of Punjab from the rest of India and the partition thereof and if any such attempt is made, it will be our painful duty to oppose it.

#### A BANDRA DIARY

Mr. Sadanand has reproduced in his paper, the *Free Press Journal*, parts of this Diary in last week's *Reformer* and offered an explanation of his indignant abjuration "To Hell with Gandhiji". It is that he was revolted by Gandhiji's repudiation of "underground" workers. Many others also were. Personally, I felt not indignant but perplexed. Why did Gandhiji think it necessary for him to repudiate them? What did he expect to gain by doing so? I have not of late been reading his statements except casually. They seem to lead nowhere in particular. They are improvised for the occasion and often contradict a previous statement. Do not mind my inconsistency, says Gandhiji. He has every right to say so. His consistency and inconsistency are his own affair. But those who attach importance to his statements, and still more those who look to guidance from him, cannot but try to find some clue to the working of his mind, to which they may hold when in danger of being lost in its labyrinth. Perhaps, he has indicated his reasons for the belated denunciation of men and women who felt that they should do something to relieve themselves of the oppressive sense of having to look on helplessly when the leader whom they adored was snatched up from them. Even the Apostles of Jesus could not maintain an impassive calm when the Master was betrayed by Judas. Underground activities are neither unnatural nor immoral. All creative processes take place in darkness and silence. The seed must be planted in the soil and hidden from the sun in order to germinate. All great movements in history are preluded by a period of gestation underground. Early Christianity had a long period of underground penetration, Jesus himself did not escape underground methods. "Foxes have holes, birds have nests, but the Son of Man has nowhere to lay his head." The Irish leaders, De Valera and the rest, for months prior to their triumphant entry upon national self-government, were fugitives, changing their residences every day and their sleeping quarters every night. Today the underground workers in occupied Europe are heroes, the overgrounds are quislings. Truth is hidden behind a golden bowl, says the Upanishad. The tragic futility of much of Gandhiji's efforts is due to his morbid craving to be in the limelight. Congressmen who went underground did nothing which called for Gandhiji's repudiation. His call for them to come out and deliver themselves to the authorities does not seem to have met with general response. No wonder. These people did not go

underground at the bidding of Gandhiji and they are not waiting for his order to come out. In fact, Gandhiji's call is inconsistent with his disclaimer of responsibility for what happened after his arrest and during his detention.

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Mr. Sadanand's feelings, therefore, are natural and laudable but his way of giving expression to them was likely to lead to consequences which he never intended. This has happened in India and other lands. Emotions furnish driving power of character if controlled and converted into motive. Steam if confined in a boiler can be made to serve many utilities but uncontrolled it dissipates itself as empty vapour. Restraint is strength. It is power. The writer who holds himself in hand under emotional stresses always commands the respect of the reader, even though the latter may not accept his conclusions. A writer on Civilisation has observed that the mass of men never grow beyond the mental stage of a fourteen year boy. All propaganda, commercial advertisements and hustings oratory have, therefore, to be kept to this level. But the function of the journalist is surely higher. He has to guide, instruct, mould public opinion on affairs of importance. Lord Morley tells of an applicant for a job on the *Westminster Gazette* when he was editing that famous journal. "What can you do best? What is your strong point?" Morley asked the applicant. "Invective" came the prompt answer. That young man did not get the job. Stead, who was Assistant Editor, and succeeded Morley, complained that in the days of his apprenticeship, his Chief invariably blue-pencilled all the passages which he intended to be brilliant. Morley was writing his daily leading article when Gladstone sent for him. He went, accepted the Chief Secretaryship for Ireland, returned and finished his article. In London the Morley type of Editor has disappeared. Tom Clarke in his "My Lloyd George Diary" says that his daily routine as Editor of the *Daily News* began with an interview with the Advertisement Manager. And the *Daily News* was a great journal with the tradition of conscientious Liberalism of Bright and Cobden. But in India we should aspire to a higher standard. No editor of a daily newspaper in England has been called to Cabinet office since Lord Morley. In India conditions are different. Editors of newspapers are far better informed in and better trained to deal with public affairs than the average Indian M.L.C. They are sure to be drawn upon to guide the policy of the State in responsible positions. Whether, however, they are, or are not, they should prepare themselves for the tasks of statesmanship. The opportunities of journalism are, indeed, wider and more numerous than those of ministerial office. Some of our journalists are so overwhelmed by their position that they dare not venture any opinion until the lead has been given by party bosses. Impetuosity in a journalist is a lesser sin than timidity.

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It was suggested that I should discuss his formula with Mr. Rajagopalachary. I could not do so. The unity and indivisibility of India is for me axiomatic. To discuss it will be like discussing a proposal to decide by plebiscite whether the whole should be greater than its part or two sides of a triangle greater than the third.

#### GANAPATI, THE ELEPHANT-HEADED

Almost every day in the year is dedicated in the Hindu calendar to one or other of the many deities of the Hindu Pantheon. The modern middle-class Hindu home shorn of this perpetual round of celebrations, has become very drab and dreary. In

the orthodox home one was never at a loss as to what to do next. Before the camphor fumes of worship of one deity died away, the lamps would be lighted for another act of worship or festival. These occasions offered opportunities of co-operative neighbourly fellowship among people of the same village or town, and promoted social harmony. Ganapati is the most popular of the Hindu deities. He is only a minor deity, to be sure, not to be placed in the same august level as the Trinity, Brahma, Siva, Vishnu. He is the younger son of Siva and Parvati. He has the head and trunk of the elephant clapped on to a human body with an abnormally protruding abdomen. Popularly he is known as the Belly God owing to the prominence of this part of his anatomy. Hindu Iconography is rigid and variations from its canon, constitute a heinous sin. Only in the case of Ganapati is the image maker free to follow his fancy. The pot belly and the elephant head are obligatory. Obligatory also is the mouse, the mount to carry Ganapati from place to place. The *modak*, hollow flour ball stuffed with sweets, is his special delicacy. In the South Ganapati is a confirmed bachelor. The legend says that when his mother, the incomparable Parvati, suggested to him that it was time he married and settled in life, Ganapati replied that he would marry only when he found a bride as beautiful as his mother. He has not found another Parvati and so has remained a bachelor. In Bombay Ganapati is a happily married god, sometimes with two wives sitting on either knee. The principal function of Ganapati is to remove obstacles from the way of his devotee in religious and secular affairs. He is Vigneswar, the lord of obstacles. Until thirty years ago the Hindu masses used to participate in the street play of the Muslim Mohurrum masquerading as tigers and wolves. The late Lokamanya Tilak in order to wean them from the custom organised Ganapati exhibitions. Ganapati means the leader of the crowd, an appropriate hero for mass celebrations. These have caught on and the Hindu participation in the Mohurrum has completely ceased. This year the festival has been ante-dated by about two weeks in accordance with the complicated system of additions and omissions by which the Hindu calendar is made to correspond with the positions of the sun and the moon.

#### INDUSTRIALISTS' DILEMMA

Sir,—With reference to your editorial note headed "The Industrialists' Dilemma" in your issue of August 12, on page 358, may I, as the spokesman of the Birla Mills to whose statement you have made a reference therein, be allowed a little space to answer some of the points you have raised?

It is almost impossible for any mill with the best possible vigilance to guarantee cent per cent faultless production. Generally, the bad is sifted from the good, but even then, the packing being done by labourers, specially when the mills are working with night shifts, some faulty pieces are bound to slip in, and the only remedy is the allowance of rebate to the customer when the matter is brought to the mills' notice. In fact, it is a normal trade practice for customers to claim discount in such cases and for mills to allow it.

The manufacturer always takes the financial liability for any defective goods supplied, but he cannot always ensure against the delivery sometimes of defective goods. Even machinery and other goods imported from Europe are often found to be faulty and in all such cases the customer claims a rebate or replacement of parts, which is ordinarily allowed. In the cases referred to, the quantity of defective goods was comparatively small.—SITARAM KHEMKA.

[We are glad to publish this letter. Accidents are bound to occur in the best managed concerns. But it is hard for us to believe that the Industries or Supply or whatever the department which dealt with this case, was not apprised of this routine practice in mills or did not appreciate it when it imposed a pre-supervision on a concern so influentially owned as the Birlas'.—Ed.]

#### LAW AND COMMON SENSE

The *Bombay Chronicle* of August 18 had the following:

WOMAN TYPIST CONVICTED FOR FORGED CHEQUE  
(Before the Hon'ble Mr Justice Macklin and a Common Jury)

Emperor v. Accused.

The first accused who was a typist in the firm of Messrs. Eastley Lam & Co., Solicitors, was charged with having forged a cheque for Rs. 300 purporting to have been signed by Mr. Eastley, a partner in that firm in February last, and with having abetted her husband, the second accused, in cheating the Eastern Bank of that amount. The second accused was also charged with having knowingly used the forged cheque as genuine in getting it cashed from the Bank. At the trial, the first accused was in a delicate condition, admitted having forged the said cheque, but stated that her husband did not know anything about it when he cashed it at her instance.

The Jury having returned a unanimous verdict finding the first accused guilty and the second accused not guilty of the offences charged, His Lordship sentenced her to one day's simple imprisonment on each charge and a fine of Rs. 100 but acquitted the second accused of all charges.

The prominence given to the sex of the accused in the heading was both unnecessary and unfortunate. The fact of the accused being a woman does not affect the merits of the case one way or another. Surely it was not the intention of the sub-editor who gave the heading to suggest that women typists are more prone to commit offences than men typists. Indian women are just emerging out of seclusion and it is very wrong to hold up occasional transgressors among them to special public obloquy.

Turning to the body of the report (we have omitted the names of the accused) the fact that the Judge sentenced the principal accused to a day's simple imprisonment—equivalent in civil suits to a farthing damages—can only mean that he regarded the offence as merely technical or that he thought there were extenuating circumstances which did not justify the passing of a sentence more commensurate with the seriousness of the offence of which the accused was charged. The reference in the report to "the delicate condition" of the accused is again indelicate. Surely the Judge was not actuated by it in passing the sentence which he did. The Indian Penal Code is exhaustively framed so as to cover every conceivable circumstance, and unless administered with plenty of commonsense it will be a constant menace to the liberty and honour of every citizen. To dip your pen in a friend's ink bottle would be a theft under the definition of the offence in the Penal Code. One cannot but feel that this consideration was conspicuously absent from the policy of this prosecution. The report, so far as we have seen, did not appear in either of the other English local dailies.

#### LEPROSY AND DIVORCE

Mr. T. N. Jagadisan, Honorary Publicity Secretary, Madras Provincial Council of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association, writes: "Let me say that it is a valuable reference you have

made in your paper to our Association. And the point you have made is very important. Woman looks after man, however obnoxious he may be, with devotion and care. In my acquaintance with patients and their affairs, I have found that mostly wives are content to live with their affected partners and look after them, while a larger proportion of men abandon their affected wives. And we have to remember that the male sufferers are twice or three times as many as women sufferers." Mr. Jagadisan's reference is to the observations in the leading article "Monogamy in Baroda" on the exemption of men whose wives are afflicted with leprosy from the monogamous law. (*Reformer*, August, 12).

#### I. C. S. AND MARRIAGES

Sir, I am surprised that no modern Indian novelist has as yet taken his hero from the matrimonial black market of India—the I. C. S. Here are two suggestions for one or more novels. The hero as a young man goes to London with the help of a rich merchant, passes the examination, falls in love with his landlady's daughter, returns to India with her and to his surprise finds that Indian girls are more charming, graceful and sexually attractive. He sues for a divorce and fails to get it. A variant of the same theme is the young man on returning marries the daughter of a flourishing lawyer, and being of a scientific turn of mind, discovers that rich men's daughters are generally plain while the parents of pretty girls are mostly of modest means. He writes a book on the "Economics of Eugenics," is awarded the Nobel Prize, on his voyage to Stockholm is torpedoed by a U-boat, is saved from drowning by the merchant, an expert swimmer, who helped him to go to London and who was with his daughter in the same boat, receives a message announcing the sudden death of the lawyer's daughter, marries the merchant's daughter, becomes Governor of a Province where his father-in-law under a new Constitution becomes his Prime Minister and enacts a law for universal, compulsory circumcision as a means of achieving inter-communal unity.—SCRUTATOR.

#### SOUL AND BODY

The *New Republic* (May 29), under the heading, "What makes us sick", reports that an eminent Army Doctor in the United States has discovered that ill-health results from a combination of mental and physical conditions. It says:

One of the most important problems before the American people was underlined in a paper delivered the other day by Colonel Leonard G. Rowntree, chief of the medical division of the Selective Service System, before a joint meeting of the American Psychiatric Association and the American Society for Research in Psychosomatic Problems. Many think of disease as being only physical in nature, caused by germs or some other outside influence, and curable only by physical substances such as sulfa drugs or vitamins. Colonel Rowntree revealed that high among causes for rejection for military service are diseases now recognized as having both physical and emotional components, and that such rejections have been rapidly increasing since Pearl Harbour. Among these diseases he mentioned particularly asthma, peptic ulcer, gastro-intestinal diseases and neuro-circulatory impairment. No external physical cause can be assigned for the tremendous growth of such symptoms since we entered the war—rejection rates for asthma have nearly doubled, for peptic ulcer have increased nearly 50 per cent, for neuro-circulatory maladies have doubled (an increase of five-fold is shown for Negroes) and for gastro-intestinal illnesses have increased two and one-half times.