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No. 1

"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

Satara Atrocities:—About the end of last week the Director of Information in Bombay issued a lengthy statement of atrocities committed in the Satara District on villagers with a view to terrorising them, it was suggested, into submission to a "Parallel Government" ought to be established. A number of organisations, some of which had the name of the Congress inserted in their designation, were declared illegal as being concerned in the affair. The atrocities included mutilation of the victims photographs of whom were also published. What struck us, apart from the heinousness of the atrocities, was the timing of this statement. It was issued just a day or two before the Governor of Bombay, Sir John Colville, left for New Delhi to assume charge of the Viceroyalty during Lord Wavell's absence in London. It is well known that among provincial Governors, Sir John was the strongest of Lord Wavell's supporters at the last Governors' Conference in New Delhi. In his address to the Convocation of the Bombay University, His Excellency had frankly declared that he wanted as soon as possible to cease to be a Governor ruling under Section 93 of the Government of India Act and to resume the Ministerial regime which, he remarked, was so successful under his predecessors, Lord Brabourne and Sir Roger Lumley. It struck us that the publication of the statement at the time, was probably an attempt on the part of some over-zealous official to embarrass the Governor in his effort to restore constitutional government in the provinces and the centre. Such things have happened before in India and in other countries. The Press Note conveyed the impression that the atrocities happened recently and were happening now. William Phipps, staff correspondent of the Associated Press of America, has in a long message published in the Indian Press given what purports to be the view taken in the Congress circles of the Government statement. It seems to be admitted that atrocities were committed but, it is suggested, that they ceased soon after the release of Gandhiji and Maha-

rashtrian leaders who had since persuaded the people to be non-violent; and it is to the Police who have been worrying the people, that much of the trouble is due. There is a third cause which should not be left out of account. Satara has been lauded as the district in Bombay Province which has furnished most recruits for the Wur. The vigorous able-bodied youth away, the lawless elements would naturally feel free to assert themselves. It would seem that the victims of the atrocities were in several cases officials engaged in levying fines imposed on the inhabitants. The system of collecting fines belongs to the Middle Ages and was resorted to by the British in the occupied countries. Collecting fines and recruits from the same area is a characteristically British Indian quality.

Sir J. Colville's Convocation Address:—The Governor of Bombay and Chancellor of the University, Sir John Colville, set a healthy precedent by departing from the traditional dreary didacticism of University Convocation addresses. He freely and frankly laid before the new graduates his estimate of the political situation and hopes for the future. His Excellency said that he did not share the view that students should take no interest in politics. This is sound commonsense. Politics rightly conceived is an important branch of the philosophy and art of promoting human happiness not only in one nation but among all nations and peoples. Universities are the proper agencies to undertake the dissemination of right ideas of politics. Instead of adjuring students to eschew politics, there should be chairs in our universities to teach and train them to discriminate between true politics and party politics and, while holding definite views of their own, to recognise that others may with equal sincerity hold different views. To call the latter traitors or quislings is not the educated man's way of persuading them of the rightness of his own views. In public affairs motives count for little. When a number of persons are concerned in a discussion each one of them has his own point of view arising out of his education, heritage and environment, and his motives are cancelled or counteracted by those of others. It is, therefore, altogether unnecessary to impute motives to one's opponents. To do so merely makes the latter impervious to one's arguments however well considered they may be. The war has corrupted many things but the worst of its consequences is that it has destroyed intellectual integrity and the capacity of reasoning calmly on world issues. Unless this is corrected plans of world reconstruction will be futile. It is the Universities that should set themselves to restore intellectual honesty in the war-distracted world.

Cardinal Newman's Centenary :—We learn from the *Examiner* that a Conference is being held in England of scholars and Churchmen to celebrate the centenary of Cardinal Newman. We are sorry that among the countries represented India is not one. Cardinal Newman's writings, prose and poetry, had an abiding influence on some of the finest minds of India outside the Catholic fold. His "Idea of a University" was widely read in circles interested in higher education as were his Essays, historical and philosophical. In many respects Newman's prose is the noblest in the English language. His sermons breathe the spirit of lofty devotion. His beautiful hymn "Lead, Kindly Light" has been an inspiration to many Indians. Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta, whose centenary fell recently, concluded his memorable Congress presidential address with Newman's moving avowal; "I do not ask to see the distant scene; one step enough for me." Newman, had he come to India, would have found ardent congregations all over the country. He would have also found in Indian religious thought much to strengthen and supplement his own spiritual experience. Nowadays it is assumed that medievalism was wholly bad and modernism is wholly good. Cardinal Newman's writings show that there was much that was beautiful and pure and lofty in medievalism. The idea of a World Empire dominated by spiritual ideals, was the goal of medievalism and today it is the only solution to the conflicts which are sought in vain to be harmonised by various international organizations. Ancient temples in India—some of them still exist—were built entirely without mortar or cement by fitting stone to stone. But there was in every case a keystone which held the whole structure together, and the removal of which laid it a heap of ruins. The international organizations proposed are without cement. Neither have they the keystone. Cardinal Newman left the Church of England in which he was born and brought up, for the Catholic Church which in his time was far more odious in Protestant England than it is now. An English friend remarked incidentally that his mother would rather that he became a Mahomedan than a Catholic. The *Reformer* has a rooted dislike to religious proselytism but, if conversion is ever justifiable, it is in cases like Cardinal Newman's. A towering intellect with foundations in a deeply religious nature, would have carried him to the highest position in his ancestral Church. It was a tremendous sacrifice which Newman made when he chose to join a more or less despised sect. Such men are the salt of the earth and we, on behalf of India, associate ourselves with the tributes which are being paid to his memory in the Centenary Conference.

Lord Pethick Lawrence on Indian Policy :—The new Secretary of State for India and Burma, Lord Pethick Lawrence, made a statement of his general position in regard to India, and incidentally to Burma, to a Press Conference in London on August 15. Equal partnership between India, Burma and Britain, he said, was the ideal which he has set before himself. This leaves us rather wondering whether there is to be a new status besides Dominion Status of the Westminster Statute type, which is being forged for the special benefit of India and Burma. From the *Reformer's* point of view this would be necessary as India, as has often been pointed out in these columns, is not and cannot be a daughter State which Dominions are understood to be. The same remark applies

to Burma. If Britain, India and Burma are to be a special group, what are to be the special features of this group? What will be its relations to the other group in which also Britain is co-equal with the Dominions? The Dominions are not partners but independent political units. Is there any special significance in the partnership relation between Britain and India? Partners have all their affairs in common. Would India have a voice in the affairs of Britain, as Britain has in those of India? Would Burma likewise have a finger in the Indian pie? Lord Pethick Lawrence said that all through his life he has been greatly attracted to the Asiatic attitude towards fundamental issues and particularly to that of India. He added:

Though I lay no claim whatever to be an Orientalist in the sense of having made any study of Oriental literature or art, I can say that I am acquainted with the elementary principles which form the basis of Indian thought and they have exercised a profound influence on my life both in the spiritual approach to the problem of existence and in its artistic presentation of material reality. It is no exaggeration to say that I have often found myself more in accord with the Eastern expression, than with that prevailing in the Western world in which I was born and have lived.

Lord Pethick Lawrence's appointment as Secretary of State has been very favourably received in India. But ancient Indian lights do not afford much help in solving modern political problems and Lord Pethick Lawrence's attraction to them may conceivably lead him astray in arriving at decisions acceptable to present-day India.

Macready's Prophecy :—In the *Reformer* of August 18 we reproduced part of a paper read before the American Academy of Political Science by General Sir Gordon Macready, Member of the Combined Chiefs of Staff of the United States and Great Britain, in April last. Readers will have noticed that Sir Gordon, among other considerations militating against the idea of an International Force, made incidental reference to the possibility of some scientific development in a particular country giving an advantage to an aggressor which would offset the superiority of armament promised to the International Force. Sir Gordon Macready from his position might have been speaking with a foreknowledge of the advent of the Atom Bomb. Whether he did so or not, the Atom Bomb has undoubtedly upset the plans of the proposed International Organization. Bretton Woods, Dumbarton Oaks, Crimea, San Francisco, have all gone into the melting pot. The United States as the patentee and sole producer of the Atom Bomb stands at the summit of possible aggressors.

Mr. Subhas Bose :—Official circles have accepted almost with alacrity the death of Subhas Bose as the result of an air crash. Indians, especially those who had been once associates of Bose, have professed doubts about the veracity of the report. Whether, however, Subhas Bose is dead or alive, the effect of the news has been electric. It has burst almost as a second atom bomb in political circles. Its repercussions are likely to be tremendous. Seldom has there been a more acute instance of life's ironies than the contrast in present position of the once close comrades in arms. When Subhas was said to be dying in a Japanese hospital, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was reported to be lurching with the Governor of the Frontier Province. "Whither of them twain did the will of the Father?"

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BOMBAY, September 1, 1945.

CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

It is reported that the Chinese and the British Parliaments have ratified the Charter of the United-Nations adopted at the San Francisco Conference. It is difficult to believe that the Members of Parliament in the two countries did not know that the Charter was "blown to pieces by the Atom Bomb flung on two Japanese cities. The first Article of the Charter affirms the faith of the United Nations "in the fundamental human rights, in the dignity and value of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small." The declared purposes of the Charter include development of respect for the "principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples and promotion and encouragement of respect for human rights and the fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, language, religion or sex." Unless the words "fundamental, "equal", freedoms", and absence of discrimination, are comprehended in the single right and freedom to massacre and be massacred wholesale, the Charter has already been rendered a mockery. The leading representatives of Great Britain and the United States would have known all the time the Conference was deliberating on the clauses of the Charter that away in the deserts of Mexico a new weapon was being tested, which would spread death and desolation wherever it was cast for hundreds and, in course of time, thousands of square miles. The Charter itself, apart from this, proposed to establish two Powers with the largest resources of aggression in virtual control of the world's destinies. Before the Conference ended, the United States by its secret of the Atom Bomb became the sole arbiter of the rest of the world. In Mr. Winston Churchill's vivid phrase, the United States stood at the summit. They who stand at the summit are also on the brink of the abyss. Mr. Churchill has recently had personal experience of this universal truth.

That eloquent phrases in the Charter about human rights, equality of all races, and about the fundamental principles of freedom, are not merely rhetorical flourishes but are meant to be serious and to be seriously understood, can be immediately and conclusively demonstrated beyond possibility of cavil by the most sceptical. The United States is at present the sole possessor of the machinery for the production of the Atom Bomb. The structure and contents of the Atom Bomb are widely known. The *Nationalist* of Calcutta, the organ of the Hindu Mahasabha, published a detailed diagram showing the contents of the Bomb in a recent issue. According to recent information, President Truman has not yet countermanded his order for the continued production of these powerful missiles though the production of the aircraft in which these Bombs were carried to Japan is being reduced. It may be that a new type of plane has been invented for the more speedy and safer transport of the bomb and the old type is no longer needed. If President Truman really believes in the purposes of the Charter as defined in the preamble, he

has it in his power to prove it. Let him order that no more Atom Bombs be made, that the existing stock of it be destroyed in view of the representatives of all the nations, and that the machinery and buildings be scrapped and plans and designs sunk fathoms deep in the mid Atlantic. Having decided to do this, he is entitled to demand from Soviet Russia which is the only country at present in a position to attempt the production of the Atom Bomb, Britain being too small and too crowded to find sufficient space for testing its efficacy, that she should likewise undertake and guarantee that she will not manufacture or attempt to manufacture these Bombs. So long as America goes on making these bombs and so long as she keeps the machinery and the material and the workmen to make them, she cannot expect the other nations to deal with her on equal terms. She holds a pistol to the head of all mankind and mankind is justified in requiring that she should throw away the pistol and come to the common table with open hands. The United States can gracefully make this renunciation of her own free will. If, however, she does not, it can only mean that she intends to use the Atom Bomb in an emergency against other nations as she did against Japan. She is not only potentially but practically an aggressor nation. The Charter is intended to deal with aggressors. Under its terms the other Powers are not only entitled but bound to take action against her and force her to relinquish the Atom Bomb. If they shrink from doing so, it is clear proof that there is no real equality even among the Big Five. If they deliberately refrain from taking action to compel the United States to abandon the manufacture of the Atom Bomb it can only mean that they themselves hope some day to produce it and use it to defend themselves against the United States. There is the acid test of the good faith of the Big Powers.

THE SINO-RUSSIAN TREATY

The Treaty concluded between China and Russia has been published. Apart from the terms which are not merely just but generous, the tone and spirit of the Treaty is in striking contrast to the tone and spirit of the treaties between China and other European countries during the past century and a half. There is not a trace of condescension in the Treaty. China is not treated as she has been as a suppliant but as an equal. The Treaty to our mind is important as a big step towards closer understanding between Asia and Europe, which is essential to the peace and progress of the world. For nearly two centuries Great Britain had it in her power to become the pioneer in this great reconciliation. Whatever hopes might have been entertained of this during the early part of the last century they were dashed to the ground by the developments of the latter half. Racial ascendancy, economic exploitation, political subjection of non-Europeans dominated the councils of Britain. The leadership in the movement for Euro-Asian cooperation has passed to the Russians who are particularly fitted to it by the fact that their country lies in a larger part of Asia than of Europe. Turning to the terms, the first thing to note is that Manchuria which was reconquered from the Japanese solely by the Red Army, is to be freely handed over to China within three months of the signing of the Peace Treaty with Japan, when Russian troops will be withdrawn from Manchuria. Equally important is the undertaking that the Russian Government will

deal only with the Central Government at Chungking. The fear that it may exploit the Chinese Communists to create a second Poland in Asia, has proved groundless. Even Outer Mongolia to which Russia might have advanced a not unreasonable claim as essential for giving her a well defined frontier, is to decide by a plebiscite whether she would become part of the Soviet system or remain an independent Republic. The British want Indians to prove to their satisfaction that they can govern themselves. Russia assumes that every country is inherently provided with the capacity of self-government. Even in its attitude to Japan the Treaty shows a higher moral standard than the Americans. China and Russia do not regard Japan as beyond redemption. The genius of the Japanese people is necessary for the reconstruction of Asia and the world. It is worthy of note that while the American Government is said to have been kept informed of the negotiations between Chungking and Moscow, the British seem to have been regarded as having no concern in them. Mr. Amery in a speech, after he lost his seat in Parliament and ceased to be Secretary of State for India, said that India should have at least the same international status as China. The Sino-Russian Treaty brings into ignoble relief the international position of this country. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad has protested against the exclusion of India from the functions connected with receiving the surrender of the Japanese at Tokyo and Singapore. India has been loudly applauded for the enormous contributions in men and material she has made to the Allies' victory over Germany and Japan. Her exclusion becomes the more glaring since Australia, New Zealand and Canada are to be invited to them.

GOVERNMENT ON INDO-JAPANESE PRISONERS

The Government of India has issued a statement of the policy and procedure which they have decided to follow in regard to the Indian soldiers who have surrendered or been captured fighting for the Japanese. The official communique is unique of its kind and is reproduced in another column. The rank and file—that is, the majority of the prisoners—are to be treated with clemency and generosity. They are to be paid 42 days' pay and the allowances made to their families during their absence are not to be recovered. But the law will be allowed to take its course with regard to the leaders and those who were guilty of particularly heinous offences. Besides these two groups there is a number who, if the allegations against them are proved, will be tried and punished. Among these, it is stated, are some leaders who appear to have consciously (conscientiously?) embraced the Japanese or German cause. They will be tried by Court Martial and will be allowed to choose counsel to represent them and the proceedings will be public. We appreciate the wisdom which prompted the adoption of a policy of leniency to the majority of these men. The Government of India is right in feeling that allowance must be made for the circumstances in which the rank and file not only found themselves when captured by the Japanese but also to the circumstances, in which they were captured by the latter. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in an interview to the Associated Press at Srinagar described the circumstances in which a section of them were captured thus:

"From such accounts as had come to me," he said, "it appears probable that this Indian national army first took shape when Singapore was almost surrounded by the Japanese and most of the British army left by boat. The Indian army in Malaya was, therefore, left stranded by the fortunes of war and was completely at the mercy of the Japanese. At that time a junior officer of the British Indian army, Sirdar Mohan Singh, apparently got into touch with the Japanese Command and organised the remnants of the Indian troops there, which amounted to nearly 7,000. Although Mohan Singh to some extent co-operated with the Japanese, he resisted their encroachments in many ways and refused to be a tool in their hands. After many months, matters came to a crisis and Mohan Singh, who had proved a very efficient and brave organiser, was arrested by the Japanese and disappeared completely. Probably, he was executed by the Japanese."

The Pandit mentioned the number left in the lurch by their British comrades as 7,000. Singapore was reputed to be a strongly fortified British position. The Indian soldiers never entertained the slightest doubt about the might of the British Power and its ability to repel the Japanese. The state of mind of the Indian soldiers thus ignominiously abandoned by the Power in which they had placed implicit faith, can well be imagined. It must have naturally made them feel that the British cared less for their Indian comrades than for their own safety. The conduct of the British was discreditable; they were not true to their salt; and we have not heard that anyone has been tried either by a military or a civil tribunal. We say that the circumstances in which the Indian troops were left in Singapore, cannot but have shaken their faith in their British masters. In this state of mind the approaches of the Japanese with their pro-Asiatic, anti-European slogan, would have been hard for the average man to resist. Therefore, Government's decision is just more than generous.

Pandit Jawaharlal referred to the case of a young Indian officer, Sardar Mohan Singh, who organised the disheartened men and entered into an arrangement with the Japanese. He, however, was not subservient to them and, according to the Pandit, was probably executed by the Japanese. There may be other Indians among the officers and it will be wrong to refuse them the measure of just generosity meted to the rank and file. The Government communique speaks of the law of almost all countries prescribing death as the penalty for a soldier going over to the enemy and fighting his former comrades. It would be interesting to know what are the exceptions and the reasons for the exceptions, in the present war. The communique speaks of "former comrades." When "comrades" are of the same nationality, the penalty of death may be justifiable but in the war in the Far East comradeship and nationality were not interchangeable. The Russians and Germans were "former comrades" but later enemies. The British and Japanese were comrades in the last war and for many years after. They are enemies in this. Mere comradeship is not a such a bond as would justify the death penalty for transformation to antagonism in war. The death penalty in any case is unquestionably not the proper one even for leaders. We assume that no action has so far been taken in such cases.

"GOOD" AND "GREAT"

(By K. NATARAJAN)

"Beneath the Good how far—but far above the Great." This line of Thomas Gray floated up to my mind from out of the depths of memory when reading Mr. Srinivasa Sastri's estimate of Sir Pherozechah Mehta as a man apart from the politician. His verdict is that Sir Pherozechah was not a "good" man though he was undoubtedly a "great" man. Said Mr. Sastri: "Our saints and poets have held up the spirit of asceticism as the proper spirit for man to cultivate. Pherozechah Mehta must be pronounced to have not been a very prominent example of this quality. He was a lover of the good things of life—a man who earned with both hands and spent with both hands too, mostly on his own enjoyment. He never saved much money. He did not die a rich man but he lived like a prince. He lived in the very lap of the Goddess of luxury. No one of the many ways in which life could be enjoyed, was unfamiliar to him. He drank the cup of life brimming to the very dregs. In his life he did not at any time hear of the poor or the lowly. They did not seem to exist so far as he was concerned. I do not think that he ever bothered himself about the problem of labourers or the workmen who keep this world going. That side of life's problem did not touch him except as a matter of pure theory. He lived a life far above the rest of humanity. Completely aloof and forbiddingly aristocratic in his bearing, he knew nothing of the miseries of life, the shadows that darken the valley where we all live and move and have our being."

I should say at the outset that, in the observations which follow. I am not criticising Mr. Sastri but only using his observations as a pretext for indulging in a bit of thinking aloud to myself. Hindu sages and poets do not, in my judgment, extol asceticism as the proper spirit for all men. Of this I shall say something presently. But even if they did, Zoroastrianism does not countenance asceticism. Again and again, Parsi divines high up in the ecclesiastical hierarchy have expressly declared that Zoroaster's teachings not only discountenance asceticism but that they positively inculcate as a duty the living a good life not only in word, thought and deed but also in respect of one's personal needs and surroundings. To put it crudely, three full meals a day is part of the Zoroastrian Gospel as expounded by these savants. Sir Pherozechah was a Parsi and he was proud of being one. Sir Homi Mody is also a Parsi and Mr. Sastri quotes a passage from his book describing Sir Pherozechah's manner of life during a visit to Europe as extravagant. The passage read in its setting in a two-volume biography does not at all convey the impression which Mr. Sastri's audience would have derived from its quotation and the comments in the address. Sir Pherozechah was certainly not a hedonist. He did not certainly live to eat and drink. He dressed with care but I have never heard of him spoken of as a tailor-made man. Bacon's precept that your dress must be such as to give your face leave to speak, was never infringed in the case of Sir Pherozechah. No one was ever distracted by his clothes from his face and speech. Mr. Sastri says that Sir Pherozechah was aristocratic in his bearing. He could not help being so. Emerson has said that every man carries in his eyes the patent of his nobility. I have heard Mr. Sastri himself accused of the same offence.

Hindu sages and poets do not hold up asceticism as the supreme virtue for all. Hinduism has only one Absolute, God. Everything else is relative. Mr. Sastri need not be reminded of Kalidasa's scale of functions: pupilage for children, enjoyment for youth, hermit's life in old age and, finally, deliverance from the body through yoga. The four canonical ashramas are: student, the householder's life, retirement from secular cares, if possible to a hermitage in a forest, and renunciation of the world preparatory to quitting this life. Kalidasa had not contemplated the fourth stage, sanyas. The householder's life is extolled as the most important because it is the support and mainstay of the other three stages. A Hindu is not required to eschew the good things of life. What he is warned against is becoming attached to these things so much as to feel their deprivation as a calamity. One should not set his heart on eating and drinking as the main end of life. Water drops on the lotus leaf is a common simile offered for man's guidance. In the world but not of it, is the best English equivalent. Rudyard Kipling for all his Europeanism had caught the spirit of Hindu philosophy, in his story of Sir Puran Das, Minister of a great State, moving with Princes and Viceroy's on equal terms, who, at the stroke of his sixtieth birthday, abandons home and kindred, and, clad in kashaya and staff and bowl in hand, is seen pacing the streets where but a few days before he had ridden in a gorgeous State coach with postilions and mounted escorts in front and rear. Hinduism teaches us not to be elated by success nor depressed by failure. "Equanimity is yoga." "Equanimity" was the last password which the Roman Emperor, Antoninus, gave his palace guard as he retired for the night fully aware that it was his last on earth.

Mr. Sastri's chief reason for denying Sir Pherozechah the attribute of goodness is, though he earned large sums, he spent much of them on himself and did not leave any bequests for the poor. "I have not heard," he said, "of his having left large bequests for charity. I have not heard of his giving scholarships to pupils or of his endowing schools or libraries. He did not bestow his monies on these things so profitable to the public. I do not think anything there is standing to his credit in this direction. He earned with both hands and spent with both hands too but largely on himself." When I read this passage I could not help smiling. Have most of the people who have left large bequests out of wealth which they cannot carry with them to the Great Beyond, really been men entitled to be called "good" in the sense Gray spoke of the "Good" as being far above the "Great"? Philanthropy is an evil by-product of modern capitalism. In a rational society there will be no philanthropists because there will be an even distribution of what Mr. Sastri calls the good things of life, some of which are bad things. I dislike the term "social service" because it postulates some people being socially well off and others socially backward, as a permanent and legitimate feature of society. The poor are always with us, said the Galilean Prophet, when one of his disciples, he who kept the bag, growled that Mary should have sold the box of costly perfume which she broke at Jesus's feet, and given the money to the poor. This is a large subject and I must leave it here. As a matter of fact Sir Pherozechah's whole life was given to the service of the people. In the Municipal Corporation,

in the University, in the Legislature, his voice was always and invariably raised on behalf of the people. When the telegraph signallers went on strike, it was Sir Pheroze Shah who took up their cause, organized public opinion and compelled the authorities to alleviate their grievances. He pleaded for lightening the burdens on the cultivator, for lower fees for university students and for economy in the administration. There are more ways than one of serving the people. Sir Pheroze Shah, like Mr. Sastri himself, made politics the medium of his ministrations. I agree with Mr. Sastri that biography should not be panegyric but a biographer is not obliged to magnify human foibles in his subject. Men are best judged by their ideals. The man is his *Shraddha*, says the Bhagavad Gita. Failure to achieve the cherished goal is largely due to circumstances. Goethe declared that he loved the man who aimed at the impossible. The English Poet, Robert Browning, put the same idea in another form: "If a man's reach does not exceed his grasp, what is Heaven for?" Sir Pheroze Shah's ideal was finely expressed in his speech at the Ripon Club in 1905 to an audience composed largely of his coreligionists. Addressing particularly the younger men, he said:

"In these days we are somewhat materialistic. We sometimes think that we have got nothing to do but to accumulate wealth for our own enjoyment. That is not all that we have got to do in this world. Life requires something higher and nobler for its full satisfaction. That reminds me of a poetical passage. We cannot be content without aspiring at something more than self-indulgence.

At last, not rotting like a weed,
But having sown some generous seed,
Fruitful of further thought and deed,
To pass, when Life her light withdraws,
Not void of righteous self-applause,
Nor in a merely selfish cause—
In some good cause, not in mine own,
To perish wept for, honour'd, known,
And like a warrior overthrown,
Whose eyes are dim with glorious tears
When, soil'd with noble dust, he hears
His country's war-song thrill his ears;
Then dying of a mortal stroke,
What time the foeman's line is broke
And all the war is roll'd in smoke."

There can be no doubt that Sir Pheroze Shah often pondered these lines and that they largely moulded the shape of his life.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF MUSLIM SUFIS AND HINDU SAINTS

(BY GURDAS RAM, JODHPUR.)

The philosophy of Sufis and Saints is the religion of Love Divine. They lay the maximum stress on spiritual environment, the company of the living Spiritual Master, known as *Murshid* or *Guru*, for the cultivation of Love Divine. This principle can claim to have its basis on science. The influence of environment is one of the greatest doctrines of science and is recognised to be one of the most potent factors in the evolution of life. Just as without the harmony of a scientist with the natural environment there can be no real science, in like manner,

there can be no true religion without the correspondence of spiritual environment.

God can be reached by only those,
Who on the Master wait for help,
O thou! who seekest after Him,
To him alone thy worship give.

The religion of externalism or of the orthodox type with its narrow fanaticism and bigotry and meticulous performance of rituals and ceremonials, is reprehended by Sufis and Saints. The religious faith reposed in a living Spiritual Master, who has communion with the Almighty Creator, is higher and nobler than the faith in the paraphernalia of externalism. In the religion of Sufis and Saints, the religious Master is the personal living centre of theology around whom the whole religious system is ensphered.

Like the *Hajis* I too circumambulate,
But around my Master Beloved,
Like the dogs I am not disposed
To walk around the bodies dead.

Nor do the Sufis and Saints recognise the study of books and scriptures as a sufficient means for the comprehension of Ultimate Reality. They prescribe 'knowledge through acquaintance' for the realisation of Divine Wisdom, and not the 'knowledge through description'. Words may hint at reality through symbols and metaphors, but they do not help a seeker in the realisation of the Ultimate Truth. Religion is to be experimented and experienced and the experience essentially relates to spirit.

The Purana and Koran are mere words;
Lifting up the curtain, I have seen.
Kabir gives utterance to the words of

experience,
And he knows very well that all other
things are untrue.

(Tagore's *One Hundred Poems of Kabir*)

The fact is that the path starts from the heart of a student. It is, therefore, a matter of paramount importance that the dust which has accumulated on the mirror of heart through the fierce and distorting gusts of sense desires, must be brushed away by the gentle breeze of Love Divine. Love Divine purifies the heart and helps the devotee to soar up moth-like through the citadel of egoistic selfhood to the Divine Candle—the candle which consumes all sense of duality.

"The flame of Love if in a heart is kindled,

Everything but the Beloved is dried and dwindled."

The spiritual practices prescribed by the Spiritual Master, which are known as *Ruhani Ashghal* or *Adhyatmic Sadhanas*, are simple and direct. They are not complicated by tortuous and rickety paraphernalia and as such can be practised by any one, any where and at any time. They are entirely free from any bias and have an intellectual basis. An ordinary householder can achieve wonderful results by devoting even a slice of his time in the performance of these spiritual exercises which comprise of 'repetition of the Holy Name' termed as *Zikr* or *Samirana*, 'contemplation of the Holy Form' known as *Fikr* or *Dhyana*, and 'perception of the Spiritual Sound' named as *Sultan-ul-azkar* or *Suratal Shabda Yoga*. The performance of these practices puts the lower-self of the seeker out of action and ultimately enables him to attain a state of oneness with the Supreme Being.

" I became thou and thou became I,
I become the body and thou the life,
No one can say now, Oh none!
That thou and I are not one."

The prophets and messengers of God descend on this planet to harmonise and unify the suffering and staggering humanity. The Sufis and Saints have consequently trampled under foot all distinctions of caste, creed and nationality. They have preached brotherhood of man and Fatherhood of God.

" How can I solve this riddle,
O followers of Islam!
For I know not my own nationality,
I am neither a Jew nor a Christian,
Neither a Zoroastrian nor a Muslim."

Religion is a system of Truths. Truth is one and harmonising. Like Lord Christ who has said, " Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil," the Sufis and Saints have corroborated and substantiated the religion of each other.

" Sahib Sahib and Taisi Sahib,
Did the religion of 'Deyal' inaugurate,
Deedarah Rakhosami openly,
I too with them co-operate."

THE FRENCH AND INDO-CHINA

Sensitive to justifiable criticisms of France's pre-war role in Indo-China and seeking to justify retention of this empire subject, Gen. Charles de Gaulle and his advisers have been planning marked changes from the old type of rule. Almost unpublicized in this part of the world is de Gaulle's regime's proposal for a federation in Indo-China of five states forming a unit in a French Commonwealth of Nations.

All units of the federation would be equal, with every type of administrative and political power spent on equal terms as well as every office in the French colonial and equatorial service. The Governor would be French, but the people would have limited power through an Assembly and Council of State, both to be elected by popular suffrage.

Though all power as yet would reside in the Assembly, it would not have authority to make political decisions. While the arena is being heated in the East and in France, partly on communist Japanese promises of " independence " for Indo-China, the new proposal must await endorsement by France's parliamentary bodies following the first national elections in post-war France.

INDO-CHINESE PRISONERS

A Government in India " Communiqué " says that the influence of going over to the enemy and fighting against his former comrades is the most serious offence that a soldier can commit. It is punishable with death by the Law of almost all countries, and those who have committed this offence and been captured are liable to rights as belligerents or prisoners of war. The Government of India feel, however, that allowances must be made for the circumstances in which the men and the units themselves placed under their capture. From that date they were in no position to carry the work of the progress of the war

or to bear any news but false and propagandist Japanese or German reports.

Some of them were misled by this propaganda or gave way to pressure or the desire for better treatment and joined the enemy with no motives beyond an immediate improvement in their living conditions.

Those men, therefore, who seem to have been merely misguided—and they are the majority—will be treated with clemency.

There can, of course, be no question of retaining in the Indian Army anyone who has violated the soldier's code and betrayed his companions. Men of this category will, therefore, be discharged but, as an act of grace, they will be given leave with pay for 42 days and will not be required to refund the allowances paid to their families during the time they were in enemy pay and in enemy hands.

This will be the treatment of the majority of those who joined the enemy. There remain a number to whom, if the facts against them are proved to be true, it would be wrong to extend the same measure of clemency. Among them are some leaders who appear to have consciously embraced the Japanese or German cause.

For these men, there can be no alternative but to allow trial by Court Martial to proceed. They will be allowed to choose counsel to represent them, and the trials will not be held in camera.

In addition to these two classes there are at present a considerable number whose cases require further examination before they can be classified, and who will be retained in military custody pending the examination.

It is well to remember that the behaviour of all these men makes more glorious by contrast the courage and endurance of those brave soldiers, the great majority of the prisoners of war, who stayed true to their side and stubbornly resisted the efforts of the enemy to undermine their fidelity.

TEXT OF SINO-RUSSIAN TREATY

The following is the text of the Russian-Chinese treaty, which was notified on Sunday, as broadcast by Moscow Radio: " Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. and the President of the National Government of the Chinese Republic are desirous of strengthening friendly relations, which have already existed between the two countries by means of alliance and good neighbourly collaboration, in the post-war period and are entered with determination to render each other assistance in the struggle against aggression in the part of enemies of the United Nations in this world war and are also desirous of collaboration in the common war against Japan until the latter's unconditional surrender.

" They express their irrevocable determination to work together in the task of preserving peace and security for the benefit of the peoples of both the countries and all peace-loving nations acting on the basis of principles expressed above.

" Article One. The high contracting parties undertake jointly with other United Nations to wage war against Japan until final victory. The high contracting parties pledge themselves to render each other all necessary military and other help and assistance in this war.

"Article Two: The high contracting parties undertake not to conclude armistice without mutual consent with either the present Japanese Government or with any other Government or authority established in Japan which will not clearly renounce all aggressive intentions.

"Article Four: Each of the high contracting parties undertakes not to conclude an alliance of any kind and not to participate in any coalition directed against the other contracting party.

"Article Five: The high contracting parties, taking into account the protection and economic development of each country, agree to work together in friendly co-operation after the advent of peace and to act on the principle of mutual respect of each other's sovereign and territorial rights and not to interfere in the internal affairs of the other contracting party.

"Article Six: The high contracting parties agree to give each other all possible economic help in the post-war

period to speed up reconstruction of both the countries and in order to bring about the well-being of the world.

"Article Seven: This agreement is drawn up in a way which respects rights and obligations of the high contracting powers and all member powers of the United Nations.

"Article Eight: This agreement is subject to ratification which is to take place as soon as possible. The exchange of instruments of ratification will take place in Chungking.

"The agreement comes into force immediately after its ratification and will remain valid for 30 years.

"If neither of the high contracting parties gives notice during this period of its desire to terminate the agreement it will remain in force for an indefinite period.

"Moreover, each of the high contracting parties may terminate the agreement by giving one year's notice to the other contracting party."

CUT OUT AND KEEP

Second quarter of Cloth Rationing in Bombay and Suburbs.

★ The second quarter of Cloth Rationing in Bombay City and the Bombay Suburban District has begun from September 2 and will end on December 1.

● Those who did not purchase their first quarter's quota (10 yards per adult and 5 yards per child) before the end of August or purchased only a part of it, will get the whole six-months' quota or the balance, as the case may be, during their allotted week in this quarter or in any subsequent week before December 1.

★ If so desired, the first quarter's quota, if not purchased at all, can be purchased at any time during the second quarter. Similarly if only part of the first quarter's quota has been purchased, the balance of the quota can be purchased at any time during the second quarter.

● *But in no case can the entire six-months' quota or the second quarter's quota (5 yards per adult and 2½ yards per child) be had prior to the allotted week.*

● As already announced, the six months' quota of cloth can be purchased in four instalments.

★ Below are given the allotted weeks in the second quarter corresponding to the first quarter's weeks.

On the Counterfoil		Week in second quarter	Week in first quarter
Month	Week		
6 or $\frac{5}{8}$	1	June 3 to 9	Sept. 2 to 8
6 or $\frac{5}{8}$	2	" 10 to 16	" 9 to 15
6 or $\frac{5}{8}$	3	" 17 to 23	" 16 to 22
6 or $\frac{5}{8}$	4	" 24 to 30	" 23 to 29
7 or $\frac{17}{16}$	1	July 1 to 7	Sept. 30 to Oct. 6
7 or $\frac{17}{16}$	2	" 8 to 14	Oct. 7 to 13
7 or $\frac{17}{16}$	3	" 15 to 21	" 14 to 20
7 or $\frac{17}{16}$	4	" 22 to 28	" 21 to 27
8 or $\frac{19}{16}$	1	Aug. 5 to 11	Nov. 4 to 10
8 or $\frac{19}{16}$	2	" 12 to 18	" 11 to 17
8 or $\frac{19}{16}$	3	" 19 to 25	" 18 to 24
8 or $\frac{19}{16}$	4	" 25 to Sept. 1	" 25 to Dec. 1

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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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ment Case.
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NOTES

Boost for Victory :—The Americans are great advertisers. For the last ten days and more the world has been kept informed of every movement of General MacArthur, not only of his movements but also of his intentions. The defeat and humiliation of the Japanese has been played up with equal zeal and enthusiasm. It is obvious that the Americans feel intensely proud of their achievement. The part of the Atom Bomb in this drama is discreetly kept in the background. All the resources of scientific exhibition have been employed to impress the world of the might and determination of the American people. Just after the Japanese delegates signed the surrender document on an American Warship in Tokyo Bay, President Truman from Washington made a tedious oration on the significance of the occasion. The accident or the intrigue which at the last moment substituted Truman for Henry Wallace for the Vice—Presidentship, has had fateful consequences for the United States and the world in which the United States bulks so largely at the moment. Wallace was a great figure apart from the office he held. A man of vivid moral sensibility, a thinker and an idealist, he would have directed American policy in international relations so as to leave no bitterness behind. He would not almost certainly have allowed the use of the Atom Bomb. He would not have been indifferent to the importance of ending the war as soon as possible or to the fate of American soldiers if the war had been prolonged even for a few months. But he would have thought also of the enormous dangers of inaugurating the use of this devastating engine. A contributor writing in the *New Republic* on the new President, observed that Mr. Truman's most attractive quality was his modesty and as evidence mentioned that during the election Mr. Truman did not write his own speeches and read them badly. "Henry A. Wallace, if he were now President," he wrote, "would be a militant Liberal. But Truman, as a political middle walker, is much more likely

to carry the Congress with him and to keep the two rival wings of the Democratic Party from falling apart—whether for good or ill remains to be seen." President Truman's horizon is limited to those two narrow aims. To keep the Congress with him and keep his Party together. He is ill qualified for the role of world leadership so near the reach of the United States. He is lament with Hamlet, "The world's out of joint. O cursed spite, that ever I was born to set it right." World leadership demands imagination. President Truman has none. If he had even a little he would not have permitted the loosing of the Atom Bomb.

The Japanese Surrender :—The Japanese, whatever their inner feelings, have accepted the hard situation not only with philosophic calm but almost cheerfully. General MacArthur's calculated insolence towards their high ranking representatives sent to negotiate with him, leave them cold. Every dog has its day, and this is his day. The Japanese have had theirs when they overran the Philippines driving the Americans before them. They should not grudge him his. They are carrying out his orders with meticulous care and promptitude, so much so that the fears expressed that the Japanese may lay a trap for the occupation army and the precautions taken against it, have proved superfluous. The Japanese are receiving the conquerors more as guests than as enemies. They have been required to withdraw not only from territories occupied during this war. They are to give up territories which they annexed many years before with the acquiescence if not active consent of the British and the Americans. Stalin, at a loss for a plausible excuse for his entry into the war two weeks before it ended, speaks of avenging the defeat of the Russia of the Tsar whose mysterious fate in Siberia is known only to the Soviet Government. He also speaks of two islands off the coast of Siberia as "stolen" by the Japanese, which, as a matter of fact, were ceded to the Japanese by Russia under the terms of the Treaty which Japan accepted at the instance of President Theodore Roosevelt. Britain hailed the Japanese victory over Russia with wild enthusiasm. She entered thereafter into a treaty of friendship with Japan which lasted during the first World War and was renounced in deference to the desire to establish closer relations with the United States. Japanese occupation of Manchuria was likened to the occupation of India by the British by Mr. Amery, late Secretary of State for India who declared that, before condemning the Japanese for it, they should condemn themselves for the

possession of India. It may be convenient for the Allies to forget or pretend to forget their own relations with Japan in the not-too-distant past but they are all recorded in books of history. Evidently there is no finality about international transactions. Any country any day may be asked to produce its title-deeds to its possessions and the decision will depend on the verdict of the nation with a stock of Atom Bombs. Meanwhile, General Mac-Arthur's showmanship brings out the fact that a small and poor nation in less than a hundred years mastered the technique of mechanisation in war and peace so perfectly as to require the combined strength of three of the world's wealthiest and highly industrialised Powers, not to mention the Atom Bomb, to bring it to its knees. The Japanese Prime Minister told the House of Peers that Japan had been defeated several months before the advent of the Atom Bomb swept in its wake the Russians on the side of the Allies. But all the same they held on with grim determination until these two events convinced them that they had to face extinction if they did not surrender.

Atom Bomb Casualties:—It is reported that according to Tokyo authorities the two atomic bombs dropped on Japan have caused half a million casualties including dead, injured and rendered homeless. The number of the dead has been mounting and many thousands who received burns cannot survive because of the uncanny effect which the atom bomb produces on the human body. Even those who received minor burns and looked quite healthy at first, weaken after a few days for some unknown reason and frequently die.

End of Lend-Lease:—The Atomic Bomb ended the war but it also ended Lend-Lease arrangements which the late President Roosevelt devised to get over the legal bar which then existed to the United States lending money or giving credit to nations which had not repaid the loans advanced to them to prosecute the first World War. The arrangements were intended primarily for the benefit of Great Britain. It seems that the American statute authorising Lend-Lease contained a provision that it will cease with the cessation of the War. The British Government should have known it, but the late President Roosevelt at different times used such vague language as to the nature and duration of the Lend-Lease that they might have overlooked the existence of this provision. It is also more than probable that the late President had given private assurances to Mr. Churchill that Britain need not worry about it. Mr. Churchill's domination of British Parliament was due to a large extent to his personal friendship with and influence on President Roosevelt. But for the sudden death of the President, the course of British politics today might have been conceivably very different. The probability of a private understanding between the late President and the ex-Premier is enhanced by the surprise, almost consternation, which the announcement caused in Britain. Mr. Attlee was Deputy Premier to Mr. Churchill and had perhaps an inkling of it, as his reported long telephonic remonstrance with President Truman suggests. Mr. Attlee seems to have enquired if the announcement was meant to indicate disapproval of the change of Government in Britain. The President, of course, protested that it was nothing of the kind, that it was made in pursuance of the provision of the law, and that the flow of goods from the United States would not be impeded by

the cessation of Lend-Lease. The fact, nevertheless, has to be faced that the internal economic and industrial life of Britain is to a decisive extent dependent on the goodwill of the American Government and that retention of that goodwill should be a major consideration in policies internal and external of the Attlee Government. The main factor in the British fiscal position is that Britain has to have some two thousand million worth of foreign trade a year and present resources to finance it fall short of half that amount.

Indian Scientists and Atomic Energy:—In an address last week to the Bombay Branch of the Indian Council of World Affairs, Dr. Homi Bhabha, who is doing extremely important work in Atomic Physics with particular reference to Cosmic Rays, said that Indians should not be content with something in Science and Industry which is just as good as that done in other countries. "We should," he said, "aim at doing things which are in advance of what has been done elsewhere." He was sure that given proper education and facilities for work, the Indian mind is perfectly capable of excelling in the scientific as in other spheres. He referred as proof to Ramanujam, perhaps the greatest mathematical genius the world had produced in this century. It was by an accident that Ramanujam's genius was discovered and facilities provided for him to pursue his studies abroad. In the new world order, it should be made possible for any one with a special talent in any direction to develop it to the utmost for the benefit of not only of one country or nation but for all humanity. We entirely agree with Dr. Bhabha that India should not rest content with doing as well as any other country. India should work to achieve not only greater but also more beneficent results. In the matter of atomic energy, which is so much to the fore at present, India's contribution should be not in the direction of producing more destructive weapons with the help of atomic or cosmic energy. It should be to produce effects which would counteract the destructive discoveries or applications of science of which we have had disastrous evidence, and to make it dangerous for any one to manufacture things like atomic bombs. It has been said that whatever the human mind can conceive, it can execute. It is surely conceivable that science which has given us the Atom Bomb, can give us also its antidote. In the region of medicine it has often been found that the cure for a disease is also to be found in the area where the disease is prevalent. The destructive force of lightning has been rendered innocuous by the simple device of running a wire to earth from the top of a building. Aerial bombing has led to the discovery of anti-aircraft guns. We reproduce a short article from the American journal *Time* on the Sun Gun which German scientists had projected when the collapse of their country interrupted their researches. It is certain that vast, undreamt of sources of power will be available to human use in the years before us. The only way in which their use for beneficent purposes can be ensured, is educating man into abhorrence of putting them to malicious use. This is a slow process but nothing else can be so sure of results. Meanwhile Indian scientists with the tradition of Peace which they have inherited should apply their minds to humaner ends than the aggressive West.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, September 8, 1945.

THE DESAI-LIAQUAT PACT

The text of the Pact between Mr. Bhalabhai Desai, Leader of the Congress Party in the Indian Legislative Assembly and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Leader of the Muslim League Party in the Assembly, over which there has been some controversy, was issued to the Press on Saturday September 1. It is as follows :

"The Congress and League agree that they will join in forming an interim Government in the Centre. The composition of such Government will be on the following lines ;—

(a) Equal number of persons nominated by the Congress and the League in the Central Executive, persons nominated need not be members of the Central Legislature.

(b) Representatives of minorities (in particular Scheduled Castes and the Sikhs).

(c) The Commander-in-Chief.

"The Government will be formed and function within the framework of the existing Government of India Act. It is, however, understood that if the Cabinet cannot get a particular measure passed by the Legislative Assembly they will not enforce the same by resort to any of the reserve powers of the Governor-General or the Viceroy. This will make them sufficiently independent of the Governor-General.

"It is agreed between the Congress and the League that if such an interim Government is formed, their first step would be to release the Working Committee members of the Congress.

"The steps by which efforts would be made to achieve this end, are at present indicated to take the following course :

"On the basis of the above understanding some way should be found to get the Governor-General to make a proposal or a suggestion that he desires an Interim Government to be formed in the Centre on the agreement between the Congress and League and when the Governor-General invites Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Desai either jointly or separately, the above proposals would be made, indicating that they are prepared to join in forming the Government.

"The next step would be to get the withdrawal of Section 93 in the provinces and to form as soon as possible, Provincial Governments on the lines of a coalition."

The first thing that will strike a reader is that the document is too casual for a Pact or even as a formula. It appears more like jottings on a slip of paper intended to help the memory in future conversations. The only thing definite in it is that it commits Mr. Bhalabhai Desai to equal representation for the Muslim League and the Congress in the Executive Council in an interim Government. The Scheduled Castes and the Sikhs are also to have representatives but no number or proportion is mentioned. The Commander-in-Chief is to be a Member. The Congress and the Muslim League are to nominate their representatives. The Cabinet or

the Ministry if defeated in the Legislature is evidently not to resign but it would not invoke the Governor-General's power to restore the rejected measure. This is thought to be consistent with the declaration that the interim Government will work within the scheme of the Government of India Act of 1935.

Except for the substitution of Caste Hindus and Muslims for Congress and the Muslim League, the Wavell proposals so closely follow the Desai-Liaquat Act as almost to suggest that the provision that the Viceroy should be persuaded to approve of it was a mere formality. Mr. Bhalabhai Desai obviously had Lord Wavell's permission to negotiate on the basis of this formula with the League General Secretary. The Nawabzada insisted on having Gandhiji's imprimatur, which Mr. Desai duly secured. But the refusal of the Working Committee to include his name in the list of Congress nominees submitted to the Viceroy at the Conference, would show that while the Committee did not want to throw Gandhiji overboard, it did not appreciate the action of Mr. Desai in negotiating with the Nawabzada on the parity basis.

THE POPE AND THE ATOMIC BOMB

The *Examiner* writes :—

"The statement made in the *Indian Social Reformer* of Aug. 25th, that the Pope has specifically declared the atomic bomb to be immoral, does not seem to be correct. At least we have not seen any pronouncement to that effect. What is true is that the Holy Father most strongly deprecates the whole development of modern warfare by the use of aerial bombing or bombing from a distance whereby the distinction between combatants and non-combatants practically disappears. And in general His Holiness deprecates the fact that scientific investigation should be turned to purposes of destruction rather than to improving the lot of humanity."

The *Examiner* draws this conclusion from an address which His Holiness delivered two years ago to the Pontifical Academy of Science. Obviously the Pope could not have condemned two years ago the use of the Atom Bomb in August this year. The Atom Bomb itself is neither moral or immoral any more than the atom which is the basis of all Matter. It is the use of the power derived by splitting it which can be characterised as moral or immoral.

The Editor of the *Examiner* would seem to have missed the Associated Press of America message which was published in the *Times of India* of August 3, which was as follows :

Vatican City : "The Vatican is absolutely opposed to the atomic bombing of Japan," an authoritative Vatican source told the "Associated Press of America" on Tuesday. "The Catholic church has equal pity for all who are subjected to atomic bombing and cannot make any distinction between victims."

The source added that "the discovery of the atomic bomb caused an unfavourable impression in the Vatican because the use of atomic bombs might be the first link in a chain of unpredictable violence." Monsignor Pucci's Vatican Press bulletin said that the atomic bomb made "a deep impression in the Vatican not so much for the use already made of the new death instrument as much

as for the sinister shadow that the discovery of this weapon casts on the future of humanity."

The Pope is not named but it is clear that "the source" was one close to His Holiness and that it was intended that all the views expressed should be understood to be those of the Pope. The *Examiner* may have its own reservations about the morality of the use of the Atom bombs but it is going beyond its limit when it asserts that the Pope has not condemned the Atom bomb and that he had done less than the Anglican Dean of St Albans to vindicate the good name of Christianity. The Dean faced a mass meeting in which his action in refusing his Church for a Thanksgiving Service, was questioned.

The *Examiner* has grievously misstated the attitude of the Head of the Catholic Church. It has taken upon itself to justify and defend the use of the Atom Bomb on the Japanese on two grounds: The first is that which has been most commonly advanced by the Allied leaders from Mr. Churchill and President Truman downwards, namely, it has shortened the war and saved many million American dollars and a large number of American and British lives. These reasons are apparent to the economist and the financier. But do they weigh and should they weigh, in the mind of a religious thinker? Does God make a distinction between one or a few individual souls and some millions of them, or does he make a distinction between Americans and Britons on one side and the Japanese on the other? The second of the *Examiner's* reasons is even more astounding. It is that the Atom Bomb has saved Christianity. The idea is so incredibly crude that we had better quote the *Examiner's* words:

"We cannot doubt that the Christian faith has escaped a terrible danger by the defeat of Japan and no less clearly can we see in that deliverance confirmation of belief that God's Providence is especially directed to the perfection and welfare of the Catholic Church."

The Head of the Church does not share these views and to us they seem to be little short of blasphemous. If the Catholic Church which, by the way, was the only branch of the Christian Church which had entered into a concordat with Japan, depends for its life on the Atom bombs, it must indeed be in a very parlous condition.

A BANDRA DIARY

His Holiness the head of the Radhasami Sect Jodhpur, whose valuable contributions on the religious problem facing the world have been published in the *Reformer*, has replied to my enquiry why no non-Christian divine has come forward to protest against the use of the Atom Bomb as did the Dean of St. Albans. He writes:

"The attitude adopted by the Dean referred to by you is indicative of his nobility of character and represents a sense of sympathy in the conscience of Christendom for suffering humanity. The use of atomic bomb cannot be justified even on the ground of international rules of warfare. It can only derive sanction at the sacrifice of the conscience of humanity. A man of conscience like His Holiness the Pope should have, therefore, voiced protest at the indiscriminate and catastrophic devastation that the use of the atomic bomb means. But unfortu-

nately, the springs of life have been poisoned to such an extent that few, very few can resist the promptings of the demon of selfishness. Selfishness is a cushion where evil reposes. It stifles all sense of logic, reason, fair-play and justice.

"As to your question, 'How is it that among our religious teachers and preachers, there is so little evidence of dynamic spirituality?', I hold that the religious leaders of our country ignore the practical aspect of true religion and reduce its sublime philosophy into mere dogmas and superstitions, rituals and ceremonials, or schools of pure speculation, indulging in fruitless controversy and academism; while some of our leaders have converted religion into sheer communalism with the result that the struggle for political power has begun in India in its grossest form which has deteriorated our sense for brotherliness and comradeship in every walk of life to a low level of degeneracy. I am tempted to believe that, so long as our leaders are not prepared to do a little bit of self-planning by liquidating selfishness or enlightened polished interest, India will remain in the grips of reactionary forces. They must introduce the spiritualising principle of religion into their daily life. To divorce life from religion is to jeopardise it. Spiritual impulse must filter into every walk of human life. Social affairs, economic and political activities and commercial problems must be linked with deeper life. The secret of noisy panorama of confused life which baffles even the celebrated intellectuals, will be unravelled and man shall be in a position to tackle the world's knotty and vexed problems by means of free democratic processes. Instead of being slaves of the world, people would be masters of it."

"Religion is a system of Truths, the only rule for human life, the sole medicine of soul. It is the main nerve-point of humanity and in switching on to this point the leaders can make life more serene, more beautiful and more sweet."

With due respect to His Holiness, I feel that his answer to my question, while it is true so far as it goes, is not wholly satisfactory. The corruptions to which he attributes the apathy of our religious teachers, are equally present in the Christian Church. Perhaps to a much deeper degree because Christendom owing to its material advancement has forsaken the spiritual life more completely than we have in this country where we are still amateurs in the game of getting rich and powerful. The Dean's action is noteworthy because it went against the current of opinion in his Church. Why has not a single Hindu, Muslim or Parsee, Sikh or even Christian Indian raised his voice against this monstrosity? The Christian Missionaries who are here in large numbers to convert the heathen, have maintained silence in the face of this nefarious deed which has not been surpassed in the worst form of heathendom?

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THE BOMB ATOMIC

Sir,—One is puzzled by your evident condemnation of the above, at least, by your grounds for such condemnation.

Has it not been the policy of all the belligerents to build bigger and more devastating bombs as the war has progressed? What is the difference between the Bomb atomic and any other bomb? It is difference in degree of effectiveness (and beastliness) to the thousands of bombs which were dropped by the Japanese indiscriminately on scores of Chinese cities, on Singapore, and on the ships packed with women and children leaving that City and to the sending of Bombs over America by means of balloons! By mutual consent Poison Gas has not been used in this War. There has been no engagement or prohibition on either side as to the type or size of bomb used (apart from gas bombs) We are informed by those who knew, that it was a race between the belligerents as to who was able to make use of the bomb atomic first and it is reasonable to think that if the Japanese had won that race they would have made every possible use of the advantage. Moreover, was not the Potsdam warning to Japan a clear opportunity to escape the consequences? The Japanese Navy was almost destroyed; her merchant ships had almost vanished from the sea and her airforce was almost powerless against the increasingly devastating sweeps of Allied air fleets over Japan. She had been swept out of Burma, the very heart of her empire was threatened; hundreds of thousands of her troops were scattered in isolated garrisons. True, it would have been a costly and long operation to deal with these if faced with the same opposition as was experienced at Okinawa and Iwojima. The bomb atomic only brought to a mercifully earlier conclusion the defeat that was certain as will be more fully realised when the full truth of Japan's conditions becomes known.

The Allies have certainly proved to be different to the Germans and the Japs, for there is no counterpart in any of the actions of the Allies to the needless sufferings, tortures, and the deliberate murder of millions of civilians by the Japs and Germans.

The Peace now won is infinitely more merciful and gives greater hope of rehabilitation for Japan as for all the countries over-run than if the Bomb had not been used. The alternative would have been a bloody campaign of unknown length, infinitely more material devastation, further sacrifice of millions of lives, civilian as well as military, with, possibly, complete disintegration of Japan.

The use of the bomb atomic convinced the Japanese of what was clear to everybody else, that they had lost the war. To have failed to use it, when it did not transgress any International Convention and to suggest that the alternative destruction was preferable, is to invite the same terms you used against Mr. Churchill 'unmitigated piffle'—

TWOSIDES.

SUN GUN

The scene was Allied press headquarters in Paris on a rainy summer day. Facing the half-dozing correspondents, Lieut.-Colonel John A. Keck, one time Pittsburgh engineer and now chief of Allied technical intelligence on German weapons, began quietly: "This will make Buck

Rogers seem as if he lived in the Gay 90's." He proceeded to unfold the improbable story of what German scientists were up to when V-E day interrupted them.

At a research centre in Hillersleben a group of them were solemnly laying plans for a 'space station' 5,100 miles up, from which a 'sun gun' would have the whole earth at its mercy. Assuming that at that height a floating structure would be beyond the pull of the earth's gravity, they proposed to build a platform for launching rockets into interstellar space and for harnessing the sun's heat. By use of a huge reflector, like a burning mirror, they calculated that enough heat could be focused on a chosen area to make an ocean boil or to burn up a city in a flash. Their sun gun could also be used, they pointed out, to produce steam and electric power at global receiving stations.

German physicists had already figured out the sun gun's necessary size (3½ sq. mi.) and composition (metallic sodium). Presumably they also had ideas about how the space station might be kept under control (it would have to revolve with the earth like a satellite) and be supplied with air for its inhabitants. Unperturbed by Allied officers' sceptical cross-examination, the Germans coolly announced they were certain the thing could be done within 50 or 100 years.

In a learned editorial the science-minded New York *Times* painstakingly picked flaws in the sun gun idea, concluded austerely: 'There is reason...to believe that the rocket experts were merely dreaming over their ersatz beer.' But what the Germans had already done was amazing enough. Lieut.-Colonel Keck revealed a long list of discovered Nazi contraptions. Items:

A V-2 rocket which could be fired into the air from a submarine submerged 300 feet under water.

A 32-inch railroad cannon, probably the biggest gun ever made (and used by the Germans at Sevastopol), which fired an 8-ton shell.

An anti-aircraft rocket capable of exploding within ten yards of a target ten miles in the air. (The British last week revealed a fantastic anti-aircraft weapon of their own: aerial mine-fields. Laid by old bombers just before an air attack, the air mines were suspended from balloons and small parachutes by piano wire, when a plane hit the lower part of the wire, the delicately attached mine would slide down and hit the plane. The British claimed that air mines downed at least a half-dozen German planes over London during the blitz. Once a small boy found a wire lying on the ground, yanked it, blew up a house six blocks away.)

An infra-red telescope sight enabling snipers to see targets at night.

A rocket (almost perfected) with a range of 1,200-1,800 miles. (The German scientists said they were well on the way toward a rocket that would reach the U. S., were sure that within a few years mail and passenger rocket would cross the Atlantic in 40 minutes.)

Through a spy system, Allied officers got reports during the war on German scientific work, but there were still surprises. The scientists talked freely and most thought Hitler had lost the war by diverting too much effort to 'screwball' weapons. Lieut. Colonel Keck and his staff, all hardheaded engineers, considered the Germans' experiments, even the sun gun, no laughing matter. Said Keck soberly, "We were impressed with their practical engineering minds and their distaste for the fantastic."

INDO-JAPANESE PRISONERS

(BY SIR DALIP SINGH)

Now that the war is over, a question which I believe excites public interest and is of importance to the National Welfare has arisen. I venture, therefore, to trespass on your valuable space. This question is the fate of what in the late war was known as the National Army of India. My information is that this army consisted of at least 30,000 a great many of whom came from the Punjab and the majority of whom were either Sikhs or Musalmans. This information may be wrong, but I proceed on the assumption that this and other facts which are largely based on hearsay are correct because I have heard. The question involves various points with which I feel I am incompetent to deal as fully as they should be dealt with, but I trust that better men will deal with them and other points omitted by me.

In the first place, it is not clear to me what in International Law would be the position of these unfortunate men. I have no real knowledge on the point but, so far as my information goes, an armed rebellion if recognised by External States places the rebels in the position of combatants, who cannot be shot as rebels, if taken prisoners. A somewhat similar position arose when the Germans threatened to shoot the Maquis as 'franc-tireurs', but the Allies under General Eisenhower vigorously protested that they should be treated as combatants and threatened reprisals against German prisoners of war if the Maquis were not given this status. I believe the protest was successful and I think rightly so.

Apart, however, from what the legal position may be, it seems to me that in the particular circumstances of the case, the position of Indian soldiers and Indian British subjects who joined the army was somewhat peculiar. I do not assert that the Indian army is composed of mercenaries in the full meaning of the word. The word, as I understand it, means a person whose sword is at the command of the highest bidder for his services. I do not think this is the correct description of the Indian soldier. At the same time the Indian soldier cannot be said to fight from the same motives of patriotism or of love for an abstract ideal which may be held to inspire the average European soldier. Our soldiers may, in a majority of cases, have a tradition of military service under the British Government of India but their loyalty is due to the idea of a servant faithfully serving the master whose salt he has eaten. When, therefore, we consider that nearly all the well known political parties in India had, if I do not misrepresent them, held aloof from the war on various grounds, the position of the Indian soldier became vastly different from that of the average European soldier. It is altogether too much to expect that he should show the same loyalty to his country and its government as may be demanded from the European soldier. When, therefore, the Indian soldier, so far as I am aware, through no fault of his, found himself a prisoner and was told that he must obey the orders of the Japanese, his position was one of great difficulty. I have heard, I do not know with what truth, that all kinds of compulsion and inducements were used by the Japanese to get these men to fight on their side and when to this is added the fact that the well-known political parties had held aloof from the war and we do not know in what

form this fact was presented to the Indian prisoners of war, is it a matter of surprise that some or a considerable number of them succumbed to the temptation? Is it right or fair to treat them as traitors or rebels and, now that the war is over, to shoot or hang them as such? I think, therefore, that it is up to all the political parties in India to make common cause on this point, if on no other, and entreat the British Government to show mercy to those men.

There is another aspect of the matter on which I wish to dwell for a moment. The wars of the future, if any, are likely so far as I can judge from the present trend of affairs, to be ideological wars. In such cases the boundaries of the State are sure to be transcended and the fate of the men of the National Army of India might become an extremely evil precedent for men who misconceived their duty with the highest of motives. This is a prospect that might daunt the hardest heart. I may be pardoned for even attempting to deal with so wide an issue.

I now come to what I feel is the most difficult part of my appeal. I wish to present to the British Government the idea that it is to their interest to show mercy to all these men. It might be considered presumption on my part to present any such issue to the British, for their political genius and far seeing insight is well-known. It might well be called, in the vulgar phrase, "teaching your grandmother to suck eggs." Yet there are times when the most level-headed and fair-minded people may be moved by resentment to act against their own long term interests, and it is for this reason that I venture to place my point of view for consideration by the authorities.

Most of these men have relations or friends in the present army. That army has, I believe, deserved well of the British people by its efficiency in the war. The points of view of most of them will not be dissimilar to those of the Indian National Army soldiers. Severity shown to any of these misguided men will, I believe, leave a legacy of hatred in the hearts of a great many Indians. I must not be understood not to see that the resentment of the British is not unjustifiable. To them it must appear that these men have bitten the hand that fed them. I have little doubt that the British will not shoot or hang all the 30,000 men or thereabouts involved but the temptation to select the worst, from the British point of view, of these men for exemplary punishment must be almost irresistible. I can only repeat that severity even to one man is likely to be remembered and the mercy shown to the many is likely to be forgotten. Therefore, I would plead for mercy to all without exception.

In the days to come, what will be valuable to India are men capable of patriotism and, what I consider most of my countrymen will value even higher men capable of loyalty to an abstract ideal. The 'worst men' have shown that capacity and, with proper education, this capacity will be turned to the right channels. The more thoughtful Indians will perceive the potential value of these men and will resent the deprivation of the services of these men, for alas with shame be it said, there are all too few at present in my country.

OUR NEWS AGENCIES

The space between the first World War and the present struggle, the 1920's and the late 1930's, was preeminently the greatest news agency epoch. But the journalist's dream of a free exchange of information, leading to a greater understanding and happier relations between peoples, was never to be realized.

The reason was that in 1870 three great news agencies had pooled their resources and established the most powerful cartel the world has ever known. They were Reuters of England, Havas of France, and Wolff of Germany. The three institutions grew up independently of newspapers. Reuters was originally a small business, sending market data and government messages between capitals. When the telegraph and cable came into being, Baron Paul Julius de Reuter succeeded in selling foreign news to London newspapers. During the Victorian era, Reuters grew to mammoth proportions and prestige, with a world-wide network of cables. Meanwhile, two other similar agencies were established on the continent.

Those European agencies were almost completely subject to their governments, and were semi-officially recognized, operating on the principle: 'Tell the news the government's way, and take your profit'. While the domestic press of England, France and Germany was relatively free, their foreign news was not, because of the workings of the cartel. When Reuters, Havas, and Wolff joined up in 1870, they had almost complete control of international news and split the world up between them into spheres of influence. The line-up arranged by the cartel was as follows:

Reuters: England, Ireland, Scotland, Canada, Australia, India, Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Arabia, Egypt and Sudan, British Africa, Ethiopia, Belgian Congo, Afghanistan, Burma, China, Japan, New Zealand, Netherlands Indies.

Havas: France, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Italy, all South America.

Wolff: Germany, Russia, Scandinavia, Austria, the Slavic States. Other countries they shared between them.

An attempt was made at the Versailles Conference to break the Reuters-Havas-Wolff cartel. The story is told by Kent Cooper, of the American Associated Press, in his remarkable book, *Barriers Down: The Story of the News Agency Epoch* (Farrar and Rinehart, New York, 1942,). Mr. Cooper had plans for freedom of international news, which were communicated to Colonel House, adviser to President Wilson. But nothing came of it. 'Colonel House told me', writes Mr. Cooper, 'that the matter had been taken care of privately.'

What happened was that Wolff, of the defeated nation, was deprived of its territories, and Reuters and Havas split up its sphere of influence between them. So by 1920 the world news cartel was a bigger monopoly than ever, with Reuters and Havas virtually dominating the world and controlling some 27 news agencies.

The way the new cartel operates to destroy truth is mainly by suppression and emphasis. By suppressing certain facts and playing up others a false picture of a country or a situation can be

be created. All the news to and from Reuters' clearing house was supplied to Havas, and vice-versa. The way this worked in practice was that news detrimental to England, France (and Germany when Wolff was an equal partner) was suppressed and only news that suited their policy sent out to the world.

A classic example of the working of the cartel, which has caused great bitterness in the U. S., is the picture of America that was spread abroad during the 20's and 30's by Reuters. The Associated Press of America, nonprofit organization cooperatively owned by newspapers, succeeded in making an agreement with Reuters to keep Reuters out of the U. S. The A. P. agreed to take Reuters' dispatches and Reuters agreed to take A. P. dispatches.

But Reuters, the Americans complained sent only news the British wanted Americans to read, suppressed or doctored A. P. dispatches, and sent out only the American news that the British wanted the outside world to read. (The A. P. actually placed guards in Reuters' offices in an effort to prevent it.) And, of course, Havas, now the sole other partner in the cartel, repeated the slanted American news received from Reuters.

This resulted in what may be called the 'gangster era' of American news. Newspapers the world over received American news from the cartel, which built up a picture of America as a land of violence, sudden death, gangsterism, and general craziness. The real American seldom emerged. Even today there are Australians who fancy it dangerous to walk in the Chicago loop.

Havas provides an example of the working of the cartel in the field of European news. Havas was not only a news agency but a great advertising agency, with a powerful hold over newspapers. Unless papers took Havas news, they received no advertising. Havas owned or controlled a large group of subsidiaries; it owned Fabra of Spain; a Portuguese agency; half-owned (with Reuters) the main Belgian news agency; and controlled Stefani of Italy. King Albert of the Belgians unsuccessfully tried to break away from the Reuters-Havas domination. So also the Stefani. Havas threatened to withdraw advertising. So Stefani remained a Havas subsidiary, until something worse happened. Mussolini took it over as an official fascist medium.

It is important to recall that the news 'that flowed from Italy, Spain, Belgium, Portugal, South America, etc., to Havas' head-quarters from its subsidiaries was processed, according to French political policy, before being supplied to its partners in the cartel. Until Hitler conquered France, southern European news came from Reuters: Reuters got it from Havas; Havas chose and angled it to its needs.

During the 1930's, France was ruled by a left-wing government, the Socialist and Popular Front with little sympathy for the Church. Small wonder, then, that so much European news had a distinctly anti-Catholic flavour. The wonder is that so much authentic news reached the outside world at all, mainly through other sources.

The Spanish Civil War showed the cartel at work in, perhaps the greatest conspiracy against truth in the history of journalism. The overwhelming proportion of

the news on the Spanish war was funneled from Havas-owned Fabra of Spain, through Havas, under a leftwing government, to Reuters, and so to virtually the entire English-speaking World. (By this time, of course, Hitler had risen to power in Germany and established the D. N. B., official nazi agency.)

The whole truth about the Spanish Civil War never reached the outside world through the standard news agencies, because of the Reuters-Havas cartel. The facts that were suppressed or played down by Havas, such as the Red terror, the persecution of the Church, the slaughter of religious and desecration of shrines, had to be gathered and sent around the world by independent agencies and newspapers, such as the Catholic press.

The present war has brought profound changes in the world-news set-up. Indeed, the struggle had already been joined during the 30's, when Hitler established D. N. B., Mussolini had absorbed Stefani, and the Japanese government controlled Domei, as propaganda agencies. Then began a world wide struggle between the Reuters-Havas cartel and Germany, Italy and Japan.

When Hitler conquered France, the Reuters-Havas cartel was for the moment smashed, for Hitler took over Havas and turned it into a Nazi propaganda bureau. But immediately a strong and efficient "underground press" sprang up to replace Havas. A great deal of the news that Reuters was accustomed to receive from Havas has since come from the French "underground press", and, since the left-wing and the communists dominated its directorship, it is not surprising that the bulk of the continental news we have been and still are receiving is leftist, pro-Russian, anti-Franco, and in general, radical and revolutionary.

During the liberation of Paris, a new agency, Agence Francaise de Presse, was established almost over-night, probably a new name for the underground press. It announced its intention of becoming an independent national agency, with a constitution and by-laws modelled on those of the Associated Press.

Meanwhile, revolution had taken place in Reuters. During the early years of the war, the ownership of Reuters passed into the hands of the Press Association of England, describing itself as a co-operative enterprise consisting of the associated British newspapers. Actually, the association had acquired stock control in 1925, but the management had been left to Sir Roderick Jones, the successor of Baron Herbert de Reuter, who had committed suicide in 1915. Sir Roderick retired in 1941, for reasons never made public, and since 1942 Reuters has at least ceased to be a private profit-making business dominated by a single man.

The freedom of world news communication will be one of the greatest problems of the peace conference. It remains to be seen whether again the matter will be taken care of privately. Already preliminary manoeuvrings are well advanced. *The New Review*

THE BIRTH-CONTROL ANNULMENT CASE

A legal reader kindly sends us a copy of the *Times Law Report* (July 16th) of the *Cowen v. Cowen Case*

in the English Court of Appeal, writes the *Examiner*. It appears that the wife was the petitioner in the first case, and the ground of the petition (as expressed in the title of the *Times* report) was: "Husband's wilful refusal to consummate marriage." She lost her case in the first Court but pressed it in the Court of Appeal and succeeded. The ground, therefore, of the annulment was not the non-consummation but the *wilful refusal* to consummate the marriage, and what is new apparently in the judgment is that consummation of marriage has now been more fully defined. Hitherto, as the judgment points out, the question of consummation in matrimonial causes had usually arisen in connection with the capacity of one of the parties to consummate the marriage. Their Lordships "were of opinion that sexual intercourse could not be said to be complete when a husband deliberately discontinued it before it reached its natural termination, or when he artificially prevented that natural termination. To hold otherwise would be to affirm that a marriage was consummated by an act so performed that one of the principal ends, if not the principal end, of marriage was intentionally frustrated."

And the judgment speaks of "the generally recognized truth that one of the chief ends of marriage (is) the procreation of children. That truth was insisted on by all writers of authority."

The counter-petition of the husband was on the ground that the wife had agreed to prevent conception for a time, for reasons which the Court considered adequate; but the judgment held that "it would be unjust to refuse her relief on the ground that she did not refuse to submit to that imperfect intercourse from the first." They were married in 1932, and ever since 1937 she had been begging her husband to live "a normal married life" with her, but he persisted in his refusal. Their Lordships therefore held that "it was he, and not his wife, on whom the blame of failing to consummate the marriage must rest."

LIVE DAY BY DAY.

Though autumn leaves are withering round thy way,
Walk in the sunshine—it is all for thee.
Push straight ahead as long as thou canst see,
Dread not the winter whither thou mayest go:
But when it comes, have faith when keen winds blow:
Onward and upward! Look, and smile, and pray—

Live day by day!

Live day by day!

The path before thee doth not lead astray;
Do the next duty. It must surely be
The Christ is in the one that's close to thee.
Onward, still onward, with a sunny smile,
Till step by step shall end in mile by mile.
"I'll do my best!" unto thy spirit say—

Live day by day!

—Selected.

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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

Proposed All India Sales Tax:—The Government of India is said to be contemplating the levy of an All India Sales Tax in order to replenish its resources. India has become a creditor country with large sums due to her from Britain and other countries and if they honour these obligations, there should be no need to raise fresh taxes. Indeed, remission of the bloated income and other taxes is urgently called for. The Sales Tax is an indirect tax and like all indirect taxes will have its heaviest incidence on the poorest classes. It is said that the new tax will not be levied on necessities of life. Salt is the greatest of life's necessities and it is already subject to a heavy excise. It is a State monopoly. Food-grains may go down in prices but it is not likely that they will fall to the pre-war level. Further the maintenance of agricultural prices at a fairly high level is necessary in the interests of the industry which is the backbone of every economic system. To confine the exemption to bare necessities will reduce the population to practical starvation and destitution. Physical needs are not the only needs of humanity. Social and religious needs in India are as imperative, sometimes more, than physical needs. It is all very well to laugh at "keeping up appearances" but if a family fallen in adverse circumstances does not let its standards fall below recovery level, it has often happened that its status has been redeemed by some members attaining prosperity. This is the case more especially in countries where a sort of joint family system prevails. Government through the income tax takes a heavy toll and the Sales Tax is a tax on expenditure which may include borrowed money. There will be a large addition to the collectors. It will be impossible to pay them salaries which will keep them above the temptation of bribes. Every control beyond such as approves itself to the good sense of the community is an opening for corruption. More officials will be needed to hunt out corruption and more magistrates and prisons to accommodate the bribe-takers if and when they are caught. Black markets are inevitable and more espionage agencies to

detect and bring them to book. The proposed Sales Tax will in effect and in fact be none the less blackmail because it is levied under cover of a law or ordinance. The way in which the Income Tax is worked is itself a scandal and the Sales Tax which is to be worked on parallel lines, will make life intolerable to the average honest middle class householder who has to bring up a family. We may expect taxes on marriage and births and, perhaps also on funerals. Society will have to devise for itself means to protect itself from the rapacity of the State.

"Filthy Calcutta":—The *Statesman* of Calcutta and Delhi has issued a special Supplement with the title "Filthy Calcutta" containing articles many of which are reprints from its daily issues, depicting the very unsatisfactory sanitary conditions of the capital of Bengal. The articles cover the period from April 1944 to June 1945. "During that time," we are told on the cover page, "Calcutta's disquieting condition became more than ever noticeable, thrusting itself on the attention of the armed forces of the Allied Nations passing through because of the war against Japan." The Allied troops were mostly American. No city in India or for that matter in many countries of Europe including parts of Great Britain comes up to the standard of New York. Even in the States, few cities have the same amenities civic and social. Chicago lags behind New York in many respects. That Calcutta does not compare favourably with American cities is no news. If the Americans had visited the districts they would have found the condition of the people positively abominable, justifying the opprobrious name given to the British Empire by an American leader "The Slum Empire." After the terrible famine years when people in their thousands crowded into Calcutta, littering the streets with dead and dying, it would have been a marvel if Calcutta remained a delectable city. The congestion was accentuated by the troops passing through the city. No one will deny that things in Calcutta as in Bombay stand in need of considerable improvement and, so far as the Supplement enforces this need on the public mind, it does a useful service to the community. But we are afraid it may be used by enemies of Indian self-government to decry the work of the Calcutta Corporation. A section of Calcutta Europeans would like to see the Corporation's powers taken over by the Governor who at present is also the Government of Bengal. The strong and somewhat needlessly aggressive nationalistic temper of the Calcutta Corporation, as evidenced by the scene at a recent meeting when a resolution of condolence was passed on the reported death of Subhas Bose, is largely responsible for this

unfortunate feature in Indo-British relations in Bengal since the days of the Ilbert Bill controversy. The Governor of Bengal, it would seem, has been recently visiting some of the dark spots of his capital. Why he had not done this all this time, and why his sanitary conscience has been suddenly awakened to the filthiness of his surroundings are questions contributory to the suspicions long endemic in Bengal regarding official motives.

The Allies and the Atom Bomb:—We suggested in the leading article on the Charter of the United Nations in the *Reformer* of September 1, that the other Big Powers should persuade or compel the United States to destroy its stock of Atom bombs as also its machinery for producing them and all together solemnly denounce as an international crime, the production and use of the bomb by any nation. At the meeting of Foreign Ministers in London this week it was reported that Russia, France and China would demand to be told the secret of the Atom Bomb. A secret shared with three others is no secret. China, even if told the secret, is not likely to avail herself of it. France where the researches which led to the discovery first began, according to A. Verstraeten, part of whose article in the current *New Review* relating to the history of the subject is printed elsewhere, may find more economic ways of manufacturing the bomb. But for the present her internal divisions must engage her whole energy. Russia is the one and only Power which can put the secret to immediate use. Even if the two English-speaking nations refuse to impart the secret to her, she will soon find it out for herself.

The U.S.A. and Japan:—The Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri's appeal to the Allies to deal with the Japanese Imperial office with consideration has not been in vain. Recent announcements show that the hectoring tone originally adopted towards the Japanese representatives is greatly modified. Orders are no longer to be given but requests which the Japanese will carry out. The fantastic suggestion that General MacArthur should have the Emperor serve him as butler, that another General should ride on the Emperor's white horse and that he should occupy one of the Imperial palaces, have been abandoned, if they were ever favoured. The General himself seems to be a modest man not attaching too much importance to his position as the representative of a victorious Power. There is a deep strain of humanitarian sentiment in the American character which seems to have asserted itself over against the jingoism engendered by the War. The charge of treachery in respect of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour, has been noticeably abated by the disclosures of the report of the Commission appointed to investigate the incident. The Report would almost certainly not have been published in England but the Americans are not afraid of washing their "dirty linen" in public and on the whole they are not in any way losers by their policy of sunshine and open air as the best antidotes to sloth and lethargy.

MacArthur in Japan:—The authorities seem to be in two minds about propaganda about atrocities on prisoners and the civilian population of Japanese occupied countries. On the one side they realise the value of creating public feeling against the Japanese and on the other the serious distress which these stories may cause to the relatives of the victims. Also of the probability of the latter when they come home, as they will soon, not corroborating all these

stories. Because the Japanese in many cases seem to have been less harsh to Indians than to Englishmen. A sudden change seems to have come over General MacArthur's own attitude since his landing in Japan. We had to comment strongly on the scant courtesy which he showed to the Japanese delegates who went to Manila at his bidding to discuss the terms of surrender. They were accommodated in rooms bare of furniture and their courtesies—innate in the Japanese—were studiously ignored by the junior officers who received them on landing. But the honest American nature of the General appears to have been moved by the evident sincerity of his suppliants. The behaviour of the Japanese of all ranks to the Americans who occupied their country, was not only exemplary but cordial. One report said that they overdid their welcome. General MacArthur's policy in allowing the Japanese organisation to function without much interference from the American conquerors, seems to have evoked criticism in England more than in America. General MacArthur has ordered his troops not to enter the grounds of the Imperial palace or religious shrines and temples nor interfere with the social life of the Japanese. These are humane and statesmanlike directions and are bound to gain for the Americans the respect and goodwill of not only the Japanese but of all Asia and the thinking minds of Europe. It should not be forgotten that several Americans are devotees of the Buddhist shrines which they regularly visited every year, that numerous Japanese have received their education and drawn their inspiration from American Universities and centres of culture and that the United States has thousands of Japanese subjects in Hawaii and California who have remained loyal to their adopted country. Along the banks of the Potomac in the Washington, there is a row of cherry trees presented by the Japanese as a token of their goodwill to the great American Republic. The Japanese belong to the English-influenced section of Asia. Unlike Western Asia where French is the favoured source, in Eastern Asia as in India, English and American models have exercised the greatest influence. In many respects the civilisation of the Japanese is a gracious one. In what country would whole villages travel miles—for what? To see a tree in bloom.

Indo-Japanese Prisoners:—In a closely reasoned article published last week, Sir Dalip Singh, lately Judge of the Lahore High Court, pleads for the extension without exception to all Indians, officers and soldiers, who have surrendered on Japan's surrender or were taken prisoners fighting on the Japanese side. A distinction can be made only of those who went over to the enemy while yet enjoying the protection of the British Flag. The great majority who were really abandoned to their fate by the British authorities, who were entrusted with the guardianship of the territories over-run by the Japanese, should not be treated as traitors but as having acted under duress. This seems to be plain commonsense. The persons who deserve to be court-martialled are those who abandoned their trust. The latest *communiqué* limits those to be tried to persons who are alleged to have committed heinous crimes. The point is whether they did so of their own choice or under the orders of their captors. It will, of course, be heroic to refuse to obey orders to commit heinous crimes but the soldier is trained to obey and in any case it is not every man, even a soldier taken prisoner, who can play the hero. All honour to the men who refused in any circumstances, to join the enemy.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, September 15, 1945.

IMPERIAL CITIZENSHIP

In a Press interview soon after he accepted the Secretaryship for India in the present Labour Cabinet, Lord Pethick-Lawrence spoke of equal partnership between Britain, Burma and India as his ideal. The *Reformer* asked whether there was to be a new status besides Dominion status of the Westminster statute type and if so, what its special characteristics would be (September 1). Are we to understand that the possibility of including India as a Dominion in the Commonwealth, of the same type as Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, has been finally and definitely abandoned? There are some interesting passages in the "Life and Times of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta" by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastry bearing on the subject of the position of Indians in the Self-Governing Dominions, which touches the question of India becoming a Dominion closely. Enumerating the points on which Sir Pherozeshah differed from Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Sastry mentions the Gandhi-Smuts Pact or Settlement which Gokhale approved and was, in fact, instrumental in promoting during his visit to South Africa. In this Pact, Gandhi on behalf of India renounced the right which its leaders have all along claimed of free entry into the South African Union of Indian subjects of the British Sovereign who was also Emperor of India. Both Gandhiji and Gokhale had to say to the South African White, says Mr. Sastry: "We will give up the right and you may pass a Law of Immigration preventing our people from landing on South African shores if you so like." Sir Pherozeshah said that neither Gokhale nor Gandhi had any authority to give this undertaking on behalf of India. Even if, as a result of the Pact, the Union Government had modified its policy in favour of Indians born and domiciled in South Africa, the surrender was a heavy price to pay in order to persuade the Union Government to do their plain duty by their South African Indians. These were mostly the descendants of indentured labourers brought to work in the plantations and railways under a solemn promise that on the expiry of the indentures they would be entitled to settle in the country with full rights of citizenship. As a matter of fact the Union Government not only did not modify its policy in favour of Indians but actually adopted a harsher policy. They wanted to expatriate the Indians first to India and, when that was found impossible, to any part of the world, Borneo and Sumatra being mentioned. Mr. Sastry admits that the Pact has had no good effect. But he says nobody at that time could have foreseen that events would justify Sir Pherozeshah to a great extent. This is not quite correct. Sir Pherozeshah said that the two gentlemen had sold the pass.

He held that the claim of British subjects to have freedom of entry to all parts of the Commonwealth, was the strongest weapon in the hands of Indians and by surrendering it Gandhiji and Gokhale had given away India's case for nothing. There were English statesmen who held the view that the exclusion of Asiatic subjects of His Majesty, was an unprecedented and high-handed

act; and the Gandhian surrender made their protests useless. Dicey in his "Law of the Constitution" quotes Lord Morley's protest as Secretary of State for India against the Transvaal Immigration Act, which applies to all subsequent legislation and to the Pact itself. The Secretary of State for India, Lord Morley wrote, "regrets that he cannot agree that the Act in question can be regarded as similar to the legislation already sanctioned in other self-governing colonies. Section 24 of the Transvaal Act introduces a principle to which no parallel can be found in previous legislation. This clause.....will debar from entry into the Transvaal, British subjects who would be free to enter into any other colony by proving themselves capable of passing the education tests laid down for immigrants. It will, for instance, permanently exclude from the Transvaal members of learned professions and graduates of European Universities of Asiatic origin who may wish in future to enter the colony."

The Pact prevented protests like the above being raised in Britain by British statesmen.

Mr. Sastry gives an account of an important talk which he had with the late Lord Haldane some years later, presumably when he was in England before taking up his duties as first (and most successful) Agent-General of the Government of India in South Africa. Mr. Sastry had heard that Lord Haldane was a close friend of General Smuts's. The two men had common intellectual interests. They were both philosophers. And they were both highly successful administrators as well. General Smuts by his tact and energy converted the military defeat of the Boers into a political triumph for them. He has transmuted Darwin's theory of evolution as a biological process having for impelling cause the struggle to survive into a psychic process motivated by the desire of every living creature to fulfil itself to become the whole of itself. He called his theory Holism. Lord Haldane was acclaimed on all hands as the greatest Army organiser that Britain has ever had. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman when he formed his Government asked Haldane what he would like to have. The astonished Premier exclaimed when Haldane mentioned the War Office: "Why, no one would touch it with a barge pole." Haldane cleaned the Augean stable and when the first World War broke out, it was his Army organisation which saved Britain. In between the details of his department, Haldane pondered deeply on "the Pathway to Reality". Mr. Sastry sought Haldane's help in turning Smuts from his anti-Indian policy. Haldane disillusioned him at once. "Smuts," he said, "is a very difficult man to deal with. He is a great friend of mine, it is true, but he has got fixed views on all coloured problems and it is no use my talking with him." Then the talk turned on the broader issue. Lord Haldane's words about the constitutional position of the Dominions, may be quoted. It is as follows:

"In the British Empire, no Imperial citizenship is recognised. On the other hand, each colony which has a legislature has been given by Parliament the power to discriminate against any class of His Majesty's subjects. They may impose disabilities on certain classes from which other classes are exempt. Different treatment is known to and recognised by British law and is expressly sanctioned by Parliamentary enactments. There is no use arguing from a constitutional point of view."

This pronouncement by one of the highest authorities on constitutional law is noteworthy in view of the acute concern professed in Parliamentary legislation for the rights of minorities and express prohibitions of discrimination against British interests in this country. Lord Haldane told Mr. Sastry that, although the constitutional position was as he had stated it, Indians were entitled to demand the creation of a new Imperial Citizenship. Lord Haldane added that he wanted to dispel the general belief that belonging to the British Empire and flying the British flag and seeking its protection, conferred equality of immigration rights. The Imperial Indian Citizenship Association was formed in Bombay, in consultation with both Gandhiji and Gokhale, precisely to work for an Imperial Citizenship in the interests not only of India but also of the British Commonwealth. This object has not been prominent in the activities of the Association which has partly been diverted from fighting for the rights of Indians to citizenship to agitation in support of their special interests in countries like Burma, Zanzibar and East Africa generally. The Gandhi Pact formally gave up the right to agitate for an Imperial Citizenship so far at least as South Africa was concerned though Gandhiji did not realize this implication. What we have surrendered in South Africa we can not retain elsewhere. The Gandhi-Smuts Pact was a retreat all along the line as Sir Pherozeshah thoroughly grasped in an instant.

Lord Pethick-Lawrence's goal seems to imply a complete abandonment of the idea of Imperial Citizenship even as a remote possibility. If that be so, what has a position in the British Commonwealth to offer to India? India may import rice from Burma whether she remains in the British Commonwealth or not, through the ordinary commercial channels. As for Britain, her economic position is one in which she needs help from more than she can render to India. Miss Ellen Wilkinson resented Professor Laski's description of Britain as being now a second rate Power. In the economic sphere she is certainly exceeded by the United States. In military and naval power, the United States, even apart from the Atom Bomb, and Soviet Russia are ahead of her. She cannot protect her Empire, which is still vast, without the help of one or both of these Powers. Equality with Britain and Burma does not mean much in the circumstances. It involves burdens, on the other hand. India must defend Burma and must keep the life-line between Britain, and Eastern Asia and Australia open.

PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM IN INDIAN STATES

His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur inaugurated a two Chamber Legislature consisting of a Representative Assembly and a Legislative Council. In his address His Highness said that this constitutional development was not the consummation of democracy but that it provided a firm and well-planted foundation on which the structure could be built by the people if they were genuinely ready for both labour and self-sacrifice. The Legislature inaugurated in Jaipur, is a replica of the Legislatures in Mysore, Travancore, Cochin and Baroda. In Mysore the ground was prepared by fifty years of British Indian administration to which the Mysore administration is a close approximation. In Travancore

and Cochin, British Indian administrators and statesmen who were Dewans, realised the utility of associating with themselves popular representatives as a counterweight to Palace influence. The Minister could point to the Representative Assembly, however vague and remote its powers might be, as a factor to be taken into account when the Ruler insisted on measures and, most often, appointments which were too patently improper or irregular. In Baroda also this has been more or less the case, except that the idea of the Legislature as a check on the Head of the State has been less prominent than in the other States. How far the Parliamentary system, if such it might be called, has been successful in the four States, is largely a matter of conjecture. In nearly all, the personal influence of the Ruler has been the most important factor in shaping policy and maintaining the efficiency and morale of the administration. How much depends on the character of the Rulers and the respect and confidence which they inspired in their people, is shown by the rapid deterioration which, from all accounts, has followed when their successors have been of a more self-indulgent disposition.

The British system of which representative institutions elsewhere are rough copies, originated in the strong popular desire to control and curtail the executive power of the Sovereign. This is the essence of the democratic principle and a Legislature which carefully excludes it, cannot be said to furnish a sure foundation for democracy. Democracy will have to work assiduously in order to realise itself against the inertia of the new medium. We are far from thinking that democracy is the only form of Government which can lead to a progressive trend in popular aspirations. It has not done this in all the countries where it had been tried. Even in Great Britain, the Mother of Parliaments has proved defective in many directions.

If the Parliamentary system in Britain is all that it is thought to be, Mr. Winston Churchill should have been returned to power with redoubled strength for all he had done during five years with the acquiescence of an overwhelming majority of members in the House of Commons. The fact that he was ignominiously rejected as Prime Minister is proof that many of his doings have been distasteful to the British public. He is still spoken of as the greatest War Minister Britain has ever had. But all the same, the British voter does not want his services in the post war period which is sure to be far more arduous than the period when war covered up everything.

This, we are told, is the swing of the pendulum. But a State is not a clock but a living organism, of which constancy and continuity are essential to health and safety. Then, again, notwithstanding repeated reforms the representation in Parliament is grossly disproportionate to the distribution of voters in the population. Soviet Russia and Chungking China are now allowed the courtesy title of Democracy. Their principles bear a closer resemblance to the defunct totalitarian States than to "Government of the people, by the people, for the people." Feudal Jaipur has perhaps more of the essence of democracy in it than Jaipur clad in Parliamentary raiment.

The Parliamentary system had been steadily disintegrating. In the new Democracy, with everything State-controlled, one half of the population will be officials

feeding on taxes while the other half will be paying them. For many years past the tendency to widen the scope and powers of the Executive has been evident. Even in Legislation, nowadays, wide powers of rule-making are left to the Executive. Democracy in its original, etymological sense, is dying. Perhaps, it is well that it is so. In the immediate future it will be replaced by Government by Party Caucuses masquerading under the name of Democracy. Indian States should think out a more efficient and surer means of helping forward the mental, moral and material progress of the people instead of faintly copying the forms of democracy, bereft of its spirit.

GOKHALE'S POLITICAL TESTAMENT

There are many important reminiscences in the addresses on Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, now collected in one volume delivered by the Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastry, bearing on several principal phases of Indian politics. One of these is his account of how the so-called political testament of Gokhale came to be written. Mr. Sastry traces the original idea to Lord Willingdon who was anxious to see India have responsible Government as early as possible. Mr. Lloyd George in his War Memories has reproduced Lord Willingdon's letter to him urging the adoption of steps to assure India a recognized status in the Commonwealth, Lloyd George responded by inviting India to send representatives first to the War Cabinet and then to the Imperial Conference. Mr. Sastry speaks of Lord Willingdon's "wonderful Liberalism". He, Lord Willingdon, discussed with Gokhale, Sir Pherozeshah and the Aga Khan the constitutional problem in its various aspects. He wanted them to formulate what they considered to be the most urgent reforms. They undertook to supply Lord Willingdon with a memorandum of their views. This was about the end of 1914 and the beginning of 1915. Lord Willingdon was Governor of Bombay. Mr. Sastry continues the story. He writes,

Gokhale had just returned from England. War had been declared and he had come home. A great meeting took place in Bombay in which people reiterated their loyalty and promised faithful assistance; and so the atmosphere was propitious to the starting of a big move like this. Unfortunately Pherozeshah, Gokhale and the Aga Khan could not find time to meet, and they wanted Gokhale to draw up a scheme and call for a meeting at Poona. Gokhale put it off until 1915 began. In 1915 Willingdon began to ask for this. Then, in his last days, about 15 days before he passed away, Gokhale took up a piece of paper and wrote in pencil his own ideas of what the future constitution of India should be; and he wrote to Pherozeshah and the Aga Khan that he could not meet them unless they came. Mehta found it difficult to come but the Aga Khan came. He wrote it in the presence of Gokhale and put his mark on it as it were and Gokhale did so.

This document, the last political will and testament of Gokhale was, as I told you, drafted in pencil. This was meant to be kept very secret. There were only four copies of this: one we gave to Lord Willingdon. We kept one copy and gave a copy each to Pherozeshah and the Aga Khan. Each one of the copies had a history.

The copy that went to Lord Willingdon was sent by him, to England with his recommendations; he might have suggested modifications. The copy that went to the Aga Khan was taken by him to England. He did not publish it immediately but did so when Montagu had made his famous declaration in 1917. The Aga Khan thought that it would be the proper time and published a statement. He published it with a preface of his own which was not quite accurate. As soon as the news was cabled, I got hold of our copy and published it here, before the post could bring the published copy by the Aga Khan, with my own statement.

We must come back to Mehta. Hardly much to say about him. It appears from Mody's biography, that the author was present at the last interview between Mehta and Gokhale. Before Gokhale had returned to Poona from England, Mehta had fallen ill. The meeting took place a month before Gokhale passed away. They had a very intimate and exhaustive talk about all kinds of things; and Mody says that Mehta and Gokhale were not cordial but between them a sort of coldness had sprung up. I found that they were most cordial to each other and where topics of the day came in review each disclosed his heart freely to the other. If you read the proposals of Gokhale to-day you would laugh at them. They are so backward. You would wonder that Gokhale, with the approval of the Aga Khan, Willingdon and Mehta had produced such a document; but it was much in advance of that day.

One of the proposals is that there should be fifty per cent Indian Executive Councillors. In the nationalisation that we talk of to-day, it is so backward. We want the Executive to be responsible to a Legislature. He wanted a kind of legislature with an executive subordinate to it but by no means responsible. That was the line in which Gokhale wanted the Indian Constitution to be made. Mehta was saying all the while, "You are wrong. You are wrong. We must progress along British lines. British Parliamentary Government is the thing we want; just as they make the executive responsible to the Parliament. That is the line we should to take."

A SCENE THAT NEVER COULD BE PAINTED

Perhaps because of the uncertainty of seeing Kinchinjunga, the view when it is seen is all the more impressive. The traveller waits for hours and days, even for only a glimpse. One minute's sight of the mountains would satisfy him. But still the clouds eddy about in fleecy billows wholly obscuring the mountains. Six thousand feet below may now and then be seen the silver streak of the Rangit River and forest-clad mountains beyond. Around him are dripping forests, each leaf glistening with freshest greenness, long mosses hanging from the boughs, and the most delicate ferns and noblest orchids growing on the stems and branches. All is very beautiful, but it is the mountain he wants to see; and still the cloud-waves collect and disperse, throw out tender streamers and feelers, disappear and collect again, but always keep a veil between him and the mountain.

Then of a sudden there is a rent in the veil. Without an inkling of when it is to happen or what is to be revealed, those mists of infinite softness part asunder for a space. The traveller is told to look. He raises his eyes but sees

nothing. He throws back his head to look higher. Then indeed he sees, and as he sees he gasps. For a moment the current of his being comes to a standstill. Then it rushes back in one thrill of joy. Much he will have heard about Kinchinjunga beforehand. Much he will remember of it if he has seen it before. But neither the expectation nor the memory ever comes up to the reality.

Through the rent in the fleecy veil he sees clear and clean against the intense blue sky the snowy summit of Kinchinjunga, the culminating peak of lesser heights converging upward to it and all ethereal as spirit, white and pure in the sunshine, yet suffused with the delicatest hues of blue and mauve and pink.

On other occasions the mountain is not so reserved, but reveals itself for whole days in all its glory. The central range of the Himalaya will be arrayed before us in its full majesty from one horizon to the other without a cloud to hide a single detail. We see the lesser ranges rolling up, wave after wave, in higher and higher effort towards the culminating line of peaks. And along this central line itself all the lesser heights we see converging on the supreme peak of Kinchinjunga. The scene, too, will be dazzling in the glorious sunshine and suffused with that purply-blue translucent atmosphere which gives to the whole a fairy-like, ethereal aspect.

And thick-mantled in deep and everlasting snow though the whole long range of mountains is, the spectacle of all this snow brings no chill upon us. For we are in latitudes more southern still than Italy and Greece—farther south than Cairo. The entire scene is bathed in warm and brilliant sunshine. The snows are glittering white, but with a white that does not strike cold upon us, for it is tinted in the tenderest way with the most delicate hues of blue and pink. Each country has an atmosphere of its own. There is a blue of the Alps, a blue of Kashmir. The blue of the Sikkim Himalaya, perhaps on account of the excessive amount of moisture in the air, has a special quality of its own. It seems to me to have more *colour* in it—a *fuller colour*, a bluer blue, a purpler purple than the atmosphere of these other countries. From this cause and from the greater brilliance of the sun there is a more satisfying warmth even in the snows.

So besides beauty in the form of the mountains there is this exquisite loveliness of colour. In the immediate foreground are greens, fresh and shining and of every tint. And these shade away into deep purples and violets of the supporting ranges, and these again into those most delicate hues of the snows which vary according to the time of day, from decided rose-pink in the early morning and evening to, perhaps, faintest blue or violet in the full day. And over all and as a background is a sky of the intensest blue.....The great Russian painter Vereshchagin once visited Darjiling, and took his seat to paint the scene. He looked and looked, but did not paint. His wife kept handing him the brush and paints. But time after time he said: "Not now, not now; it is all too splendid". Night came and the picture never was painted. And it never could be painted.—From "The Heart of Nature." by Sir Francis Younghusband

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

RAOUL AGLION writes in the *Free World*—

By far the greatest accomplishment at San Francisco was that having to do with economic, social and humanitarian cooperation on the international plane.

The text relating to economic and social questions occupied little space in the Covenant of the League of Nations. To find it, one must turn to one of the last articles (Art. 23) *Social and Other Activities*.

At Dumbarton Oaks the negotiators were more generous. They drafted an entire chapter under the title "Arrangements for International Economic and Social Cooperation." This was divided into four sections: (a) Purpose and relationship; (b) Composition and voting; (c) Functions and powers of Economic and Social Council; (d) Organization and procedure.

From the earliest sessions, the delegates showed a unanimous desire to enlarge the field of economic and social activity of the new organ. The Economic and Social Council had, even after its first blue-printing at Dumbarton Oaks, a structure that was only the more democratic in that no permanent headquarters was foreseen, and that none of the participants had the power of veto.

At the very first session, an amendment was proposed by the New Zealand delegation, tending to place the future Economic and Social Council among the principal organs of the future Charter, next in importance to the Security Council. It was adopted without opposition.

All the powers were in accord in making the Economic and Social Council one of the principal organs of the new world organization. In consequence, all subsequent work and effort was directed toward improving and reinforcing the powers of the Council. In the present Charter, economic and social questions are discussed, not in one, but in two long chapters (IX and X), and references to economic and social questions are likewise found in the preamble, in the chapters:

- I. Art. 1 par. 3—Purpose and principles
- III. Article 7—Organs
- IV. Art. 13, 17, 18—General Assembly
- IX. Economic and Social Cooperation
- X. The Economic and Social Council
- XIII. Art 91—Council for Trusteeship.

When one compares the ensemble of this Charter with the text of the Covenant of the League of Nations, one has a strong impression that the Geneva pact was written by *jurists*, that the Charter was written by *economists*, by sociologists, by statesmen conscious of the importance of the major problems affecting the Pacific development of the nations.

The Economic and Social Council will be composed of eighteen members of the International Organization. They will be elected by a two-thirds majority of the votes of the General Assembly. The Security Council will exercise no power of veto over these elections. The members of the Economic and Social Council will be elected for a period of three years. Decisions of the Council are to be taken by a simple majority of those present and voting.

At the first election eighteen members of the Economic and Social Council shall be chosen, The term of office of six members so chosen shall expire at the end of one year and of six other members at the end of two years, in accordance with the arrangements made by the General Assembly. Thus, the partial renewal of its members will permit the Council to have the continuity necessary for the exercise of its functions.

It was deemed not in accord with democratic principles to have permanent seats on the Council. Yet all the delegates present were of the opinion that the presence of those nations which are most important economically is indispensable to the success of the organ. The Committee which drew up the report remedied the silence of the next on this question by specifically recommending the re-eligibility of the members. Accordingly the Assembly will be able, if it judges useful, to elect constantly those members which appear economically the most important and whose social progress has been the most considerable.

The Economic and Social Council shall convoke to its session and allow to participate in its labours, without the right of vote, states interested in any question under discussion. The situation will probably not occur frequently. If the distribution of the eighteen seats has been well made, it would seem that the majority of interests, whether economic, social or regional, or other, should be represented on the Council.

ATOMIC BOMBS

BY A. VERSTRAETEN

It all began a little over 10 years ago with the discovery made by Irene Curie and her husband that it is possible to produce artificially the phenomenon of radioactivity which in its natural occurrence had been the object of the life-long study of her mother, the famous Madame P. Curie. Naturally radioactive substances, such as Radium, Thorium, Uranium, etc, break up by emitting powerful radiations, similar to X-rays, and ejecting one or more material particles (electrons, alphaparticles) out of the nucleus, or innermost core of the atom. This breaking up of the radioactive atoms is accompanied by the emission of heat, as in the case of ordinary explosives; yet ordinary radioactive substances are of no use as explosives because the atomic disintegrations proceed much too slowly (in the case of Radium it takes 1,600 years for half the substance to disintegrate), and therefore the amount of heat released at any given time is too small to produce explosions as we understand them.

Yet the alpha particle ejected by the radioactive substances are powerful missiles and may produce shattering effects on an atomic scale. It was in this way that the late Lord Rutherford in 1919 succeeded in artificially breaking up otherwise stable atoms such as nitrogen, boron, chlorine, etc.; by directing on these atoms the alpha particles emitted by radium atoms he did succeed in smashing up some of them. This very important discovery opened up for the physical laboratories all over the world an unlimited field of research. Irene Curie and her husband, F. Joliot, in Paris were working on similar problems, when in 1934 they noticed that some ordinary atoms, when bombarded with alpha-particles, not only broke up into other particles,

but the very products of this first disintegration were found to emit radiations for a considerable length of time and to act in the same way as ordinary radioactive substance. Their efforts were crowned with success and the discovery of artificial radioactivity was made known to the scientific world.

This discovery started off a new series of investigations in the various laboratories specialising in the study of 'nuclear physics'. The main problem was to find suitable projectiles with which to bombard the atoms.

In 1934 the Italian physicist Fermi discovered an excellent projectile in the neutron, a small particle, discovered in 1932, of practically the same mass as the hydrogen nucleus, but without any electric charge (whence its name). The absence of any charge makes it easier for the neutron to penetrate other atomic nuclei, since the electric forces guarding the entrance have no grip on this neutral intruder. Fermi soon discovered that neutrons could penetrate not only the lighter atoms, but also the heavier ones, and even the heaviest of all Uranium of atomic number 92 (it ranks at the top of the list of chemical elements). This opened new vistas before Fermi: would he be able to create chemical elements of higher atomic number than 92? This indeed was what he claimed to have achieved as the result of a long and complex series of experiments and observations. Bombarding the Uranium nuclei with fast travelling neutrons, and observing the subsequent atomic disintegrations, he concluded that the only plausible explanation was the existence, amongst products of the disintegration, of chemical elements with atomic numbers ranging from 93 to 96. This conclusion was so unorthodox and unexpected that it was challenged by not a few. However Fermi's experiments were of the highest interest and were repeated and improved upon in several nuclear physics laboratories. In 1937 in Berlin at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for chemistry, Hahn with Meitner and Strassmann, in keeping with their typical passion for method and organisation, had soon disentangled and put order in the complex system of reactions and disintegrations observed by Fermi. In Paris Irene Curie and her collaborators, with characteristic French finesse, improved further Hahn's discoveries; a new fact was added to the already large volume of data, a new fact which raised new questions and aroused fresh doubts about the whole process. Definitely the solutions proposed so far did not quite fit the case; something mysterious appeared to lie hidden under the mass of observed facts. Then Hahn and Strassmann went into the question once again, examining and analysing from the chemical point of view the remnants of the exploded uranium particles after bombardment with neutrons. Finally on the 6th January 1939, they published their famous conclusion that the uranium particle on exploding does not like the other radioactive substances merely give off some radiations or relative light particles (protons or alpha particles of masses 1 and 4 as compared with 238, the mass of uranium), but on the contrary in this experiment the uranium particle really *splits up* into two almost equal parts, such as for instance Barium and Krypton. They wrote: 'As chemists we must really say that the bodies do not behave like radium, rather like barium. As nuclear chemists we cannot bring ourselves to take this step so contradictory to all the experience of nuclear

physica. The conclusion was really forced on them that here they had to do with an entirely different way of breaking up the atom; instead of the bombarded atom letting off some hard rays and light particles, diminishing its mass by only a few units, in the case of uranium bombarded with neutrons there occurs a real 'fission', a breaking up into two particles, each of about half the mass of the original atom. This caused quite a stir in the world of nuclear physicists, because if Hahn's conclusion was right, then many other conclusions were equally unavoidable.

The theoretical explanation of the uranium fission was suggested by N. Bohr, the father of the present theory of atomic structure (as far back as 1919). Bohr had already foretold that heavy atoms such as radium, thorium, uranium are unstable owing to the large number of particles (protons and neutrons) which they contain; even a not too large disturbance of the energy distribution between the constituent particles might easily bring about a disruption of the atomic nucleus. He compared these heavy atomic nuclei to waterdrops which, if they become too large and are slightly disturbed, easily break up into two smaller drops of equal size. The disturbance in the case of uranium is naturally produced by the entry of an additional neutron bringing with it some energy due to its movement.

Another problem of the utmost importance then presented itself; examining the results of the fission, the two smaller atoms resulting from it, the radiations emitted simultaneously and possibly some other smaller particles, it was found that there was a small fraction of the original uranium mass which could not be found back in the daughter products. This was easily explained by saying that this missing mass was converted into energy, and using Einstein's equivalence formula between mass and energy. Calculations showed that each fission of a uranium atom is accompanied by the emission of an amount of energy corresponding to 200 million electron-volts (i.e. the voltage to be applied to an electron to give it the equivalent amount of energy). This amount is about eight times the largest amount emitted in any other atomic disintegration. This energy is largely carried away by the two resulting particles flying apart with enormous force and gradually losing this energy through friction matter: all this was soon checked and verified even quantitatively by delicate and very ingenious experiments.

Further theoretical considerations showed that if the two atoms resulting from the fission of the uranium nucleus were to share between them all the particles at first contained in the uranium, the two atoms would be very unstable owing to an unusual excess of neutrons. It was therefore surmised that, at the time of the fission, besides the production of these two atoms, there should also occur the emission of one or more neutrons. New experiments were devised to check up on this point by I. Curie and others (amongst them also some scientists in Japan), and these experiments gave clear evidence that every fission of the uranium nucleus is accompanied by the emission of about three neutrons. This again was a discovery of fundamental importance. These neutrons, emitted by fissured uranium nucleus, might themselves penetrate other uranium nuclei and produce new fissions,

so that once the process has started, it might continue from one set of uranium nuclei to the next; a chain reaction of fissures appeared therefore as a real possibility. Since each fissure is accompanied by the emission of a large quantity of energy, provided this chain process of fissures can take place in a sufficiently short time, enormous quantities of energy might be set free almost instantaneously; already then, in 1939, scientists began to mention the possibility of catastrophic explosions produced by this method.

VITAMIN EATERS OUTRAGED

Two doctors at Duke University, Dr. Julian Ruffin and Dr. David Cayer, have finished experiments with vitamins on a group of students and have reported that the tablets are of no value except in cases of actual need. This is another blow at the happiness and contentment of the pill-loving public.

The people like to believe in pills. And no pill in years has been taken to their heart like the vitamin.

The Duke doctors took a group of students, fed them a regular diet for a month, slipping vitamin tablets to some and sugar tablets to others. "No difference in their health was apparent," the report says.

Elmer Twitchell, well-known vitamin-eater, was among those expressing indignation.

"It is an outrage for a couple of doctors to take the joy out of life for vitamin enthusiasts and we will not take it lying down."

"Take the vitamin out of our life and you leave our drugstores with empty shelves."

"And what about all those radio vitamin pluggers? Do you want another unemployment crisis in the country?"—H. L. PHILLIPS in the *New York Sun*.

Congress Re-organisation:—The Working Committee of the Congress met at Poona this week and the All India Congress Committee is to meet in Bombay in a few days. The end of the Japanese War since the Working Committee met at Simla two months ago in connection with the Simla Conference to discuss Lord Wavell's proposals for an interim Government, has completely changed the situation. There is now no need for an interim Government. The question of a permanent constitution should be considered and decided on. To begin with, the Congress should reorganise itself. During the last twenty five years its organisation was more and more perfected as a machine for civil disobedience; that is breaking of laws and courtling imprisonment in consequence. This is no special training. Any man can break the law and serving a term in jail has ceased to be opprobrious. The old severe jail discipline of the type Lokamanya Tilak underwent, does not exist. A Congress organised mainly for civil disobedience, is not well suited to undertake the task of administration which is based on innate disposition to obey the law. A Government by the Congress as at present organised may be embarrassed in dealing with satyagrahis who disobey its orders for the preservation of peace and refuse to pay taxes. The Committee's resolution favouring both conciliation and non-cooperation is a futile gesture.

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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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India at the Foreign Ministers Council:—The omission of India in the list of invitees to the Council of Foreign Ministers in London, was noted but it was thought not worth commenting on as India had no Foreign Minister, the Viceroy himself holding the portfolio of External Affairs. As, however, Lord Wavell happened to be in London when the Council was about to meet, he might have been requested to stay on a few days more and attend the Council on behalf of India. The Indian administration would have gone on without catastrophe. But this, for some obscure reason, was not thought proper or desirable. On Lord Wavell's return to India last week, it was announced that Sir Geoffrey Prior, who is an officer of the Indian Political Service, and has held the "important" office of Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, and also "represented" India at Cairo during an "important" period of the war, would represent India at the London Conference and will "represent" their (the Government of India's) views on any question in which India, as one of the United Nations, "may be invited to submit views for the consideration of the Council." The Secretary of State for India who will, no doubt instruct Sir Geoffrey, might have done this himself or through Sir Samuel Rangatham, the High Commissioner, who is on the spot and who is at least an authentic Indian and not a camouflage. Sir Geoffrey is not to open his mouth except to yawn unless he is asked. The probability is that he may not be asked. He will thus have a fine holiday in his native land which we do not grudge. The implication that India has no concern in the topics to be discussed by the Council is one which cannot be accepted. It has as much right as the other five countries to participate in framing the policy of the Allied Nations and in settling the lines of the Treaties with the liberated countries of Europe. Besides, in almost every important

question likely to be discussed and decided at the London Conference, the Dardenelles, Iran, Palestine, the Arab States in their relation to European countries, India has an interest and opinions which are not necessarily those of the British Government. As an Asiatic Power herself—though without official status as such—she has the right and the obligation to see that just and fair decisions are adopted in all these matters. Blunders in any of them will have serious consequences on India's peaceful development on the lines of her own national genius.

Sir V. T. Krishnamachari on San Francisco:—Of the three Indian delegates to the San Francisco Conference, two were much in evidence in the reports transmitted to India, Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, who was Leader, and Feroz Khan Noon. The third, Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, who was nominated representative of Indian States, was never mentioned. Nevertheless, we may be sure that his influence in shaping the course of the Conference was not less than that of the two British Indian Members. We had expected Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar to make available to the Indian public a full account of the Conference and the part played by the Indian delegation. He has no doubt submitted his report to the Government of India. Sir Ferozekhan Noon left the Conference while yet it was only half way through its work. Judging from his subsequent pronouncements, and particularly the latest in which he declared that he has had enough of Government service in India and abroad, he does not seem to retain much faith in international Conferences. Sir Krishnamachari is the only delegate who has thought fit to give some account of the Conference to the public. He has contributed an article to the current *Indian Review* on the Conference. We are a little disappointed that he has not included in his account some indication of the position of the Indian delegates in relation to the delegations from other countries. He has given a more or less colourless summary of the principal features of the Charter of the United Nations. A more critical appreciation of the work of the Conference is furnished by Serge Fliegers, Worldover Press correspondent, which we print elsewhere. Sir Krishnamachari says that none of the delegates claim that the Charter is perfect. "Their attitude is one of restrained optimism." Fliegers quotes a Foreign Minister's remark which would rather imply that his attitude was not one of unrestricted pessimism.

Henry Wallace :—We referred in the *Reformer* (September 8) recently to the accident or intrigue which led to Harry Truman and not Henry Wallace being elected Vice-President of the United States, giving him the right of succession to President Franklin Roosevelt whose election for the fourth time as President by an overwhelming majority over the Republican candidate Dewey, made it practically certain that he would not live to complete his four years at the White House. The late President himself would seem to have had some foreboding. Before the day of the nomination, the Party wirepullers met the late President with a list of names for the Vice-Presidentship. He indicated that he would be glad to work with Truman as Vice President. Henry Wallace, then Vice-President was not favoured. At the actual election, Wallace denounced the poll tax on voting and lost the nomination. This made him the idol of the negroes one of whose leaders told Irving Brant who contributes a life picture of Wallace to the *Free World*, that his people had three symbols today: the abolition of the poll tax, the F.E.P.C. and Wallace. Wallace had other interests than politics. By applying Mendelian principles he discovered a hybrid seed-corn which doubled the yield per acre. He thus became in the old definition the true benefactor of humanity, he made two corns grow instead of one. Wallace was a prominent figure at the All Faiths Conference held with the Century of Progress Exhibition in Chicago in 1933. It was an act of moral courage on his part to tell a Protestant Convention that Mahomedans and Hindus were included in the Christian philosophy and that Pope Leo III deserved credit for the Protestant Social Creed of 1908. That a man of this type should not be at the head of the greatest Power in the world at the present time, is a tragedy. But from many accounts it would seem that Wallace is the coming man. Truman's chances of being elected President were few at the last time and are not many at the next. Wallace had been intrigued out of the position but the American people can appreciate character such as his and if he stands in the 1948 election his chances of being returned are overwhelming. There is not another man in American public life who comes up to him in the great qualities needed in the President of the United States. The office is no longer exclusively national. It has an international significance, and the people of the United States will not overlook this when they have to elect their President next time.

Peripatetic Governor.—For the second time within four months the Governor of Bombay, Sir John Colville, has had to leave practically without notice his province to act as Viceroy in New Delhi. By the way, the Governor of Madras who is the most senior of the Presidency Governors should have acted as Viceroy and the reason given for superseding him, namely, that Sir John Colville is the more senior Privy Councillor, does not appear to be founded on precedent. This, of course, is a convention not a provision of the Government of India Act. The office of Governor is not a sinecure at any time. At present the Governor of Bombay is also the Government of Bombay. If cannot but cause some dislocation to have the Governor every now and then shifting from Bombay to Delhi. For short sudden emergencies it would be more

convenient to have the senior Member of the Executive Council to act for the Viceroy. In the old days Governors General and Governors could not leave the country or provinces without vacating their offices. This was modified so as to admit of four months leave during five years. Now the Governor-General may evidently be called to London whenever the British Government likes for consultation. Consultations nowadays have become possible through the radio, the wireless and the air mail. If necessary the Secretary of State who has nothing particular to do in London may come to New Delhi for personal consultation. It does not conduce to efficient administration or to the dignity of the Viceroyalty that the holder of the office should be at the beck and call of the politician who happens to be the Secretary of State for the time being. It may be recalled that the whole mischief of the Bengal Partition arose out of something done during an acting Viceroyalty for which nobody would accept responsibility.

Japanese Atrocities :—A friend—we take him to be a friend—who does not care to sign his name or indicate his identity, sends us a sheaf of newspaper cuttings with the following in typescript: "The enclosed accounts of the activities of your friend, the Japanese, who have just lost the leadership of Asia, should furnish you material for an editorial. It seems very strange that the Indian press ignores reports of Jap atrocities. It is too bad that you and some of your Indian friends didn't have a taste of Jap rule." It appears that the anonymous friend is not an Indian. It would also seem that he has had a taste of "Jap rule". As for the Indian Press ignoring reports of Japanese atrocities, it may be that it has not done it of its own choice. The effect of the atrocity stories before the Japanese surrender on the large number of prisoners who were in their hands, and on their families and friends after their release is a consideration which might have influenced them though it has not occurred to the anonymous friend. The Japanese were the friends or the Allies of the British and the Americans in the first World War and they remained friends after Manchuria was annexed and a large part of China proper had been occupied by them. As for atrocities, we confess we cannot accept all the stories as true. Nearly all the atrocities charged to the Germans in the first World War have been shown to be faked and it is not improbable that many of the atrocities in the present war may also be meant to be propaganda. One need not live under "Jap rule" to have a taste of atrocities. Of course, one may define atrocities according to one's political or racial bias. Soviet-Russia and Kuomintang China have not been exactly humanitarians. India during the War years furnished some bad cases which without straining language may be called atrocities. It may be that the Indian is too inured to atrocities to be as sensible of them as the British, who have a much more refined standard of life in their country. Then the Indian regards the atrocity of the Atom Bomb as making all others comparatively more humane. That there is a lot of race prejudice in the treatment of the Japanese, is shown by the reprimand which Lord Louis Mountbatten has felt obliged to administer to certain officers, who compelled Japanese officers who surrendered to grovel before them.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, September 22, 1945.

THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT PLAN FOR INDIA

The Viceroy made his expected broadcast of the results of his conference with his Majesty's Government in London on Wednesday. He was followed a few hours after by the Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, at the British Broadcasting Station, London. The plan which they both outlined for solving the Indian problem, which is also and pre-eminently a British problem, is as follows. Provincial general elections will be completed in the next four months. It is hoped that responsible Government in the Provinces will follow. But this is a side issue. The principal use of the results of the elections will be to enable the Governor-General to pick out from the successful candidates, presumably with the help of the provincial Governments, suitable persons to serve on a Constitution-making body. This body will formulate proposals for the future Indian constitution on a Federal basis. Indian States also will be represented on this body and the Crown Representative will confer with the Princes on the method by which their representatives are to be selected. In addition to framing the future constitution, the Constitution-making body will also adopt a formal Treaty between India and Great Britain. His Majesty's Government are already considering the terms of the Treaty. The Prime Minister said of them that "they will not be incompatible with the interests of India." The draft constitution and the draft Treaty will be placed before the Indian Legislature and on its approving of them it will be ratified by the Central Government of India which would have come into being by the time. It is not clear by what process. But it is not to be "a caretakers' Government." Lord Wavell said that it was needed to carry on the administration and to deal with urgent social and economic problems and to play India's full part in working out the new world order.

The postponement of the formation of the constitution-making body until after the elections for the Provincial and Central Legislatures, has deprived the scheme of current interest. The electorates are not constituted for the purpose of constitution making. The party politicians who will be returned in most cases are not the best qualified to undertake this task. Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah will be able to tell Government today what their supporters who will outnumber other elements in the new Legislatures would want in a constitution. In fact, these two leaders have had more than one opportunity of stating what their ideas are for a constitution. Mr. Jinnah wants Pakistan. All his followers are pledged to want it. Gandhiji's views are not so clear. His ideal is Rama Rajya. Some critics have made fun of Rama Rajya. But it has a serious import. The essence of Rama Rajya is that the State should itself be watchful of the well being of the people instead of, as in modern democracy, being inert until aroused by popular clamour threatening breaches of the peace unless grievances are redressed. Justice and equity will be brought to the doors of the people instead of the people having to purchase them at prices prohibitive to the vast majority

and therefore, virtually denied to all. This defect of modern democracy was the primary cause of the drift of popular support to the totalitarian States. But the latter abused the trust reposed in them for aggression on their neighbours and they have come to grief. The expanding Social Services of modern democratic States is a tardy recognition of the inaccessibility of their institutions to the mass of the people. The constitution makers will have to be men who are not carried away by shibboleths, who are not committed to this or that form, and who will realise the importance of building on the foundations furnished by the long historical and spiritual evolution of the Indian people. China no less than Japan should be a warning. Lord Wavell can at once form the Constitution making body without waiting for the elections which will not give him the right type of men for the purpose. There are in India men who can frame a constitution which will be accepted by all interests including the States. The Legislatures will be more a hindrance than a help in getting this class. The Constitution making body chosen from the Legislature will be as infructuous as the Simla Conference. According to the Plan outlined by the Viceroy most important questions will have been decided including some closely concerning India's internal affairs by the time the new Constitution begins to take shape.

Communal electorates are, as Lord Wavell must have realised, poisoning the well-springs of Indian politics. Another election on their basis will only worsen matters. Lord Wavell said that the reform of the franchise may take at least two years. If the plan suggested above is accepted, franchise reform need not take more than the time required to bring the electoral rolls up-to date. Both Viceroy and the Premier made much of the delicacies and difficulties of the Indian problem. Lord Wavell was casual. The Prime Minister a bit portentous. When Lord Linlithgow declared that India was at war with Germany, which to the vast majority of Indians was an unknown land, he never thought of the difficulties and delicacies of the declaration. The Indian emergency unless it is conceived and dealt with like a war emergency, will not move an inch forward towards solution. Mr. Attlee referred to the many pre-occupations of his Majesty's Government. A happy readjustment of Indo-British relations will greatly help his Majesty's Government in dealing with their international as well as internal pre-occupations. There are Indians, who wish to help Britain with the synthesising genius which is their heritage. They are unable to do so, so long as the relations between the two peoples who have much in common, preclude the offer of help as well as the acceptance gracefully of help offered.

ORIGIN AND REDEMPTION OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES

In the voluminous literature still growing on the section of the Indian population known from of old as Antyajas and Panchamas, later as the Depressed Classes, for which Gandhiji invented the name of Harijans, and Government that of "Scheduled Castes", while various methods have been suggested for the redemption from their outcaste social condition with its concomitant economic and educational disabilities, their political status has been raised by recent legislation not only

to equality with the rest of the population but to a privileged position, incongruous with their standing in other respects. But no serious attempt has been made, so far as we know, to explain how these classes came into existence. Obviously a knowledge of their origin is of historical interest and it helps to appreciate the position of those who are denounced as their oppressors. The assertion often made that they owe their position to the tyranny of the higher castes of Hindus, does not take us very far. Why was this tyranny and how was it provoked? The answer to these questions is perhaps to be found in events which are occurring before our eyes. The treatment by the Allies of the Germans in Europe and the Japanese in Asia, gives a clue to how the Depressed Classes came to occupy the position which they have occupied for centuries past. The avowed object of the Allies in their policies is to reduce the Germans and the Japanese to the position of serfs to the three Big Powers for as long as the human mind can contemplate. In the last century Sir Henry Maine was the chief exponent of what was known as the "historical method." This method has for its maxim that clues to the origin of institutions in one part of the world are to be found in those existing and functioning in some other part of it. The Past is the Present. If the Allied plans are actually put in force against the Germans and the Japanese in less than a hundred years the two peoples will come to occupy the same position as the Indian depressed classes. Possibly worse. The mystic feeling that touch pollutes, kept the caste Hindus from tampering with the domesticity of the Antyajias. The West has outgrown it. A pure blooded Negro in the United States is an exception. The British flag wherever it goes leaves a trail behind it of persons of mixed descent. From Belgium comes a bitter complaint of the misbehaviour of Allied troops and from the British zone in Germany of the misbehaviour of Russians. Perhaps this is Nature's way of unifying Europe, an object which has baffled statesmanship. It seems probable that the relegation of the forefathers of the depressed classes had followed a movement against a creed regarded as sacrosanct in their day as capitalistic Democracy in ours. They raided the orthodox settled Communities and carried away the wealth and women of the Hindus. The story of the Ramayana perhaps presents as a single incident what happened on a large scale. Valmiki is constrained notwithstanding his strong orthodox bias to credit the Rakshasas with a high degree of civilization and even spiritual culture. The depressed classes were not intended to be depressed always. They were to be re-educated as the Germans and the Japanese in Anglo-American ideologics and to be assimilated as they became accustomed to them. If this is a correct view of the origin of the depressed classes, the Brahmans of two thousand years ago much less than present-day representatives cannot be denounced for what the highly civilized American has adopted as the right and righteous way of dealing with the vanquished Germans and Japanese.

Historical perspective enables one to deal with social problems without remorse or recrimination. No one is required to go into sackcloth and ashes for an existing state of things and no one is entitled to denounce a community or religion as the cause of existing social defects. Gandhiji's calls to repentance are as out of place as Dr. Ambedkar's diatribes against Hindus and

Hinduism. For several hundreds of years Hindu society has had to struggle hard to maintain itself. Practically all intercourse with the outside world came to an end. Indian settlements in the east were left without the sustaining stream of culture from the mother country. India's intercourse with China and Japan likewise came to a stop. Social evolution was arrested and institutions became frozen. Not till the early years of last century was India able to realize her responsibilities and opportunities of self-realization. It was no accident that the religious, racial and political aspects of reform were envisaged as a single whole by the genius of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. The progress in all these directions since his time has been steady though not as quick as might have been wished. Fluid Indian customs became stereotyped by the Law Courts with at the apex the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London as the final Court of Appeal. Legislation was needed to modify the rulings of the Privy Council. There was no link between society and the Legislature until about twenty years ago. The Executive Government concerned above all to keep things going, was not sympathetic to social reforms. Endeavours to remove social barriers were suspected as aiming at overthrowing the political status quo. At the same time the impulse to reform came with increasing insistence from the Universities and colleges where the history of the Freedom movement was studied with eager interest.

The social reformers felt that the first thing they had to do was to get behind them the support of women who were the greatest obstacles in the way of any changes in the family and social life. Until they had the support of women they were gravely handicapped in their efforts. Hence they had to concentrate for the best part of a century on the removal of customs which hampered the free growth of women's intellect and body. Illiteracy had to be rooted out. Although there is still an enormous amount of illiteracy in the country among both men and women, still there is a sufficiency of material for leadership. Women no longer bar the way to progress. Communal and caste reform were on their programme and would have been taken up but for the priority given to politics by the founding of the National Congress, the political organization professing like the Government neutrality in social and religious matters. The best minds of the country were drawn to the political field. In one way this was not a bad thing. Political reformers realised that without social liberation there cannot be substantial political progress. Social reformers too have realised that they had exhausted the possibilities of social amelioration under the existing political system and more political initiative was needed to make further progress. Political forces are presenting stiff opposition to social progress. Under the specious plea of protecting minorities, the advanced classes are accorded far less than their due share of influence. The less advanced classes are by means of weight ages in representation and discriminatory franchise are placed in a position of influence and they use it to prevent further progress. The position of the depressed classes was recognised many years before the "scheduled castes" were included as a separate interest in the Franchise arrangements and religious and social reformers had initiated educational and social schemes for the removal of unouchability. Dr. Ambedkar admits in his book "What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables" that social reform methods evoked the

spirit of cooperation among the depressed classes. He maintains that Gandhiji's methods have created a spirit of distrust and antagonism among the Harijans because while the social reformers regarded the removal of untouchability as an end in itself, Gandhiji and the Congress are actuated by the desire to add the depressed classes to their political following. It is the fact that many of the beneficiaries of the Harijan Sevak Fund promptly became followers of Dr. Ambedkar. The promoters of the Fund know this well and that they still do not intend to make any change in their policy or organisation is itself the best proof that they are not actuated by ulterior motives.

VISHVABHARATI QUARTERLY

The *Vishvabharati Quarterly* for May-July is an exceptionally strong number. The first article on "Alpona or the Ritual Decoration of Bengal," describes the art of decorating the floors of homes on certain festive occasions called, *Vratas*. These are exclusively observed by women. Men have no place in them. Alpona, the art of decorating the floors, is not taught in any school. The mother teaches the daughter and the daughter passes it to her daughter and so on. A handful of rice ground up and mixed with water and some vegetable dye, is the only material used and by pressing simply the tip of a finger, with one twist of the hand, writes Tapanmohan Chatterji, little girls will draw creepers, flowers and various patterns and will even add to them what their whimsical imagination suggests. This art under different names is practised by women all over the country. The basic unity of India culture is mostly derived from women. Indian Women all over India have most things in common and they understand each other the instant they meet each other. In his article on the "Early Medieval Mysticism and Kabir," Mr. P. C. Bagchi shows that though Kabir avows his initiation at Benares to Ramananda, the disciple of Ramanuja, the South Indian religious teacher and philosopher, he drew most from the Buddhist mystics, often repeating their very words in his prayers. Kabir, he writes, "might have attempted a synthesis between the Rama-Bhakti and the earlier Buddhist mystic Sunyavada but even in this synthesis the latter predominates. Rama merges into a vacuity which simply means an attributeless state of reality. We have, therefore, to study Kabir not within the limits of the Ramananda sect but against this wider background of early medieval Buddhist and Jain mysticism." Dr. Niharranjan Roy in his attempt at a social historical interpretation of Bengali culture traces the powerful orthodox hold in Navadwipa, the capital of the Senas, to the fact which is wellknown that the Senas came from Karnata bringing their Brahminical orthodoxy with them. The fact that of all places in Eastern Bengal uppergrades of Vikrampura and certain tracts of Bakarganja claim social precedence over all the rest is, easily explained by the transference of Sena court and centre of administration and therefore the heart of Sena social ideology and organization to Vikramapur after Bakhtyar's raid on Nudiya (Navadwipa).

The *Quarterly* reprints from Abanindranath Tagore's Bengali reminiscence, a delightful sketch of Sister

Nivedita, Swami Vivekananda's Anglo-Irish disciple. Tagore says that of all foreigners who loved India Nivedita occupies a foremost place. Lord Carmichael, Governor of Bengal, when he visited Tagore saw a photograph of her in the dress which she adopted, "the long white robe of a brahmacharini reaching down to her ankles. She had a string of small rudraksha beads round her neck." Lord Carmichael, on seeing the picture of Nivedita, remarked that he must have a picture of her like that and "quietly pocketed it without wasting any more words, without even a by your-leave."

SAN FRANCISCO: THE TRIUMVIRATE OF POWER

(BY SERGE FLIEGERS—*Worldover Press*)

Will the charter worked out at this Golden Gate parley bring peace to us and our children? After talking with statesmen and politicians who toiled for two months to lay a firm foundation for peace, this writer can report a few truths about the Conference and its results:

(1) *World Security*. The Conference did not work out a foolproof master plan to eliminate wars—it has legalized Big Three rule of the globe. Having found it impossible to establish a democratically representative "world congress," diplomats compromised on a formula that gives all the power to the United States, Great Britain and Russia, with the smaller states as political "protectorates" of their big cousins. We are embarking on an unprecedented phase of political history: a "super-triumvirate" will now control the fate of mankind. The world will be divided into three spheres of influence, and the lesser powers will have to seek the protection of the Big Three in a worldwide feudal system, even paying tribute for that protection. Backroom intrigue has already done much to delineate these three spheres. One can now give a tentative outline of them.

The United States will be the strongest single bloc—not so much from a territorial as from an economic point of view. In addition to the North American continent (for Canada is drawing close to the United States, although it will still maintain Empire relations with Great Britain), there will be the 20 Latin American republics, and a large part of the Pacific, including its myriads of islands. China will be close to the American orbit, although Soviet Russia is making strenuous efforts there to strengthen its influence.

Great Britain will have her Empire—talk of independence for her colonies is mostly designed to pacify possible troublemakers—and will have also the support of a large number of European nations, including Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, Greece, Turkey and the Middle East.

France is in a class by herself. She tried to enter the big-politics game, and got badly burned. Then de Gaulle and his Foreign Minister, Georges Bidault, turned to Soviet Russia, but Moscow's answer was: "Either you come over to us body and soul, or we won't trouble with you." Thus, let down by Russia in several instances, especially the Yalta meeting and the Syrian dispute, France tried to approach the United States. Bidault, on his way home from San Francisco, stopped in Washington to talk with President Truman, but the United States

some time ago decided to stop meddling too closely in the intricate affairs of European politics, leaving that part of the game to Great Britain.

Territorially, the strongest of these new spheres will be the Russian. Besides the huge Soviet Union, it will include Finland, the three Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, Poland, the better part of Germany and Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and possibly Manchuria in the Far East. It will be a tightly-knit bloc of countries ruled by Moscow-trained specialists, not Communists necessarily, but men who know the mind of Stalin and his advisers in regard to foreign policy. The foreign ministers of many of these countries were in San Francisco. After talking to them, I was convinced that they do not want world revolution or communization. But they do believe the only way to protect themselves from aggression is to obey blindly Moscow's orders on the handling of their foreign affairs.

Their countries, however, will be comparatively free in internal administration, except for certain economic considerations. For the "feudal tribute" mentioned earlier, will consist, in three spheres, of far-reaching economic concessions granted to the "protecting power". These trade agreements and financial accords will largely benefit the protector nation, but will also assure the smaller nations of steady markets] and sources of supplies.

Will such an arrangement correspond to the moral values of democracy as expressed, for example, in the Atlantic Charter? Will it protect us from another world catastrophe? To these questions, an eminent diplomat and jurist, an adviser at San Francisco, who had worked at the Hague court and the League of Nations, replied:

"The present system of Big Three rule as set up at the San Francisco Conference may not be a perfect assurance of world democracy. In fact, it rather resembles a world dictatorship. But it is the result of a compromise.....the best system we could work out here. We came to San Francisco full of high ideals and hopes for the establishment of peaceful cooperation between all nations, large or small. Suddenly, we were faced with stark realities.

"The present system does not look pretty, does not sound pretty. But, in view of the second part of your question, it is the best we can do. For the Big three formula represents a strong insurance against war. It is nothing else but a huge, triangular balance of power system—so balanced that any nation trying to upset it will be smothered under the combined might of the other two points of the triangle. And it is at least better to base our hopes for future peace on such a system than on empty promises of peaceful intention...promises which slowly killed the ill-fated League of Nations."

(2) *Dependent Territories.* Long, sometimes heated debate took place on this subject behind the locked and soldierguarded doors of San Francisco's luxurious Fairmount Hotel. As usual, a high sounding agreement was reached by the Big Three and some other colonial powers, including France and the Netherlands. China also sat in but, practically a semi-dependent territory herself, did not have much to say.

Bombshell of the meeting was thrown by the Soviet Representative. During a rather tedious session, at which Commander Stassen was trying to find phrases that

would please both Lord Cranborne, London's trusted Empire-keeper, and Senator Connally, A. Sobolev suddenly got up and announced that his Government did not want to have two ways about it either the conference would promise complete independence to all foreign-dominated territories, or there would be no use in continuing these academic discussions.

Lord Cranborne is reported to have got a violent case of the hiccups, and France's colonial specialist, Paul-Emile Naggiar, started fidgetting helplessly with his papers, but the Russian would not relent. Finally, Stettinius, Eden and Molotov had to get together to straighten out this problem. Interpreters were called in, and finer meanings of "independence," as contrasted to "self-government," were explained at great length to the unimpressed little Foreign Commissar. In the end, he got his way and "independence" was put into the agreement—but with a qualifying phrase which, in the realm of practical results made the word meaningless.

In conclusion, dependent territories throughout the world are no further advanced toward their goal of "independence" than they were before the San Francisco Conference, although some beautifully worded promises have been added to their collection.

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During a few hurried sessions, specialists in San Francisco tried to revive some of the old functions of the League, tried to add some new ones suited to changed conditions throughout the world, and finally decided that more time had to be taken to work out a really effective organization. Times and places were fixed for subsequent meetings by United Nations economists and other experts. The United Nations showed more sincere desire to co-operate on social and economic questions than on political. It is hoped that they will soon get down to the serious task of re-establishing a working and effective central clearing bureau for economic and social matters.

On the whole, whatever their failings, representatives from 50 "more-or-less" United Nations did work out at San Francisco a system to replace the political anarchy that has existed in the world for the past few decades. "Any system is better than none at all," one foreign minister said as he was packing his various diplomatic valises. Whether he was right or not will be proven to us very soon.

Meanwhile, preparations are under way for another and much more important conference. That will be the ultimate peace conference, after the defeat of Japan. In San Francisco, diplomats tried to lay down, in generalities, a law to be followed in future international relations between all United Nations. But at the peace table, the rulers of our world will sit down to actual facts, actual cases, and will really attempt to create a "new world". What this world will be like, whether it will be a peaceful one, or a world of perpetual mistrust and suspicions and armed truces, no one can foretell.

COLLECTIVE SECURITY AMONG ANIMALS

Many decades before Darwin and Huxley appeared with their revolutionary discussions, in 1827, the renowned zoologist Eckerman told the immortal Goethe a recorded incident of how two little wren-fledglings, which had run away, were found the next day in the nest of robin redbreasts which fed the little ones together with their own youngsters. The "monarch of European letters" (the story goes) grew quite excited about the fact. He saw in it a confirmation of his pantheistic (humanitarian) views, and said: "If it be true that this feeding of a stranger goes through all Nature as something having

the character of a general law, then many an enigma would be solved." More than half a century later and eight years before Huxley's challenging paper appeared, Professor Kessler, Dean of the University of St. Petersburg, delivered a scholarly address before a congress of naturalists where he stressed the view (based on the findings of a minute factual study) "that in the evolution of the organic world—in the progressive modification of organic being—mutual support (the moral law in Nature) among individuals plays a much more important part than their mutual struggle." By following the wholesome and peaceful instinct for new adaptation, acclimatization, and social collaboration, the animals have found it easy and most beneficial to discard the beastly thirsting for one another's blood in the struggle for existence. But this universal mutual support instinct based on friendship and good-will was not common knowledge until the alert and most generous editor of the *Nineteenth Century* review had published in the 1890's a series of highly illuminating articles from the pen of the celebrated Russian scientist and librarian, Peter Kropotkin, whose lifelong studies in the natural and social sciences placed him among the foremost aggressive thinkers of our age. Taking the facts, in his own words, we are able to behold a phenomenon of a universe with a multitude of species thriving in peaceful collaboration—a remarkable demonstration which gives our post-war world certain definite and workable pointers as to how to preserve peace by preventing a repetition of those fallacious practices which invite universal disaster in their wake.

Following faithfully in the footsteps of the field zoologist, we become acquainted with the indefatigable ingenuity of the ants regurgitating their own food for the benefit of the other frustrated and hungry mates who are in urgent need of the same. We find ourselves admiring those clumsy pelicans feeding a blind comrade bungling without avenues of escape. We are delighted to observe the monkeys showing their greatest solicitude for their wounded, or we feel amused watching the big crabs and various beetles come voluntarily and in the spirit of sympathy to the aid of their needy neighbours. It is indeed a thrilling experience to take close note of the sociability and mutual attachment of the seals, the communal habits of the viscacha, the mutual aid practices of the beavers, and even the vultures; not to mention the well-known social life of the industrious bees whose delectable food, innocently gathered and stored with much labor by the tiny animals for the winter, both man and beast delight in cunningly stealing. By means of sociability, sympathy, and mutual support the innumerable herds and flocks of the mountainside and prairies find security from the designs of predatory neighbors, open the opportunities for a wider and fuller enjoyment of a more abundant life, make it possible for larger numbers to expand without strife over greater areas, leaving ample field and inducements for individual resourcefulness and leadership. There is a selfreliance, which comes spontaneously where free association for general welfare is in vogue. We are made to identify the similarity between the friendly practices of the lower creatures and those socially ethical practices of solicitude and mutual assistance carried on by the human tribe, the autonomous village community, the guilds and free cities of medieval times, and those myriads of voluntary associations for common welfare of our own immediate

some time ago decided to stop meddling too closely in the intricate affairs of European politics, leaving that part of the game to Great Britain.

Territorially, the strongest of these new spheres will be the Russian. Besides the huge Soviet Union, it will include Finland, the three Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, Poland, the better part of Germany and Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and possibly Manchuria in the Far East. It will be a tightly-knit bloc of countries ruled by Moscow-trained specialists, not Communists necessarily, but men who know the mind of Stalin and his advisers in regard to foreign policy. The foreign ministers of many of these countries were in San Francisco. After talking to them, I was convinced that they do not want world revolution or communization. But they do believe the only way to protect themselves from aggression is to obey blindly Moscow's orders on the handling of their foreign affairs.

Their countries, however, will be comparatively free in internal administration, except for certain economic considerations. For the "feudal tribute" mentioned earlier, will consist, in three spheres, of far-reaching economic concessions granted to the "protecting power". These trade agreements and financial accords will largely benefit the protector nation, but will also assure the smaller nations of steady markets and sources of supplies.

Will such an arrangement correspond to the moral values of democracy as expressed, for example, in the Atlantic Charter? Will it protect us from another world catastrophe? To these questions, an eminent diplomat and jurist, an adviser at San Francisco, who had worked at the Hague court and the League of Nations, replied:

"The present system of Big Three rule as set up at the San Francisco Conference may not be a perfect assurance of world democracy. In fact, it rather resembles a world dictatorship. But it is the result of a compromise.....the best system we could work out here. We came to San Francisco full of high ideals and hopes for the establishment of peaceful cooperation between all nations, large or small. Suddenly, we were faced with stark realities.

"The present system does not look pretty, does not sound pretty. But, in view of the second part of your question, it is the best we can do. For the Big three formula represents a strong insurance against war. It is nothing else but a huge, triangular balance of power system—so balanced that any nation trying to upset it will be smothered under the combined might of the other two points of the triangle. And it is at least better to base our hopes for future peace on such a system than on empty promises of peaceful intention...promises which slowly killed the ill-fated League of Nations."

(2) *Dependent Territories.* Long, sometimes heated debate took place on this subject behind the locked and soldierguarded doors of San Francisco's luxurious Fairmount Hotel. As usual, a high sounding agreement was reached by the Big Three and some other colonial powers, including France and the Netherlands. China also sat in but, practically a semi-dependent territory herself, did not have much to say.

Bombshell of the meeting was thrown by the Soviet Representative. During a rather tedious session, at which Commander Stassen was trying to find phrases that

would please both Lord Cranborne, London's trusted Empire-keeper, and Senator Connally, A. Sobolev suddenly got up and announced that his Government did not want to have two ways about it either the conference would promise complete independence to all foreign-dominated territories, or there would be no use in continuing these academic discussions.

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generation. Even the common little sparrow, with all its deficiencies and impediments, shares in the behaviour of that "collective sense of justice growing to become a habit" by taking joint disciplinary action against any lazy and reckless member who tries to acquire the fruit of others. It is of vital interest for us to note that among the monkeys, the orangutan and the gorilla (the least sociable) are the least numerous and on the road to extinction, while the boisterous tailed apes and chimpanzees are enwrapped in their joys and are as entertaining as they are numerous.

For the student of animal life it becomes a self-evident truth that without moral restraint no orderly social life is conceivable. He knows from actual observation that even the creatures of the prairie and the forest have learned by sheer instinct that evil cannot be productive of good. Biologically, brutal primitive competition, like the faulty arithmetic of Malthus, is the sorry exception and not the decisive rule of life. There is a universal sense of solidarity and social justice which holds the animal species in a voluntary check and in unison for the greater good of all. This explains why "the strongest birds of prey are powerless in face of the association of our smallest bird pets." By observing patiently the free gulls, the lapwings and the great universe is man, in his collective capacity, willing to grasp the basic truth that individual happiness, collective security and the moral law are inseparable, and that man himself, above all creatures of the animal kingdom, must turn to universal unity, universal sympathy, understanding of universal needs, and "port arms" in wholehearted collaboration with all humanity in order to survive?

At this point, a most important question must be asked. Why do certain species, as well as once mighty peoples and their empires, disappear from the active stage of life? The student of animal life, who is also a good anthropologist and historian, has the answer. A species succumbs, we are informed, not because it is exterminated or starved out by the other species, but because it does not as well accommodate itself to new conditions, as does the other. That is to say, survival and progressive evolution follow the line of sound instinct or enlightened foresight to be guaranteed only by the channels of mutual trust, peaceful reorientation and cooperation, and a readiness for adjustment by intelligent and wholehearted adaptation. Undeniably, we must agree with the student of animal life, that sociability, sympathy, and mutual support, whether practised in the nesting associations of birds, in the villages of rodents, the herds of grass-eaters, or in human society, are a biological victory over the primitive force of evil and savagery; they offer positive universal peace, stability, and progress. These constructive practices are a protest against the preventable desolations of strife in general and human warfare in particular, where the sword, the fire, famine, and pestilence scatter the seeds of disintegration, bitterness, and revenge, implying unending strife, cruelty, insecurity, and ultimate death. All these data and conclusions, gathered meticulously by the patient labours of the field investigators, are true pages out of the Book of Life—even though they do shatter some of our pet and conveniently concocted theories or pleasant pipe dreams in the ivory towers,

where so many of our well-intentioned and well-established political economists and sages are found courting the materialistic conceptions which feed the tooth-and-claw philosophy of life. The inhabitants of the forest and prairie, concludes the descriptive and stirring message of the naturalist, have a simple yet vital story to tell. Combine, they plead! practise mutual aid! for that is the surest means for giving to each and to all the greatest safety, the best guaranty of existence and progress, bodily, intellectual, and moral. This moral law in nature has helped numerous animal species to win the battle in the struggle for existence. It also invites man to make human progress and human happiness a certainty under the healing and unifying banner of the moral law in nature which offers universal collective security and an abiding world peace.

UNITY

I.F.T.U. IGNORED IN RESOLUTION.

The World Trade Union Conference passed a resolution stating that it was the intention of the participating organizations "to work together for the creation of a powerful democratic world trade union federation" embracing "the trade union bodies of freedom-loving nations, irrespective of considerations of race or creed or of political, religious or philosophical distinctions." The problem of Government-controlled unions and the existence of the I.F.T.U. was ignored.

Last April, an Interim Committee appointed by the Conference met in Oakland, California, to draft a constitution for the proposed W.F.T.U. for consideration at the next conference, scheduled to convene in Paris this September. The proposed constitution contains an escape clause providing that its decisions shall not be binding on member organizations. As a general rule, only one national trade unions organization would be eligible in each country.

Desai Liaqat Pact:—Several days after Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan published what purported to be the text of the Pact between him and Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, the latter issued a statement alleging that there were gross inaccuracies in the version of the Nawabzada. Mr. Desai, however, has not published his version. The only discrepancy he mentions is that the Nawabzada had shown the pact to his chief, Mr. Jinnah and he was not right in making it appear that Mr. Jinnah did not know anything about it. A very usual incident in party politics. The essential fact that he offered the parity formula, Mr. Desai does not deny. He had no right to do it.

Low Flying Nuisance:—Some days ago some English townsmen sent a protest against practitioners in a neighbouring aerodrome flying low over their homes to the annoyance of peaceful citizen. The nuisance is very perceptible in the neighbourhood of the Juhu establishment. The men who pilot the planes would seem to be reconnoitring in the Municipal dustbins for, perhaps, an Atom Bomb.

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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

Crusade Against Travancore:—The local Catholic *Examiner* has lashed itself into hysteric fury against the recent decision of the Travancore Government to take full responsibility for and control of elementary education in the State. In a paragraph headed "Travancore Outrage on Religious Freedom," the *Examiner* denounces the Travancore Darbar for proposing to utilise premises built by private philanthropy for primary education in their ten year scheme and to give such encouragement as Government may think fit, to institutions which impart useful instruction outside the prescribed curriculum. Whenever we see Catholic propagandists in the role of champions of religious freedom, we find it difficult to refrain from laughing. The record of the Church is black with flagrant violation of religious freedom. Though it has been the enemy of religious freedom in the past and is still unmindful of it in its own internal jurisdiction, it has adopted "religious freedom" as its slogan against every attempt of other religions against insidious inroads by proselytisers. It insists on establishing its own regime over against the State particularly in Indian States where it expects to have the backing of the British Government. The *Examiner* adduces as another instance of outrage on religious freedom the announcement of the Travancore Darbar that schools conducted by one religious communion which admit pupils of other religious communions, will not be entitled to Government grants. That is to say, if Catholic schools admit only Catholic pupils, they will be entitled to such grants. But if they admit pupils of other religions and insist on giving religious instruction to them on Catholic lines, they will not get Government grants. Christian schools are not deprived of grants. It is only schools which under the guise of religion carry on proselytising propaganda which will cease to receive grants. There is no hostility to religion in India. From time immemorial freedom for all religions has been the policy of Indian States. Misquarries

have taken unfair advantage of the policy and perverted it for undermining other religions. It is high time that a halt was called to this buccaneering and the Travancore Government will have the support of the public for its new and educationally important resolution.

Freedom of Religion and Press:—The Government of Bombay forfeited the security which a publishing agency had been ordered to give, for printing a book on "the denationalisation of Goans under the Portuguese regime," on the ground that several passages in the book were likely to prejudice His Majesty's relations with the Portuguese Government. The present Government of Portugal is most unlikely to be prejudiced by anything said about the system which it has overthrown. Under the law as it stands, the demand of security itself does not give a right to invoke judicial intervention. The security must be forfeited before the aggrieved publisher can appeal to the High Court. The forfeiture of the security enabled the publisher of the book to appeal to the High Court which, by a full Bench of three judges, reversed the Government order. Mr. Justice Chagla who delivered the Court's judgment, pointed out that the book was a historical study, ranging from the times of Albuquerque who came to India in 1510 upto the present times. The book was based on reliable authorities such as the letters of Albuquerque, Andre Corsali, and others. His Lordship made a particular reference to a quotation from the sermon of the Archbishop of Vvora proffered in Lisbon about the inquisition in Goa:—"If everywhere the Inquisition was an infamous Court, the infamy however base, however vile, however corrupt and determined by worldly interests, it was never more so than the Inquisition of Goa, by irony of fate called the Holy Office. The Inquisitors even attained the infamy of sending to their prison women who resisted them, there satisfying their beastly instincts and then burning them as heretics." He observed about the meaning of the word "prejudice" that it was not defined anywhere in the Defence of India Act, and that they had, therefore, to look to Sec. 2 of the said Act and interpret the word in the light of such section. The book could not be said to be likely to prejudice His Majesty's relations with the Portuguese Government.—*Bombay Chronicle. Sep. 23.*

It would be monstrous to hold present Catholics responsible for the "outrage" of the Inquisition three centuries ago but the *Examiner* will do well to remember that such things were possible in the name, and under the authority, of its Church when it denounces the Travancore

Government for an outrage on religious freedom for its belated recognition of its duty to provide elementary education to its people without depending on the eleemosynary services of a proselytising organisation. The Catholic Church has produced great spiritual figures, it is an organisation worthy of high respect but it has never understood the meaning of religious freedom and has been ever the enemy of religious freedom except for itself. The Travancore Government's action is in the line of true freedom to all religions and that is perhaps why the *Examiner* denounces it as an outrage on religious freedom. It is even more difficult to appreciate the protest which the Bombay Mayor, Dr. Alban D'Souza, has telegraphed to the Travancore Maharaja.

Social Problems of Indian Christians:—In the course of his presidential address to the South Indian Christian Conference held in Palamcottah last week, Mr. A. N. Sudarsanam, Editor of the *Guardian*, touched on the social problems of his community. "Some of these," he said, "are caste, dowry, illiteracy, superstitions, indebtedness, economic stratification which results in snobbishness among the rich and slave mentality among the poor. I have heard many apologies and explanations for caste and dowry, I have heard of the useful part they have played in building up the stability of groups. Having heard all these, I still plead that these two customs must go." The defects of Indian Christian society are the same as those of the communities from which its members seceded. Christianity by itself does not solve social problems. It does not, of course, solve economic problems. Nevertheless, Mr. Sudarsanam said that Indian Christians occupied a position of special advantage to take up the leadership of India. He did not notice that the collapse of Western Christianity from which a majority of Indian Christians have derived their religious and social inspiration, has left them stranded and that a re-orientation of Indian Christianity is urgently needed to save the community from becoming derelict in its native land.

The London Council of Foreign Ministers:—The Council of Foreign Ministers in London has but accentuated the differences which divide the three chief Allies: Britain, the United States and Soviet Russia. The customary communiques issued after such conferences that complete agreement prevailed among all members has not been issued. On the other hand, there has been very frank mention in the messages of the existence of insuperable difficulties. Thursday's messages spoke of the imminence of a break up. The Russian and British view points seem to present the sharpest difference. The belief that a Socialist Government in London would be able to establish closer friendly relations than the Churchill Government with Russia, has been completely falsified. Violent scenes between the British Foreign Minister Bevin, and the Soviet Foreign Commissar, Molotov, are not denied. Russia wants that there should be a Committee of the Five Big Powers to control the Government of Japan. The American Secretary of State evaded the question by saying that this was a new issue on which he had not received instructions before leaving for the Conference. Surely at Potsdam when the Big three or four or five decided that Japan should surrender unconditionally, they should have considered what should follow such surrender. General MacArthur is acting as

if the Potsdam Conference had left the Americans to have exclusive control over Japan. While the Foreign Ministers are wrangling in London, the status quo is being reestablished in Eastern Asia. The French are trying to put down a nationalist rising in Indo-China with the help of the British Indian troops. The Dutch are getting the same help for Netherland Indies. Burma is preparing to welcome the Governor, Dorman Smith, back to its capital. India has rejected a naive Labour Government offer of a scheme to aggravate the differences between Indian parties by having fresh elections on the communal franchise. The Attlee Government is beset with many difficulties internal and international. A revolutionary Government, its first concern following all precedents is to guard itself against counter revolutionary attacks. The Labour Party in Britain is not fundamentally different from the Tories, the Liberals are out of the picture. Nevertheless the present Indian system cannot last much longer. It will collapse under the weight of its own intractability. The Indian situation cannot be better described than is Mathew Arnold's phrase, as hovering between a world that is dead and a world that is powerless to be born.

The Test of Allegiance:—In the trial of William Joyce, Lord Haw-Haw of the Berlin Radio in the Hitler regime, the Attorney General gave up the plea that Joyce as a subject of the British Crown was guilty of treason, by doing propaganda for the enemy. Joyce, it transpired, was born in New York and his counsel contended that as an American citizen he could not be charged with treason against the King of a foreign country. But Joyce had left Britain or wherever he was when he went over to Berlin on a British passport. This, the Attorney General said, entitled him to the protection of the British flag and, he added, the test was protection. This is an important point in reference to the prosecution of the Indian National Army soldiers now awaiting trial by Court Martial. It was announced last week that the trials have been postponed until November to enable the accused men to prepare their defence. If Protection is the test, in their case the Crown not only did not give protection but by retiring from the countries of East Asia, it put itself in a position in which it could not render protection to these men. They were in fact abandoned to their fate. In such circumstances, the argument of the Attorney General tells heavily against prosecuting these men virtually for the default of the Crown. Then there is the maxim of equity that the quantity of allegiance is in direct proportion to the quantity of benefits—self-government, civil liberties, economic incomes and the like—which a subject derives from the Sovereign. There is no common Imperial Citizenship in the British Empire. In the words of Lord Haldane to Mr. V.S. Srinivasa Sastry (*Reformer*, September 15) discrimination as between classes and communities and parts of the Empire is sanctioned by Parliamentary statute. It follows that the same quantum of allegiance is not to be demanded from a subject for whom discrimination is made and one against whom it is made. If Government chooses nobody can prevent it from hanging every tenth man whom it can lay hold on. But if equity and good conscience are to have a part in the decision, these considerations cannot be lost sight of. It must be also borne in mind that the Government by its action would be establishing a precedent for future generations.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, September 29, 1945.

CONGRESS DECISIONS

The Bombay session of the All India Congress Committee concluded during the week-end. The resolutions, as drafted by the Working Committee, were practically endorsed. Gandhiji was not present throughout the session. The A.I.C.C. has virtually ceased to be of any importance in the Congress organisation, except as a means of communicating the decisions of the Congress High Command to the general public. The resolutions which were meant for the A.I.C.C. were couched in moderate language. The speeches which were addressed to the larger audience that attended, were delivered with the wildest extremism. Sardar Patel and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru held the public attention. The Sardar contributed his part by conceding the past errors of the Congress in seeking to appease the Muslim League from the time of the Lucknow Pact of 1916. Pandit Jawaharlal concentrated on opposition to Britain. The temper of the leaders today is vastly different from the mood of compromise in which they attended the Simla Conference convened by Lord Wavell. At a meeting held in north Bombay, at Shivaji Park, attended by a mammoth gathering, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel attributed that compromising attitude of the Congress leadership to the misleading reports published by the Indian press. Mr. Patel further added that the press had been gagged by the Government. However convenient such an exposition might be, it cannot stand scrutiny. The press, whatever the nature of the restrictions placed upon it, was nowhere asked by the Government to say that defeatism and frustration prevailed in the country. This was the thesis of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, taken over by the Sapruites, adopted by Mahatma Gandhi on his release from jail, and then, out of loyalty to Gandhiji, supported by the larger part of the Indian press. At a time when the only political consideration seemed to be, so far as the pro-Congress press was concerned, the release of the Working Committee members, every nerve was strained to further conciliation. Whatever of revolution existed, the wheels stopped revolving when Gandhiji, immediately on his release, initiated peace moves. The extremists of the Congress who physically dominated the A. I. C. C. session but were in reality under the control of the moderate element headed by Gandhiji as the resolutions reveal, might seek an easy scapegoat in the press. Their real quarrel is not even with Mr. Rajagopalachari but with Gandhiji. The question whether the country and the Congress is ripe for a revolt against Gandhiji's authority, established over a period of two and a half decades, has yet to be decided. Evidently the Congress leaders who are straining at the Gandhian leash, desire still to evade an open clash.

The resolutions themselves are an improvement on previous resolutions presented to the A.I.C.C. in that they are briefer. The lengthy essays on internal and foreign policies which used to be placed before the A.I.C.C., precluded serious consideration of any of the issues discussed in them. The resolutions for the Bombay session were more compact. Nevertheless, they conveyed the

impression that the Working Committee which was responsible for the drafts, was more concerned with marking time than with taking decisions on behalf of the Congress. Except for the resolution deciding on participation in the elections, there is no definite lead contained in any of the other proposals before the A.I.C.C. On the subject of "sterling balances", the Congress resolution elevates to the status of a "British demand" the suggestion of certain British publicists that there should be a scaling down. This is an exaggeration which is not exactly wise though it is well to guard against any such demand that may be made in the future. On Burma, the Congress curiously enough has committed itself to supporting the vested interests of Indian capital, though even that is hedged round by reference to the rights of the Burmese. Capital has few rights, except the running one of interest on its investment. But that should terminate without leaving any vested interest behind. After all, a business community gets its reward in the profits that it reaps. It cannot ask for perpetuation. It appears that the Congress has been induced to lend its support to Indian business interests in Burma by playing on its fears of British exploitation at the expense of Indian commerce. A national organisation should, however, stand out from Indian commercial intrigues.

The A.I.C.C. resolution on the Indian National Army, the soldiers who fought against the Allies in the war, has done full justice to this vexed subject. The setting up of a defence Committee headed by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is a happy thought. The Congress recommends a large policy in the treatment of these forces in order to assimilate them into Indian national life, and it suggests that, in view of the troubles they have already undergone, the National Army personnel might be set free. In view of this eminently sensible attitude, it is difficult to appreciate the lower stand taken by the Congress in regard to those who were guilty of violence in the country itself after August 1942. The Congress has thought fit to dissociate itself from their acts, as it has done from the Indian National Army's working with Japan or taking arms against Britain—the words "labouring for Indian freedom, however mistakenly" leave this delightfully vague—but it has not put in a word for these men who indulged in such acts. This is a somewhat irresponsible attitude to adopt. As a matter of fact, the men who resorted to violence in India itself, have a larger claim on Congress support than the I.N.A. The Indian National Army was independent of the Congress. The violent agitators in India, on the other hand, acted on a situation created by the distinct instruction to every citizen to regard himself as free of any loyalty to the established authority and to "do or die", a direction which was further stressed by Mr. Kishorelal Mashruwala's subtle hair-splitting on the permissibility of violence to property. Whatever might be the responsibility of the Congress for the acts committed by men of violence, there is every reason for greater sympathy shown through the organisation. Whilst the Congress is ready to plead for the freedom of the Indian National Army men, the Congress President, if the version of the Wavell Azad correspondence published in the press is true, was content to appeal merely for the commuting of the death

sentences on certain participants in the August disturbances into transportation for life. The Congress, it would appear, is not unwilling to penalise those who, having come under its influence, do not hold fast to non-violence.

On the major issue of the new Wavell-Attles proposals, the Congress resolution asserts its adherence to Independence and rejects the proposals as vague and indefinite. It would have been fitting if the Congress had noted the distinction drawn at San Francisco between Independence and self-government. After such a flagrant discrimination, for Britain to talk of self-government is a considered offer which has to be judged on its merits. At least this time, there can be no charge against Britain of misrepresentation. The Congress has failed on all the matters it has touched, to give a decisive lead to the country. The only point on which there has been progress, has been on the clarification of the Congress attitude towards the minority problem as it affects territorial units, which was drafted at the Working Committee. The self-determination for areas theory—a farcical and meaningless political phrase—has been abandoned. The Congress has put forward a compendium-resolution which can be interpreted to mean that the Congress dislikes division, abhors coercion of any unit desiring separation, and therefore would try persuasion but in no case would allow division. This is satisfactory but unfortunately other interpretations have been placed as well upon it. At any rate, it is eminently satisfactory that the "self-determination" term has been dispensed with. What is more hopeful, it has begun to irritate Pandit Jawaharlal who at the A.I.C.C. session angrily denounced the ado that had been made over it.

THE WAVELL-AZAD LETTERS

For a few days after the break-up of the Simla Conference, the President of the Muslim League, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, did not repudiate the responsibility generally assigned to him of having been the cause of it. He rather seemed to appreciate having, by his abstention from sending a list of nominees in compliance with the Viceroy's invitation, obliged the latter to acknowledge defeat. This, however, was only for a few days. He did not realise that British politicians and high retired officials, however much they may be inclined to back up the Muslim isolationists against Indian nationalists, would not see the Viceroy let down even by Mr. Jinnah. Lord Hailey's statement that, though he had always supported the League, Mr. Jinnah's attitude at the Conference did not strengthen the League's position, and other similar criticisms from British and American sources, made him realise that the honour of vetoing the Viceroy's proposal, was a dangerous one. He immediately started the demand for the publication of the letters which had passed between Maulana Azad and Lord Wavell as, he held, they contained irrefragable proof that he (Mr. Jinnah) was not responsible for the failure of the Conference and that the responsibility rested with the Congress. The *Bharat Jyoti* published these letters last Sunday. Their authenticity has not been denied either by the Congress President or by the Viceroy. Not only is there not the least indication in them that the

Congress was responsible for the failure of the Conference, on the contrary, the Viceroy told Gandhiji and the Maulana that he had not been able to prevail upon Mr. Jinnah to submit his list and that as a consequence he might have to dissolve the Conference. On July 13, the Maulana wrote to Lord Wavell appealing to him to publish the list which His Excellency had himself drawn up of nominees to the proposed Executive Council. The Viceroy replied that the statement which he was to make the next day at the open Conference would make his position clear. The Viceroy had shown the Muslim part of his list to Mr. Jinnah and on the latter's emphatic exclamation that it will not be accepted by his League, Lord Wavell decided to dissolve the Conference and did not think it necessary or politic to show his list to Gandhiji and the Maulana who met him after the interview with Mr. Jinnah. It is very probable that Lord Wavell wished to save the Maulana from, by rejecting his list, drawing upon himself the odium of bringing about the breakdown of the Conference. The *Bharat Jyoti* omits the names of the Congress nominees from the covering letter with which the Maulana sent it to Lord Wavell. But the names have been published with the result that three prominent Nationalist Muslims whose names were not included, have taken the first opportunity of giving up their connection with the Congress and going over to the Muslim League.

Apprehensions about the Maulana's leadership of the Congress delegation to the Simla Conference, founded upon some equivocal passages in his Congress Presidential address, were completely falsified by his conduct and bearing at the Conference. In contrast to the unbending egoism of the leader of the Muslim League, the Maulana's conduct was characterised by dignity and self-restraint. The disclosure, in his instrument of instructions to the Congress delegates, that the parity principle was not accepted, that it was only temporary and did not apply to the provinces, if it had been made public at the time, would have saved much misgivings about the Congress position. The Maulana emerged from the Conference with greatly enhanced reputation for statesmanship of a high order. We do not, however, understand why the Maulana felt it necessary to carry on further correspondence with the Viceroy after the dissolution of the Conference. The Viceroy in declaring the Conference dissolved had made a general appeal for co-operation. The Maulana caught hold of this straw to open a new chapter and submitted recommendations which, if adopted, would, he thought, remove the obstacles to honourable co-operation. This letter is so clumsily drafted that one almost doubts its authenticity. The Conference had broken up but the Congress had not been the cause—thanks to Lord Wavell declining to show his list to the Maulana—and the Maulana felt entitled to suggest how the Viceroy might recognise the eagerness of the Congress to cooperate. He suggested that all the detenus should be released and no restrictions placed on their movements. He recommended the restoration of confiscated property of political organisations, and the removal of the ban on the Congress institutions. He wanted all death sentences on persons connected with the disturbances of August 1942 to be commuted. Most of the Maulana's recommendations Lord Wavell adopted. The exceptions were those which involved a reversal of the processes of law,

which Lord Wavell expressed his inability to accede to. It may be assumed that all these recommendations which the Congress President submitted to the Viceroy, are recommendations which a Congress Government would not have thought it improper to give effect to. The Maulana would not ask Lord Wavell to do what he, were he in the Viceroy's position, will not think of doing. One recommendation in particular baffles understanding. The Maulana wanted all prisoners who had served fourteen years in prison released. The August disturbances took place three years ago and those detained or imprisoned in connection with them could legitimately claim the protection of the Congress. What claim have prisoners who had served fourteen years on the Maulana's intercession?

THE PALESTINE PROBLEM

Indian sympathy which was originally warmly in favour of the Arab cause in Palestine, has become somewhat lukewarm as the result of the persistent endeavour of the Muslim League not only to claim exclusive interest in it but to repel non-Muslim expression of interest in the problem. In fact, it was made to appear that the Arabs in Palestine looked exclusively to the Muslim League for support in India and that they were deeply in sympathy with the separatist programme of Mr. Jinnah. Spokesmen of the Arab Organization have now definitely repudiated sympathy for Pakistan. Turks, Iranians and Egyptians have likewise made plain that they regard the Muslim League as at present constituted as a reactionary movement calculated to stiffen the yoke of non-Asiatic imperialists on this ancient continent. Indian leaders who have studied the Palestine question from a historical standpoint, however, have not changed their view favouring the Arab position in Palestine. The Zionist movement had existed for years as an academic organization. What made it a factor in practical politics is the Balfour Declaration in 1917, stating that the British Government viewed with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish People and would use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object. It was distinctly made clear at the same time that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by the Jews in any other country. In other words, the Jews will not lose their status as nationals in other countries because a National Home for them was established in Palestine.

The Zionists, however, took this to mean that the British Government which held a Mandate from the League of Nations for Palestine, favoured the settlement of Jews in restricted numbers even to the extent of constituting in course of time a majority of the population outnumbering the Arabs who had been settled there for centuries. The British Government had made promises to the Arabs which the latter interpreted to mean that it would, in return for the Arab revolt against the Turks in the last war, help them to consolidate their position in the lands occupied by them. The controversy created by this dual engagement led the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Winston Churchill, to explain what the

British Government understood the Balfour Declaration to mean. He said that the terms of the Declaration did not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home but that such a Home should be founded in Palestine. By this phrase, he said was meant "not the imposition of a Jewish Nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole but the further development of the existing Jewish community—in order that it might become a centre in which the Jewish people as a whole may take an interest and pride." This was in 1922. The continued influx of Jews as the result of the anti-Semitic measures of the Nazis alarmed the Arabs and the British Government in 1939 issued a White Paper restricting immigration and severely prohibiting further land sales of Arab properties in Palestine. The Zionists were up in arms against this declaration. The limit of 75,000 Jews permitted to enter Palestine in five years was reached and no further immigration was allowed after 1944. This has exasperated the Zionists and they have formed special organizations to compel the British Government to remove all restrictions on Jewish immigration and in fact to place no restrictions in the way of the Jews becoming a majority and making Palestine a Jewish State in which the Arabs may live as a minority.

The situation has become complicated by the fact that Palestine is no longer an exclusively British concern. The Mandate has expired with the League of Nations. The United States which had no direct interests in Palestine before the present war, has now special interests in the country, strategic as well as economic and cultural. There are five million Jews in the United States. There appears in the Foreign Policy Association Report of July 1st a list of the principal organisations working in the United States for the Jews. The late President Roosevelt met the main Arab rulers after the Yalta Conference but the prevailing sentiment in that country seems on the whole to be rather indifferent to the Arabs' point of view. As against this is to be set the fact that Soviet Russia has recently been showing interest in the Middle East countries. Zionist activities were declared illegal in Russia after the Soviet Revolution and anti-Semitism was also declared illegal sometime later. Russia wants to keep her Jews at home. Some of the leaders of the Revolution, like Trotsky, were Jews. In fact the Jewish part in the Revolution led to its being described and denounced as a Revolution engineered by Jews in which the native Russians were merely pawns. When Stalin recognises the Orthodox Church of Russia last year, Church properties in Palestine have been returned to Russia. Over and above this the Soviet Government has been showing interest in Islamic religion and cultural and linguistic relations with the Arab world and stress has been laid on the unity of Muslims in Russia with other Muslims abroad. Last year the Soviet Union sent pilgrims to Mecca for the first time since its foundation. Russia has also recently extended its diplomatic relations with Egypt, Iraq, Syria and the Lebanon. Russia's attitude will be a determining factor in the future of Palestine and it appears likely that Russian influence will not favour Palestine becoming a Jewish State dominated by American capitalists.

RUSSIA IN POST-WAR EUROPE

(BY R. H. MARKHAM)

As a result of the Allied victory over Nazi Germany, the question of redrawing or re-establishing the frontiers in a number of border areas is now being considered by the Great Powers. Among the places which have forced themselves upon the attention of the public and of diplomats are a part of Armenia, now in Asiatic Turkey, the Dardanelles, northern Greece, a portion of southern Albania, called northern Epirus by the Greeks, and the port of Tangier.

Two other areas on which international attention is focused are Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, which used to form the eastern tip of Czechoslovakia, and Teschen, which is in dispute between Poles and Czechs.

All of these points, except Teschen, are closely connected with basic relations among the greatest world powers, chiefly with relations between Soviet Russia and Great Britain. The names of most of the places, such as Ardahan, Uzhorod, Kavala, Delvino, seem obscure and new. They have been objects of diplomatic and military consideration for many decades.

The disputes now revolving about these points belong, for the most part, to a single set of developments, a definite pattern. They indicate the continuation of Russia's powerful, traditional striving to bring within its orbit lands which it considers vital to its influence or control.

This series of disputed places, claiming our attention in 1945, provided first-page news in 1877 and 1878 as well as on many occasions before and after that.

In 1877, Russia began one of its many wars against Turkey. Aided by the new Romanian Army, Russia moved through Rumania, then recently liberated from Turkey, crossed the unbridged Danube, entered Bulgaria still a Turkish province, and victoriously advanced to the very gates of Istanbul, crushing all Turkish resistance.

The Russians stopped in the little village of San Stefano, on the narrow line of water between the Mediterranean and the Black Seas.

In 1878 the Czar's Army imposed upon Turkey the Treaty of San Stefano, which shattered Turkish power and established a "Great Bulgaria," extending along the Aegean Sea and including much of the northern part of present-day Greece. "Great Bulgaria" took in a large part of Thrace and practically the whole of Macedonia, but left Salonica and Istanbul to Turkey. The treaty also removed from Asiatic Turkey the predominantly Armenian districts of Kars, Ardahan, Erzerum and Batum, and gave them to the Czars.

This peace represented an unprecedented Slav triumph and brought Russia to its high water-mark of Middle East expansion. This disturbed Great Britain, Germany, Austria and France, and the European powers decided to summon Russia to an international conference at Berlin.

This was one of the most imposing international gatherings of modern times and resulted in much humiliation for Russia, without giving much satisfaction to Turkey. Other European powers than Russia seemed to be the chief benefactors from the Czar's great victories. Big Bulgaria was reduced to a small principality. Turkey was brought back into Europe, Austria was given predominant rights in two Turkish provinces, the old regime

of the Turkish Straits was re-established, and the Russian acquisitions in Asiatic Turkey were diminished. The Czar had to restore Erzerum to Turkey, but he managed to keep the other three small areas, namely, the seaport of Batum and mountainous Ardahan and Kars.

After the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 and the collapse of Russia as a strong state, Turkey recovered much of Armenia from Russia and then lost a large part of it again, in the following years of desultory fighting. However, when a definite peace finally was made in 1927, Turkey retained Kars and Ardahan. Now Russia has demanded the return of the provinces it held from 1878 to 1920, and which Turkey held during many preceding decades. In any case, the area is inhabited by neither Turks nor Russians.

UNIFICATION OF ARMENIANS

This re-annexation, if it should take place, would have a double significance. First, it would further the unification of the Armenians, bringing most of them into one state, the Soviet of Armenia, which is part of the U. S. S. R. I think most Armenians everywhere would consider that a step forward. In the second place, this change would bring Soviet Russia a little nearer Britain's "Imperial life line" and would somewhat weaken Britain's potential friend, Turkey. In the past, Great Britain has staunchly resisted such changes.

Another disputed place of vastly more importance than Armenia is the Dardanelles, another Turkish possession. One of the dates which most school children remember is 1453, when the Turks took Constantinople from the Christians, changed its churches into mosques and its name to Istanbul. The beautiful waterway on which it is situated is considered one of the most attractive in the world. It joins the Mediterranean Sea with the Black Sea and serves as a means of contact between the British Empire and Russia. Its shores also are used as bridge-heads joining Europe with Asia.

For more than a millennium before the Turks seized it and during all the centuries since, this vital channel has been an object of envy among the empires. British policy today clearly wants a voice in the status of the Dardanelles. Russia, on the other hand, long has striven to bring the Straits at least into its service.

CONCESSION BY BRITAIN

During the Russo-Turkish war of 1878, Russian armed forces would have entered Istanbul if Great Britain had not intervened. Again in 1915 during the World War I, Russia demanded the Straits as the price for continued co-operation and received the right "to annex the European coast of Bosphorus, the Straits, and Istanbul itself" according to a secret treaty signed by both Great Britain and France. Never had Russian diplomacy achieved such a triumph over Britain, nor Britain made such a concession to its rival. It was only the Bolshevik revolution and Russia's temporary disintegration that prevented Russia from annexing Istanbul 27 years ago.

Instead of that the grand city, called by Slavs Tearigrad or the Imperial City, remained in the hands of the Turks. Its status was fixed in 1923 by the Treaty of Lausanne, according to which the Straits were not to be fortified and were to be "free in peace and war." This, however, left both Turkey and Russia at the mercy of powers

with great fleets. Consequently, neither was satisfied and Turkey pressed for a change. It achieved its aim in 1936 through the Montreux Convention according to which Turkey had a right to fortify the Straits and to exercise complete control over them in time of war. Russia, also, acquired the right to send warships into the Mediterranean in time of peace while other non-riparian powers—the United States, France, Great Britain—were given limited rights to send warships into the Black Sea.

Turkish authorities have reported that Russia wants to establish itself physically on the Straits, so as to be able to control them at critical moments. Its bargaining position is very strong. It is asking even less than Britain gave it 20 years ago. The struggle of more than a century may culminate in removing the last barrier between Russian ports and the eternally warm, blue waters of the western world. This year Generalissimo Joseph Stalin may complete one of the chief tasks of the mightiest Russian Czars.

BALKAN ISSUES

Also in question are Balkan territorial changes. They are of three sorts. First, Russia is reliably though not officially reported to have suggested Turkey's acceptance of certain border alterations in the Balkans. Secondly, the official Belgrade press had complained that regular Greek Army forces are "terrorizing Aegean Macedonia plundering the countryside, and driving the Slav families from their homes." Thirdly some Greeks are demanding territory now included in Albania.

Russia's direct suggestion regarding territorial changes seems to be an attempt peacefully to extend Bulgaria's borders to the Aegean Sea. It may be a step toward restoring San Stefano to Bulgaria. One may believe that in this form the attempt will not succeed.

The second sort of pressure is much more serious. And the fact of its application is beyond question. The official press of Marshal Josip Broz (Tito) is championing the cause of Macedonian Slavs against Greek officials. This act acquires added significance in view of the fact that Marshal Tito's government has refused to exempt Greek areas from Yugoslavia's territorial claims.

SLAV UNITY IMPRESSIVE

Another vital factor is Bulgaria's insistent, century-old claims to "Aegean Macedonia," including Salonika. Formerly, indeed, no Bulgarian ever spoke of "Slavs" in Macedonia; he called them Bulgarians and considered them such. The Serbs claimed them as Serbs. Now Bulgarians and Yugoslavs are united in their aspirations and don't quarrel as to whether these 100,000 Slavs in Greece are Serbs or Bulgarians. Waiving that point, they join in a common effort to save "their Slav brothers" from what they call "Greek oppression."

The apparent unity between the ruling Yugoslav group and the dominant Bulgarian group is impressive. The Premier reports that he has placed a brigade of Bulgarian-Macedonians at Marshal Tito's disposal. The Bulgarians have joyfully accepted more than 30,000 destitute Yugoslav children in their homes and are caring for them. Many Bulgarians jubilantly rejoice in the feeling of having been "restored to the great Slav family." Recently, an All-Slav Congress was held in Sofia with delegates attending from Russia, Poland, Bohemia, Slovakia, Serbia, Croatia, and Macedonia,

Sofia, the capital of a defeated, enemy country, was given the honour of serving as the momentary centre of the mighty Slav world. Former enemy Bulgaria became a distinguished host. Bulgaria seems to have become a favourite child of Mother Russia. Though an enemy country, it has emerged from the war in a far better condition than any Balkan Ally.

Here is how a Bulgarian weekly paper describes the Sofia All-Slav Congress :

"A memorable day! More than 200,000 marchers demonstrated their Slav solidarity. Workers, soldiers, students, school children, peasants, city people!

"That was an unprecedented celebration. The nation was there. The Bulgarian nation gave the celebration its thoughts, its longings, its genius, its will.

"The war brought to us Bulgarians the beautiful gift of Slav unity. A new power is emerging, the power of Slavdom. Let us rejoice that at last, after all the wandering, Bulgaria has found its place in the great Slav family."

An exuberant, expansive ardour now moves many Bulgarians. And Belgrade, as spokesman for these and all the 20,000,000 Balkan Slavs, takes under its wings the Slavs in Greece. The international significance of such an explosive force in the Balkans cannot be ignored.

RUSSIAN ACQUISITION

A third factor pressing for Balkan territorial changes is Greek nationalism, which is reviving a decade-old Greek claim to "Northern Epirus," which the Albanians consider an integral part of Albania. This area contains both Albanians and Greeks, with Albanians certainly predominating. It now is governed by Communist-led Albanian Partisans. Partisan Bulgaria and Partisan Yugoslavia support the Partisan Albanian Government in retaining this area. Albania would not relinquish it without a fight or a direct order from Moscow. At this specific region no clash will occur, unless Greek forces cross the present Albanian border, which may be considered improbable.

A small area called Pod-Kar-patska Rusiya or Carpathian Ruthenia, forming the extreme end of former Czechoslovakia, now is, by an agreement between the Czech, Slovak, and Russian Governments, to be transferred to Russia. Although Russia once had a plebiscite in view, that has been given up and the local inhabitants are not to vote on the matter.

Before the war, local agitators who urged unity with Russia were punished as traitors by the Prague Government, but the whole situation has changed, and the present Czech and Slovak regions give up the province without objections and probably without regrets.

Ruthenia is a very beautiful, but poor, neglected border area on the edge of empires. Its inhabitants are mostly Slavs, ethnologically close to the Ukrainians, and they now will form part of the Ukrainian Socialistic Republic. Probably they will be expectant at first because any future will appear better than the past. Russians, Czechs, Hungarians, and Ukrainians all carried on propaganda among them. They were split into many sects by political pressure. Many of them wandered far from home to meagre livings. They usually got the worst sort of officials, and were constantly subjected to administrative corruption. Their 20 years under Czech rule were com-

paratively fortunate, but most of the people there, during my visits to Ruthenia, were dissatisfied. They wanted a change. Now they have it. They still will be on the edge of an empire, and good administration still will be difficult.

RUSSIAN DREAM COMES TRUE

Russia's aim in taking over this area, with its 750,000 poor, backward inhabitants, is to plant its flags and forts on the crest of the Carpathian range from which to overlook the Danubian plain. Russia has pitched its tents in Hungarian Cisp and stationed its soldiers at a knot of vital Danubian roads running north and east and south and west. This is a classical event of epochal significance. After a thousand years, the watch on the Carpathians has been changed. An age-old Russian dream has come true.

"For a millennium," the Magyar King, Arpad, and his children stood guard at the Carpathian passes, determining who might enter and who must stay out. Budapest raised proud and eloquent statues to commemorate that mission. But now Russia holds the heights, guards the "gates to Europe," patrols the Danubian highways and watches the traffic of the nations over the golden Magyar plains or through the glistening Magyar vineyards. What no Czar ever dared to hope, Marshal Stalin has made a fact.

The Russian bugle, echoing along Hungary's swiftly flowing Tisza, will mount the grand Carpathian slopes and sweep across two continents to mingle with the echoes of Russian bugles on the White Sea, the Caspian Sea, and the shores of the vast Pacific. School children for many generations will memorize the date of 1945, when Russia followed the Magyar path into the Danube plains.

The Teschen dispute is largely of local importance. Both Poland and Czechoslovakia, after the World War I, claimed the mining area of Teschen centring about the city of Teschen. Finally, after bitter disputes, armed clashes, and partial plebiscites, the area was divided between the two Slav states. Neither was satisfied, at least Poland was not. As Russia, in 1939, took a vast territory of helpless Poland crushed by the Nazis, so Poland a few months earlier had taken Teschen when Prague lay crushed by the Nazis. Apparently "new Poland" is not yet ready to restore it, but the latest news about Teschen indicates conciliation.

THE ATOMIC BOMB AS PEACEMAKER

BY DEVERE ALLEN

Editor, *Worldover Press*

Statesmen, scientists, public figures all over the world, knowing that terror hurried the end of the war, but shocked by the potentialities of the atomic bomb, hasten to echo the hope voiced by the Associated Press: "It may be that we stand on the threshold of peace, ironically imposed on a mischievous world by fear of the most awful weapon ever devised." But the notion that wars may cease through fear, or revulsion against destructive inventions, is an old, old fallacy.

Said Chancellor McCracken of New York University, far back in 1893, "When military invention perfects the flying machine, to which my former associate, Dr. Lang-

ley of the Smithsonian, is devoting his time, ability and energy, so that it is able to drop explosives of untold power upon any ship, then it seems to me the nations will receive a very strong impulse to the learning of war no more." That was well before the First and Second World Wars.

The airplane, once declared Commander J. M. Kenworthy of the British Labour Party, "by making it certain that.....all would be endangered in another war, may rouse the peoples.....to the depth of the abyss toward which they are heading." That was nine years after World War I and twelve years before World War II.

In *The Romance of the Atom*, Benjamin Harrow asserted: "Science.....will so magnify injustice, by inventing any number of death-dealing instruments, that the situation will become too intolerable to be borne, and man will then destroy the roots of the evil." That was written almost a decade before the present mechanized conflict.

It is possible to find modern scientists who are hardly more advanced socially than the author of *Holbrook's Military Tactics* who wrote, 119 years ago, "If it be true that the sciences are noble in proportion as they are useful, what advantage may not the science of war be said to possess above almost every other!" Rare are those who would agree with Sir Isaac Newton who, when told of an inventor who had produced a device that would make artillery vastly more destructive, was displeased exclaiming that since the invention was contrived for destruction, and would soon be known to all nations, its originator ought not to be praised, but rather punished.

Hope for a peace that will avert wholesale immolation of the human race must rest elsewhere than in fear. When will otherwise intelligent persons perceive that humankind weak in many particulars, is gifted with magnificent physical courage, a bravery worthy of undreamed constructive uses?

Sometimes mankind does escape its folly. Many of the direst military inventions have never been used at all; some employed in one war, have been relegated to the limbo of unused weapons. This was true of toxic gases, which were bitterly protested, then used in World War I, then described as both efficient and humane—yet never resorted to in the present struggle. European scientists had worked out a technique for use of pathogenic germs in warfare, fully twenty years ago; Winston Churchill protested then because "a study of diseases—of pestilences methodically prepared and deliberately launched upon man and beast—is certainly being pursued in the laboratories of more than one great country." Yet such fears proved unfounded.

Neither in blind optimism nor in panic, however, is there a chance for peace. That unimaginable state lies in the conquest of war's causes in the social order; in the development of a dynamic, not a repressive, world community; and in a growing social conscience aware of the fact, which superficial men would like us now to forget, that the pressure waves from every atomic bomb, even if hastening victory, imperceptibly shatter our own foundations.

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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

Developments in Indo-China:—Now that Japan has surrendered and lies prostrate at the feet of General MacArthur, the Allied intentions for postwar Asia are becoming manifest. Indo-China is to be restored to France, Netherland Indies to Holland. As neither France nor Holland is able to maintain themselves in their own country without outside help, and far less able to do so in distant Asia, British and Indian troops are being employed for the purpose of keeping the colonies warm for them. Loud protests have been raised in India and abroad against this illegitimate use of India's man power to stiffen the foreign yoke on the necks of our Asiatic neighbours. We are assured that Indian troops are not to fight the Annamese and the Javanese but only to maintain order until the French and Dutch come and have conferences at two round tables. If Britain is really neutral in these territories, how does it allow French and Dutch troops to pass through British territory to the countries where the people do not want them? The Resistance Movement in Indo-China was started soon after the Japanese overran the country. The League for the Independence of Indo-China was formed in 1941. A National Convention of delegates from all parties passed a resolution, the first item in which was to free the country from the Japanese so there is not the least ground for the suggestion that the movement is Japanese-inspired. The Allies, as a matter of fact, are being helped by Japanese troops to put down the Indonesian nationalist. In a special resolution the Convention expressed its fervent faith in the United States. The loudly proclaimed war aims have all been thrown to the winds. The White Man is to be replaced on the saddle and Indians are to be the instruments! The French and the Dutch evidently expect the British Government to set the example and the British like to have two more companions to support its prestige in Asia. We print the resolution of the Indo-Chinese League.

French Colonial Policy:—We reprinted ten years ago (*Reformer* June 22, 1935) an article in the *New*

Republic by Raymond Postgate, describing the measures taken by the French Government of Indo-China to put down the Viet Nam Quoc Dan Dang (the Nationalist Party of Annam, Cochin-China and Tonking). Postgate wrote:

"The hysterical repression that followed these national demonstrations led to great cruelties. Mass arrests took place, and torture, according to press reports, was widely applied, especially at Thu-Duc, Saigon and Cholon, where electrical torture was used. According to Andre Viollis (*Esprit*, December, 1933) the methods used included: Deprivation of food, bastinado, pins driven under the nails, half-hanging, deprivation of water, pincers on the temples (to force the eyes outward) and a number of others that are not printable. One may be quoted: With a razor blade, to cut the skin of the legs in long furrows, to fill the wound with cotton and then burn the-cotton."

Postgate ended with excerpts from a trial of some French officers for the crimes. They all admitted and one indeed felt rather proud of these deeds. They all said that they had orders to make as few prisoners as possible. One testified that M. Robin the Governor afterwards congratulated them and said: "Tres bien. Continue." French publicists have even blamed the British for being too lenient with politicals in India. The whirligig of time has brought its revenge, and the most recent reports are that the French are negotiating round a table with the leaders of the Annamese nationalists. Torture never killed a Freedom movement. An anonymous correspondent who wanted us to have a taste of Jap rule, perhaps did not know what things were done and can be done under rule of the leaders of European civilization. We repeat our emphatic protest against employing Indian troops to re-establish French tyranny over Indo-China.

France and Colour Prejudice:—In view of the acute situation in Indo-China and the general problem of the political development of Asiatic and African Colonies under European control, interest attaches to the article in the current *New Review* on the French attitude to coloured people. More than once during the last and present wars, Americans who objected to coloured guests in Paris hotels were sharply reminded by the authorities that they were in France, not in the United States. In similar conditions, the British Home Secretary has pleaded he was powerless to interfere. Mr. R. Moran, the writer of the article in the *New Review*, gives instances, some of them very recent, of coloured persons in high positions in the French Army. In the last World War General Galliene had Captain Mortenol, a Negro from Guadeloupe

to organise the centre of the anti-aircraft defence of the fortress of Paris. In the present war, Governor Felix Eboue, a Negro from Guiana, by rallying the Free French in 1940, helped General de Gaulle to speak in the name of France and her Empire. Wherever the French flag flies, says the writer, all coloured people are Frenchmen. Notwithstanding the absence of the colour bar, the Annamese do not want to be under French rule. This is perhaps, due to the fact that although the French have no prejudice against coloured individuals, French colonial policy has been markedly harsh and unsympathetic to national aspirations.

Jews in American Germany:—President Truman has sent a message to General Eisenhower, now in charge of the American sector of Germany, saying that the treatment of Jews under American occupation was not materially different from that under the Nazis and ordering the General to show special consideration to them. The Jews are a difficult people to befriend, wherever they may be, with the solitary exception of India. The Romans were the most tolerant of rulers. They had no race or religious prejudice. They were provoked by Jewish intransigence into stern measures against the Jews to the extent of banishing them from Jerusalem, not from Palestine which they left voluntarily. Now they are moving heaven and earth by dint of money power to get the British and the American Governments to reinstate them in the land which they quitted a thousand years ago, ousting the Arabs who, on the whole have exhibited a considerable measure of tolerance to the Jews who remained behind. President Truman's letter to Mr. Attlee, to let German Jews enter Palestine against the express terms of the British White Paper, is virtually an invitation to dishonour the British pledge to the Arabs, a second time. Mr. Jinnah in a message to the Prime Minister has warned him that the consequences of yielding to American pressure would be serious as the whole Muslim world would resent it. There has never been a Jewish state in which non-Hebrews have been tolerated and although the European Jews of the present day have materially departed from the spirit of their ancient Prophets, they still retain their old spirit of domination on the ground of their being the chosen people. Whatever guarantees the British Government may give, they will be as nothing and Arabs will have no chance of survival in Jewish Palestine.

The Failure of the Foreign Ministers' Conference:—It would be the merest affectation on our part to pretend that we are sorry for the break up of the Council of Foreign Ministers in London. Their agreement would have been disastrous to the national movements in Asia. The reasons given for the break-up are first, differences between the Russian Commissar, Molotov, and the British and American Ministers, Bevin and Byrnes. The suggestion that countries other than the three powers who signed the Armistice with Germany should participate in framing Peace Treaties with Italy and the Balkan States, made by the British delegate, is a good one but the Russian contention that the Potsdam and other conferences did not contemplate such extension, seems to be quite correct. The other important difference was as regards the authority to control Japanese administration. While Byrnes seemed to think that this was a matter for future consideration, Molotov main-

tained that this has to be done at once before policies are decided upon.

Private Enterprise in the Americas:—With the advent to power of Labour in Britain, Americans frankly regard the United States of America as the sole remaining bulwark of private enterprise. This feeling tends to bring Canada closer to the U.S.A. than to Britain. Mr. W. S. Edgar writing in *Worldover Press* describes how Mr. Mackenzie King, Canadian Premier, is seeking to give Labour and the ordinary citizen a better deal through free enterprise. The Dominion Provincial Conference attempted to effect far-reaching changes through agreement among the Canadian parties rather than alterations in the British North America Act which is Canada's constitution. The tussle between the forces favouring a strong centre and the champions of provincial autonomy is fast growing, along with this development.

The Governor on Satara:—Sir John Colville took an early opportunity after resuming his office in Bombay after acting as Viceroy in New Delhi, to visit Satara. He made a speech at a joint meeting of two wartime Boards. Beginning with a reference to "recent outrages," and "the organised terrorism which has afflicted the district in recent months", His Excellency touched on the magnificent war record of Satara. He spoke of the recent outrages as an episode which contrasted strangely with the war effort. The *Reformer* on a previous occasion pointed out that both were episodes in the normal life of the community and that they had a close affinity to each other. Along with the Governor's speech, the Bombay Information Bureau has enclosed a summary of the annual Report on Jails. There was a marked decrease in the number of prisoners. These episodes have a sociological interest. Few administrators are afflicted with a social conscience. They must, in order to be efficient administrators, take every happening as an episode isolated, without relation to every other and least of all to their own measures in pursuance of policies which they, probably, have had no hand in determining.

The Sarda Act:—The Bombay High Court has reduced the sentence of a month's simple imprisonment passed by a subordinate Court on a missionary of the Hindu Mahasabha for celebrating the marriage of a girl under the age of 14 years prescribed as the minimum marriageable age by the Sarda Act. The appellant pleaded that he accepted the statement of the girl and had no means of verifying it, even if he had reason to doubt her word. The judges remarked that the mistake was a bona fide one and the maximum penalty under the Act should not have been imposed in the case. The parties themselves do not seem to have been proceeded against nor their parents or guardians, if there were any, nor any one else except the officiating purohit. More harm than good is done to the cause of reform by such prosecutions. Public sympathy is created for the convicted person. The Sarda Act itself is out of date and public opinion has been sufficiently educated to have it replaced by a simple enactment declaring that marriages under the prescribed age limits are void.

The Atom Bomb:—The President Truman has said that he does not mean to keep the bomb an American monopoly. The Trades Union Congress in Paris has before it a proposal that members of Unions should refuse to manufacture atom bombs. Non-unionists are available in plenty to make that or any other diabolic instrument,

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, October 6, 1945.

A CATHOLIC VIEW OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

The *Examiner* continues to work itself up into a rather ridiculous fervour over the Travancore Darbar's decision to assume responsibility for elementary education which had up till now been left largely to private enterprise with deplorable results. It attacks the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastry, a seasoned educationist, for approving of the Travancore decision. The long and short of it is, it writes, that Indian Catholics—the Editor is not an Indian nor has he any credentials for being the spokesman of Indian Catholics—realize the necessity of making clear what "religious freedom" means to them. It means first and foremost, so far as we can judge, freedom from the yoke of an alien hierarchy. But the *Examiner* has other views. It wants the Government of India Act to be amended. The amendment it wants is the incorporation of a draft by the Archbishop of Mylapore for the Metropolitan Conference, which is as follows:

"Whereas it is necessary in the interests of liberty, and expedient for the peace and contentment of religious minorities, be it enacted that members of such communities shall be guaranteed the following rights.

I. (a) The right to profess, practise and preach their religion in private and in public, including the right to convert other people to their religion (subject only to the freedom of conscience), and comprising protection, to be afforded by the State to the churches, cemeteries and other religious and charitable foundations: the right to build Churches, and other religious establishments, which shall not be subject to the will and pleasure of Governments but shall be subject only to the requirements of peace and order:

(b) the right to expect and to obtain provision for the proper religious education of their children in State Schools and to provide it themselves in their own private schools. State Grants in aid to such schools shall not be withheld by reason only of such provision for religious education in such schools:

(c) the right to representation on all public bodies and public services, civil, military, judicial, local, provincial, central to a minimum extent proportionate to their population:

(d) the right to have their view (to be ascertained from their recognized authorities or representative organizations or by a 2-3 or 3-4 majority of their representatives in legislatures) prevail in all matters of administration in which their religion, or culture or special rights or liberties are liable to be affected:

(e) the right to an apportionment to them of an equitable share of public grants for educational, religious or charitable purposes:

(f) the right to have their personal law to regulate their marriage, family relationships and other matters of personal life which are influenced by the religious or moral ideas that prevail among the minorities.

II. That with a view to these rights and liberties being realised, be it also enacted that:

(a) the Head of the State in Provinces, Indian States or in India be charged with *special responsibilities* of seeing that these rights and liberties are enjoyed and not interfered with;

(b) that these rights and liberties, their exercise or denial shall be within the province and jurisdiction of the courts of law from the District and High Courts to the Federal Court."

Before we examine this draft, we would ask the *Examiner* one or two questions. Have Catholics dared to put forward a proposal of this kind in the constitution of England, the United States, any of the Dominions, Holland, Denmark, Norway or Sweden, the countries in several of which religious persecution has been acute, and religious-discrimination still exists. India, as the Catholic historian, Acton, acknowledged, was centuries ahead of the rest of the world in embracing the principle of religious freedom. Religious persecution was unknown until the Catholics set foot on Indian soil. It is in this land of religious freedom that the *Examiner* presumes to demand this guarantee. The Indian people have suffer unspeakable horrors under the Catholic hierarchy. A specimen was quoted in Mr. Justice Chagla's judgment cited last week. If such things have become rare nowadays it is not because of any movement on the part of the hierarchy.

We too want the idea of "religious freedom" clarified. The right to profess and practice every one his religion in private and public was never in question in this country. Even preaching without practising may be allowed though it is not strictly an act of religion. The Abbe Dubois wrote a hundred years ago that the greatest obstacle in the way of Christian propaganda in India was the lives lived by the European Christian. Today with the sound of the Atom Bomb ringing in our ears, disease, death and worse stalking over the greater part of what was once Christendom as the result of the national hatred fostered by economic and political rivalry, Christianity has to hide its diminished head. Still if anyone wants to preach it and if any one is willing to hear the preaching, by all means let him be free to do so. The right to convert is another matter. If any individual of his free will wants to change his religion, he will of course be free to do so. But the kind of conversions we have had in Western India in the Catholic days, will be regarded and punished as a crime in every country in the world. Churches and all religious institutions will be protected as they have always been. No restriction will be placed on building churches for the purpose of worship. All this is implicit in religious freedom which has always been the rule in this country. It is no rare thing in India to have a Hindu temple, a Muslim mosque, a Christian Church and a Jewish synagogue standing side by side in the same street. The Indian people have long worked out a perfect technique based on the ancient text. "One alone is, Whom people call by different names."

The *Examiner* leaves here the ground of religion and demands political and economic privileges. Great and saintly men whatever their religious creed will always be revered in this country. Institutions created and controlled by them without any guarantee from authority will be sure of support. In fact such institutions will lose more than gain by depending on the State. The days when

laws placing a premium on apostasy were passed under the name of religious freedom, are gone. If a man really believes that his conscience wants him to adopt a new religion, he must be prepared to follow it without securing his worldly goods from his kith and kin who remain in their ancestral fold. Social reformers have faced such exigencies without whining for official guarantees. The fact of the matter is that the Catholic priesthood believes that the Papal religion is the only true religion. They are welcome to do so. How Papal infallibility can be reconciled with religious freedom, is a difficult question. But they may have some formula by which to reconcile it to themselves. But they cannot expect other religions, some of them more ancient and more profound, to accept the Catholic Church as the apogee of spiritual achievement.

INDIAN POLITICAL THEORIES

"Selections from the writings and Speeches of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar," Dewan of Travancore (Travancore Government Press), is a notable contribution to the rapidly growing mass of Indo-English literature. Sir Ramaswami is perhaps the most colourful personality which the public life of India has thrown up in the present century. His range of interest is wide. His reading covers a field as varied as it is extensive. He is distinctly a lover of books. Sanskrit, English and his native Tamil, are not the only languages with whose literature he is familiar. He has more than a nodding acquaintance with the masters of French literature, though he does not seem to have been attracted by the great German thinkers and philosophers who were the first Europeans to appreciate the value of ancient Indian culture. These Selections deal with political, economic, art and cultural topics. Breadth often detracts from depth. But Sir Ramaswami is no mere dilettante skimming over the surface of things. And his knowledge has not been derived solely from books. He has been a successful lawyer. He has taken prominent part in public life. He made his mark in his profession by his severe cross-examination of Dr. Besant in a case involving the internal organization of the Theosophical Society. Shortly after, he became Dr. Besant's leading coadjutor in her Home Rule League. The famous Metur project which has changed the face of the South as an area of industrial potentialities, owes its inception and a large part of its execution to his work as a Member of the Madras Executive Council. He has since had experience of the bitter-sweets of membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council. He resigned the office of Member for Information within a fortnight of his accepting it, because, according to rumour, the bureaucracy merely wanted to make the Indian Member a stalking horse to cover its deep designs adverse to Indian nationalism.

Of the Selections in this volume, we choose for notice the lectures on Indian Political theories which Sir Ramaswami delivered at the University of Madras in the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri Endowment in 1936-37, because it brings out the essential and, in our opinion, beneficent difference between Sir. Ramaswami and many other Indian leaders of our day. Typical of the latter is Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who said the other day in the course of a speech in Bombay that, though he himself

was internationally minded, yet as all the other countries, including Soviet Russia, put first their national interests, he too was obliged to follow them. The parenthesis about Soviet Russia is significant. Though he seems to have fallen out with Indian Communists who regard him as their enemy, Pandit Jawaharlal has not lost his fascination for Soviet Russia. His so-called Blue Print much publicized last week is a pale imitation of the Soviet five year plans with some superficial concessions to Gandhiji's constructive programme. The two programmes are like oil and water: they cannot mix. Collective farming and rural development, for example. Collective farming is possible only by collectivising villages, that is, turning them into towns and cities. The two are as much apart as Stalin and Gandhiji. Trotsky in his monumental work on the Russian Revolution has one or two appreciative remarks about Gandhiji's Indian revolution. Stalin has more than once expressed his contempt for Gandhiji and his methods. Many older men with riper experience of affairs, have fallen into the same facile fallacy. Soviet Russia is today their model as Japan was until Pearl Harbour and the British declaration of war on Japan out of sympathy for the United States.

Sir Ramaswami, however, is not lured by foreign models. "In politics as well as in literature and the arts," he says, "nothing that is not evolved from within and is not in harmony with inherited as well as individual traditions will be characteristic or essentially fit to live." Indian Political Theories are thus a very necessary subject for study by makers of the future Indian political constitution. The experience of other countries is valuable chiefly as a means of avoiding mistakes. The creative impulse should come from within. Indian leaders till speak of democracy as the goal, though democracy, as Abraham Lincoln crystalised it at Gettysburg, "government of the people by the people for the people," is dead beyond recall; nowhere more than in the land of share-croppers where "the grapes of wrath" are piling fast and high and the Atom Bomb casts its sinister shadow. Today there is practically no difference between democracy and totalitarianism. American democracy has delivered in General MacArthur a man who plays the Mikado to perfection. Japan bound hand and foot, a correspondent described the MacArthur regime in Japan. Every theory of Indian politics placed the happiness and security of the people first. But no theory of Indian politics even suggested that the people left to themselves will be able to achieve their own well-being. State control is now the slogan of Democracy. The modern democratic State has accepted the teaching of the Totalitarians. And, indeed, they have accepted two of them, the Generalissimos of Russia and China, as true blue democrats. The Indian State, however, was saved from being totalitarian by the Sovereign being endowed only with Executive powers. He had no power to legislate. In fact, the affairs of society were managed independently of the Sovereign. The people were masters in affairs which they best understood. And the sovereign himself was not above society. He was subject to the same customs and discipline as his subjects. Sir Ramaswami says that the right of his people to depose the Sovereign was rarely exercised. But it was not allowed to become obsolete. The Rajatarangini records such a deposition and the scenes which attended the departure from the State of the ruler

and his family. Sir Ramaswami, we are glad, is becoming associated with the Chamber of Princes from which Travancore so far has held rather aloof. His idea of the future evolution of the States was clearly declared in an address he delivered in Bombay last year :

Treaty rights or no treaty rights, no Indian State has a right to exist which does not come into any scheme by which there is created a Central direction or Central control of matters that appertain to the Indian States and British India alike or which does not loyally conform to all political arrangements that may be arrived at for the governance of India and all ideologies that may be evolved as the result of free and equal discussion and resultant compromises.

BOSE-NEHRU CONTROVERSY

Speaking before the Progressive Group in Bombay on September 26, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, who was released from detention not many days previously, after the reported death in an air crash of his brother, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, outlined his plan for future India. In his view, a strong Asiatic Federation composed of the present independent States as well as the nations at present subject to European Powers, was essential as a guarantee for the free evolution of Asia. His ideal for India was "a Socialist Republic—an immense melting pot in which the characteristics of the different races and cultures will melt and mould in a pattern which will know no frontiers." Mr. Bose went on to say that the responsibility for bringing about the Asiatic Federation belonged especially to China and India. If the two countries worked together, the Asian Federation will be easily achieved. This led Mr. Bose to refer to the present Government of China and the Generalissimo Chiang Kai Shek. Mr. Bose made it clear that in his judgment the Generalissimo's regime is not likely to be of help in realising the unity of Asia. Reviewing the record of the Generalissimo he said that his regime was built upon repression and denial of freedom to the Chinese. He referred to the Generalissimo's campaigns against the Chinese Communists among whom he said there was more freedom. He described the Generalissimo as "the arch-Fascist of China" and said that he felt humiliated when in his detention he heard of several Congress leaders showing great keenness to meet Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek on his arrival in India. The Director of the Chinese Ministry of Information in Calcutta, Mr. C. H. Lowe, strongly protested against this description of the Generalissimo. He also corrected Mr. Bose's reference in his speech to Madame Sun Yat-Sen as dead. As a matter of fact, Mr. Lowe said she was living in perfect health at Chungking. Mr. Lowe denounced as a "fantastic lie"—it is not clear whether he meant the statement that Madame Sun Yat Sen was dead or the Generalissimo's being called a Fascist. In either case the phrase itself was fantastic.

The matter would have rested there but for Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's rebuke of Mr. Bose for his criticism of the Generalissimo. The Pandit expressed in a statement to the Press his deep regret at Mr. Bose's remarks about the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek. "Any person who has some knowledge of events," he said, "knows that during the past three and a half years the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang have gone out of their way to help India's cause even at the cost of some

temporary injury to their own national interests, or rather, it would be more correct to say, because they considered India's freedom to be in the interests of Chinese and Asiatic freedom. When India knows all the facts she will, I am sure, be grateful to China, and especially to the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang. To call the Generalissimo a Fascist is a manifest absurdity in view of all that has happened during the past eight years or more."

Mr. Bose is not the man to let the Pandit have the last word. He replied to the Pandit quoting Madame Sun Yat Sen's own estimate of her brother-in-law's politics. It is well known that Madame Sun Yat Sen strongly disapproved of the Generalissimo's methods and she might have said—though we have not seen the context—that "Reaction and Fascism are strong in China." Lenin said of Bolsheviki Russia shortly before he died, that it was tsarism with a little Soviet oil. Marshal Chiang Kai Shek is to Sun Yat Sen the exact counterpart of Stalin to Lenin. The Pandit says that because in recent years the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai Shek—as Mr. Bose did not mention the latter, one is at a loss to know why the Pandit has brought her into this controversy—had gone out of their way to say a few good words about Indian freedom, it is absurd to call the Generalissimo a Fascist. When Gandhiji visited Mussolini in 1932 the Duce wished his movement success. It does not follow that Mussolini was not a Fascist. Nor need it mean that Mussolini took Gandhiji to be a fellow Fascist. Chiang Kai Shek's actions during a part of his career were certainly not those of a democrat. He now speaks of democracy as his ultimate aim for China, as does Stalin, of Russia; and the Western Powers have accepted both of them as fellow worshippers at the democratic shrine. We do not think that the Generalissimo himself would have much minded being called a Fascist. The terms "Nazi" and "Fascist" nowadays are used of persons who do not agree with one's own special brand of "Democracy" which also is used indiscriminately of Mr. Churchill's Britain, President Franklin Roosevelt's United States, Stalin's Russia and Chiang Kai Shek's China. Not a few in our time are inclined to pray with the Poet,

O God, for a man with heart, head, hand
Like some of the simple great ones gone
For ever and ever by,
One still, strong man in a blatant land,
Whatever they call him, what care I,
Aristocrat, autocrat, democrat—one
Who can rule and dare not lie.

If Tennyson was alive today, he would be dubbed a Fascist. However that may be, the *Reformer* has felt and more than once hinted that not much can be expected of China in her present plight to advance the cause of Indian freedom. Mr. A. D. Shroff, one of India's delegates to the Bretton Woods Conference, described the Chinese delegation as "stooges" of the Americans. The Generalissimo has made a Pact with Stalin over the heads of Chinese Communists. He is heavily under obligation to the United States. Between her two powerful friends each pulling her on different way, China can hardly call her soul her own.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's rejoinder to Mr. Bose's challenge to appear with him on a public platform in any

part of India including Allahabad, is a feeble invitation to Mr. Bose to meet the Congress President to learn what he and the Congress think of China under the Generalissimo.

THE POLITICS OF THE BRITISH PRESS (BY MAURICE CRANSTON)

The British press was divided roughly 50-50 between pro-Churchill and pro-Opposition during the general elections here. Before the war, Tory influences controlled the bulk of Britain's national newspapers. What had altered this line-up?

Broadly speaking, there are two reasons: first, the general shift to the Left in public opinion; second, changes of management and editorial control of newspapers. Journalists themselves are mostly leftist, as witness the application of the National Union of Journalists to the Trades Union Congress early in the war, and the present merger arrangements between this left-wing N. U. J. and the hitherto rightwing Institute of Journalists. Should this merger materialize, the entire profession of journalism will be associated, though indirectly, with the Labour Party. Such a state of affairs would have been unthinkable in 1939.

The most important managerial developments concern the *Daily Mirror* and the *Daily Mail*. Both were once the organs of the most hysterical anti-Red propaganda to be found in this or any other country. The *Mirror* was once anti-Soviet even in its celebrated comic strips, and the *Mail* was once pro-Fascist to the point of supporting Sir Oswald Mosley. Now the *Mirror* is one of the most powerful voices for Socialism (Mr. Bevin is its hero), and the *Mail* is mildly "progressive" Tory.

The importance of even one or two newspapers in Britain cannot be over-emphasized. For unlike other countries, we have only a few newspapers, and they have a nationwide circulation, ranging from above 3,000,000 (the *Daily Express*) to less than 200,000 (the *Daily Worker*). The provincial press, apart from the *Manchester Guardian* and one or two Scottish papers, does not count for much. Britain reads the London papers.

The Conservative Party now has only one "yes" paper, the *Daily Telegraph*, which is a cross between the "old-fashioned" *Times* and the modern penny press in make-up and price (costing 1½ pence), and sells about three-quarters of a million copies a day. Its lady-like sister paper, the *Daily Sketch*, is not very politically minded, but turns up true-blue when occasion demands. Both belong to Lord Kemsley. But the most important propaganda sheet of the Right is Lord Beaverbrook's *Daily Express*, set up along American lines, and selling a world's record of well over three million copies a day. Bitter enemy of Socialism and professed friend of the small business man, the *Express* is a doubtful ally of the Tory Party. It plugs Beaverbrook's own line all the time (Empire Free Trade particularly), whether the official Tories like it or not.

The Labour Party has a loyal "yes" paper in the *Daily Herald*, in which 51 per cent of the shares belong to the T. U. C., and 49 per cent to the Fleet Street Labour peer, Lord Southwood. The *Herald* sells more than two million copies daily. Comparable with the *Daily Mail's* change from extreme to moderate Tory is

the shift of the *Times* from the uncritical to the critical Independent. A Tory M. P. has called it the "three penny *Daily Worker*!" Our one surviving Liberal paper in London, the *News Chronicle*, is now so sympathetic to Labour as to be almost as Socialist as an out-and-out Labour journal. It is to my mind the most sober and reliable of London papers. It sells about a million and a half. Sunday papers are still mostly right-wing, except for Lady Astor's *Observer*, which has mysteriously gone radical. But it is in the daily press that politics matter. It is there that the war-time swing to the Left has made its mark.—*Worldover Press*.

DECLARATION OF THE LEAGUE FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF INDO-CHINA

A. Political Sphere. (1) Election of a representative Assembly from all classes of the population whose task it would be to make a Constitution for the Indo-Chinese State with a form of government based on democratic principles. (2) Promulgation of democratic rights and privileges for the individual: right to own property, freedom to organize, freedom of the press, right to assemble, freedom of thought and belief, right to strike, right to travel, etc. (3) Organization of a National Army. (4) Confiscation of property belonging to the Japanese, French and Indo-Chinese fascists. (5) General amnesty for all prisoners. (6) Equal rights for women. (7) Respect for the rights of the national minorities.

B. Economic Sphere. (1) Abolition of the poll tax and all other taxes promulgated under foreign domination. New taxes to be promulgated under the most democratic principles. (2) Nationalization of the banks belonging to the Japanese and French fascists. Organization of a National Indo-China Bank. (3) Building a national economy by the development of industry, commerce and agriculture. (4) Development of irrigation projects. Clearing of uncultivated land. Granting of necessary aid to agriculture. (5) Construction of new roads.

C. Educational Sphere. (1) Development of national education and the intellectual life of the people. (2) All possible help for intellectual and scientific study and research. The formation of specialized societies, institutes and laboratories. (3) Opening primary, grammar and high schools, universities and technical schools.

D. Social Sphere. (1) Promulgation of social laws the 8-hour day, social insurance. The fixing of a minimum wage. (2) Aid to large families. (3) Construction of general hospitals, lying-in hospitals and orphanages. (4) Construction of municipal theatres, movie houses and clubs. (5) Fight against the social evil.

E. International Relations. (1) The abolition of all former treaties made between Indo-China and other countries. (2) Formation of an alliance with all democratic countries with a view to maintaining international peace. (3) Fraternal alliance with all oppressed peoples. (4) Opposition to every act of aggression by a third power.

PROGRAMME OF ACTION

Our present programme is entirely oriented towards the armed offensive with the object of freeing Indo-China from the Japanese invader. We base our certainty of our final victory on the following points: (1) Japan finds herself

progressively in a more critical situation. She will find it more and more difficult to resist the Allies' attacks and will ultimately be defeated. (2) The revolutionary movement in the interior of Japan and in the occupied areas has increased. As Japan suffers greater defeats, this resistance movement will grow and will play an important role in the destruction of Japanese fascism. (3) Our fight for independence has attained scope—all are with us. Hundreds of thousands of men are organized and are ready to fight under the direction of our League. Our people are ready—waiting for the supreme combat.....

RESOLUTIONS OF THE INDO-CHINESE PEOPLE

Against international fascism, but for the freedom of all peoples and democracy, the people of Indo-China place themselves on the side of all anti-fascist forces in this supreme combat for survival. They believe in the sacredness of those principles for which the world has already shed and is shedding so much blood, and which are defended by the great democratic world powers—the United States, Britain, Russia and China. In the name of these principles, during more than half a century, the Annamite people have fought practically unknown and unaided. But history marches on and now they have with them the whole civilized world.....

All the Indo-Chinese people adjure to collaborate closely with the democratic powers of the Allied Front in the common fight against the Japanese in Indo-China. They beg the great powers and, above all, the United States for assistance in their movement for national liberation. (a) They ask that the United States recognize their organization, the League for the Independence of Indo-China, as the legal and authorized organization representing the people of Indo-China in their request for assistance from the Allies in the formation of a common anti-fascist front. (b) They implore the United States to come to their aid in the fight against Japanese fascism by granting them the means, viz.: munitions, advisers and instructors. (c) In accordance with the terms of the Atlantic Charter, the Indo-Chinese people ask that the great powers permit them to benefit from the clauses concerning the interests of subject peoples suffering under the invasion of the Axis; that the great powers permit the participation of the Indo-Chinese in the fight against Japan and proclaim that after Japanese fascism has been overthrown, the Indo-Chinese people will receive full autonomy.

On their side, in the name of the people of Indo-China, the said League . . . will be ready, offering all at their disposal, to bring their very meagre help to the Allied arms at the moment when the struggle against the Japanese starts in Indo-China. (a) They (members of the League) will furnish all useful information on the Japanese army and French and Indo-Chinese Quislings in Indo-China. (b) They will always be ready to ally themselves with the Allied armies and, in concert with them, to commit acts of sabotage, commando raids, etc. (c) It is also the duty of the League to tell the Indo-Chinese people to welcome the Allied armies and to give all help when needed; to bring immediate relief to the wounded and bring them food; to protect Allied aviators who have bailed out over Indo-Chinese territory, and to lead them to their Headquarters. Thus the Indo-Chinese people swear to do everything possible in their fight against the

Japanese and for their own liberation. Consequently, they hope for a close collaboration with the Allies.

AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS INTERESTED IN PALESTINE

(By O. K. D. RINGWOOD AND G. S. McCLELLAN)

No single organization can speak for America's five million Jews or those non-Jewish groups interested in Palestine. Rather, there are many organizations which take a particular interest in this subject. Some have figured prominently in American political life, acting on occasion as pressure groups, or again as information agencies with the purpose of formulating public opinion on the Palestinian problem. Many Jewish groups, fraternal, religious or otherwise, are not concerned with the problem of political Zionism. Others maintain a neutral attitude. The American Jewish Committee which includes outstanding leaders in Jewish philanthropic and communal work, was organized primarily to secure Jewish equality. But it has consistently supported a pro-Palestine programme favouring the Balfour Declaration and the mandate. It has repeatedly endorsed the principle that Palestine should remain open to Jewish immigration to the extent of its absorptive capacity, and that the practical and cultural development of Palestine should be continued. The Committee takes no position, however, on the political question of the future Jewish state. Most of its members are generally known to be opposed to the conception. The political side has been organized only recently, and the American Council for Judaism, founded by Lessing J. Rosenwald, is representative of this group.

Zionist sympathizers claim that the overwhelming majority of American Jewry is interested in the Zionist programme for Palestine. However, all these Jews are not interested in the political aspects of Zionism. Some are concerned chiefly with the practical and cultural development of Palestine. In 1939 the American Zionist Emergency Council was organized to co-ordinate for the duration of the war, the political work of the four major Zionist organizations in the United States: (1) the Zionist Organization of America; (2) Hadassah (Women's Zionist Organization of America, with the largest membership of any Zionist body); (3) Mizrahi (religious Zionists); and 4) Poale Zion-Zeire Zion (Labour Zionists).

The American Jewish Conference, established in 1943, includes the major Jewish organizations in the United States, religious, fraternal and political. It was originally projected by Mr. Henry Monsky, president of B'nai B'rith, the largest Jewish fraternal group in this country, and was called for the purpose of considering action relating to the status of Jews in the post-war world and also the general situation of Palestine. At its first meeting, attended by representatives of nearly every Jewish organization, the Conference overwhelmingly endorsed the Zionist view of a Jewish commonwealth. Serious differences among the groups originally included soon developed, however, and the American Jewish Committee withdrew from the Conference. Other organizations, including the B'nai B'rith, have since clarified their positions by indicating that the conferees did not in all cases represent the entire membership of their respective groups.

The other chief Jewish organizations interested in political Zionism are the American Jewish Congress, and the New Zionist Organization and its affiliates. The former, under the leadership of Rabbi Stephen Wise, is dominated by Zionists, but is organized to deal with general Jewish problems. The New Zionist Organization and the newly formed American League for a Free Palestine are controlled by extremists, under the leadership of Peter H. Bergson. The tactics of these extremists are rejected by most Zionists and non-Zionists alike. The principal non-Jewish bodies espousing the Zionist cause are the American Palestine Committee, headed by Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, and the Christian Council on Palestine.

Funds for Palestine are raised in the United States through the United Palestine Appeal which is integrated with the United Jewish Appeal. The latter collects money for the relief and rescue of European Jews—the work carried on by the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee as well as by other groups. The United Palestine Appeal includes primarily the following organizations: (1) the Palestine Foundation Fund (*Keren Hayesod*), the main Palestine Fund, devoted to colonization, economic development, health and education, and the financial instrument of the Jewish Agency in Palestine; (2) the Jewish National Fund (*Keren Kayemeth*), through which land is bought for settlement in Palestine. Affiliated with the United Palestine Appeal is the Mizrahi Palestine Fund. In addition, labour groups collect funds through the National Labour Committee for Palestine; Hadassah raises money for health work in Palestine; and the American Friends of the Hebrew University solicits funds for support of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. The Palestine Economic Corporation, a separate organization, sponsors investment in Palestine housing, irrigation developments, and other business undertakings.

EMMA GOLDMAN

(BY CURTIS W. REESE)

We have all too little regard for even our most prized possessions until the danger of their loss is imminent. So it is with liberty. Having sauntered with reckless abandon too near the abyss of arbitrary and irresponsible government, and having narrowly escaped a plunge into a black age of savagery, we now have greater appreciation than formerly of those who have looked with a clear eye into the face of liberty and who have been alert to the call of liberty. Among such persons, no name stands out more grandly than that of Emma Goldman. And despite the calumnies of Church and State, of bigot and tyrant, the lustre of her name grows brighter with the passing of the years.

In her life Emma Goldman believed in liberty, and she is the supreme symbol of liberty today. She believed in the free interplay of free minds as a means to the intelligent voluntary association of free citizens in a free world. Coercion was abhorrent to her very nature.

To the extent that belief in liberty and opposition to compulsion do not square with the actualities of human experience, it should be remembered that liberty is in an area where over-belief is infinitely preferable to under-

belief. While we live according to necessity, we can believe according to the ideal and we can widen the areas of necessity according to the pattern of the ideal. The very thought of liberty generates a divine impatience with restrictions, inhibitions, and the forbidden.

Emma Goldman loved liberty and was instant in her reactions against all attempts to encroach upon its sacred soil. When we think of liberty unrestricted, yet guided by free choice; when we think of liberty as a means to a full life and a goal of human organization, we shall forever think of Emma Goldman as its flaming symbol.

In her life Emma Goldman practised intellectual integrity, and she is the unsurpassed example of intellectual integrity today. She did not inquire what the authorities of Church and State, or the still more rigid authority of custom, wanted her to think and speak. Never did she seek to conform to the conventional and the expedient; and never did she give weight to what others might think of her thought. Her experiences and her observations were put through the fires of her own mind and heart, and were forged into beliefs that were her very own.

And having arrived at conclusions which to her seemed sound and good, she unhesitatingly announced them to the world in words that were understandable and that were understood. Camouflage was alien to her nature. She had no traffic with intellectual deceit, or with the evasions of convenience. Having taken counsel with her innermost self, she let the counsels of her heart stand. Her intellectual integrity is an example that all the world should note and heed.

In her life Emma Goldman was courageously devoted to her convictions, and she is an inspiration to such living today. Her beliefs were convictions, and her convictions demanded devotion. She acted upon her convictions, and she did not count the cost. She was no "pink-tea" revolutionist. She translated convictions into action, and was willing to take the consequences.

There was nothing half-hearted about Emma Goldman. She knew full well to what she was fully committed, and she ordered her life accordingly. Neighbours might scorn her, friends might turn from her, the whole world might doubt her, but she did not doubt herself. She could no more turn from her convictions than she could turn against her own soul. In a world where honour is all too often hidden in necessity, it is an inspiration to remember one who knew no compromise with what she believed to be real and true and good.

PROPORTIONATE ALLEGIANCE

Sir, The doctrine of Proportionate Allegiance enunciated in your last issue has a wider application than you have given to it. The present attitude of our rulers, Labour and Tory, is: "The differences among you preclude our treating you as equal citizens. Present us with a clean sheet, let there be no differences, and then we shall grant you full citizenship rights." According to the Proportionate Allegiance doctrine, the reply to it is, "All right, Honourable Sirs. Our allegiance to your Empire will be in strict proportion to the rights of citizenship we enjoy. If our rights are six annas, our allegiance will be also six annas." JUSTICE

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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

Hooliganism in Bombay:—Citizens of Bombay woke up on Thursday morning, October 7, to read in the papers that there had been from the early hours of the night mob conflicts in which several persons had been killed and injured. It was further stated that there were Muslims and Hindus on opposite sides. Except as to the bare number of deaths which mounted from 7 to about 20 and more, no details of the trouble were available to the public. There was good reason for the reticence. On former occasions when more particulars were published, the situation grew worse with every announcement. A Conciliation Committee was formed with the Mayor, Dr. Alban D. Souza, as Chairman. When the Municipal Corporation met on Monday, the Mayor stated that the improvement in the situation had not been maintained and the Corporation adjourned without transacting any business. The Conciliation Committee met and the first thing it did was to change its name into Citizens Committee. No one knew why the troubles started and by whom. Conciliation was a misnomer as there were nobody to conciliate. Mr. S. K. Patil, leader of the Congress party in the Corporation, declared that it was wrong to call the troubles communal riots. The majority of the deaths had been the results of cowardly attacks. Sir Walter Lawrence in his "India We served" quotes the opinion that outbursts of this nature were really intended as a demonstration against Government. Much water has flowed under the bridge since the days when Crosthwaite ruled at Nagpur. Nevertheless, the outbreak this time in Bombay without any plausible excuse can only be taken as intended to test the authority of Government. Assaults on tram cars and bus drivers can have no other meaning. Since the above was in type, more stabbings are reported on Thursday night. The curfew and other security orders were withdrawn during the week and the

stabbings started again. Sir Walter Lawrence, with his great experience of Indian States, observes in his book that conflicts of a communal nature never occurred in Indian States. This will have to be somewhat modified now. Still they are rare in the States. Why not try an Indian Commissioner of Bombay City Police since the English Commissioners have so far failed to cope with the evil?

Greater Bombay:—October 1 saw a big step taken towards the long considered problem of Greater Bombay. Police and Magisterial jurisdiction was extended to Bandra, Santa Cruz, Vile Parle, Andheri, Kurla and Ghatkoper, that is about 15 miles further north. This is a half measure. The existing separate municipalities in these areas should be early amalgamated with an enlarged Bombay City Corporation for the full benefit of Greater Bombay to be realized. The reasons which have led to the attachment of small States to their larger neighbours also favour this amalgamation. Both economy and efficiency will gain by the step.

Economic Condition of Europe:—The Report of the Foreign Policy Association (New York) for June 15, deals with Economic Trends in Liberated Europe. Dr. Bruno Foa, who is now engaged in European rehabilitation work, states that the facts of the present situation are hunger, unemployment, economic dislocation of unprecedented scope and destruction and damage on an appalling scale. The effects of the second world war bear no comparison with those of the first. People after the last war were striving to restore "normalcy." Today there is no norm to which Europe can return. The exploitation during Nazi occupation and the operations incidental to liberation by the Allies have both contributed to this appalling result. The Nazis would seem to have been less destructive of material than of moral resources of the occupied lands, Dr. Foa observes. The resources of the dairy and timber economy of Norway do not appear to have suffered much, and Denmark is in good shape and even has surplus stocks of bacon and dairy products. Belgium suffered far less physical damage than was anticipated and its industrial potential has survived intact. Most of the basic industrial assets of France, including the coal and iron mines of the north and north east, have been recovered in good condition. The same applies to a majority of the plants in the Paris industrial belt, the textile industries of Lille and Roubaix. In Italy, the vital industries of the north and the great network of electric stations have

been regained almost intact but industrial destruction in central and western Italy has been heavy. It can be confidently predicted that in some areas at least reconstruction will be carried on with vigour and speed. Because of lack of information from Eastern and Southern Europe, Dr. Foa has not been able to deal with the situation in those parts. But it is likely that there also the Nazis preserved the industries which were useful and necessary for them. Something similar would appear to have been the case in the Japanese occupied countries in south-east Asia. The harbour at Singapore is expected soon to be, if it is not already, in working order. The oilfields of Burma are being rapidly repaired and the rubber industry in Malaya has begun operations. The ravages of war is quickest repaired in agricultural countries. It is not unlikely that, in all occupied countries in Europe and Asia, the rehabilitation period would be much shorter than it appears at present when conjecture has to make good the lack of reliable information. Even destruction takes time and labour, of which occupation powers have never a plethora.

Ceylon Constitution:—The recommendations of the Soulbury Commission for the future constitution of Ceylon were published on Wednesday. They include a bicameral legislature, Cabinet Government responsible to the Legislature, and a large measure of autonomy. The first criticism that occurs is that a constitution for Ceylon in advance of and without reference to a constitution for India, is putting the cart before the horse. Geographically, historically, economically and, more than all, strategically, Ceylon is preordained to be an integral part of India. The Report says that everybody admits that Ceylon must depend on Britain for her defence. This is on paper. In actual fact, Ceylon has depended and must depend on India for her protection against foreign invasion of which there is no immediate prospect. Burma was separated from under the Act of 1935 and was negotiating to exclude Indians from citizen rights, when Japan invaded it. Immediately without a moment's thought about the separation, Indian troops were rushed to her defence and the Government of Burma, lock, stock and barrel, shifted to Simla and there it remains until Tuesday when it is announced to re-establish itself in Rangoon. The same thing happened to Ceylon, in a more acute way. Ceylon had to depend for her food as well as her defence on India. Britain today is far less able to send troops from the homeland than she was before the war. Her commitments in Europe, her shortage of shipping, her greatly weakened economic position, make this plain. When the Report speaks of Ceylon being dependent on Britain for her defence, it is thinking of India which it assumes will be at the call of Britain for all time. The attempt to isolate Ceylon from India is bound to prove not only a failure but a cause of permanent estrangement with both India and Ceylon. On the merits of the plan itself, we agree with the Commission that it should frame its recommendations on the only pattern of which it has had experience. This is exactly what we have all along been asking. Instead of inventing a new constitution suited to the supposed temper of Eastern peoples, the constitution-maker has to build on experience. This is the honest course. We are utterly at a loss to appreciate Mr. Ponambala's criticism of the scheme. He evidently wants

to play the role in Ceylon of Mr. Jinnah in India. The Ceylon Tamils are in some respects more advanced than their kinsmen in this country. Surely, they can and should get on with the Sinhalese who again, have, largely the same cultural and national background as Indians. The obvious way in which a minority community anywhere can commend itself to the majority is to show in practice that the minority is not less keen on making their common homeland, prosperous and happy.

Gilbertian Position in Indo-China:—The Japanese from whom the Annamese have been liberated, are now fighting the Nationalists in order to prevent their exercising the independence which they had been granted by the Japanese when they occupied the country. Indian troops are kept in readiness to check any betrayal on the part of the Japanese. The French are slowly getting their armed forces to take over the Government from the British who are solely there, we are told, to disarm the Japanese whose troops are requested to checkmate the Annamese nationalists. Whatever the proximate causes of France's collapse in 1940, the real cause is that there has been a canker eating in the heart of French Society. Empires are held by prestige more than by force, and when prestige is once lost it is lost for ever. France can never again look her colonies in the face with the confidence of the pre-collapse days. The Indo-Chinese colony may be temporarily held with the connivance or active help of the British so long as they control India but not a moment longer. The case of Netherlands Indies is even worse. The Dutch had little prestige as a great Power before the War and has none now. It is purely by British sufferance that they have been able to maintain themselves in Java. Japan which raised the slogan 'Asia for Asiatics' is gone, but the slogan is become a war-cry which can end only in one way.

Shintoism Abolished in Japan:—General MacArthur has issued a decree abolishing Shintoism in Japan. That is to say, he has ordered that Shintoism should not get any financial help from the State as constituted by his orders. Shintoism is not a historical or personal religion like Islam or like Christianity. It was not founded by any one. It is the Japanese way of thinking, moulded by the sun and sky and the air of Japan. The only way to abolish Shintoism is to evacuate the whole Japanese population from the homeland and make them like the Jews, a nation without a country. Even the Jewish precedent precludes the hope of abolishing Shintoism. In the last analysis, Shintoism is on the same psychological plane as the flag worship of the Western nations. Ancestor worship which is associated with Shintoism is inherent in human nature. Some one has discovered that General MacArthur had a royal ancestor, a Campbell of Scotland. It would be no great gain to humanity if ancestor worship is replaced by Dollar worship or the worship of the Atom Bomb with Anglo-Americans as its high priests and guardians of its mysteries. The President of the United States exhibiting the surrender document bearing the Japanese Emperor's sign manual to a gaping crowd at the White House, has been photographed and the picture is published in the newspapers. Whatever the virtues of democracy in the United States, it is a bit vulgar and delights in things which would sadden the reflective mind as proof of the mutability of human destiny.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, October 13, 1945.

TRAVANCORE AND CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

The Rev. H. Roper writes; "I enclose a copy of the Travancore Decree, so that you can see how untrue is your statement that 'if Catholic schools admit only Catholic pupils, they will be entitled to grants.' All Catholic schools are to lose their grants. I hope you will correct this misleading statement." The paragraph marked by Mr. Roper in the reprint of the Travancore Government Order, which he has kindly enclosed, runs as follows:

"Government, however, in consonance with their declared policy of religious neutrality, do not propose to give any grant to primary schools run specially or primarily for the purpose of imparting specific types of religious education. In this connexion Government cannot but bear in mind that, in the vast majority of cases, primary schools run by denominational or religious bodies are also attended by students belonging to communities or religions other than those of the management. In the nature of things, Government cannot be expected to subsidize, directly or indirectly, the imparting of religious education to one portion of the pupils in any school. Government have, therefore, decided that while they have no objection to private agencies conducting primary schools for their own religious or sectarian purposes, such schools, not being within the general scheme of primary education, will not be entitled to the benefit of the grants available for the purpose of promoting primary education in the State—By order (Sd.) B. Paramu, Secretary to Government."

We do not see that our statement that Catholic schools for Catholic children will be entitled to grants is "untrue." The Travancore Government's order distinctly states that the attendance of children belonging to other communities or religions than the management, renders grants to such schools virtually a subsidy, directly or indirectly, to imparting religious education to the other portion of pupils in a school. It follows that if students of other communities or religions are not to be admitted and if the school adopts the type of primary education which the Government formulates as the best suitable foundation for its educational system, by its imparting religious instruction as a subsidiary part of its functions, it will not be disentitled to grants. The Travancore Government Order makes it absolutely clear that it is quite open to any body or organisation, interested in promoting particular religious, social or educational creeds or in pursuing social educational programmes, to run their own schools with such objective. There is thus perfect freedom for all kinds and types of religions to impart education of any kind. The state restricting its grants to its own type of schools is not a denial of, much less "outrage on, Religious Freedom" as the *Examiner* headed its criticism of the Travancore Order.

Grants-in-aid of schools was at best a make-shift arrangement when the Government of British India wanted to spend as little as possible on education leaving the field free to private, in many cases Christian Missionary, agencies. At first the grants were in aid of schools. Gradually the grants and the fees of non-Christian pupils, according to the Lindsay Report, constituted about two-thirds of the cost to the management. The Report was for Protestant institutions only.

In some places grants were assessed not on the actual salaries paid but according to a scale fixed arbitrarily as appropriate to their work. Catholic countries in Europe in several cases not only gave no aid to denominational education but actually forbade priests and nuns from engaging in educational work.

If there is any want of clearness in the implications of the Travancore Government's Order, the proper course is to approach the Government who, we are sure, will be glad to place the matter beyond cavil. The agitation by Bishops and Archbishops in language which bears no relation to the actual facts, is a dangerous game at which many can play. Christianity came to India in the early years of the Christian era. The Syrian Christians, according to the testimony of Cosmos and of the Portuguese themselves were, a flourishing community under the Hindu regimes. The advent of the Catholics armed with the political power of Portugal, broke up the solidarity of the Syrians. The methods used are described in the extract from an article published in the February number of the *Indian Review* from the pen of Oommen Philip which is reprinted elsewhere. The remnants of the Syrians today are found in the States of Travancore and Cochin, a testimony to the protection afforded by Hindu rulers to religious minorities. The writer says that the bitterness caused by the Catholic propagandists has not yet disappeared. We are not anxious to rake up old horrors but we would advise Catholics to use temperate language if not in fairness to others at least in view of the dark spots in the history of their own religion. Religion is a high explosive... Religion in India is a living force and it will be wise on the part of all who wish to maintain the ancient ideal of reverence for all religions in this country, to refrain from provocative language.

SCHOOLMASTER TO STATESMAN

(BY K. NATARAJAN)

Recently I had the pleasure of noticing the lectures on Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta by the Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, which Mrs. Anasuyabai Rao had collected in a book with the title "Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta and His Times." It is an invaluable source-book for future writers on the history of Indian politics in the last three quarters of a century. Of more personal and intimate interest are Mr. Sastri's short and sketchy speeches and writings, edited by Mr. T. N. Jagadisan, who edited the volume of Letters of Mr. Sastri, and issued in a book entitled "The Other Harmony." (S. Viswanathan, Post Office Street, Madras; Rs. 2/4/-). Despite the obscurity of the title, this book is very fascinating reading. The first three sketches are purely personal. The first is headed "A Confession of Faith". The home life of Sastri's childhood was cast in a mould which has now clearly disappeared. His father was, in Mr. Sastri's words, of the priestly class. The priest in the English language means a clergyman who not only officiates in a Church but also looks after the spiritual well-being of his parishioners. There is no such priest known to Hinduism. The pujari in a temple is in a class distinct by itself. In South India he is regarded rather as an inferior class of Brahmin. The purohit who officiated in marriage and funeral ceremonies and in

the numerous intermediate ones, at the third and seventh months of conception, at the naming ceremony, at the first giving of rice to the child, at his investiture with the sacred thread, at the annual shraddhas to the spirits of departed ancestors, the domestic worship on the days dedicated to the gods of the Hindu Pantheon, is a much higher type. He is or used to be, in fact, the family adviser in all important religious and social matters. The place was often hereditary: the same families having their priests or purohiths from the same purohit families. This class answers most nearly to the Christian priest, except that it does not officiate at temples. The reason for the division of functions is that while the domestic sacraments are Vedic, temple worship is Agamic, that is, regulated by a distinct class of texts. Mr. Sastri's father belonged to the second class. It was a highly respected and prosperous one but already in Mr. Sastri's childhood, that is about seventy-five years ago, it had, in the religious anarchy which followed on the advent of English education and new values in life, fallen on evil days. The purohiths instead of being honoured mentors had sunk to the position of a tolerated class.

Even then there were some opulent purohiths who held the custom of several wealthy families maintaining a large staff of subordinates to whom they distributed their patronage. Mr. Sastri's father was not one of these. Mr. Sastri tells us that not having a regular clientele his father had to forage far and near for a bare subsistence. There is perhaps some exaggeration in this. There were certainly among his contemporaries purohiths who were far worse off than Mr. Sastri senior. Mr. Sastri's mother came of a secular family. All Brahmins in foreign eyes are priests. As a matter of fact only a minority are priests. The vast majority are Government officers, lawyers, schoolmasters, landowners. Nowadays they have extended their activities to trade and industry. The sons and grandsons of purohiths have abandoned their ancestral vocation. Mr. Sastri's mother chafed at what seemed to her to be humiliating shifts to which her husband had to resort to keep the wolf from the door. She poured her grievances into the ears of her son while yet he had not emerged from his boyhood. She could not foresee that her boy was to become one of the most honoured men of his time and country, a Privy Councillor and Companion of Honour, to win laurels in distant lands as a fine pattern of Indian manhood. Mr. Sastri took his B. A. degree and became a successful schoolmaster. Then the call came.

The second is an article reprinted from the *Servant of India* of which he was the first Editor and tells of his first meeting with Gokhale. The third is "The Story of his Admission" in the *Servants of India Society*. The event, a momentous one in Mr. Sastri's career, happened in Calcutta. Gokhale was generally believed to be an agnostic. But he was a believer in ceremonies. On the day of initiation, the neophyte had to rise early in the morning and not break his fast until the vow had been administered. The first admissions, Dravid, Devadar and Patwarden had received the accolade on the top of a hill where the Society has now its headquarters. There was no hill in Calcutta. The terrace of the house in which Gokhale resided while attending the Imperial Legislative Council, had to furnish the elevation deemed

necessary for the solemnity. Mr. Sastri disposes of the rumour that he was persuaded to overcome his hesitation to resign his secure position of Headmaster of a flourishing High School and throw in his lot with an institution in which he had to serve for twenty years for less than half the salary he was drawing, by the generosity of the late V. Krishnaswamy Aiyar, and that the latter had remembered Mr. Sastri in his will. There was no foundation for the story except the incredulity of its inventors of the capacity of normal human beings to take a plunge into the unforeseeable. There is a striking resemblance between the letter which Gokhale wrote to Sir Pherozeshah Mehta when leaving the Fergusson College seeking for an opening to public life through the Legislative Council of those days and Mr. Sastri's letter to Gokhale seeking admission to the *Servants of India Society*. There is also a striking difference in the circumstance in which the letters were written. Gokhale thought it necessary to tell Sir Pherozeshah that, owing to his wife having died, he had no family bonds which might come in the way of his public career. Mr. Sastri was more fortunate. He records that his mother and wife made no scenes and took the separation in a resigned spirit. Only the Manager of his School objected. And Mr. Sastri recognised the force of his objection and postponed his resignation till the end of the academic term. Did Mr. Sastri decide wisely? In the light of events, certainly he did. The copy of the prospectus of the *Servants of India Society* which was handed to Mr. Sastri by Mr. G. A. Natesan decided Mr. Sastri's course irrevocably. A copy of the same prospectus was sent to me by Gokhale personally. It did not attract me, because I have all along felt that social progress must take precedence of political and Gokhale wanted to spiritualise politics. The essence of social progress at the time was the association of women with public life, Gokhale and his Society had no place for them, although Gokhale himself personally attached great importance to the counsel of educated women.

SERVICE FELLOWSHIP COOPERATIVE TRAINING CENTRE AND SERVANTS OF FELLOWSHIP (BY RALPH AND LILA TEMPLIN)

At the end of our fourth year in the directorship of the School of Living, about April 1945, we are leaving for other service to which our background of experience, our sense of urgent need, our talents and certain strong inner promptings seem to be calling us. In this interval, while our obligations to the School are being fulfilled and when certain attractive and challenging offers to develop rural training centres, both in the church and outside, have already come, it has become necessary for us to discover and express clearly our aspirations. One frank purpose is that offers such as we now face, some involving substantial land, equipment and endowment, should endeavor to understand and meet what we find it in us to express which we seek to fulfill. We feel too much within us to accept any job, however remunerative, challenging or liberally supported, which does not offer the opportunity to move in the direction of the urge which, on the positive side, has led us to the determination to leave the School of Living.

We feel that this age needs to understand the teaching basic to Christianity, Hebrew prophecy and certain other

great world religions : *personal sovereignty or the supremacy of the human spirit*. This is a non-sectarian and a supra-religious conception and has been embodied by such diverse saints and thinkers as Lao-Tze, Christ, Gandhi and H. G. Wells in such terms as *Tao, Kingdom of God, Satyagraha* and *The Undying Fire*. An understanding of this concept will reveal, in modern terms, that true science, cooperation, democracy and decentralization, nonviolence and conscientious objection and a genuinely spiritual culture are only parts of one whole and not the separatist elements in modern life which they have been made to appear. It will reveal that this great whole constitutes the opposite of the dominant whole of western civilization which, besides being characterized by an artificial compartmentalization sets forth in contrast a pseudo-science of technology and robot-mindedness, competition, centralization, dictatorship of the planners and unquestioning conformity of those planned for, regimentation, violence and an artificial and drably secure society. It will reveal that both church and state, with all good intention, are so much a part of this order of western society, which has produced this crime against life, that they have not been able so far realistically to resist it or, to change the figure, they drift with the current instead of offering substantial resistance. An ecclesiastical totalitarianism cannot be offered as a substitute for a secular totalitarianism without violating, in Christ's name, the truth which makes men free. What hope is there for humanity in either church or governmental union which does not proceed by this extension of the human spirit in its assertion of its universality and sovereignty, all the way from its beginning in the free and sovereign spirit of conscientious assertion, *satyagraha*, through voluntary association with others in the conquest of nature, *swadeshimism*, to its ultimate end—a world brotherhood? To relate ourselves as human beings closely to the organic reality of the universe—the universal principles of spirit, of life, of soil and of the human family—is our central aim.

We, therefore, propose a centre which will at the same time teach this integral, spiritual approach to the whole of life while it is seeking actually to extend the human spirit within its own fellowship, and at large by an extension of its fellowship. It seeks a new order of service and security to replace the hirer-hireling mentality and structure, through which to provide *servants of fellowship* in a day when universities are busy turning out an overproduction of *masters of men*.

A centre combining arrangements for a partial living from the soil with sufficient handicrafts and small industries to provide necessary cash, will offer the opportunity for members to *share in earning their way* while living cooperatively and experiencing all the techniques of small community economy, government and cultural development.

This fellowship centre will be *cooperative from the start*. There may be three memberships in this cooperative fellowship, though all should participate in government and share equally in remuneration :

- (a) *Students* spending one year for training at the centre;
- (b) *Associate staff members*, students who continue in the fellowship at the centre during an additional year of probation; and

(c) *Staff members*, who are elected by the cooperative to share permanently its fellowship and as the active resident members of the cooperative, to associate in its ownership, control and the guidance of its training.

The teaching will be the philosophy described in above and its implementation in ways of life and action which will form a positive alternative to the ways of life and action which prevail and which enslave man's spirit in our modern society. This will be taught in its many aspects but with a strong sense of its wholeness and with an emphasis upon the coordination of all such partial concepts as cooperation, agrarianism, reconciliation, peace labour organization and political struggle.

The service fellowship cooperative will also provide for the extension of itself, both geographically and into a wide range of service, by including members at large so that such members, whatever they may be and in whatever employment they select, shall be the **SERVANTS OF FELLOWSHIP** who shall have in common: first, that they shall pool assets and liabilities initially as with their fellow (staff) members at the centre; second, that they continue to receive and their families or survivors, as long as they are members, the living basis of remuneration for out-side living agreed upon; and third, that wherever they go they will seek to be employed in service consonant with the aims of the fellowship, practice simple and where possible productive living, pool their income in the treasury of the service fellowship cooperative and otherwise devote their lives to the furtherance of its aim. The following shall constitute these outside members of the cooperative.

(a) *Members on probation*. Students of one year who enter the probationary period of an additional year in some outside service of their own choosing.

(b) *Active members*. Those who, after probationary membership at the centre or in the field are elected to permanent membership to find their own employment outside.

So far as is possible and practicable the Service Fellowship Cooperative will extend the service of its members into areas of significant pioneering nature when funds are available and when the members approve.

Mr. Ralph Templin in a covering letter adds :

"The positive dominated with us. I should explain that we had felt definite limitations at the School of Living from the first and were held there from a sheer sense of responsibility long after our aspirations had led us beyond it into a more comprehensive and religious (in the deep sense) application of our philosophy to the American scene,

"Two people have raised with me the question of our going back to India. One of them has just written, 'Now that India will in all probability have her self-government, are contemplating going back to India? I am applying at once for a visa.' He had applied before, but was refused because he would not promise, after he returned, to cease making statements favourable to the cause of India's freedom. I saw his correspondence with the State Department and with the British Embassy to make it clear.

"I have not replied to his letter but we have decided that for the present our determination will be not to go back to India with the Methodist or any other mission

even if asked. This simply because we do not believe that any mission has the place where we can now serve the higher interests which we feel deeply within us. We chose what we knew to be the way of Christ once and it took us out of the church. We have seen no evidence of the repentance or the surrender of expediency which could bring churchianity of the West and Christianity to converge. Racialism, the white man's problem, is still its great blind spot. It consequently has officially nothing to offer to India or to the rest of Asia. Nor, for that manner, has it any solution to offer in answer to the threat of World War III. There is no answer except *the end of empire*, exactly what we asked for at the very beginning of the war in our Kristagraha Manifesto, the complete abandonment of the "right" of powerful nations to dominate weaker portions of the world at will. I would include what is at present being called "trusteeship" as refined form of imperialism.

"It amuses me now, that the *Christian Century* and churchmen generally wax so eloquent against the atomic bomb and this country's use of it. What did they think war was all of the time? Gandhi said that they could not expect to defeat Hitlerism by its indifferent adoption. At just what point did it become immoral for them to use bombs upon defenseless women and children? After supporting it all this time why do they now repudiate it when it has only delivered its master stroke? War is hell and only devils indulge in it. It more than amuses me; I am grieved at the hypocrisy such as that of the *Christian Century* in the statement, "It (the Christian church) must not allow itself to condone any of the atrocities of the war or seem to have been a party to the war itself." The church has by its silence, in the main, and here and there in positive approbation, supported officially both the war and its atrocities also—up to a point. What was that point? The same editorial, August 29, 1945, says "the time has now come for the Christian church in this country to gather the fruit of its dissociation from the conflict." Personally, I believe that as long as the church is not sensitive to its own blind spot and that of the entire west, which produced empires creating desire for more empires—racialism as the pretext for domination and industrial exploitation—it can have no message of salvation or hope for any part of the world. I repeat the words of my pledge at the outbreak of World War II, "I will not be a party to this crime."

"I would like to add to what I have said, that if *India* asks us back in any possible manner, or if the International Fellowship of Reconciliation should want a representative and ask us to go under conditions which would leave us free to serve without artificial restraints against fellowship, that will be another matter and up for further decision."

CHRISTIAN ORIGINS IN INDIA

BY P. OOMMAN PHILIP

As in the case of China, India was first introduced to Christianity by the sporadic missionary efforts of the Eastern Church centuries before the representatives of Western nations came to India as adventurers and traders.

While in China, the early Church thus established disappeared, the Church in India continues to exist to this day. The orbit of the influence of the Church in India was very limited, and for centuries it had a chequered history in the narrow strip of land on the west coast between the Western Ghats and the Indian Ocean. The modern representatives of this ancient Church now live in the Indian States of Travancore and Cochin, but with their ancient solidarity sadly broken, first by the Portuguese who came in the sixteenth century and who by all the methods of persecution and inquisition, considered Christian in those days, brought a large number of them into the obedience of Rome, and later by the coming of the Anglicans in the nineteenth century followed by Protestant sects from the West whose presence and work in their midst have, besides drawing away from them varying numbers, introduced theological and ecclesiastical issues on which divisions have taken place. The history of almost all the branches of the old Eastern Church in lands like Egypt, Iraq, Palestine and Syria presents perhaps the same kind of experience, and so there may be nothing unusual in what has happened to the Syrian Christians (as the representatives of this ancient Church are called) of South India. The present conditions and status of the remnant of this ancient Church may not have any important bearing on the general subject of the place of Christianity in the life and thought of modern India. But the existence of this remnant in India with Christian traditions going back to the early centuries, and the vicissitudes through which it has been passing through the centuries, are facts to be noted in any study of the history of Christian contacts with India.

Two observations may be made here, very briefly, in regard to the survival of early Christianity in India. First is the remarkable spirit of religious toleration shown by the people of India to the Christianity that came to its shores. Those who accepted the new religion, were not subjected to persecution. On the other hand, there is reason to think that they had freedom for practising their religion in their own way and even for propagating it. Otherwise, it is impossible to explain the growth of the Christian Church on the west coast of South India and the prosperous condition in which it was found by the Greek traveller Cosmos who visited this region about the year 522 A. D. and by the Portuguese who arrived in the early years of the sixteenth century. It is strange but true that those ancient Christians, living peacefully as farmers and traders under independent Hindu rulers, were first subjected to religious persecution not by Hindus but by Christians who came from the West in the 16th century armed with the military power of Portugal and fired by missionary zeal for establishing over this ancient church of Malabar the supremacy of the Church of Rome.

Secondly, the Christianity that found its way to India in the early centuries, true to its genius as an Eastern religion, developed according to a pattern suited to Indian conditions and not in rigid organisational forms prescribed for it in later times by the West. While maintaining the basic features of Christian faith and practice through the centuries, we find that it also assimilated what was considered good and noble in the religious culture and social behaviour of the Hindus from whom they were originally drawn and amidst whom they lived as citizens of the same country. But these observations are only by the way.

With the coming of the Portuguese to India in the beginning of the sixteenth century and with the establishment of their political domination along its west coast, Christianity entered upon a second stage of its history in this land. It is the first time that Christianity is introduced to the people as the religion of the ruling race, a race strangely different from the Hindu race in customs, culture and civilisation. In the earlier period, Christianity was introduced by missionaries or traders belonging to the Eastern Church who could not lay claim to any political power. For that reason whatever progress Christianity made in India in the early centuries was by its inherent power of appeal to the religious sense of the people. But the Christianity that came to parts of India where the Portuguese had established political domination came with the sword of the Portuguese and backed by the power and prestige of the empire. The use of compulsion or force for attaining what they conceived to be the highest good of those who were outside the Church, was but a part of the code of conduct of the Western Church of those days. The methods of coercion and persecution which the Portuguese resorted to for the purpose of winning adherents to the Christian Church, form one of the darkest chapters in the history of Christianity in India. Goa which is even to-day retained by the Portuguese, became in those days the seat of the Inquisition which imposed disabilities and penalties on those who would not accept the Christian faith. Even the descendant of the Indian converts to Christianity whom the Portuguese were surprised to find in Malabar were condemned by them as heretics and the task which they attempted of bringing them into the "true Church", was accompanied by methods which were questionable and frightful. Even after a lapse of four centuries, the bitter memories of the religious persecutions by the Portuguese have not entirely left either the Hindus or the Syrian Christians of the west coast. It should be remembered at the same time that this was a period when the Roman Church was launching its great missionary enterprise. The coming of the famous missionary, Francis Xavier, to India was at a time when the Portuguese were at the zenith of political power. Great and devout Christian that he was, he did not hesitate to make use of the Portuguese power for furthering the missionary cause, only showing thereby the lamentably sub-Christian standard of conduct which prevailed in that age in regard to the followers of other religions.—*Indian Review*, February 1945.

THE BIG THREE AND OTHERS (BY WICKHAM STEED)

Since its first decision upon drawing of the Italo-Yugoslav frontier and internationalisation of the port of Trieste, the Council of Foreign Ministers has been unable to reach any important conclusion.

Marked differences of view upon the preparation of peace treaties with Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria seem to have brought about a deadlock. British and United States delegates regard the governments of those countries as insufficiently democratic. Soviet Russia, who established those governments, claims for them a democratic and representative status.

Behind these conflicting claims lies the Anglo-American belief that Russia is seeking to create an exclusive block of subservient countries in Central and South-Eastern Europe and, there, departing from the principle of full international cooperation.

Unlike the British Press, which has hitherto refrained from critical comment upon these disappointing proceedings, public opinion condemns them as incompatible with the making of a sound peace. Both the Australian Minister of External Affairs and a South American Government confirm this condemnation in an identical statement of their views. The statement objects to the limitation of the Council to the five major Powers and claims that all nations who were active and constant belligerents throughout the war are equally entitled to share with the five members of the Council in framing the peace. They declare that active belligerents must either share in this work as equals or it must be clearly understood that the Council's decision will be open to free discussion and amendment by a conference of all active belligerents.

Dr. Evatt, the Australian Minister for External Affairs, argues that the method of framing the peace is almost as important as peace itself. He believes that even Versailles was more democratic than the Foreign Ministers' Council.

Similar convictions are expressed in Canada and are understood to be held by the British Foreign Secretary. Yet Molotov, the Russian Foreign Commissar, wishes even France and China to be excluded from the drafting of peace treaties with Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania, so that Russia, Britain and the United States alone would frame them.

In these circumstances little surprise would be caused by a virtual breakdown of the Foreign Ministers' Council. Though Russia alleges that care for her own security inspires her policy, the absence of any threat to Russian security deprives her argument of plausibility. The whole question of national or international security against a future war is felt to have been transformed by the atomic bomb, which renders security a world problem, transcending any national or strategic claim.

British public opinion favours increasingly the organisation of peace on a world-wide basis under a world authority, for which the United Nations Charter should be the starting point. Yet even its charter is thought to need amendment under the new conditions created by the release of atomic energy. British statesmen, whose political views differ as widely as those of Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. Winston Churchill, agree that the impulse for dealing adequately with these conditions cannot come from statesmen or governments alone, but must be given by men and women everywhere. They agree too that very few years remain in which to face and solve the most tremendous problem that ever confronted mankind.

Otherwise the use of atomic energy must bring mutual destruction upon powers which employ it as a weapon. The present failure of the Foreign Ministers Council to understand this revolutionary change in the requirements of peace illustrates the urgent need for new conceptions of international relationships.

When Parliament reopens, Lord Darnley will call attention in the House of Lords to the crisis in human

affairs created by the atomic bomb and its future development. He will urge that the only hope of peace in a tolerable form lies in creating a common front of all nations. Similar motions will be moved in the House of Commons. If I read British public opinion aright, these motions will be strongly supported.

WEAK EFFORT TO CIVILIZE WAR

(By RICHARD L. STROUT in *Christian Science Monitor*)

The Pacific war is nearly over. But it has left the dread legacy of the atomic bomb. The bomb quite defies adjectives. One official here simply and sincerely believes that, within a few years, as the new technique advances, such a bomb can blow up the earth. The United States has assumed responsibility for the use of the bomb as a weapon, but the secret of its technique is not yet known, it is believed, outside of the United States, Britain, and probably Canada. Mr. Truman has said that the secret would be guarded for a while, apparently excluding Russia. Here we have a situation of fantastic melodrama comparable only to the bomb itself.

No new weapon has ever remained long the sole possession of the nation creating it. It seems fair to infer that either we finally end war now, forever, or the bomb may someday be used on American cities. So far as we know, three have been dropped thus far. One was tried experimentally in New Mexico, one on Hiroshima (population 343,000), and one on Nagasaki (population 253,000). Only partial evidence of the last two is in. In destructiveness the bomb transcends anything heretofore known consisting of three elements, heat, glare, and blast; the heat is quite incredible, the glare has probably blinded many Japanese, and the blast knocked over whole precincts. Two-thirds of Hiroshima is reported obliterated. Results on Nagasaki are not presently in, but the military reports them "good." The moral question must, of course, be faced. International law rests on a supposed system of rights and wrongs whose values are, however, constantly changing.

President Wilson took the nation into World War One because the Germans threatened to use submarines so as to endanger civilians. War has come quite a way since then, and today it more or less hits all civilians, either by strangling economic pressure or by direct attack.

International law has banned poison gas, but the success of the outlawry is perhaps as much due to the uncertainty of the gas as to the sensitivity of men's conscience.

Arguments for the use of the atomic are, in general, as follows:

The human desire to retaliate for Japanese barbarities, the fact that the difference between one weapon and another is, after all "only one of degree," and—most important—that the bomb would shorten the war, save American lives and, very possibly, Japanese lives.

The bomb, it is further pointed out, had not been used till an ultimatum was sent to Japan; Japanese cities chosen for destruction were apparently carefully picked as having maximum military personnel; and it is also argued that if the Japanese had been forewarned of the bomb they would not have believed in it any way.

Americans are now committed to the moral responsibility of the use of the bomb, although the decision, being a military one, was made without their knowledge. Apparently the Anglo-American Combined Board, of which James F. Byrnes is a member, first recommended against immediate use because of the precedent involved. They may have argued that the destructiveness though only one of degree, is of such an order as to make an entirely new situation; that since the weakened Japanese had no counter-atomic bomb, public discussion as to its use by America might be permitted; and that since, ultimately, the control of the new weapon may depend on moral sanction, infinite care should be taken in keeping the moral path clear. Could the matter have been handled differently? History will have to decide. Most of the proposals sound fantastic, but hardly less so than the bomb itself. Was final secrecy necessary? Japan might have been told in advance precisely what was ahead of her. If she disbelieved, an illustration could have been given, but not one on a crowded city. Again, a longer interval might have elapsed between the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. These considerations will affect judgments differently. There can be little question that the bomb has shortened the war and that the problem of controlling its use will be with us for the rest of our lives.

An Indian Governor:—After a quarter of a century, a second Indian Governor of a province has been nominated. Quite a number of postings among provincial Governors was announced a few days ago. One of them is Sir C. Trivedi, at present Secretary of the Army Department, to the Governorship of Orissa. Twenty-five years ago when Orissa with Bihar was a single province, Lord Sinha was appointed its Governor. He came with an enormous prestige. He had been President of the Indian National Congress, first Indian Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, Under-Secretary of State for India, the first and only Indian raised to the British Peerage. With all this, if rumour had any basis in fact, he found his position untenable and resigned it before his full term of office. Sir C. Trivedi has none of these advantages. He is a member of the Indian Civil Service, spent all his life as an official. As Secretary for the Army Department, he proved a clever apologist of the Commander-in-Chief in the Legislative Assembly. His appointment is a purely routine one without any national or political significance. Curiously, while the Secretary of one Department is sent as Governor of one of the two newly-created provinces, the Home Member of the Government of India, Sir F. Mudie, is sent to Sind, the other. The Home Membership in the past has been regarded as a stepping-stone to the Governorship of the Punjab or the United Provinces. While the Orissa job is a promotion to Mr. Trivedi, the Sind job is in the nature of a consolation prize to Sir F. Mudie. Sir C. Trivedi will have little entertaining to do in Cuttack, which perhaps is the reason for his relegation to that remote and isolated province. There are few newspapers and Sir C. Trivedi is not likely to have to read comments on his administration every morning. At the same time he will have arduous work feeding and clothing the poorest of provincials and the most backward.

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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

Indonesian Struggle for Freedom:—The week opened with the report that the Indonesians now in full possession of the lands known as Netherlands Indies, with the exception of the capital of Batavia, had proclaimed war upon the Dutch who abandoned the country when the Japanese landed. Now that the Japanese have surrendered, the Dutch claim to reinstate themselves as overlords of Indonesians. The latter do not relish the prospect. They want to be free to shape their own national course. Holland itself was overrun by the Nazis and requires much time and labour to be restored to normal conditions. The Allied Nations, which mean the United States and the British in this region, have tacitly accepted the claim and they have been holding back the Indonesians from taking over the Government of their own country. Americans do not seem to be much in evidence in Indonesia. A serious hitch in this family arrangement is that the Australians have refused to join. Instead, Australian dock-workers have refused to load ships to carry Dutch soldiers and munitions to fight the Indonesian nationalists. The Indonesians have not the arms and resources for modern war but they have proclaimed their resolve to use every material, which God and Nature have placed in their hands, to save themselves from the Dutch invaders. The laws of war exist only on paper. Whenever it suits the stronger party, it seldom hesitates to break them. Even so, they do not apply, according to any principle of jurisprudence, to a nation struggling to overthrow foreign domination. Guerilla warfare in Indonesia will be a serious affair. The Dutchman, in keeping with his traditional reputation for giving too little and asking too much, has now called upon the Allied Nations to put down what he and his white friends are pleased to call a revolt. As usual, the cry of women and children in danger, is being raised. It is not unlikely that they are. But there is an easy and honourable and honest way to save them, withdraw from Indonesia

and leave the Indonesians to govern themselves, holding them responsible for the safety of women and children if you really mean to protect them. Britain will do herself immeasurable injury if she lends support to the Dutch and especially if she uses Indian troops to put down the Indonesians in their struggle for freedom.

India in South-East Asia:—Mr. Attlee made a statement on Wednesday in Parliament on British policy in South-East Asia. He said that his Government did not want to get unnecessarily mixed up in the politics of non-British territories. Their object was to withdraw British troops as soon as circumstances permitted. Meanwhile, he said, not only were the British under a strong moral obligation to their Dutch Allies until they are in a position to assume control but also for the maintenance of law and order. This is directly contrary to what the Secretary for War, Mr. Lawson, told a Press Conference, during his recent visit in Singapore. There are other and more insistent moral obligations which the British may attend to. We think it will facilitate discussion if the high moral tone which impresses nobody is for the time being laid aside. Then, we would respectfully suggest to the Labour Premier to consider that India too has strong moral objections, which are more binding than obligations, to being used to re-establish the domination of the Dutch over the Indonesians who do not want them. Britain had or thought she had a moral obligation to liberate the Dutch from German rule. She has fulfilled this. How can there be another moral obligation to make the liberated Dutch to dominate several millions of people who are entirely of a different race, religion and language? Even if the Dutch had been admirable rulers in Indonesia—which they were not—Britain would be guilty of a moral atrocity in imposing their rule on the Indonesians. However that may be, if Great Britain has moral obligations, it is up to her to discharge them herself and not vicariously through another subject race, the Indians. It is bad enough that Indians in their own country are without political power. But that they should be used to deprive their Asiatic neighbours of the freedom which they are in a position to secure, is a humiliation which Mr. Attlee and his colleagues are not entitled to inflict on their fellow subjects. India was once an honoured name all over Asia. In Eastern Asia especially she was regarded and respected as the spiritual fountain-head. Her name is now being dragged in the mire. She cannot raise her head among her neighbours. Her name has become a by-word. Indians there are cast aside as soon as the purpose is served and in nearly every

country where they had been dragged to serve the imperial interests, they are treated as undesirable and the British Government dare not lift its little finger to protect them.

More Atrocity Stories:—There is a lull in the tide of Japanese atrocities. But new stories about atrocities by Indonesians have taken its place. It is always the coloured who commit atrocities. Except for the Germans, Europeans never commit any. In the beginning of this century a great British newspaper sent a correspondent to South Africa with sealed instructions as to what she should report on arrival there. These were the usual alarms about women and children in danger. Unfortunately, the raid which this was to prelude, miscarried and the whole intrigue was exposed. Happy are they who have not known this and other stories of how atrocities are suddenly discovered or read the books showing that most of the atrocities imputed to Germans in the last war were manufactured, probably under orders. In some cases the persons reporting were the authors themselves. The Indonesians have adopted the Gandhian slogan of non-violence. It did not prevent Gandhiji himself being held responsible for violence and will not save the Indonesians. A Reuter's message says that without Indonesia Holland would be the poorest country in Europe. Is that a reason why she should be maintained as ruler and exploiter of Indonesia by British, that is, Indian army? Indonesia has with India the poorest income in the world. But Holland is wealthy. It is plain that the wealth of Indonesia does not make the Indonesians wealthy. This matter of employing Indian troops is affecting British relations with India more than British statesmen seem to apprehend.

Dorman Smith in Burma:—We cannot recall any speech by a British Colonial Governor even remotely like that which Governor Dorman Smith made at a reception given him by the citizens of Rangoon on Wednesday on resuming charge of his office after over three years of residence in view of the eternal Himalayan snows in Simla. Sir Reginald himself attributed his complete change of outlook to the experience of the war. But the war never came nearer to Simla than Chittagong at the other end of the country. He had only rumours of war which hardly inspire men to introspection. The Himalayas are the ancient home of meditation and he had clearly caught the infection. British statesmen generally speak in public as if British policy in India was one continuous flow of liberality. Sir Reginald did not indulge in this humbug. He frankly confessed that the bitter experiences of the war had made himself and the British people more tolerant, broadminded and capable of seeing the other man's point of view. This may be true so far as Sir Reginald himself is concerned but we doubt if it is true of Mr. Clement Attlee or Mr. Winston Churchill, the two men who stand before the world as spokesmen of the British people. That apart, the scheme which he propounded for Burma is one which Lord Wavell might have and probably would have adopted for India but for the menacing finger of Mahommed Ali Jinnah before which the hero of a score of battles had to beat a hasty retreat. Sir Reginald does not mean to wait until all the elements of Burma are absolutely agreed upon an ideal constitution. He will immediately start with an Executive Council chosen by himself of Burmese Advisers, order a general election on adult

suffrage, and lock up the members who are elected in a room and not let them out until they have agreed upon a constitution. Dominion status will follow immediately. Even before that, he will consult the Legislature and his Advisers not only on the subjects assigned to them before the war but also as regards foreign policy. Sir Reginald has decided to forget all about the defection of the Burmese who joined the Japanese and fought against the British. In the same spirit he proposes to deal with every problem that may arise in Burma-British relations. This is a direct pointer to the Government of India which is about to stage a meaningless trial of the members of the erstwhile Indian National Army who have surrendered. Whatever the Courts Martial may decide, opinion in India is all but unanimous that these men should be enlisted in India's service in consideration of their motives in joining the Japanese. Magnanimity is a valuable asset in statesmanship.

Molotov and Bevin:—The British Press, including a radical, outspoken paper like the *New Statesman*, has pounced on the Labour Foreign Secretary, Mr. Ernest Bevin, as the cause of the failure of the London Foreign Ministers' Conference. Nothing more silly can be imagined. Bevin, it is said, in the course of the discussions, remarked that Mr. Molotov's methods smacked of Hitler's. At this Molotov is said to have gathered up his papers and made as if to withdraw from the Conference. Bevin apologised and the Conference proceeded but without the harmony which presumably characterised the proceedings up to that point. The implication is that the Labour Party have not enough culture to conduct foreign negotiations with the suavity of Eden. It does not seem to occur to these gentleman-journalists that it is just the Edenonian diplomacy which has landed the world and Britain in their present unhappy plight. Differences were glossed over by a cascade of compliments and communiques were issued that complete agreement was reached; champagne flowed at banquets and the next Conference in about three months time went through the farce all over again. Psycho-analysis as an instrument of government and foreign policy has been nowhere more intensively studied and applied than in Soviet Russia. The world was astonished at the almost unbroken series of admissions of guilt by not only Russians but foreigners at State Soviet trials. It is not often suspected that this may be due to the subtle Soviet methods perfected by a thorough scientific study of the working of the human mind. Mr. Winston Churchill has for twentyfive years denounced the Bolsheviks in unmeasured terms. This did not prevent Stalin from changing over from the Nazis with whom, he had formed an alliance withstanding Hitler's proclaimed hatred of Stalin and of the Communists. Soviet Russia is not moved either by praise or abuse. Its methods are coldly calculating. Bevin's allusion to Hitler's methods would have had as little effect on Molotov as water on a duck's back if he had not deeper reasons of his to sabotage the Council. If Bevin's remark left a sting it was because many feel, there was truth in it. The British Press as a rule never lets down British Ministers and diplomats. Even the egregious Linlithgow was consistently supported in all his blunders by the British Press and its shadows in India. But the British governing caste dislikes the Labour Government.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, October 20, 1945.

ZIONISTS AND PALESTINE

Some days ago President Truman requested Mr. Attlee, the British Prime Minister, to permit, in violation of the distinct declaration in the White Paper of 1939 that no Jews will be allowed entry into Palestine after five years, the entry of one million Jews from the countries in Europe liberated from Nazi occupation. We wondered why the request was necessary now that the Hitler regime had been destroyed and the anti-Jewish policy of that regime had, along with other Nazi measures, been reversed. The explanation appears to be that, though Hitlerism is destroyed, anti-semitism is not. Not only has anti-semitism not been destroyed but it flourishes exceedingly and is increasing in virulence. Mr. Victor Gollancz, the well-known British publisher, himself a Jew, in "Nowhere to Lay Their Heads" (price 3d) observes:—

That there has been virulent growth of anti-semitism throughout Europe, quite apart from this special hostility to which any attempt by Jews to recover their homes and property must give rise, cannot for a moment be questioned. It is of tragic significance that even in Western countries men and women who refused to have anything to do with Jew baiting during the Nazi regime, are now succumbing.

Mr. Gollancz quotes a report from San Francisco to the effect that Dutch officials at the conference expressed concern over the increasing trend towards anti-semitism in Holland. One of them said that for the first time in the country's history the Dutch had become race conscious. In France the De Gaulle Government which intended to bring some thousands of Frenchmen to trial for persecuting Jews during the Nazi regime, dropped the proposal when they were advised that, in view of prevalent anti-semitism, the result would be a grave disturbance to the public peace. Several thousands of Frenchmen to whom small Jewish businesses had been handed over during the German occupation, formed themselves into a "protective association" to oppose any order for the return of these businesses to their Jewish owners. In Poland there are Jews still hiding in the forests for fear, no longer of the Nazis, but of Polish peasants. In Hungary there have been, since the liberation, serious anti-Jewish excesses in those parts of the country not under direct control of the Russian armies. Things in Yugoslavia are no better. Yugo-Slav Jews who recently returned from Italy are warning their compatriots still in Italy not to follow in view of the prevalent anti-semitism. Even in Britain and the United States the possibility of anti-semitic recrudescence cannot be ruled out altogether.

Sweden and Mexico have offered to take in some of these liberated Jews but that only touches the fringe of the problem. What surely is wanted, writes Mr. Gollancz, is a country which can accommodate, rapidly, scores of thousands: which can never, in the nature of things, do a hurt to them, or deride them, or send them once again on their pitiful wanderings: which will care for the orphans, and bring the broken and the sick to health and happiness. There is such a country. It is Palestine.

Mr. Gollancz states the case of the Arabs who have dwelt in Palestine for twelve centuries at its weakest and

has no difficulty in dismissing it as not worthy of serious consideration. He starts with the Balfour Declaration of 1917, and the endorsement of it by the League of Nations in its Mandate to Britain. He dismisses the question whether Palestine was excluded from the scope of the pledge contained in the McMahon correspondence with the Shariff of Mecca, with scarcely more consideration.

The matter is not so simple as Mr. Gollancz makes out. Two books of high authority have discussed it in all its aspects. Professor W. E. Hocking of Harvard University published his "The Spirit of World Politics" in 1932. The Hussain Mc-Mahon Letters had not been published then but he had all the other material at his disposal and had the advantage of studying the situation personally during a visit to the country. His first proposition is that neither Britain nor the Allies had a legal or moral right to decide without consultation with the Palestine Arabs the question of providing a national home for Jews in Palestine. As for the question whether Palestine was or was not excluded from the independent State promised to the Arabs, Dr. Hocking points out that the areas to be excluded are specifically mentioned and Palestine is not one of them. The Jews can not base their claim to a Declaration which itself is morally and legally void. Even if valid, the Declaration obviously contemplated the introduction into Palestine of 'Ethical Zionism' and not "Political Zionism." There are two points which Dr. Hocking makes which deserve to be generally known. One is as regards the protection of shrines under a joint regime. Dr. Hocking says that this is a difficulty as the shrines sacred to Muslims and Christians are those most hated by the Jews. The second point relates to economic development. Dr. Hocking points out that it is a principle of the Zionist movement that only Jews are to be employed in Zionist undertakings. Mr. Gollancz speaks of ancient religious and cultural ties of Palestine to the Jews. Dr. Hocking writes: "To me it appeared that the new arrivals were commonly devoid of Judaism in the religious sense, or of any religion except the social gospel of the oppressed; that they hope from the future but are free from sentimental attachment to the past, including the Jewish past. In that ill-omened march to the Wailing Wall in 1929, they carried not the means of worship but the Zionist flag! In the words of one interpreter their nationalism is a secular nationalism "psychologically religious," i.e. devoid of dogmatic sincerity. It is no light task to make these emancipated spirits into a moral unity with those who see that Zionism is justified in Palestine only for those to whom Palestine is a Holy Land."

The other book was published in 1938. It is named "The Arab Awakening" and is written by Mr. George Antonius. The author had the inestimable advantage of personal talks with the Hussain who gave him his Arabic notes of the parleys with McMahon. He has reproduced in an appendix the text of the whole correspondence.

Antonius, with access to Arabic documents not available to Dr. Hocking, carries the question a good deal farther. Shariff Hussain, he tells us, joined the Allies against Turkey in the full belief that Palestine was included in the countries which were promised independence. The Arab world was bewildered, he says, by the Balfour Declaration, of which he gives a fuller history.

than any yet published Shariff Husain asked the British Government for an explanation. In reply he had two assurances one through Commander Hogarth, and the other, through Mr. Walrone. Hogarth's message explicitly assured Shariff Husain that that Jewish settlement in Palestine would only be allowed in so far as it would be consistent with the political and economic freedom of the Arabs. This, Antonius points out, was a fundamental departure from the Balfour Declaration which guaranteed only the civil and religious rights of the Arabs in Palestine. This satisfied Shariff Hussain who gladly undertook to cooperate in giving asylum to persecuted Jews. In the Walrone statement the British Government undertook to work not only for the liberation of Syria, Palestine and Iraq from the Turks but also for their freedom and independence. These documents were translated from the original Arabic into English for the first time by Antonius. They are printed as appendices to his important book.

Mr. Gollancz's pamphlet as a propaganda publication is likely to prejudice rather than advance the Jewish case with informed readers. As a piece of advocacy it is poor stuff. A good advocate takes his adversary's case at its strongest and demolishes it by facts which no fair-minded judge or jury can ignore. Mr. Gollancz in fact wants that the Jews whom Europe after an experience of centuries is anxious to get rid of as undesirables, should be thrust upon the Arabs of tiny Palestine as people under whom they can enjoy perfect security and religious freedom. Why Palestinian Arabs should atone for the oppression of Europeans—Mr. Gollancz admits that the Jews in Europe were persecuted long before Hitler came on the scene—it is difficult to understand.

HOW COMMUNISTIC IS SOVIET RUSSIA ?

(BY KARL W. H. SCHOLZ)

There are many widespread misconceptions regarding the nature of the present Soviet system. Reference is often made to "Russian Communism". Yet Communism, as foreseen by Marx, neither exists in Russia today nor has it existed at any time since the October Revolution of 1917, though some Communist extremists then believed such a Utopia could shortly be realized.

A true Communist society, according to Marx, has neither money, markets nor prices, for distribution will be through allocation in kind according to need. Real equality will prevail only under Communism, says Marx, while at best only a formal equality...equal pay for equal productive contribution...exists in "lower" stages of social development.

Some observers have thought that rationing of consumers' goods, through three periods of Soviet history, was Communism in practice. Others have thought that the existence of money, markets and a system of prices, with some freedom of consumer choice, during the New Economic Policy of 1921-1927 and under the several Five Year Plans after 1928, was a retreat from Communism, as adoption of capitalistic principles.

All such interpretations are fundamentally false. Whenever Russia has adopted rationing, during the period of so-called War Communism from 1917 to 1921, or under the First and part of the Second Five Year Plans between 1928 and 1935, or since the Nazi invasion

in 1941, she has done so, as a rule, from military necessity or political expediency, and not the desire to put Marxian Communism into practice.

In strict accord with Marxian ideology, official spokesmen of the Soviet Government distinguish between Communism and Socialism. The latter they define as the necessary transition stage in the evolution of society from Capitalism to ultimate Communism. Socialism, economically, rests on the collectivizing of the physical means of production. But it recognizes certain property rights in consumers' goods which, according to Marx, will disappear only under Communism. Not Communism, but *authoritarian State Socialism* has been developing in Russia, particularly since the beginning of the First Five Year Plan in 1928.

The Soviet economic system is defined in several articles of the 1936 Constitution of the U.S.S.R. Article 1 states: "The Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics is a socialist state of workers and peasants." Moreover, Article 12 reads in part; "The principle applied in the U.S.S.R. is that of socialism: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his work.'" Only under Communism, according to Marx, will society be able to inscribe on its banner, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." "By means of what practical measures humanity will proceed to this higher aim," says Lenin, "this we do not and cannot know." Nor is there much indication that present Soviet leaders are trying very hard to find out. Before the war they were using the machinery of the political state to build economic Socialism, and there is every likelihood that this will continue as a basic objective of the Soviet regime after the war.

Economic inequalities existing in Russia are not compatible with the ideals of Marxian Communism, but are in accord with the economic principle of Socialism, which recognizes distribution of income according to *deed* rather than *need*. Moreover, a true Communist society, says Marx, will no longer have distinctions of class. Then even the State, viewed by Marxists as the product of irreconcilable class antagonisms, will disappear.

But is there any indication that the State and state power are "withering away" in Russia now, or will in the foreseeable future? Though some Soviet spokesmen speak of the emergence of a classless society in Russia, this is more theoretical than actual. Gradations of rank, of course, are found alike in military, political and economic life. One critic observes "that there exists in Russia at present a sharp class differentiation based upon division of function between the workers, on the one hand, and managers of industry, millionaire *khokhoziniki* (collective farmers), political leaders and intelligentsia, in general, on the other hand."

These inequalities, whether differences in class or rank, do not contradict the Marxian doctrine of the evolution of society through various stages from Capitalism to ultimate Communism. They merely mean that equalitarian Communism does not exist in Russia. Speaking of those who advocated the introduction of economic equality in Russia, Stalin said in an address before the Congress of the Communist Party in 1934: "These leftist blockheads evidently think socialism calls for equality, for levelling the requirements and personal lives of the members of the society."

In the Soviet Socialized economy inequalities exist both in principle and fact. "Work more and get more" is a slogan widely publicized in Soviet Russia. Piece-rate wages are widely used in Soviet industry. Inequalities are also shown in a great variety of non-pecuniary awards, ranging from military insignia and decorations to Mother Heroine scrolls for women bearing and raising ten or more children for the Soviet father-land. A decree of October 2, 1940, established tuition fees for senior classes in secondary schools and for higher educational institutions, and limited stipends to those who excel in their studies. Socialist Russia has modified even the doctrine of equality of opportunity.

But if a man be paid in Russia according to his productiveness, some good measure of productiveness is needed. Money, as a unit of account and a measure of productive performance, serves the same purpose in Russia as under Capitalism.

The law of value, in economics, expresses the relation between utility and scarcity. The differences between the application of this law under Capitalism and under Socialism is that, in theory at least, under Capitalism it is asserted through the interplay of free competitive market force, while under Socialism, as in Soviet Russia, it is consciously directed according to plan, toward predetermined objectives. But this difference is more theoretical than actual, particularly in our recent war economy, with its unified governmental guidance of economic activity toward the fixed goal of winning the war.

An article written in 1944 by a number of Soviet economists, on "The Teaching of Economics in the Soviet Union," has evoked much subsequent discussion. These authors assert that, "Under capitalism the law of value acts as an elemental law of the market... Under socialism it acts as a law consciously applied by the Soviet State under conditions of planned administration of the national economy." Political considerations may have prompted the Soviet government to depart, at times, from adherence to the law of value, when it allocated economic resources among their alternative uses. But in emphasizing that this law of value could apply to the Soviet economy, the authors of this article are reverting to classical Marxian economic doctrine rather than departing from it, as some critics have intimated.

Preparation for, and the eventual waging of, total war modified any possible pre-war trends toward increasing economic and political freedom of the Soviet masses. "Freezing" of employees to jobs and regimentation of labour were decreed in Soviet Russia even before the Nazi invasion of 1941. An edict of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. of June 26, 1940, suppressed the voluntary departure of wage earners and salaried workers from enterprises and institutions, with penalties of two to four months' imprisonment for quitting a job. Further, a decree of October 20, 1940 invested the People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. with the right of obligatory transfer of engineers, designers and many other types of professionally trained and skilled workers from one enterprise to another regardless of geographic location.

The decree of February 13, 1942, drafting the population of cities for work in construction and production for the duration of the war, rounded out the system of wartime labour conscription in Soviet Russia. The pre-

war seven-hour work day yielded to the eight-hour day, six days a week in the Soviet war economy, and plant managers were also empowered to demand overtime work up to three hours a day for adults and two hours for minors under 16. But in spite of all such regimentation, labour turnover was said to have run high in Soviet wartime industry. Efforts were made to improve living conditions for industrial workers as a means of combatting such turnover, and will undoubtedly continue to be made in the future.

These wartime measures were no more characteristic of Communism than of Capitalism. Dictated by military need, they are being relaxed as the Soviet peacetime economy develops. This does not mean that there will be a basic change in the postwar *political* structure of the Soviet Union. The Communist Party will continue as the only legally recognized one in Russia. Nor is there any indication that political dictatorship will yield to the type of institutions that exist in western democracies. Democracy in Soviet Russia, which Soviet spokesmen interpret to mean "security, the obligation to work and freedom from capitalist exploitation," suggests to those imbued with ideals of "bourgeois" democracy the degree of democracy enjoyed by the inmates of our penal institutions.

The successes of Soviet armies and the rise of a group of powerful military leaders, have led some observers to suggest that there may be a shift in party control in Soviet Russia after the war from political to military dictatorship. This seems doubtful. It appears far more likely that political and military power will be integrated under one head. Economically speaking, authoritarian State Socialism, not Communism, will continue to develop in postwar Russia. As Russia with the aid of the outside world, particularly the U. S., reconstructs her industries ravaged by war and develops her abundant natural resources, wartime rationing in all likelihood will be abolished again. Once more the consumer may choose how he will spend his income. Wartime labour controls will be relaxed. But both of these will be within the limits of the social-economic plan. They will show further how the law of value may be applied in a socialized economy, in accord with the doctrine of Marx. (Worldover Press).

CRUSADE AGAINST TRAVANCORE

Sir, I have read with much interest your criticism of what you have called 'The Crusade' against the Travancore State for its new educational policy, started by the Roman Catholics. The entire problem of grants-in-aid to the so-called Christian schools and colleges, institutions which were at one time called proselytising schools by some Europeans themselves, is a very thorny one, and many things done by the missionaries themselves in regard to it, are hardly creditable to Christians, whether Protestant or Catholic. This is too large a question to be discussed in detail here. They have taken immense sums of money from the revenues of the Government and from the non-Christian public respectively, and all this has been done by them for the openly declared purpose of proselytising the people of the land. Now that they find this position of theirs difficult to maintain, they want to keep as much of the old

"look" as such things were called in China. The missions are apt to raise the cry of persecution where the people assert their own legitimate rights as against their false claims, forgetting that all the while they have been the persecutors. In regard to this matter, I quote what was said by no less a person than John Stuart Mill nearly a century ago. The passage is taken from his book *Liberty*, and stands as a footnote as follows :

"Ample warning may be drawn from the large infusion of the passions of a persecutor, which mingled with the general display of the worst parts of our national character on the occasion of the sepoy insurrection. The ravings of fanatics or charlatans from the pulpit may be unworthy of notice; but the heads of Evangelical party have announced as their principle for the government of Hindus and Mohammedans, that no schools be supported by public money in which the Bible is not taught, and by necessary consequence, that no public employment must be given to any but real or pretended Christians. An Under-Secretary of State, in a speech delivered to his constituents on November 12th, 1857, is reported to have said, 'Toleration of their faith (the faith of a hundred million of British subjects), the superstition which they call religion, by the British Government had had the effect of retarding the ascendancy of the British name, and preventing the salutary growth of Christianity...Toleration was the great corner-stone of the religious liberties of this country; but do not let them abuse that precious word "toleration." As he understood it, it meant the complete liberty to all, freedom of worship, among Christians who worshipped upon the same foundation. It meant toleration of all sects and denominations of Christians who believed in the one mediation.' (The italics are Mill's)

Mill then adds :

"I desire to call attention to the fact, that a man who has been deemed fit to fill a high office in the government of this country under a Liberal Ministry maintains the doctrine that all who do not believe in the divinity of Christ are beyond the pale of toleration. Who, after this imbecile display, can indulge the illusion that religious persecution has passed away, never to return?"

Missionaries like Dr. Duff and others who had much to do with establishing the system of grants-in-aid were swayed by such ideas and even worse. Their aim was to get hold of the entire educational system in India and use it for proselytising the people of the land, both Hindus and Moslems. Happily, the East India Company did not fall into line with them altogether, and because of this these missionaries heaped their curses upon it for its policy of what they called mistaken toleration. After the establishment of the imperial government, the missions found it easier to implement their policy and they have raised chiefly with Indian money a large number of schools and colleges. All this can not stand the light of day, and now they are rightly afraid lest they may have to lose their unjustly acquired gains. The same holds true in China. There are no grants-in-aid there, it is true, as there was no so-called Christian government in that country, but they have acquired a number of privileges under all sorts of show of force. China was already asserting itself against these when unfortunately the war started.

In view of all this and much more, the State of Travancore has done just the right thing in taking into its own hands all the primary education in the state, and it deserves to be congratulated for its bold stand. The Christian missions, both Protestant and Catholic, are enjoying in the whole of India privileges such as they have in no other country of the world, and the sooner they give these up of their own accord or are made to give up, the better will it be for Christianity, not of the Churches or Missions, but of Jesus Christ Himself, and for India.

A HINDU LOVER OF CHRIST.

"OUTRAGE ON RELIGIOUS FREEDOM"

Sir, When I read the heading in the Catholic *Examiner*, "Travancore Outrage on Religious Freedom" I wondered what had happened in that land of lofty palm trees and glorious sunsets, where the matriarchate still survives, and nephews, not sons, are one's legal heirs. Had the Maharaja started an Inquisition? Are heretics being burnt at the stake? Have properties been confiscated? Churches demolished? Priests forcibly unfrocked? A score of such questions suggested by Church history sprang to my mind. On reading through the Travancore Government Order, I found that none of these things have happened or are contemplated. Only there will be no grants in-aid of primary schools conducted primarily for religious instruction. Does freedom mean that the State should subsidise religious instruction. Does the Vatican State give a grant to St. Paul's Cathedral?

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM.

STATE GRANTS AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Sir, I have always thought that State grants, so far from being helpful to educational and religious freedom, were detrimental to it. State grants necessarily postulate State inspection and control, in order to see that public money is properly utilised for the purpose for which it is granted. I know institutions which have not applied for grants for the reason that it inevitably means state interference. That reputable Catholic journals and ecclesiastics should regard the withholding of grants as "an outrage on religious freedom," is explicable only as a piece of casuistry commonly attributed to Jesuits.—SCRUTATOR.

BELSEN EXPERIMENTS AND VIVISECTION

Sir, of the disclosures of the deeds committed in the Belsen Camp, those which have horrified me most, are the experiments on human beings, especially women. Mass cremations leave me unmoved. It is all the same to a dead man whether his body is buried in a stately mausoleum, or cremated on a pyre of camphor and sandalwood or cast into the Ganges to be swallowed by the toothless crocodiles which are a special species indigenous to Mother Ganga. The wholesale gassing did not stir in me as acute a feeling as the Atom bombing of two Japanese cities. But the experiments on living men and women to discover scientific truths shocked me as the experiment on animals shocked me when I first read of vivisection years ago. I remember to have noted that it could not be long before the scientific fanatics will break through the convention against using living human bodies as material to experiment on. The Belsen experiments to my mind are the inevitable sequel to vivisection as a means of gaining knowledge.—ANTI-VIVISECTIONIST.

THE PROFESSIONAL PATRIOT

(BY JEAN MALAQUAIS)

What a pity, that the good patriot should so often be the enemy of the rest of mankind.—VOLTAIRE

The taste of that bitter fruit called "patriot" (of this, that or any country), gives me a pain in the belly. It is a bitter and green fruit, this patriot, who professes to love "his" country, and therefore doesn't like yours. Bitter, green, shrivelled fruit, which our times produce as snail secretes its slime, but whose make-up owes nothing to Jeanne d'Arc, Bolivar and other Mac-cabees. I don't know any more curious mixture of peevishness, lachrymosity, and chronic constipation than the female who expands importantly when the colours of "her" fatherland are displayed on a broomstick, or than the gentleman who chokes with emotion when the drum of "his" regiment is beaten. A curious and corrosive chemistry—reacting with instant acid if somebody doesn't think quite enough of the prowess of your NCOs, the excellence of your domestic virtues, the superiority of your chewing gum. It's the psychology of the turkey that sees everything fine and rosy from the top of his dunghill, but just let another turkey poke his beak in!

Psychology of the turkey, that spreads his fan to the wind. But the turkey at least is honest. The god of turkeys has given him a carbuncle, and it is only natural for him to inflate it. True to his nature, he will answer with a gobble when the heroic rattle is shaken. If he is a Moldavian he has a fit when his name on a press communique is preceded by that of a Batavian; if he is a Batavian, he will be proud. He swells and dilates when flattered, when applauded for his feathers, his spurs, his dung! He sees red if the applause is not loud enough. He displays every possible bad taste. He enlivens his speeches with tremolo effects. He admires statues of men on horseback. He has a preference for official poetry. He is remarkably susceptible to the tricks of stagecraft and to all official hokum; he turns up at every parade generously applauding and nodding appreciatively. But nothing excites him more than the number of "our" bombers, the tonnage of "our" fleet, the pants buttons of "our" infantry. While he appreciates the cheeses of "our" country and the hips of "our" girls (in fact, anything to which he can attach the possessive "our" opens his patriotic water-gates, since he is a citizen whose pride flows easily), he is above all sensitive to the charms of the trumpet and sabre. He is martial, as some men squint or have chronic catarrh; it comes to him naturally, without special effort. And the more glorious the trumpets, the louder the noise of sabre on the pavement, the prouder will the Moldavian be that he is not a Batavian, and the Batavian that he is no Moldavian.

But he is honest. At least. Not too intelligent, but honest. Patriot through force of circumstances, through force of historic cataclysms, he sincerely thinks (so far as he thinks), that "his" country invented or contributed to the invention of most of the things listed in the encyclopedias, from romantic love to wire butter cutters. He swallows like medicine the commonplaces and platitudes of the patriotic jargon, and regurgitates them with diminished eloquence but greater volume. And though he may not always agree with this or that law of "his" country, with this or that strategy of "his" generals, he

will defend them with passion should the patriot across the border venture to criticize them. He believes that dirty linen should be washed "within the family," for naturally, he believes in the national family. Just the same, since the ethics of the patriotic Moldavian and Batavian stem not from a complex, not from an ideology, but from a bundle of sentiments, Moldavian and Batavian alike are not professional patriots at all, but simply pitiable victims.

The professional patriot is a very different bird. He does not possess the happy certitudes of the turkey, nor has he its vanity. Though he gobble strongly and with feeling, though he does not scorn the oratorical effects of sideshow demagogy, he does not suffer from chronic constipation. He knows he is selling a commodity, and he knows its exact price. Your Moldavian-Batavian patriot (a type comparatively old, born of the last century's wars of national liberation), shouts *Patria-Patriae* in every key and chokes with the effort. Your professional, a recent product, takes his accent from the current decadence of the national idea; he employs style and rhetorical embellishment; and he does not choke. Like the atheist who becomes a pillar of the church in old age, or the youthful anarchist who with marriage becomes a model of middle-class respectability, so the professional patriot at the outset of his career feels nothing but disgust for what he will later wallow in with joy. But even here the parallel is not exact. The former atheist and the youthful non-conformist who finally join the great army of yes-men, succumb at least to the inexorable weight of social pressures; they undergo a kind of degenerative evolution, and their convictions liquefy in the universal solvent of bourgeois norms. But the professional patriot is nearly always the conscious and deliberate renegade. What really differentiates the professional from the bleating patriot, however, is that the passions of the latter are rooted in his native soil, inseparably united with his birth-certificate, as it were; if he is a Moldavian, he swears by Moldavia, if a Batavian, then by Batavia. While the professional, whatever his native country and mother-tongue, has one and only one passion, namely, the passion for Russia-Under-Stalin. This professional patriot is in fact an expatriate, a man without a country, and curiously, he is the unique example of a man who, paying no allegiance to any country, yet professes allegiance to the most monstrous of totalitarianisms.

[Politics]

RE-EDUCATION OF GERMANS

Field-Marshal Montgomery in a "sombre picture" he drew recently of conditions in the British zone of Germany, nevertheless spoke of the great progress made in the field of education. Despite the shortage of teachers, books and buildings, all children in the British zone are now receiving at least part-time education and the Hamburg, Goettingen and Kiel Universities are being reopened.

The present personal visit to Germany of the Education Minister, Miss Ellen Wilkinson, indicates the interest in this matter of the British Government. Notwithstanding a great shortage of teachers and educationists in Britain, a number of British men and women fill posts as administrators dealing

with German universities, adult education, technical colleges and youth activities. The actual teaching is, however, done by Germans carefully selected.

The following account by Major Gallacher, who controls the education of 85,000 German children in the "land" of Brunswick, is typical :

"Our first problems were buildings, teachers and equipment. Thirty per cent of schools in the "land" were damaged or destroyed. Of approximately 430 schools, we now have 229 we can open.

"We have submitted all who taught under the Nazi regime to a long and exhaustive questionnaire which assists us to check up against information we have about their past Nazi connexions. In this way we are able to decide which teachers to retain, dismiss or subject to further investigation.

"All teachers we approve are required to sign a statement that they understand the fundamental principles, that there will be no teaching which glorifies militarism or propagates, revives or justifies Nazi doctrines, which favours race or religious discrimination or disturbs the relations between any of the Allied nations.

"To open all schools which previously existed would require 1,790 teachers. To date we have dismissed about 200, suspended 59 and appointed over 300. Over 900 of our teachers are still to be demobilised from the German Army.

"On the equipment side we started with appalling difficulties. Almost every existing book was indoctrinated. Arithmetic books contained problems such as 'If four Germans can do a job in 12 days, which it takes eight Poles or 15 Jews to do in the same time, how long would it take four Germans and 12 Poles to do a job which takes 20 Jews 40 days.'

"So we had to start pretty well from scratch and get new books printed by local German firms."

ATOM ENERGY FOR PEACE

(BY A. J. MCWHINNIE)

In three secret laboratories, located in widely scattered areas of Britain, scientists are striving to harness atomic energy to power the post-war world. This was disclosed by Dr. P. Dunsheath, president of the Institution of Electrical Engineers, in an address at institution headquarters in London.

He made it clear that the work at the laboratories was being done on behalf of the Government. Atomic research is also being undertaken at several universities in Britain.

Mr. Mackenzie King, Canadian Premier, now on his way to Britain by sea, is understood to be conveying to Mr. Attlee the personal views of President Truman on (1) the need to outlaw the atomic bomb; and (2) the conversion of atom into energy for peace purposes.

British scientists are considering issuing a statement on atom bomb. Prof. Nevil F. Mott said: "It is against our interests that a great deal of research should be carried out in secrecy. We are out to prevent the atom bomb being used in a warlike way."—*Daily Herald*.

FAITH AND RESOLUTION

Because of your strong faith, I kept the track
Whose sharp-set stones my strength had well-nigh spent,
I could not meet your eyes if I turned back,
So on I went.

Because you would not yield belief in me,
The threatening crags that rose my way to bar,
I conquered inch by crumbling inch, to see
The goal afar.

And though I struggle toward it through hard years,
Or flinch, or falter blindly, yet within
"You can" unwavering my spirit bears;
And I shall win.

ALDIS DUNBAR.

Travancore Primary Education :—It is now universally recognised that it is the duty of the State to see that no child of school-going age remains without the benefit of education because of the poverty or selfishness of parents. The Government of Travancore has now adopted this principle. The first step towards this is to make elementary education free. Before it is made compulsory, schools within easy walking distance say, half a mile, should be provided in every town and village. This requires time but it is not necessary to wait until ideally suitable buildings are constructed, and trained teachers are available in sufficient numbers. This is the mistake of the British Indian Government and of Indian States with a few exceptions, which has delayed unconscionably popular education in India. Existing buildings may be rented, thatched huts put up, or even, for a large part of the year, shades of trees of which there are plenty in the State, improvised into healthy open air schools. Nor is it necessary to wait until teachers are trained. Travancore has a higher proportion of educated women than other parts of the country. A friend recently said that young women with university degrees are available for teaching at as low a salary as Rs. 10 a month in Travancore and Cochin. Travancore has been having big revenue surpluses in recent years and can well afford to make primary education free at once. There may be some increase in the number of pupils but not a very large one immediately. Even when education is made compulsory, much persuasion will have to be resorted to in order to foster among the masses the habit of sending children to school. When remitting fees in State schools, an offer may be made to schools, on condition of their doing the same, to give a grant per head to their scholars to make up for the loss of income due to the remission of fees. This was what was done in Bandra when the Municipality introduced free and compulsory education for boys and girls—the first in India to take this step—some thirty years ago. There are several Catholic Schools in Bandra and they all fell in with the scheme which has been working smoothly. Very few non-Catholic children attend Catholic Primary schools although quite a good number are enrolled in Catholic High Schools and Colleges.

Standard Time :—On Sunday night at 2 p.m. clocks in India except in Bengal were put back an hour. The reversion to the old standard time has caused a general sense of relief as if a burden were lifted off one's shoulders. One hour of precious morning time has been given back and what a difference it makes! The non-cooperation of Bengal has been explained as due to economic reasons, the saving in electricity and coal. Bengal time is normally in advance of Bombay time and the change to the new standard did not affect her as much as it did this side of India. Still for the sake of uniformity, Bengal should have fallen into line with the present reversion. We hope she will soon.

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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

Re-educating Germans and Japanese:—We published in the last issue a brief account of what is being done in the British zone to re-educate, as it is called, the Germans. The Germans were recognised in the last century as the best educated people in Europe and their system of education won high praise from eminent British educationists. British youth spent a time in Germany to finish their education. Some important university reforms especially on the post-graduate side were modelled on the German pattern. The problem of re-educating the Germans, therefore, involves re-educating them out of their national culture. Is this possible? The teachers employed are Germans, we are told, who have passed a thorough examination showing that they do not hold Nazi views. Let us not forget that Germans were a century ago a dreamy, poetic, metaphysical people and that it was the Napoleonic conquest that stirred them to the need of militarizing themselves. Oppression consolidates and the present will be no exception. The Japanese re-education problem is psychologically more complex and therefore more interesting. At the present moment the Japanese in Indo-China and Malaya are actually maintaining law and order and protecting the lives of the women and children of those who have decided to disarm them and are professing to be in those countries solely for that purpose. Is it possible that the Japanese brain is too obtuse to miss the obvious implication of the Anglo-American paradox? General MacArthur is an honest American but he has no imagination. His methods in Japan smack of those of a bull in a china shop. He has abolished Shintoism and is about to abolish the Emperor. We have heard from distinguished Americans that it was a blunder to have deposed the Chinese Emperor. A people, Mr. Winston Churchill observed not long ago, are ruled either by addition or by force. The Imperial tradition was worth a thousand armies in China and in Japan. General

McArthur will have to keep a million Americans in Japan, merely; to see that the Japanese do not rearm. As for education a Bombay Educationist, W. H. Sharp, visited Japan some thirty years ago and in his report published by the Bureau of Education of the Government of India, spoke in very high terms of its educational efficiency as compared with India at an expenditure much less than that in India. He noted the teaching of patriotism in the schools as a defect which was shared by many other countries. General McArthur's system will be far more expensive for one thing. It will also be much less efficient from the educational point of view. A democracy imposed is not democracy. He will probably invite a number of Missionary agencies to Christianise the Japanese heathen. The Japanese will be taught to think of the Atom Bomb as a divine dispensation which they should be grateful to the Americans to have been the instrument of dropping on their country. The *Indian Witness*, organ of the American Methodist Mission, published in Lucknow, has discovered that the Atom Bomb is in conformity with the teachings of Jesus. It wrote on October 18,

"Jesus said that not a single sparrow falls to the ground without our Heavenly Father's notice. Then why cannot we see it is not a million deaths but *one* needless death that should concern us. The Atom Bomb was merely an assembling at one time and place of what had been going on with seeming approval for years. The single bullet is an Atom Bomb. Until we realize this, there will be *no* end of Atom Bombs; when we do realize it there will be *the* end of Atom Bombs and all that goes with them."

Many who protest against the Atom Bomb have been protesting against all war. If their efforts have failed so far, it is partly because professed religious organs have not only withheld co-operation but attempted to stifle their protest by sophistry so brazen as the above.

Trial of War Criminals:—The trial in Paris of M. Laval, an ex-French Minister who came into special prominence in connection with a Pact with Sir Samuel Hoare, exhibited to the world the utter lack of the judicial atmosphere in which it was conducted. The judge raged at the accused in the dock and ordered him out of the court. By comparison, the accused statesman bore himself better at the trial. He was sentenced to be shot. A few days afterwards when he was about to be taken out for the execution, he swallowed some poison. But he did not die. He was dragged to the execution place and was shot in a condi-

tion of collapse. His widow told a journalist a day after her husband was killed that the authorities now in power wanted to prevent him from making revelations which would have been highly damaging to them. In the circumstances the French trials are a repetition of the "purgings" which every successful revolutionary, Stalin or Hitler, has found it necessary to carry out in order to get rid of political opponents. The trial of the German criminals is in a different category but even they cannot be said to be conducted in a strictly judicial atmosphere. Many of the witnesses are persons just released from internment camps and have every motive to exaggerate and even to invent atrocities. Internment camps are not places where one learns to love his enemies. There have been several books by internees, Cohen-Portheim's "Time Stood Still" for instance. Apart from the influence of internment camps to embitter feelings, the trials so soon after the German surrender may make it difficult for a future historian to sift truth from fiction. Most of the atrocity stories of the last war were proved to have been faked. That there has been no faking in the present, it is hard to believe. The very enormity of some of the atrocities imposes a severe strain on human credulity. The trials of the Japanese War criminals offer a different set of difficulties owing to the entire difference in outlook of the Japanese and the Americans for example, in treatment of war prisoners. The normal Japanese standard of living would appear to be sub-human to the American. Prisoners of war can not be expected to be treated better than their captors treat themselves. A further point is that the Japanese who seldom surrendered until the Emperor gave the order, would not have expected and provided for the wholesale surrender of the Allied troops in Burma, Malaya and the Philippines.

Army Indianisation—Early this week the Government of India issued a communique announcing that there will be no more recruiting of British officers for the Indian Army and that it will henceforth be restricted to Indians, born or domiciled in the country. A few transitional reservations as regards the Navy and the Army are provided. No non-Indians are recruited to the Air Force. The communique does not say whether the Indian Army will continue to consist of a proportion of British regiments. This is an important point. If the inclusion of British troops is to continue, the limitation of recruitment to Indians, is shorn of much of its significance from a national point of view. The history of the British contingent in India is relevant here. The East India Company extended its sway over the whole country largely with Indian troops and wholly with Indian money. Four fifths of the troops and every pie of the cost of the "conquest" of India was found in India itself. Seeley in his famous lectures on "the Expansion of England" denied on this ground that India was conquered in the sense that Ireland was and held that the British Empire in India depended for its existence on the acquiescence of the people of India. At the time of the rising in 1857 the proportion of Indian to British troops in the Company's Army was three to one, perhaps more. After the assumption of the Government by the Crown, the Indian proportion was steadily decreased. Other changes were introduced in order to isolate the Indian section of the Army from the main current of national

life. The present war has forced the Government to extend recruitment to all parts of the country. The retention of the British section in whole or in part would deprive the reform now announced of its most important benefit. A National Army is one of the most effective means of national solidarity. The retention of the communal rationing of jobs now in vogue in the civil administration would have the same sinister effect.

Secular and Religious Education:—Although all knowledge is one integrated whole, and secular and religious are artificial distinctions, in the dogmatic religions—using the term in no derogatory sense—there is such a distinction as a matter of practical convenience. Secular truths do not depend on dogmas. The laws of physics and chemistry, mathematics, physiology, are not affected by religious dogmas. Few modern countries have a religiously homogeneous population. Their educational systems in order to accommodate scholars of different religions and no religions, have necessarily to be confined to secular subjects. This does not necessarily mean that the State is indifferent or opposed to religions: The State recognises its limitations and does not presume to transgress them. At the same time, the State owes a duty to all its children to provide facilities for education irrespective of whether their parents can afford to pay fees or not. No religious sect is under a similar obligation. The Catholic Church, for instance, is not legally or morally bound to provide elementary education for the children of all communities in Travancore any more than in British India.

Indian Troops for Indonesia:—A New Delhi message to the *Times of India* states that the Government of India have declined to send Indian troops to assist the Dutch forces in restoring their power in Indonesia. There are hardly any Dutch forces worth mentioning in Indonesia. Nearly the whole of the country is under Indonesian control except Batavia which is occupied by the British. Recent reports mention specifically the Gurkhas. In Anglo-Indian parlance the Gurkhas are perhaps not Indians as their homeland, Nepal, is an independent State. But the political division is in direct conflict with the social, religious and cultural unity of India of which Nepal is an integral part. Besides whether Indians or British, those who are on the Indian establishment, are in this regard Indian nationals and any British troops which the British Government may send should not be from the Indian Army. The embargo should not be limited to personnel. It must cover war material of all kinds. The dissociation from Dutch imperialism in Indonesia must be complete so that all the world and the Indonesians may know and understand. What applies to Indonesia applies with greater force to Indo-China. The French treatment of Indo-Chinese political movement has been marked by savage cruelty. In any case, the Indo-Chinese do not want the French and that is a conclusive reason why India should not participate in imposing the French on the people of that country. Since the above was written, Indian troops are cooperating with French in Indo-China in putting down the Annamese and in Indonesia against the Indonesians. British troops in the Far East are clamouring to return home and Mr. Winston Churchill, of all persons, has criticised the Attlee Government for not releasing them quickly enough. Indians are the only ones whose feelings do not count. French friendship is essential to Britain in its efforts against Soviet influence in the international field. But even the Indian worm may not always enjoy being downtrodden.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, October 27, 1945.

THE WORLD OUTLOOK

For the commercial castes of Western India, New Year begins on Diwali Day. For the whole of India Diwali is a day of rejoicing, the greatest day of rejoicing. Early morning baths, new clothes, crackers and sweets galore; illuminations at night, every shop and every home, however humble, displaying as many twinkling lights as they can afford and find space for. All pervaded by the spirit of reverence, nothing of the revelry of the Holi. Even in the dark days of plague at its worst, Diwali celebrations were not altogether abandoned. The Indian spirit realises that joy and sorrow are as sunshine and shadow. Not to be unduly elated by success nor to be excessively depressed by failure is the sum and substance of Indian philosophy. The Diwali celebrations this year will follow the normal plan. There was nothing special to mark Victory E and Victory J. Perhaps they were a little subdued by the magnitude of the revelations which the end of war has brought in its train: India is thankful that she was spared the more spectacular horrors of war which European countries had to endure, though of the more subtle and enduring consequences in economic and social spheres she has had and is having more than her fair share. Government on the whole have managed to us bring through a difficult and unprecedented situation without irreparable harm. The credit for this should largely go to the Indian people whose pacific law-abiding nature has rendered the task of safeguarding the country comparatively easy. Not that there was anything in the relations between the Germans and the Japanese on the one hand, and the Indian people on the other to provoke hostilities. Japanese statesmen had declared several years ago that India was useless for them as an outlet for their overflow population. They were intent on acquiring or occupying some portion of the vast empty spaces in Australia and Canada which need population to be fully developed. The United States and South America also offered them opportunities which India did not. The Americans, Australians and Canadians, therefore, had good reason to fear Japanese expansion. Britain and India had none whatever. In fact, for years after the Japanese victory over Russia in the beginning of the century, Japan had been a close and honoured ally of Britain. She protected the British Indian Empire during the first World War when Britain could not spare ships and men for the purpose. The Indian people were not pleased at Japan undertaking to maintaining British rule not only against foreign aggression but also against internal political movements. Notwithstanding that, Japan become the model to which Indian leaders looked for inspiration. Without the least consideration for Indian sentiments, Britain repudiated her treaty of friendship with Japan at the instance of the Americans. She later declared war on Japan in order to draw America into the European war. Lord Linlithgow, as Governor-General, in complete disregard of these circumstances, declared that India was at war and that the war was primarily India's war. India became the chief and main base of the armies operating against Japan. Japan has accepted defeat. Australia and Canada are made secure in their All-

White policy. The Dutch and the French who had lost their own countries, have been reinstated in them and what is most extraordinary they are being reimposed on the Indonesians and the Indo-Chinese by Indian and—tell it not in Gath—Japanese troops whose disarmament is postponed in order to use them against their fellow Asiatics. Europe cannot hold Asia without the help of Asiatics. It will not be surprising if ultimately the Japanese are left in control of Eastern Asia under the control of the British, Dutch, French and Americans. Not for the first time in human history has the standard-bearer of a cause been struck down at the very moment of its success. The days of the White Man's domination are numbered.

In India too time has not stood still. The political posturings, official and non-official, have been suspended pending elections which are expected to indicate to Government the trend of public opinion as to the future political constitution of the country. The immediate effect has been to create new diversions and distractions under cover of which the powers-that-be fix firmly the road on which the future Government, whatever its shape or colour, must travel. The Governor-General has signed the pretentious World Security document alleging that he could not consult the Legislative Assembly as he wished to, because the Assembly has been dissolved. But he himself dissolved the Assembly and he could not have been unaware when he did so that the Security Charter was due for ratification. Gandhiji has been strangely silent since the Simla Conference except for the declaration that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was his legal heir. The Pandit has taken the role in dead earnest and has been collecting credentials to justify it. He has started on a mass contact movement with Muslims which has exasperated Mr. Jinnah who is anxious to keep the Muslim masses in strict purdah inaccessible to all but himself. The Shias, the Khaksars, the Memons and other sects are threatening secession more with a view to obtaining recognition from the Muslim League as important interests deserving special concessions than with any serious intention of fighting the League. The Nationalist Muslims with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad at their head are still singing the hackneyed song of self-determination without any clear idea of its implications. The list of nominations for election issued by the Congress authorities has caused some disappointment but on the whole it is neither more nor less impressive than the list of members of the last Assembly. In Bombay the substitution of Dr. G. V. Deshmukh who has been chiefly remarkable for his scant regard for party whips, for Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, the part author of the Pact which the other partner, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali, has sneeringly described as jottings at causal talks, has evoked some comment. But those who have followed the course of events, must recognise that Mr. Desai's position had become untenable. Dr. Deshmukh's choice may be intended to signify a new access of tolerance of difference of opinion in the Congress High Command. We do not think that the composition of the next Assembly will disclose any marked differences from that of the last.

Meanwhile Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been promulgating schemes on all fields of reconstruction. In addition to a "Blue Print" for industries, he has recently outlined a scheme for Indian States.

Jaipur has recently opened a narrow lane by which the people, if they so desired, might debouch into democratic institutions. The Pandit drew up a plan for this purpose. The rulers of large States should become limited monarchs like the British Sovereign. Smaller States should be amalgamated with neighbouring British Indian provinces. Legislatures should be established and the Prime Minister and the other Ministers should be responsible to them as Mr. Attlee and his colleagues are to the British Parliament. As a matter of fact, the Parliament for next five years is bound hand and foot to obey Mr. Attlee's behests as the last Parliament was to obey Mr. Churchill's. The British constitution is a most illogical and impossible system of governing a people. It has worked in Britain because it is a faithful reproduction of the strong and weak points of the English character. It has become out of date and the present Government is the first step towards the now accepted form of rule by party caucus. The present King is probably the last who will submit to being a limited monarch. His predecessor revolted against the role of a king who reigns but does not rule. There is nothing new in the Pandit's scheme but the Rajputs of Jaipur would be shocked when they come to know that it means that their Maharaja should obtain the permission of his subjects to spend a few lakhs on the marriage of a daughter or son and that, in the process, he must be present to hear the character of the would-be son-in-law and daughter-in-law discussed according to parliamentary practice. The Pandit's plans have one common feature, they are sublimely unrelated to the traditional and historic as well as the present condition of the country. Ordinary political prudence would dictate that all controversial proposals should await disclosure until a political party is securely seated on the saddle. Catch the hare before you cook it, is a sound maxim for politicians as for housewives.

A CALL TO INDIAN CATHOLICS

The *Examiner* in its issue of October 20 returns to the attack on the Travancore Government's Order on primary schools in the State. It says that the *Reformer* is trying to make out that the Order does not propose to withdraw grants from Catholic schools though attended only by Catholic children. We quoted the paragraph in the Order relating to this point and it did not convey to us the meaning that the Government of Travancore intended to relinquish responsibility for the elementary education of the children of its Catholic subjects. The State has the same responsibility for the physical, mental, and moral well-being of its Catholic citizens, as for that of others. Whether, however, our interpretation of the Order was correct or not, it is our opinion that the State should provide the same facilities to all classes and castes of children of primary school age. It follows that the State cannot hand over or share this responsibility with any other agency except so far as that agency accepts and follows the basic lines of Government policy. In passing, it is high time to decide the question whether a foreign proselytising organisation should be treated as a "private agency" for purposes of educational aid. It is well-known that every foreign mission and missionary now working in British India has to give an undertaking strictly delimiting the scope of their operations. Several

missionaries who refused to give the undertaking have had to leave the country. The *Reformer* has devoted special attention to this feature of missionary enterprise on more than one occasion. In the case of Roman Catholicism in particular, which is controlled by the Pope who is secular ruler of the Vatican State, we seriously question if Catholic Mission agencies are entitled to be treated as private agencies. They are the agencies of another State. Missions from most other countries where the Church is separate from the State, are in a somewhat different category. We do not know if Indian States require from foreign religious missions an undertaking similar to the one which the Government of India demand from them. A Conference on religious education under official auspices, is about to sit with the Anglican Bishop of Lahore as Chairman—why the Bishop was chosen and by whom is not known—and this and other questions will, we hope, be discussed and definite conclusions reached at the Conference. The Chamber of Princes should also consider the questions raised by the Catholic agitation against the Travancore Order.

The *Examiner* quotes the *Reformer's* remark that the almost total relegation of elementary education to "private agencies" in Travancore, has had deplorable results. The *Examiner* questions the "accuracy" of this statement on the strength of the generous tribute paid by the Committee set up by the Travancore Government to the contribution made by private agencies to elementary education in the State. The disastrous effects of which we wrote, were obviously not in the quality or quantity of education but in allowing vested interests to grow up in such a vital matter as elementary education as against the State. The very efficiency of the Catholic system constitutes its greatest danger to the free development of education in harmony with the social and cultural environment. It is an axiom of every educational philosophy that the school should be a continuation of the home and not antagonistic to it. Mission schools in this country flagrantly violate this principle. The harm done would have been far worse but for the stability of the Indian family and social system which the missions have been, rightly from their point of view, seeking to disrupt by insidious propaganda. This is not a matter which can be measured by statistics.

It is not generally known in this country that in some of the South American States, in Brazil for instance, the Catholic Church has thrown off its allegiance to the Pope as Britain did four centuries ago. The Brazilian Catholic Apostolic Church, we read, "embodies the spirit of Christ which seeks harmony and cooperation between all religions." It grants absolute civil, political, philosophical and religious freedom and does not at all under any pretext countenance the questioning of a person's beliefs. The Most Reverend Dom Carlos Duarte Costa, now Bishop of the Brazil Catholic Apostolic Church in Rio de Janeiro, was formerly Catholic Bishop of Maura. He was excommunicated for writing an introduction to the Brazilian edition of the book which the Dean of Canterbury wrote on Russia after a visit to that country. To his protest the Curia replied that the Roman Catholic mind should be with Pope Pius XI in condemning the atheistic communism of Russia. We would welcome a movement for

an Indian Catholic Apostolic Church. The spiritual bent of the Indian, whatever his religious faith, is synthetic: it seeks harmony and cooperation among all religions. The spirit of the Catholic Church is entirely different. The best proof of this is that, before the advent of the Catholic church, Christians in India were a flourishing community, living in perfect harmony with their neighbours, Hindus, Muslims, and Jews. The germs of a movement of emancipation are already showing signs of sprouting under the warmth of Indian nationalism.

FOREIGN MINISTERS' CONFERENCE EAKDOWN

(BY W. N. EWER)

The breakdown of the Council of Foreign Ministers was disappointing, but to those who had been following its work scarcely surprising, for the fact that differences of view had been evident for a week or more.

The issue upon which the final break came was, indeed, a strange one. It was M. Molotov's refusal—maintained through three days and two nights of argument—to sign the "protocols" unless his colleagues would agree to an alteration of the record, which would have been in their view and, indeed in fact, a falsification of history.

But that was incidental. Behind it lay the determination of the Soviet Government to bring about (the phrase is Mr. Byrnes') "a narrowing of the participation in the pending work on European peace treaties and the elimination therefrom of a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council." In particular, M. Molotov was especially anxious to exclude France from any vote whatever in the East European peace settlements.

There perhaps lies the key to his attitude, for, looking back, one sees the Council meeting as divided into three phases.

In the first, there was good co-operation all round and real progress was made. The Council, indeed, reached no hard and fast decisions about either the Italo-Yugoslav frontier or about the future of the Italian colonies. That had never been expected at this session. But it did advance matters to a point at which the deputies could have fruitfully taken over the work during this session and the next. It looked as if the Council was really succeeding in what it set out to do.

In the second phase, the differences began to reveal themselves. M. Molotov showed that he intended, if possible, to make a sharp distinction between the treatment of Italy and the treatment of Eastern "satellites", now so closely associated with the Soviet Union. As compared with other enemy states, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland should, in one Soviet view, be given a highly preferential and privileged treatment. It was—though Russians dislike the word—a clear example of a policy of regarding all these States—together with Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary—as a "bloc" under Soviet leadership.

The third phase came when the Council passed to the actual examination of these Eastern treaties. Suddenly M. Molotov announced that France and China must take no part whatever in the discussions. He based his demand in regard to the interpretation of a single sentence in the

Potsdam Agreement—detached from its context and from its general meaning. His surprised colleagues pointed out that on the very first day, September 11, the Council had unanimously agreed on the interpretation of Potsdam which would allow both France and China to discuss, though not to vote on questions of Balkan peace settlement, and that it had acted on that decision through the whole series of meetings.

It was then that M. Molotov took up the extraordinary position of arguing that since he now regarded that resolution of September 11 as a mistake, it no longer existed; that it must be regarded as null and void; that all reference to its having ever been voted must be expunged from the minutes and that his new interpretation of the Potsdam protocol must be accepted in toto by other delegations,

Here was a difficult situation. One might have expected that a way out could be found in discussion, and that some compromise could be devised. But M. Molotov showed a rigid disinclination for a compromise at all. That may be partly temperamental; one is reminded of the passage in Dostoiivsky's *Brother Karamazov* in the speech of the prosecution at Demitri's trial: "While his brothers seem to stand for 'Europeanism' he seems to represent Russia as she is who dislikes paying for anything but is very fond of receiving, and that is so with Russia in everything."

It may be that M. Molotov miscalculated: that he felt sure that he had only to be stubborn in order to get his way: that others would yield to him rather than "jeopardise Allied unity": and that when he realised his mistake he had already taken up a position from which he could not see how to withdraw.

But even a compromise formula settling the immediate issue of procedure would have really settled nothing, though it would certainly have allowed the deputies to get on with their work. It seems to me that important questions have now posed themselves and must be answered.

One is whether the framing of peace is to be a matter for the narrowest possible group of Big Powers or whether—though necessarily in varying degrees—all the United Nations which actively contributed to victory are to participate in the work. The other is whether Eastern Europe is not to be regarded and treated as a special area, as a regional group of states under Russian leadership and Russian protection, sharply demarcated from the Continent.

They are questions evidently beyond the competence of the Council of Foreign Ministers. And one must expect a perhaps protracted exchange of views between the Governments and hope that a new understanding will emerge from it.

CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN TRAVANCORE

Sir, As a Travancorean, I have read with interest your comments on the Travancore educational question in recent issues of your paper. I cannot bring myself to believe that you deliberately wanted to misrepresent the demand which the Christian citizens of Travancore are making; and so I hope you will permit me to place before your readers the bare facts of the case. I have no intention to treat the wider issues of religious freedom

which you have raised, but shall restrict myself solely to primary education in Travancore.

At present there are 3052 schools for primary education in the State; 2169 of these are run by private agencies, and of these latter 89% belong to Christians. The Christian schools admit students of other religions as well, and follow the Government curriculum. These schools conform to the Travancore Educational Code of 1908, and hence were receiving a certain amount of grant from the Government. This system was satisfactory to all communities, and there was no protest against it in the press.

Two years back the Government appointed an Educational Committee of 45 members. The Christians were far from being adequately represented on this Committee, nor were their protests heeded. However the Report of the Committee presented in March 1945, praised the work of the private schools and urged that every help and encouragement should be given to private managements to improve existing schools and to open new ones. This report was welcomed unanimously by the whole public which looked forward to the Government implementing its recommendations.

All unexpectedly in July 1945 the Diwan rushed through the Legislative Council and Assembly a resolution that the Government should take up the management of all primary schools, that no recognition should be given to private schools unless they are built anew according to the type-design supplied by the Government, and that even for those private schools that conform to the Government type-design, no grant should henceforth be given. The resolution was stoutly opposed by the Christian members; but a non-Christian majority—which, be it noted, owned only 11% of the private schools—could be secured to support the proposal. Not long after, the Government issued a communique that it had decided to accept the recommendations of the Assembly and Council. Thus was sealed the death-warrant for 2169 private schools in the State.

Over 1800 of these private schools belong to and are under the management of the Christian citizens of the State. The Christian community has spent lakhs of rupees for the premises and buildings; and the money was spent in the hope that Christian parents would be allowed to have their children taught in these schools. Now by a stroke of the pen the Government has made all these schools useless. If Christian parents wish to maintain their own schools—and they certainly want to—they should spend several lakhs more, and put up new buildings according to the government type-design. Even when buildings according to the Government type-design will have been put up, the Government will not give any grant for the Christian schools. The Christians should maintain their teachers at their own expense. Nor will they be exempted from the educational cess which every citizen should pay for the maintenance of the State schools. The annual expenditure of the State schools will be nearly Rs. 140 lakhs, which entails a *per capita* cess of nearly Rs. 3 5 as. The initial cost for the new system of State schools will be six and a half crores of rupees, for which over two crores will have to be paid by the Christian citizens, involving another expense of nearly Rs. 10 10 as, per head.

And what have the Christian citizens of the State done to deserve the entire distribution of whatever they have

done for the primary education of their children? And why should they be subjected to such heavy expenditure which the other citizens of the State are exempt from? Because: (i) They want religious instruction to be given to their children in their schools. (ii) They maintain that the child belongs primarily to the family and not to the State; and that the State has no right to impose a totalitarian type of education for all its subjects.

Regarding the first point, be it noted that in Christian schools existing at present, religious instruction was being given to Christian pupils only, and that outside the class hours, that is, either before the non-Christian pupils came to the school or after they had dispersed. The grant which the Government was giving to Christian schools was not for the extra-curricular religious instruction, but for the regular primary education, which they were imparting according to Government curricula, and even far more efficiently than the Government schools. There was never any charge of proselytism brought against these schools.

As for the right of parents to educate their children, I presume that such a right would be admitted by any democratic Government. To affirm the contrary would be Nazism or Shintoism; and the terrible war that has just ended shows clearly how baneful such totalitarian ideologies are.

P. T. MATHEW

The *Reformer* did not raise, as Mr. Mathew insinuates, the issue of religious freedom in connection with the Travancore Order. It was the local Catholic *Examiner*, to which the Archbishop of Bombay is a regular contributor, which denounced it as "an outrage on religious freedom." The *Examiner* has not withdrawn the absurdly unsuitable phrase. Mr. Mathew's ignoring this fact and imputing the religious issue to the *Reformer*, is typical of the spirit in which this agitation is being carried on. Then again Mr. Mathew writes as if all Christians in Travancore are Catholics. As would appear from the article by Mr. Ooman Joseph published in the *Reformer* there is a remnant of Syrians in Travancore who have survived the Catholic propaganda. *Travancore Information* says that the majority of Christians, both in the Legislative Assembly and the Council, voted for the amendment that Government should take over the management of primary education. But we are not interested in this aspect of the controversy. The Travancore Government's Order is open to discussion on its merits. But not as an attack on religious freedom, as the *Examiner* and other Catholic organs represented without realising the dangerous nature of the ground they were treading. *Editor.*

CHRISTIANITY AND THE CLASSLESS SOCIETY

BY RALPH TEMPLIN

Stating that Christian churches "have nothing original to contribute" to this crisis, the *Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay, India, in its March 31, 1945, issue, critically reviews the *Information Service Bulletin* of December 30, 1944, in which the Federal Council of Churches has summarized results of a study of "Christian opinion" in several countries concerning the social and economic basis for a just

and durable peace. The editor charges that in setting Christianity in favour of a new social and economic order but, as over against Russia, determined to strive for it in "Christian" ways which will preserve freedom for man and restrain totalitarian forces in the world, the Federal Council has made an unwarranted claim in that "it treats political freedom as identical with Christianity"; when in fact, as Gibbon has written, "the banner of the Church has never been raised in the cause of the people."

The point is well taken that human freedom is not the monopoly of any particular faith. It is equally true that no faith has monopolized its denial. Both slavery and freedom have always been and are today universals which run round the world into every land and into every national or religious group. There never has been a geographical frontier or a religious or racial frontier for either of them. That is why no struggle, with war or any other methods, across national, sectional, racial or religious barriers has ever or can ever settle the issue between slavery and freedom.

But the point should also be made that it is time for the religious of mankind to put all their own and all other's sins behind them, and in order to build that new world together to face this crisis, greater than three world wars, with a unity such as has never been known in all history.

To employ the "economic means" on behalf of all men, through cooperative processes, that the spirit of man may be extended in a sovereignty uniting God and all men in familyhood, is a great and fundamental religious universal. Great spiritual leaders in all ages and of all religions have contributed to this concept of a divine human familyhood; but no faith, as generally interpreted by its followers, has as yet embodied this as its basic philosophy. And no modern philosopher has so nearly embodied it and implemented it as the great Hindu saint, Mahatma Gandhi, has done in his *satyagraha-swadeshism* conception which means the power of personal integrity and the extension thereof in human associational forms. Decentralization is a poor name for the same idea.

How tragic that after so many centuries and in the face of such desperate need for human mastery of the material, this sublime concept of the true class-lessness of the "kingdom of God" still lies so far from human grasp, still but a tiny rivulet of intrepid discernment in the totality of modern world thought! WORLD GOODWILL SERVICE

BUDDHISM IN CHINA

The triple anniversary of Bhagvan Buddha, which fell on May 26 this year, was celebrated with special interest in several places. The opening address at the Buddha celebration of the Malabodhi Society of India, Calcutta was delivered by the Consul General in India for China, the Hon. Mr. C. P. Chang. In the course of it, Mr. Chang said:

To-day we are celebrating a day which is of special sanctity to the Buddhists. On this full moon day of Vaishakha three great events of the Master's life have taken place. It was on this day that he was born, and thirty-five years later, it was on this day that he attained his supreme enlightenment, and after another forty-five years spent in the service of humanity, it was on

this very day that he passed away. A strange coincidence of dates, but nevertheless true.

When we look at the history of mankind, since the dawn of civilisation, what do we see? Man, ever eager to attain happiness, causes unhappiness to his own fellow beings and brings misery upon himself. Man, ever eager to attain power, uses force upon his weaker brethren bringing untold suffering to many. Man, ever eager for self-aggrandisement, usurps the rights of others and brings misery to countless numbers. By the use of force, by usurping the rights of others or by exploiting the weak, man has failed to attain happiness. Happiness is not unilateral. It is mutual and reciprocal. It blesses both the giver and the receiver. True happiness, if it is to survive, must be based on love—on universal love. Recognition of human rights, recognition of the equality of man and recognition of human brotherhood cannot emanate from conferences or paper transactions but from the magic touch of love. If we truly love one another, there will be an end of all wars and all human squabbles.

The Lord Buddha's message of love conquered the iron heart of a great warrior king, who, instead of being a curse to humanity, became a blessing to the whole world. The reign of this mighty monarch has been described as one of the brightest interludes in the troubled history of mankind. His reign (I mean that of Asoka) gave to India her golden age. The edicts of this great king proclaim to the world what immense good a person activated by love can do. Within the effulgence of love, all barriers of caste and creed, all narrowness of nationalism and isolationism, and all the hypocrisy of man's ill nature must disappear.

As a Chinese it remains only for me to say that the message we received, when your pilgrims came to us in China and ours returned from India centuries ago, is not lost in the hearts of millions of Chinese even now. A great pilgrimage that was and a great time in history! It is our duty to-day to revive the noble spirit of that pilgrimage, following the ancient path, not the geographical one which it hardly now is, but the great historical path that was built across the difficult barriers of racial difference and difference of language and tradition, reaching the spiritual home where man is in bonds of love and happiness.

Perhaps, also, the day may not be far off when the great message of love, which the Lord Buddha proclaimed to the world twenty-five centuries ago, will once again illumine the world. We are just passing through a painful period of great anxiety and disillusionment. Let us hope that before long we shall enter an era of peace and happiness when the message of the Buddha will ring true in our hearts.

AN INDIAN JEW ON ZIONISM

The following appeared in the *Times of India* of 19th Oct. 1945:

Sir,—It has been rightly pointed out that European Jews at present in Palestine have expressed their desire to return to Europe as soon as conditions permit and in that one can see how hollow the Zionist cry is. Indian Jewry stands aloof and wants to have no part in the Palestine affair because the average Indian Jew very well knows where he stands with the European Jews and

Palestine. The European Jews established in Palestine have drawn a partition against the coloured Jews. The latter having been in Palestine for centuries have had no chance at all to play their part in the Zionist programme. The 1,00,000 Jews from Europe intending to migrate to Palestine are just opportunists and at the same time, whether they realise it or not, are mere tools in the hands of the Zionists, who are nothing if not backed by capitalists, out to batten on their less fortunate co-religionists. It is certain that Attlee's Government is aware of this fact and that is why they cannot satisfy the Zionists. The European Jews should be content now that Hitler has been crushed. Their present plight will soon be over if they get busy on the continent where certainly they will find something to do instead of being the cause of unnecessary bloodshed that might result.

THOREAU AND GANDHIJI

Sir, I have read with much interest Mr. Hugh Harris's article on THOREAU AND INDIA, in the "Aryan Path", reproduced in your columns recently, and your editorial note thereon. It is quite correct to say that Thoreau's essay "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience" exercised much influence on Mahatma Gandhi's mind, when it reached him in 1907. But it would be incorrect to suggest that it influenced his decision to adopt *Satyagraha* in South Africa. That decision had already been taken, in 1906, before Gandhiji was even aware of Thoreau and his writings. It would, however, be accurate to say that, having taken his decision and persuaded his Transvaal countrymen to accept his advice, he was much encouraged, when the American reformer's essay reached him, to continue upon his course of passive resistance (as it was then called) against the anti-Indian law which had provoked it. I am in a position to speak with authority on this matter, as I was at the time Gandhiji's closest colleague and the editor of his paper, 'Indian Opinion', in which Thoreau's essay was reproduced.

H. S. L. POLAK.

TWINS

Sir, Perhaps the most sickening of the experiments on human beings in the Nazi internment camps, is that for ascertaining how twins are produced. Several Polish girls and thousands of gypsies are said to have been subjected to this ordeal. Many died in the process. The subject has been investigated by biologists from a purely scientific point of view. The Encyclopaedia Britannica devotes nearly two columns to the subject. The article describes the two ways in which multiple embryos are formed in mammals.

Except in man, only one of the two operates. In man both kinds are found. It is calculated that twins are approximately 1 in 100 births, triplets 1 in 10,000 and quadruplets 1 in 1,000,000. A few years ago a case of quintuplets in Canada attained wide publicity. This must be 1 in a billion or more. Hitler was anxious, desperately anxious, above all things to increase the German population rapidly. Alone among European countries, in a short ten years he succeeded not only in arrest-

ing the dangerous decline of the German birth-rate after World War but in increasing it substantially. Most other European countries were not able, notwithstanding many concessions and privileges to large families, to do this. Hitler's success was due to his ideological appeal to the Germans as the chosen people to multiply and inherit the earth. He had, it would appear contemplated by means of experimentation to double the births by ensuring that they were all twins —SCRUTATOR.

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN BANDRA

Sir, Your remark that in Bandra the free and compulsory system of primary education is working smoothly, seems to require modification. Having seen children of the prescribed school age, hawking vegetables and doing sundry jobs when they should be attending school, I made enquiries, and I am told that there is no room in the municipal schools in Bandra for the increased number of children and that the Municipality is not establishing new schools. Children are quietly refused admission and have taken to doing odd jobs in contravention of the law. If this is the fact, the system should be pronounced a failure. Government should institute enquiries and publish the result.

BANDRAITE.

Mudaliar's Errand:—The Supply Department having been unexpectedly rendered superfluous by the dropping of the Atom Bomb, the Member in Charge, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, has been deputed to go to London to build up the great International Organization which is to take the place of the defunct League of Nations and then on to Geneva to see it started and in operation. The foundations of international cooperation have dangerous seeds of disintegration and even the Social and Economic side show which Sir Ramaswami sponsored has evoked strong attacks from the Soviet State. This is quite intelligible. The social and economic ideologies of the Soviet and the Capitalist regimes are fundamentally opposed. They have not yet been adjusted. The creation of economic and social patterns of the capitalist model would practically extinguish the Soviet as a world influence. Nobody believes that in the present state of world opinion any international organization has much chance of functioning usefully. It is sheer waste of money for countries like India especially which has little to spare and indeed not enough for her own urgent needs, to have the honour of being admitted to these organisations where having an international status as a nation her delegates are entirely powerless to influence discussions. It is not unlikely that by the time the first session of the organization is held the third world war will be well on its way. Another Government of India Department which is marked for attenuation is the Information and Broadcasting Department. Sir Sultan Ahmed in anticipation has accepted the post of Political Adviser to the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes and is leaving New Delhi by the end of the month. Sir Akbar Hydari has been appointed temporary Member and will take the seat which his father occupied a few years ago. He would have been a permanent Member had he resigned his official job a year ago and joined some commercial firm and become an expert in Commerce. Rumour assigns him to the Governorship of the Central Provinces when it falls vacant next year.

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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

Christianizing the Japanese:—In the editorial note on the re-education of the Germans and the Japanese in last week's issue, the *Reformer* anticipated the probability of General McArthur inviting Missions to Christianise the Japanese heathen. Two days after the *Reformer* was published, it was announced that General McArthur has issued a "directive" to the Japanese Government to "restore" to Christian Missions the freedom of prosecuting their propaganda including, no doubt, proselytising in the country. According to a recent issue of the *Information Service* of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, there are two hundred and fifty six religious bodies of which 55 have a membership of over 50,000. One of the more important of them is the Methodist Church. It has missions in this country. The *Indian Witness*, published in Lucknow, is its journal. We reproduced its argument that so long as a single bullet is allowed in war no one should protest against the Atom Bomb. The Roman Catholic Church had concluded a concordat with the Japanese Government agreeing to its condition about all heads of Churches in Japan being of Japanese nationality; it will no doubt now demand the freedom to have foreign Bishops and Church dignitaries. While Christianity seems to have the effect of making Europeans aggressive, it has the effect of making Asiatics submissive. The Chinese are no exception. More than General McArthur's all other "directives" the liberation of Christian Missions in Japan is likely to reduce that country and its people to abject and permanent servitude. There is only one hitch. The political and economic rivalry between East and West is resolving itself into racial and religious antagonism. In Palestine the Arabs are ranged against European refugee Jews. In Indonesia, Indonesian Muslims have already started the cry of Christian versus Muslim. In Japan Buddhism will not resort to

any kind of aggression. Its methods are different. Its ways are those of reason. Its path is the path of peace.

The Indonesian Muddle:—The news that General Mallaby was murdered when engaged in settling the details of the truce which had been signed a day or two previously by General Hawthorn and Dr. Soekarno in Sourabaya came as a painful shock. Earlier in the day (Wednesday) the news that General Hawthorn's ill-considered order to Indonesians to lay down their arms on pain of death, had been reversed and that the General and Dr. Soekarno, the able Indonesian leader, had flown to Sourabaya where outbreaks of violence in resentment of the order were taking place and that a truce had been signed, providing, among other things, that Dutch troops should not be allowed entrance, was received with much relief. General Hawthorn's fiat, whether issued on his own authority or under orders from his superiors, was a distinct breach of the assurances given by the Secretary of State for War, Mr. Lawson, at Singapore and by other British authorities to the effect that British and Indian troops were in Netherlands Indies and Indo-China solely to disarm the Japanese and to look after released prisoners of war and the internees still unreleased. The Dutch Governor-General, who has since resigned, refused to state what his policy would be towards the Indonesian leaders when Dutch authority was restored as it might lead to reprisals on the thousands of Dutch in internment in the areas controlled by Indonesians. General Hawthorn perhaps expected that his order to the Indonesians to disarm would be welcomed by them. In fact, the reports that Dr. Soekarno had accepted the order and had gone into the country to induce his followers to lay down their arms, struck one as entirely irreconcilable with the Indonesian leader's consistent attitude throughout as complete master of the greater part of Indonesia. Dr. Soekarno had warned the world that there was an extremist section of Indonesians for whose acts he could not hold himself responsible. Some of the largest internment camps were in their control and it was feared that they might, if provoked, adopt violent measures against the internees in reprisal. Indian opinion was much strengthened in favour of Dr. Soekarno and his party by his assurance that he would not tolerate a race or religious war and that he wished to secure the independence of his country by peaceful negotiation and without bloodshed. General Hawthorn has threatened that, if the criminals who murdered General Mallaby did not surrender, he would bring the full weight of his forces upon them. Every effort should be made to catch the criminals and bring them to

book. Random or wholesale reprisals will have serious consequences in inflaming anti-European sentiment which is none too friendly. Besides, the responsibility for the situation must be shared by the General who issued the proclamation which had to be reversed in two days. There are too many Generals in South East Asia and apparently there is too little coordination of their activities.

Travancore Primary Education Act:—The Catholic *Examiner*, October 27, printed the text of the Travancore Primary Education Act which, having passed the Legislature, received the assent of His Highness the Maharaja a few days ago. The *Examiner* in an editorial noted that there was only one reference to religion in the Act. No religious instruction, it provides, shall be imparted in any approved school during school hours. In the same editorial the *Examiner* quoted from a statement issued by the All Kerala Catholic Congress that religious instruction in Catholic schools was given for not more than one period a day, that the period was outside the other periods provided for general study, and that it was so arranged that non-Catholics need come to school only after that period and they can go before that period. Non-Catholic students were not only not compelled but will not be allowed to attend that class. The authorities will no doubt satisfy themselves that these conditions are carried out not only in the letter but in the spirit. If, for instance, there is a school bus bringing children to school and taking them home from school, the timing of the hours of arrival and departure should be taken into account. If these are satisfactorily arranged, the schools will continue to be approved for grants. We had never any doubt about the meaning of the Order. The cry of "Religious freedom in danger" was a fictitious cry raised by a political group, which the Bishops and their journals were led to take up without examining the actual wording of the Order. This should be a warning to them. The *Examiner* clearly owes an apology to its readers for having let itself be misled into starting a panic among them.

Are Catholics Quitting Travancore?—Mr. Varkey avers in his pamphlet that, as the result of his recent visits to several parts of Travancore studying the situation on the spot, he discovered that "thousands of Travancore Christians had already left the State and settled down in the British districts of Malabar and South Kanara...and Christian students are leaving Travancore University to study in colleges outside Travancore under the Madras, Bombay and Calcutta Universities." He concludes that they are escaping what they feel is a wave of persecution of Christians in Travancore. Travancoreans have for the last three quarters of a century been seeking outlets for their talents and energies outside their small state. They have made their mark as administrators, journalists, technicians and in many other characters, but not particularly as religious zealots. Bombay has now a considerable South Indian population and almost every third man in it is either from Palgat or Travancore. During the last two or three years owing to the acute food situation, it is probable that there has been an exodus into the neighbouring districts. As for Travancore students flocking to colleges in Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, the cry in these places is that there is not enough accommodation for

their own students; and it would be surprising if they were able to find room in considerable number for students from Travancore.

Muslim Opposition to Pakistan:—Mr. Jinnah's unbending intransigence at the Simla Conference has created misgivings in his leadership in a considerable section of Muslims in and out of the Muslim League. The formula of Hindu-Muslim parity impressed many of them as a concession too great to be rejected. Gandhiji, it will be recalled, was prepared to reduce still further the Hindu proportion in favour of Muslims. The idea underlying the parity formula and Gandhiji's improvement on it, might be to tell Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League that, while they asked for a part of India, an important section of the Congress was offering them the whole of India to be run by themselves. When two Women claimed to be the mother of a single child, King Solomon put their pretensions to the test by offering to divide the child in two and give a piece to each of them. The bogus mother promptly agreed, the true mother begged the King to give the child whole to the pretender. Her motherly sentiment revolted at the thought of killing her child. Gandhiji and his friends told Mr. Jinnah in effect that rather than see India vivisected, they would let him take the whole of it under his authority, Mr. Jinnah is too wary a bird to be caught in the trap. He refused. He wanted Pakistan and nothing but Pakistan. Pakistan has the largest number of supporters in Muslim minority provinces who are not required and who, if required have no intention of leaving their safe and comfortable habitat in the provinces where they are prosperous and progressive minorities. Their position resembles that of the wealthy Zionists of the United States who have no intention whatever of leaving the United States and settling in Palestine, forming and financing organisations to bring pressure to bear on their Government to put pressure on Britain to agree to Palestine being made a Jewish state. The parity formula to many Leaguers seemed too good to be rejected. They do not want to remain in the wilderness much longer. The Nationalist Muslim stock has correspondingly risen among politically minded Muslims. The religiously minded among them see in Maulana Abul Kalam Azad a true-type of orthodox Muslim and the Congress by putting him forward as its spokesman has considerably impaired the prestige of the League. Pandit Jawaharlal's campaign among the Muslim masses is also beginning to tell. The prevailing discontent found expression in rowdy scenes at an election meeting held by Bombay Nationalist Muslims early this week. The Police had to intervene and resort to firing. Mr. Jinnah in a statement says that the disturbances have been exaggerated. The Muslim League members who attended the meeting were, he says, outraged by the abuse of their leaders in Nationalist speeches. It is implied that they were the aggressors. Mr. Jinnah has advised them to abstain from attending meetings or to leave the meetings when their feelings get the better of their reason. This was not expected from Mr. Jinnah and is a distinct indication of his waning confidence in his cause. A contributory cause to the setback is the sympathy aroused by the call for help by the Arabs in Palestine and the Indonesians in Java. Muslims appreciate the strong line which the Congress leaders have taken on these questions.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, November 3, 1945.

TRUMAN'S TWELVE POINTS

Speaking at a Naval Review in New York, President Truman enunciated what he himself called twelve fundamentals of the foreign policy of the United States but which commentators have raised to the dignity of Commandments. Commandments derive their authority from their inherent power to carry conviction to all mankind as essential to the safety and well-being of individuals and nations. They are promulgated by persons who by their character and achievements are able to impress their fellows as endowed with exceptional gifts; and they should be couched in precise language which is self-explanatory and needs no commentary to bring out its meaning. In all these respects, except to some extent the first, President Truman's deliverance is conspicuously lacking. A naval review may be impressive to the spectators but it is after all a show got up for the occasion. Lincoln's Gettysburg speech was made on the field where men had fallen in fighting for their country's unity. No battle was fought in the Hudson River and there is no early prospect of anything out of the way happening there. Without disparaging President Truman, it has to be acknowledged that he owes his importance to the position which by the accident of his predecessor's untimely demise he has come to occupy. His position in American public life prior to that event was of no great importance. The contents of the Commandments do not impinge on the mind with the force of an axiom; and as for the language, they are just a heap of words. The world, however, has not forgotten, though many Americans would seem to have, that the Founders of the United States were men imbued with the loftiest ideals of human freedom, human brotherhood and the power of peaceful dealing to promote the harmonious evolution of one nation and race in relation to other nations and races. The world looked, especially the downtrodden and subject peoples, to the United States and to its Head of State, to uphold in all circumstances the grand principles of the Pilgrim Fathers. Having themselves shaken off a yoke which was galling though not foreign, the world expected that the influence of the United States would be cast on the side of those who were enduring yokes which are both galling and foreign. They have been grievously disappointed. It is inevitable that at the present juncture the fundamentals or commandments should be tested on the touchstone of the happenings in Indo-China and Indonesia. We do not mention India.

What do the President's commandments mean to Indo-China? Take the fourth commandment which has a direct bearing on this question. It runs.

We believe that all peoples who are prepared for self-government should be permitted to choose their own form of government by their own free and expressed choice without interference from any foreign source. This is true in Europe, in Asia and in Africa as in the Western Hemisphere.

The Atlantic Charter contained no reservations but Mr. Winston Churchill declared that he and the late President Franklin Roosevelt had in mind only the nations to be freed from the Nazi German yoke. The late President made one or two feeble attempts to

correct this interpretation but Mr. Churchill never recanted; and the two men went on cooperating until the hand of death separated them. Shortly afterwards the collapse of Mr. Churchill came, proving beyond all possibility of doubt that the British Prime Minister was kept in his office largely because he was able to secure and maintain American cooperation through President Roosevelt. The Commandment speaks of peoples who are "prepared" for self-government. Who is to determine whether the Indonesians or the Indo-Chinese are "prepared" for self-government or not? Judged from the strength and determination of the Indonesians and the Indo-Chinese to have self-government, it is obvious that they are "prepared" for it and if the Dutch and the French with the connivance or countenance or active help of the "Allies" of whom the United States is the first, will not obstruct, they would prove that they can govern themselves. The French will never agree that the Indo-Chinese are capable of self-government so long as the Allies acquiesce in the preposterous idea that the French who unceremoniously fled the country at the sight of the Japanese, continue to retain their right to govern Indo-China. The Indonesian question is very much on the same footing. President Truman said that the United States would maintain peace even by force. The peace of Eastern Asia is disturbed by the French and the Dutch who had imposed and can maintain themselves there only by force and that largely supplied by the British from India. Indian blood is being shed in these two countries for preventing the people from attaining self-government. What does President Truman's commandment mean to these two hard-pressed peoples? Both of them, be it remembered, have appealed to the United States to protect them in their distress. It may be quite true that the United States are not out for self-aggrandizement. They have no need to be. They have a vast continuous area and they have the largest part of the world's gold. It was the fear that the Japanese had their eyes on their land and gold which the late President worked upon to draw the United States into the war. We would suggest that President Truman should keep an eye on the doings of his agent in Japan. The commandments are explicit that every nation should choose its own form of Government. The Imperial office which has endured for two thousand years in Japan is one which the Japanese through the centuries have chosen as that which conforms to their national genius more than a President or Prime Minister whom the ballot box throws up once in four or five years. General McArthur's measures are utterly incompatible with his being the agent of a democracy. Democracy is what Democracy does and General McArthur's measures are not those of a man who honours democracy in his heart.

PAKISTAN AND SELF-DETERMINATION

The Right Hon. V. S. Srinivas Sastry, Prof. P. J. Wadia and Messrs. Jehangir B. Petit and K. Nataraajan, have issued the following statement on the merits of the Pakistan issue:

The present chaotic political situation in the country naturally gives cause for concern to all who are genuinely interested in the political future of India. In the

situation, the most disconcerting factor is the demand for the division of India into a Hindu and a Moslem India. We think it our duty and the duty of all who share our views, to give expression to our concern and to raise a timely note of warning as to the direction in which we are drifting.

In the first instance, none of us is clear in his mind as to the precise implications of the two-nation theory. Much less so perhaps are those who advocate the theory. The country has never been given any precise details of the territorial division of the country and the lines of demarcation between the two India's. When Mr. Jinnah is asked to define the territorial demarcation he has always evaded the issue by demanding that in the first instance the claim of the two-nation theory should be granted as the basis of any further negotiations. Those of us, therefore, who are definitely opposed to the very idea of breaking up the unity of India suffer under a handicap as we are not in a position to know precisely the nature of Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan.

Close upon two hundred years of British rule in our country has given us a uniform system of administration of a highly centralised character, a common system of laws and an education imparted in the higher stages through the medium of the language of our rulers. Whatever might be said with regard to the economic exploitation of this country under British Imperialism, and whatever the sufferings and sacrifices imposed on the people in consequence of foreign rule, the one bright feature in two centuries of slavery was the growing sense of a common citizenship linking the various peoples into a single nation. This sense of geographical unity and integrity was a slowly acquired incidental result of British domination, a result which though never deliberately intended by the unimaginative bureaucracy or their masters at home, was nevertheless regarded with intense pride and satisfaction by Englishmen.

But a blessing, so inadvertently earned by the millions of India, incurred the envy of the gods, who inspired our administrators to undo the work of their own hands when in 1906 the Morley-Minto reforms introduced in the constitution of the country the principle of separate electorates. Communities that were hitherto working hand in hand in the struggle for freedom, were for the first time thereafter made to believe that their interests were conflicting and that the minority which was then about sixty millions required the protection of its separate interests by a device which stereotyped politics on the basis of religion and made it impossible to organise parties on a basis of secular interests. In this country with a foreign domination in control, the formation of parties on lines of interests, classes or opinions, characteristic of what is known as a democratic form of Government, might well have been replaced by a two-party system, those who are supporters of the foreign rule and those who are in the opposition. But even if the ordinary alignments of parties, usual to a democratic system, had been advisable, they were effectively torpedoed by the institution of communal electorates. Religion was turned into a vested interest, bigotry was allowed to grow, and parties were induced to concentrate on a division of spoils.

The institution of separate electorates was the first step in the process of creating a divided India of which

the crowning achievement is the proposal for Pakistan. That measure was hailed as a work of "statesmanship," the pulling back of 60 million people from their friendship and co-operation with Hindus in the Indian National Congress. British officials have gloated over the thought that the creation of a strong and united India is now probably difficult, if not impossible. The Secretary of State for India as late as 1940 observed in the House of Commons, "In religious and social outlook, in historic traditions and culture, the difference between the Moslems and their fellow countrymen goes as deep, if not deeper than any similar difference in Europe". Is there anything unnatural if we conclude that the head of the Moslem League in India is encouraged in the demand for a separate Moslem state by British political leaders?

We do not propose to analyse the various factors that contributed in the course of the last 40 years to the growing communal tension till it culminated in the present demand for a separate Moslem India. Religion was never a factor in the creation of the tension. The two communities are not fighting for the domination of their respective faiths. There is no enthusiasm for proselytising except as a political weapon for acquiring numerical strength in voting. So also the racial factor does not enter into the situation. The large majority of the Indian Moslems to-day are descendants of Hindu converts to Islam. Though so much has been made of difference in culture and traditions and ways of living, those differences are the exaggerated products of after-thoughts prompted by economic interests. In the villages Hindus and Moslems are hardly distinguishable by their habits and customs. They speak and use the language of the district in which they live. They share even in religious festivals on a basis of mutuality. In essence, the tension between the two communities is the product of a struggle for spoils, for power and for economic privileges. The increasing association of the people of the country in the work of administration has been marked by an increasing sense of bitterness and suspicion on the part of the minority community.

The presence of the British as rulers in the country may not unreasonably be said to keep alive the divisions. Left to ourselves, we could have come to an amicable compromise. Whichever was the weaker party, would have yielded to the wishes of the stronger, and would have been content with taking what they could get. That the British rulers of the land should make use of these divisions is but natural in the game of power politics. But even vice has to pay homage to virtue by putting on the garb of virtue. It is equally natural that in the world of to-day economic exploitation could have a chance of survival only if it put on the cloak of trusteeship and sanctified its doings by its eventual concern for the chaos that would result by leaving the people to settle the quarrels.

The demand for a Moslem India separate from Hindu India has of late acquired an exaggerated importance owing to the mistaken zeal for conciliation and compromise on the part of the leaders of the Indian National Congress. No measure and no rapprochement could have been so fatal to the unity of India as the Congress resolution bearing on the right of self-determination for the federating units and the even more regrettable negotiations which took place a year ago between Gandhij

and the spokesman of the Moslem League. British India under British administration for the last 200 years was a unitary form of Government with the provinces closely knit to the centre as an integrated whole. The surprise flung at the country as the outcome of the Round Table Conferences in the shape of the Act of 1935, creating for the first time a federal constitution for British India, was accepted even by our leaders without protest. It was flattering to the provinces to regard themselves as independent sovereign states, a status which they had not dreamt of in the years gone by. One more potent source of conflict and disruption was thus ingeniously introduced into the body politic. As separate electorates humoured the minorities, provincial 'autonomy' humoured the provinces. The Cripps proposals finally gave the finishing touch by granting them the right to secede, and the theory of the process of mangling and disruption was completed. The achievements of two hundred years in the shape of consolidated united India, with a people growing increasingly conscious of a common want, were to be deliberately undone.

The principle of self-determination applied to the provinces in India implicit in the Act of 1935, and expressly recognised by the Cripps offer, and the Congress resolution of Self-Determination are in direct contradiction of all lessons of past world history. Federations have grown out of the union of states once exercising sovereignty and independence. They have never been the outcome of a deliberate attempt at breaking up the wellknit parts of a single state into conflicting and rival powers. Every schoolboy who has read about the growth of the federal constitution of Switzerland and the U. S. of America is familiar with these facts. The political trend throughout the world to day is not to break up existing states into smaller units, claiming sovereignty as the advocates of Pakistan do, but to bring into closer cooperation larger political units like the British Commonwealth, the U. S. of America and the U. S. S. R. Political isolationism such as the principle of self-determination involves, has been aptly characterised as "a vestigial survival in an age of atom bombs".

Nationalist self-determination in a world that is geographically shrinking, and whose teeming population can be wiped off by national rivalries, has become an anachronism. In the international world of the future, it is cultural self-determination which is likely to be the best expression of national freedom. The U.S.S.R. is a notable experiment in the encouragement of regional cultures developing freely and unfettered under a unified Government; but none of the nations in the Soviet republic has a right to unlimited development of its cultural personality with political independence as the end. This is what the cry for Pakistan implies and what the Indian National Congress in its zeal for compromise appears prepared to grant to the Provincial units. We appeal to all thinking people to consider these implications before they concede the Congress principle of self-determination or the equally disastrous claim of Pakistan.

TOLERANCE OR MORE BIGOTRY?

Sir, I was interested to read your suggestion that in nominating Dr. G. V. Deshmukh to the Central Assembly the Congress may be showing a change of attitude from

intolerance to tolerance of divergent views. The facts, however, do not warrant this optimistic interpretation. Congress "tolerance" is certainly not large enough even to include Mr. Bhulabhai Desai on its candidates' list. I know it is difficult for the uninitiated to understand the ways of the Congress. I can only hazard a guess. The Congress policy seen over a long period resembles nothing so much as the swing of the pendulum. Sometimes it goes to the right, sometimes to the left. When it is at the extreme right, it knows nothing of the left and the left knows nothing of it. When it is at the extreme left, it has no memories to disturb it of what went on at the right. When the Congress was for conciliation, it shut out Dr. Deshmukh and many more like him. Now that it seems to be hardening, it is shutting out Mr. Bhulabhai Desai. The only people who can survive both experiences, are those who can cling to the centre, the point of attraction which pulls the pendulum on whichever side it is—Gandhiji. But even this is doubtful. In the war years, the Congress Working Committee was ready on more than one occasion to shake itself free of Gandhiji. What you hail as the new tolerance, is, I am afraid, nothing more than a new intolerance.

There are many explanations floating in the air regarding the two names chosen to represent Bombay. I give them without comment:

(1) The Congress having decided to concentrate on the Muslim seats in the provincial elections, all other candidates have to bear their own expenses. This restricted the number of persons offering themselves. Further limits were set by the fact that several would-be parliamentarians had forgotten to take the elementary precaution of getting themselves enrolled as voters.

(2) Dr. Deshmukh was put up to nullify any Hindu Mahasabha competition; Mr. Masani to take the sting out of Parsi challengers. Moreover, the two are believed to represent the views of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, or rather prejudices, more nearly than other candidates.

(3) Perplexed by the increasing tension between the non-parliamentary and parliamentary groups in the Congress, the lesser leaders—Gandhiji—is ominously out of all calculations and demonstrations now—hit upon the compromise of contesting the elections and putting up mediocrities. Besides, the Centre is scorned by leading Congressmen whose eyes are dazzled by ministerships.

(4) The new Sardar-Sarat Bose Axis which is functioning in full force, necessitates that the leadership of the Central Assembly Congress be reserved for Mr. Sarat Bose. And it had first to be vacated by Mr. Bhulabhai Desai who would not do it voluntarily.

It is difficult for one not in the inner counsels of the Congress coterie to know the truth. For the not too curious, it must be a case of putting up your penny and taking your choice from these four explanations. But none of them convey any impression of increased tolerance.

DETACHED.

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BUDDHA, THE GREATEST MESSENGER OF PEACE

(U. DHAMMAJOTI in the Vaishak number of the *Mahabodhi*)

At a time when the world is clamouring for peace and we have thoroughly realized the value of peace, it is most opportune to commemorate the advent to the world of the greatest Messenger of Peace. It is nearly 2,500 years ago that India's greatest son gave the world one of His immortal messages:—

"The conqueror breeds hatred; the vanquished lie in pain; the peaceful one lives happily, giving up both victory and defeat."

Throughout the long period of twenty-five centuries history has given ample proof of the truth of this great teaching though only a few monarchs like the great emperor Asoka learnt the value of this noble teaching and followed it saying:—

"My chariot shall not roll with bloody wheels
From victory to victory, till earth
Wears the red record of my name."

After him few cared to adhere to this unique law though there were thousands of occasions when deeds proclaimed to the world what the Buddha said in words.

After the World War of 1914-18 the world had the opportunity to make use of this immortal teaching. But the world did not. It may be due to the negligence or ignorance of the world; but the world has been paying heavily for it since September, 1939. Even from this war the world has not learnt. Unless the world is prepared to give up both victory and defeat, the horrors that must necessarily accompany victory and defeat will befall mankind.

On a Vaisakha full-moon day, 2,569 years ago, in this land of sages, was born on the borders of the Himalayas this great Messenger of Peace, India's greatest son, nay, the greatest son of the earth. At the age of twenty-nine this great being retired into the solitary woods to search for the cause of the misery that befalls man. After six years of incessant exertion and meditation he discovered the cause. That, too, was on a Vaisakha full-moon day. After this discovery, this enlightenment, He travelled in this country from village to village and preached His message for forty-five years till He breathed His last on a Vaisakha full-moon day at Kusinara in Gorakhpur district.

During these forty-five years of His mission He saved the people of His motherland from a catastrophe like the one that has befallen us to-day.

Between the two ancient kingdoms of Kapilavatthu and Koliya on the borders of the Himalayas, twenty-five centuries ago, ran the beautiful river Rohini, as it does to-day. A drought visited the land after Vaisakha (May) and crops began to wither. The servants of the two royal houses of Sakya and Koliya assembled together on the banks of Rohini. And the servants of the Koliyas said to the servants of the Sakyas: "If this water is diverted to fields on both sides of the river, there will not be enough for both you and us. But a single watering will thrive our crops. Therefore let us have the water."

The servants of the Sakyas replied in a taunting tone and pointed out that their position was exactly the same.

Soon they began to exchange hot words and from words they came to blows. From servants the fray spread to the ministers and from them to the royal chiefs. Both the parties, ready for a battle, assembled on either side of the river.

The Buddha, the Messenger of Peace, came to know of this and appeared on the spot. He inquired from those assembled why they were going to fight and learnt that it was for the sake of water of the river. He made them realise that the blood they were going to shed was worth more than the water and pointed out to them that only their bones without blood and flesh would be left to take possession of the water they were going to fight for. Both parties gave up the fight. Thus they lived happily 'giving up both victory and defeat'. To-day the world needs Him; and needs Him badly. But He is no more. His teachings are there, only if the world cares to make use of them. He Himself told His disciples: 'When I am no more, my teachings and your reason will serve you as a guide.'

As on a crag, on crest of mountain standing,
A man might watch the people far below,
E'en so do thou, O Wisdom fair, ascending
O Seer of all, the terraced heights of Truth,
Look down, from grief released, upon the nations
Sunken in grief, oppressed with birth and age
Arise, thou Hero! Conqueror in the battle!
Thou freed from debt! Lord of the pilgrim band!
Walk the world o'er, sublime and blessed Teacher!
Teach us the Truth; there are who'll understand,

CATHOLIC SCHOOLS AND CONVERSION

Mr. C. J. Varkey, who was Minister of Education in the last Congress Ministry in Madras, says in a pamphlet that Catholic schools do not proselytise. He does not surely intend to suggest that proselytising was not in the past and is not in the present on the programme of Catholic missions in India. If the schools do not yield proselytes, the reason is obviously that people of other religions are content to remain in their own superstitions, if you please, and are not moved to embrace the dogmas of Catholicism. That in the past force was used to make people Catholics, and sometimes fraud also, shows that the proselytisers were not able to rest their case on reason. Mr. Varkey says that there has been false propaganda outside the State. Curiously, it is from the Catholic *Examiner* that we first derived information of the agitation. That journal had raised the cry "Outrage on Religious Freedom" and one wanted to know what the "outrage" was. As we understand the Order, the Travancore Government fully recognise its obligations to its Catholic subjects and grants were not to be refused to any school which conformed to Government requirements as to curriculum, building and teachers merely because Catholic dogmas were taught to Catholic children out of school hours. Mr. Varkey's remarks about the effects of religious education on the moral character of pupils have only an academic value. This is a delicate subject and we have no wish to compare the morals of different Indian communities.

MODERN KANNADA LITERATURE

(BY V. K. GOKAK)

The beginnings of the modern literary movement go back to the fifties of the last century. Several distinguished pioneers produced remarkable works during the period of transition in drama, poetry and fiction,—(Muddana, Shanta Kavi K.B. Shastri and other.) The Renaissance was rightfully enthroned in the Kannada land in 1914, with the founding of the Kannada Literary Academy.

Considerable work has been done in the field of the literature of knowledge and the physical and social sciences have been presented in Kannada by members of the Mysore, Madras, Bombay and Osmania Universities. (The revival of folk songs and ballads is going on apace. Journalism has reached a high standard of excellence, thanks to the efforts of men like Divakar, T. T. Sharma and others.)

Literary criticism has been inspired by an endeavour to interpret the treasures of ancient Kannada poetry, more than a thousand years old, in the light of new principles, to assimilate the best in western thought and practice and to form a new code of values by synthesising Oriental and European aesthetics. This last is a significant trend and is an original contribution to the comparative theory of literature, as in some of the essays of B. M. Srikanthia, Masti, Bendre, etc.

The essay is found in all its variety. The descriptive essay as in Puttappa and others, the satirical essay as with Jagirdar, the personal essay as in Murthy Rao's *Diy-Dreams*, the story-essay as in Gorur,—all these merit attention. (Dialectical subtlety and rare philosophic wisdom are found in Bendre's essays.) The character-sketches of leading men by S. Sharma are illuminating. A new feature is the essay on places, a blend of historical, geographical and cultural survey, by Gokak and Venkata Setty.

There are a few interesting biographies,—classical as in D. V. Gundappa's *Gokhale*, and romantic as in Puttappa's *Vivekanand* and C. K. V.'s on the late Maharaja of Mysore. But autobiography has greater depth,—being refreshing in substance as in Divakar's *Behind the Prison Bars*, mystical as in Madhura Chenna's *Dark Night and Dawn*, literary as in Rajratnam's *Ten Years* and aesthetic as in Gokak's *Moment of Vision*. The literature of travel is yet in its infancy,—as in Sitaramia's *Pampa Yatre* and Gokak's *From Beyond the Seas*.

Fiction has developed remarkably in recent years,—we have the novel of manners as in *Sudarsana*, of character as in A.N. Krishna Rao's *Mangala Sutra* and Gokak's *Ijjalu*, of psychology, as in Devadu's *Core of the Heart*, the regional novel as in Puttappa's *Subbamma*, the generation novel in Karanth's *Back to the Soil*, the problem novel as in Mugali's *Messiah*, the professional novel in N.K.'s *In the folds of Death* and the stream of consciousness novel in Jagirdar's *Topsy-Turvy World*.

The short story is one of the most fruitful department of modern Kannada literature. Masti deserves to be considered as one of the greatest short story writers in the country. His humour, wisdom, lyricism and understanding of all levels of society put him right at the top. His

stories are available in English in four volumes. Ananda, Anandakanda, Krishna Kumar and Gopal Krishna Rao are gifted writers. So is Mrs. Gouramma. (Several women writers have taken to the short story.)

The drama is many-sided and has some features which are possibly unique. Samsa's plays show a rare depth and inventiveness. Kailasam is a genius and his social plays like *Hollow and Solid* and *Home Rule* are unsurpassed for their brilliance, stark realism and flawless technique. He easily ranks among the best Indian playwrights of today. Jagirdar's plays are a blend of realism, fantasy and satire. His dialogues are brilliant and breathe revolt against false social values. (There are others like Karanth, A. N. Krishna Rao and Mugali.) The *Verse-play* is also highly developed in Kannada. B. M. Srikanthia's *Aswathaman* is a masterpiece realising the Greek pattern of tragedy in an ancient Indian legend and K. V. R.'s rendering of *Antigone* from the original Greek is interesting. The blank verse plays of Puttappa, Masti and Srinivasa Murthy, the song-plays of Masti and P. T. N., the lyrical, tragic and comic operas of Karanth produced by himself, all these are fascinating. The one-act play is also very well cultivated.

Poetic utterance in modern Kannada has attained great depth. It is romantic to the core. B. M. Srikanthia's translation of English lyrics was the origin of the new movement. D.V. Gundappa's *Manku Timma* is a long, philosophic poem like *The Testament of Beauty*, but more charming, in that humour enters into its structure. Masti's *Rimanavimi* and other lyrical ballads and blank verse narratives are remarkable for their blend of humour and lyricism. Govind Pai is a neoclassicist and his *Golgotha* has the epic tone of *Sohrab and Rustum*. Bendre can be ranked with the best poets in the country today, for comic lyrics like *Earth*, *The Girlish wife*, socialistic lyrics like *The Bag of a Morsel* and symbolic poems like *Blind Gold is a-dancing*.

The younger generation is also producing remarkable poetry. Puttappa's poetry of nature and art is of a high order. V. Sitaramia's is noted for its tender recollection and reflective and musical quality. Kadengodlu's *Funeral Pyre of Madri* is a narrative with an epic ring. Rajaratnam is more versatile. His *Songs of a Drunkard* uses the colloquial idiom as a medium for lyricism and his *Mule Minerva* is good satirical verse. P. T. N. is noted for his nature-poetry and his chiselled grace of style. Madhura Chenna is a mystic and his long poems—*My Lover* and *The Song of Friendship*—centre round his quest after the ultimate. Gokak has cultivated the longer lyrics distinguished by their dream-imagery. His *Sea-Songs* introduce new themes in Kannada and also free verse. *The Milky Way* is a song of the soul like Wordsworth's *Prelude*. *In Life's Temple* is a portrait-gallery depicting the vision of life as it obtains from the child to the saint. Mugali and others are also distinguished poets.

COLD CALCULATING SOVIET.

Sir, In a recent *Reformer* the policy and methods of Soviet Russia are described as cold and calculating. Is British policy not calculating? Is American policy not

calculating? The only difference is that while Anglo-Americans make believe that they are actuated only by warm, generous impulses in all that they do, Soviet Russia abstains from such pretences. ANTI-HUMBUG.

CALL TO INDIAN CATHOLICS.

Sir, Your call to Indian Catholics in the last *Reformer* may be extended to all Indian Christians. But I am afraid there is little chance of its being heard, still less of its being understood. What is wanted is that Christianity should be brought in line with the teachings of Christ who came to fulfil not to destroy. The Western interpretation of the teachings of Jesus is a travesty. It is this which has proved a ghastly failure and it is from this that true Christianity has to be recovered and rescued. Catholics and Protestants have both contributed to caricature Christ's teachings. This reinterpretation should naturally be undertaken by Indians who have adopted the Christian name. But it is hopeless to expect them to do it. Even if the foreign, western patrons withdraw from India, our Indian Christians cling too deeply to the western interpretation to be able to perceive the continuity of Christ with the Teachers who have preceded him, particularly in India, on whom they have turned their backs. This renovation will have to be undertaken not by professing Christians; and excellent beginnings have already been made in this direction. The Hindu Lover of Christ who occasionally writes in the *Reformer* is a striking instance.

SCRUTATOR.

Aspersions on Indian Troops.—It is reported that the Chinese in Saigon have declared a hartal of three days to mark their resentment of the "excesses" of Indian soldiers (including Gurkhas) in house searches. A later message more explicitly stated that there had been rape and looting. This is the first time that allegations of this kind are made against Indian soldiers. On some of the worst occasions when other Nationals completely threw off all restraint (as in the Boxer campaign, for instance) Indian soldiers earned high praise for exemplary discipline. Indians and Chinese have many things in common and, of late, there have been indications of friendly understanding between Indians and Chinese. This may not suit the book of some people and our first impulse on reading the message was that it was a ruse of these people to make bad blood between the two sister Asiatic nations. It may also be that this is an attempt at a plausible excuse for withdrawing Indian troops from Indo-China for which there is an insistent demand in this country. The Commander-in-Chief in India has just spoken of the Gurkhas as the finest soldiers in the world, and this may also be a trick to snub him for his enthusiasm. After all, the ecstatic tributes to Indian troops of late, it is really puzzling to find a message of this kind published in this country without any sign of doubt or dissent. The Indian soldier is not a proletarian like his European counterpart. He is a respectable family man in most cases and carries with him wherever he goes the traditional sense of the duties of a householder. The

allegations are obviously a malicious libel on Indian character. Mahrattas and Rajputs, who besides Gurkhas, are the Indians in the Far East are inheritors of a great-chivalrous tradition.

Russia and Japan:—President Truman's announcement this week that Russia will participate in the Far East Advisory Commission whose chief immediate object concerns the policy to be followed in Japan, is welcome. The *Reformer* (October 20) published an article on the quantum of Communism in the Stalin regime. We are of opinion that Marshal Stalin is making a brave and not ineffectual attempt to link Communism with cultural continuity in the Soviet Republic. In this respect American policy is the direct opposite of Russian policy. The assimilation of all the various nationalities and cultures represented in the composite American population to a single Anglo-Saxon pattern is the settled policy of the United States. Of late more particularly in the great American Universities, there is recognition that this steam-roller method lacks perspective, and that the preservation of cultural identities is the basis of civilised politics. General McArthur, however, believes in the steam-roller method and his administration, if it may be called one, in Japan is the most colossal exhibition of vandalism known to history. He is "abolishing" everything and is obviously preparing to educate the Japanese into imitation Yankees. The presence of Russia on the Commission will act as a break upon this headlong Americanisation. General McArthur does not seem to have the least inkling of the fact that his policy is the precise counterpart of what in the Nazis was condemned as totalitarianism. His task in Japan was that of a gardener who removes the weeds and overgrowth and lets the Japanese genius grow in the light and air from which it had been excluded by a foolish desire to imitate and excel Western industrial militarism. The Commission is called an Advisory one but experience has proved that, when Russia is called in to advise, it expects and is in a position to insist on its advice being followed. In the juxtaposition of Christianity and Buddhism in Japan Russia will be a valuable mediator.

Sir Claude Auchinleck at Katmandu:—The Commander in Chief in India, Sir Claude Auchinleck paid a visit to Katmandu last week and was received with great cordiality. He was made Honorary General of the Nepalese Army and invested with the plumed helmet and jewelled sword pertaining to that high rank. His Excellency was also the recipient of a high Indian title. In acknowledging the welcome and the honour shown to him, Sir Claude spoke of the Gurkha soldier as second to none in the whole world for courage and toughness.

Three For One:—The Tamil illustrated weekly, *Ananda Vikatan* (Joyous Jester), has a cartoon on the European situation reflecting accurately the general reaction. In a corner is the giant Europe with a small man on his back; just below is the small man sprawling on his belly. In the foreground is Europe a giant staggering under the weight of three burly men. There is a suggestion that the thought in the mind of the unlettered burden bearer is, "My last state is worse than my first."

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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 I. N. A. Trials:—The trials under courts martial of persons who had taken part in the campaign against Britain, have begun at the Red Fort, Delhi. Pandit Jawaharlal's admonition on the eve of the proceedings to the Delhi public not to demonstrate before the Red Fort, was an indication of the hope that the whole question could be settled without penalising the accused. Gandhiji too had taken the same attitude by appealing for the Viceroy's clemency. The trials themselves are a blunder only possible to an unthinking bureaucracy. The activities of the Indian National Army are ended. The men and women who for a brief spell had come out of civil life, would normally have reverted to their previous existence and in time the episode would have been forgotten. The trials, however, serve to keep public memory fresh. On the day the court martial was to begin, "Jai Hind", the diary of a woman member of the I. N. A., one of the Rani of Jhansi regiment, was published in Bombay. The narrative recounts the story of the army that was formed after the invasion of the Japanese and the desertion of the British had left chaos in Malaya and elsewhere. The account is valuable as the first to appear of an all-Indian effort at recruiting an Indian army. The thesis consistently maintained is that Subhas Chandra Bose constantly resisted all Japanese efforts at imposing their views on him and that he resented the least encroachment on his prerogatives. On the other hand, it is abundantly revealed that the Japanese grew jealous of the Indian position and in the later period did little to help the Indian Government they had recognised.

Importance of Politics:—In a recent article in *Trieni*, the quarterly journal published in Bangalore Basudba Chakravarty, asks "Why Politics?" The writer begins by remonstrating with people who regard or profess to regard

politics as outside or beneath their purview. We rather think that such persons are rare nowadays. Every one is now a politician. He is either a Congressman or Hindu sabhaite; a Muslim Leaguer or a Nationalist Muslim; an Ambedkar follower or Gandhiji's. They are all party men and women. They are well versed in the party slogans. Few of them have any conception of politics beyond the slogans. In fact, the highest authorities in these parties have been sedulous in enjoining on their following that they have nothing to do but to repeat these slogans and, if they are voters, to vote for the ticket of the party. In politics as in cricket what is extolled is team work. Government servants are forbidden to take part in political movements. But there is no ban, at any rate in the Wavell regime, on officials' wives and daughters. Business men in the interests of their business also abstain from openly associating themselves with political organisations. But interest in politics is widespread and the people who profess to keep aloof from politics, do so for special reasons. This has been hailed as an awakening of the mass-mind. But it is, nevertheless, the fact that there has been a steady deterioration in the type of men who rise to leadership not only in India but in Great Britain and in the United States. Chakravarty believes that it is the mass interest in politics which led to the defeat of the Nazis. But the mass interest among the Nazis was in fact still greater. Field Marshal Montgomery reported the other day that he found that German children knew little more than the Nazi watchwords. In Russia it is likely the same is the case. Democracy without freedom of thought and expression is the greatest danger to be avoided in politics. In India and even among top-rank politicians, there is insufficient appreciation of this truth. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru a few days ago threatened anti-Congressmen whom he regards as enemies of the country, with dire pains and penalties when he comes to power. Evidently he is taking his cue from the trials in France, Norway and Italy. He is a man easily susceptible to the latest ideas. For a thing to be known as modern is conclusive of its truth and virtue and everything medieval is anathema. A general diffusion of knowledge of political principle is as desirable as a similar knowledge of Hygiene or Physiology. But we want political leaders who look beyond the ballot-box for guidance—men of principle who do not love power for the sake of power but as a means of serving their fellowmen. Much of the confusion in British and world politics is to be traced to the intrigue which deposed Mr. Asquith and put Mr. Lloyd George at the head of the British Government.

The Versailles Treaty would have really effected a settlement of European politics had Asquith not Lloyd George represented Britain. More than the substance of politics, it is the method which has come to be associated with politics that deters men of principle from political careers. Counting of heads is no criterion of truth or right and the counting of heads is what is nowadays the avenue of politics. Mr. Chakravarty remarks, "It is both advisable and necessary for everybody to take an active interest in politics. Not that everybody will adopt politics as a career. But every body should in his own interest think about political matters and make his voice felt. There are many ways of doing so. One can join in the demand for universal adult franchise and exercise the franchise; one can attend public meetings, join local committees on public affairs. It is about politics that people generally gossip because politics, of all things, apparently keeps life going. It is the reflex of the growing life of the community, and active interest in it would make one feel oneself an integral part of life. It would connote one's conscious development along with and in relation to one's environment. Politics touches in a real manner all aspects of life and living in it is a pre-condition of life's well-ordered development. One may imagine oneself living in terms of the eternal, but it is politics that gives reality to the social background of one's existence."

Central Assembly Elections:—When the Labour Government's decision to await the results of General Election to the Central Assembly for the reorganisation of the Executive Council was announced, the *Reformer* observed that the elections were not likely to disclose any landslide such as that which occurred in the British General elections, in the composition of parties in the Assembly. The number of uncontested nominations which is daily reported goes far to confirm the forecast. Except in Bengal where the situation is confused, in most other provinces Congress candidates are having a walk over. If appearances are to be trusted, the Muslim League may suffer some setback. The Hindu Mahasabha is also putting forward candidates in some places. Congress candidates are opposing the Hindu Mahasabha candidates. If this is not due to an understanding between the two parties as a means of demonstrating that the Congress is not a Hindu organisation, there is no sense in this arrangement as the Mahasabha candidates are, except as to the Congress Muslim League Pact, virtually in agreement with the Congress programme in essentials. The Pact is no longer in force and the one cause of disagreement has therefore been removed. The ground is clear for the Mahasabha and the Congress to come together. The contest for a Bengal seat between Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose and Dr. Shyam Prasad Mukherjee, the President of the Mahasabha, is a public scandal. Dr. Shyam Prasad has many other and stronger claims to public support than his Presidentship of the Mahasabha and if there is any one who should be returned unopposed it is he. For the same reason Mr. Jinnah should not have to contest his seat with a rival candidate. Pakistan is liquidating itself as the result of circumstances not within the control of Indian politicians. A man of Mr. Jinnah's outstanding personality should have a place in the Indian Legislative Assembly not as a communal spokesman but as an All India leader.

Communal Electorates:—There is much in Mr. Kodanda Rao's letter which we publish elsewhere with which we are in agreement. We have from the first held that the General Elections would disclose nothing which was not known. A considerable number of candidates are elected without a contest. The democratic principle is held by some prominent Congress men to be satisfied if the leaders of parties agree upon candidates without giving a chance to the voters to cast their votes. The individual voter or a minority of voters is deprived of the opportunity of recording their dissent, by collusion, for that is what it amounts to, among leaders. It is quite obvious that the elections have no object but to gain time for His Majesty's Government to clear up some immediate pre-occupations before taking up the Indian problem. But we do not agree with Mr. Kodanda Rao that the British Government can abolish communal electorates and impose general electorates at this stage. Both the Montagu Chelmsford Report and the Report of the Simon Commission while expressing strong views against communal electorates, pleaded their inability to go back on the arrangement ratified by the Lucknow Pact without the consent of the Muslims. We think that this is also the position of the public generally. Even those who have all along been against the communal arrangements, would not wish it to be scrapped against the consensus of Muslim opinion. The communal arrangement should be left to work itself out. This it is doing before our eyes. The process would be retarded by any precipitate attempt to abolish it.

Dutch in Java:—The British Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, said in House of Commons the other day that the British Government had the strongest moral obligation to restore Dutch authority in Java. The *Hindustan Times* in its last Sunday edition, printed a long extract from a book on Dutch Government in Java, from which we reproduce a small part in this issue. Allowing for exaggeration, if a tittle of what is said there is true, the Dutch Government in Java is about the most despicable tyranny ever exercised by one nation over another by virtue of its greater skill in the use of brute force. It is also an immoral tyranny. The writer give a matter of fact account of the way in which the kindly trustful Javanese are being trodden down and their women debauched by the Dutch exploiter. Holland is a petty state which but for British support would have long ago disappeared from the map of Asia. There was a message in an Anglo-Indian local daily that Lord Wavell had refused to comply with the request of the British Government to send more Indian troops to Netherlands Indies. This, it seems, was a fabrication. Whole divisions have been landed in Java and though the pretext is still the disarming of the Japanese there is no doubt that the presence of British Indian troops is felt as an obstacle to the efforts of the Indonesians to establish self-government. They have appealed to Mr. Attlee to desist from sending help to the Dutch. But the British Government is intent on forming a Western block in Europe to counter the Russian Eastern block, and Java and Indo-China are valuable pawns in the game of power politics. White men realise that they must hang together in Asia whatever their differences in Europe.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, November 10, 1945.

INDIA AND CEYLON

The Leader of the Ceylon State Council, equivalent to Chief Minister in an Indian province, Mr. Senanayake in the course of an interview, said that the Ceylonese were ready to give full citizen rights to Indians but they objected to their retaining their Indian nationality even after living for generations in Ceylon. Our attitude on Indians overseas has always been that when they are accorded full citizenship in a country, foreign or Dominion, they should cease to look to the mother-country for protection, and the Government of India have no right or duty to intervene on their behalf. But this principle is in the case of Ceylon subject to qualification. In the first place, Indians do not regard Ceylon as they regard South Africa or even Burma. Ceylon is deeply imbedded in the religious and cultural tradition of India. The Sinhalese, the dominant element in the island, are Indian in origin; Buddhism, the religion which they profess, is an off-shoot of Hinduism, its sacred literature is in an Indian dialect and its oldest shrines are in this country. Geographically Ceylon is India just as much as Sicily is Italy. Economic and strategic considerations strongly reinforce the unity. Mr. Senanayake referred to some scheme on which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and he had agreed, founded on race, religion and culture. We do not know what Pandit Jawaharlal and Mr. Senanayake had agreed on in their conversations just prior to the Pandit's arrest in 1942. But no responsible Indian statesman can agree to any arrangement which would come in the way of Ceylon becoming eventually an integral part of India. As for dual citizenship or nationality, the objections to it have worn somewhat thin. The citizens of the world are being forced increasingly to be cosmopolitans owing to the increasing merging of national in international interests. There is another reason special to Ceylon and Burma which should not be lost sight of. In the Burma draft agreements certain disabilities were proposed for Indians from which other nationals such as the Chinese and British were free. We presume that Mr. Senanayake intends that there should be no such discrimination and that all who are domiciled in Ceylon will have to become Ceylonese nationals. If this is what is intended, the arguments against Indians having a double nationality will be strengthened. We should add that no settlement which is not satisfactory to the Hindu minority in Jaffna and elsewhere, can be regarded with favour in India. They are Ceylonese as much as the Sinhalese and there should be no legitimate ground for them to feel that they may not get fair treatment at the hands of their Sinhalese compatriots. We have already deprecated Indians in Ceylon imitating the Ulster Irish or the Pakistanists in this country.

In the same speech Mr. Senanayake declared that he was fully satisfied with the White Paper presented to Parliament on the Soulbury proposals for the future constitution of Ceylon, that he had full faith in the intentions of the British Government and in the sincerity of British statements. He said at the same time

that he would have wished Ceylon to be immediately transferred to the Dominions Office in London because that Office has a long tradition of democratic approach to Commonwealth problems and set conventions that have grown up in time. But distrust of authority is the *raison d'être* of politics. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. "Trust in God and keep your powder dry", said Cromwell. Sinhalese statesmen will neglect that precaution at their peril. At present their one aim and object seems to be to get power to eliminate the Indian factor in their problem. They will find that this is neither an easy nor from even the Sinhalese point of view a profitable one. As we pointed out in a previous reference to the Soulbury Report, British protection practically means Indian protection. Indian troops are fighting for the British in Indonesia and Indo-China that is, discharging with their lives the deep, moral obligation of Britain to reinstate France and Holland in the two Colonies. Every Dominion has had in recent years to differ from the mother-country on vital matters. Some of them have even expressed their desire to become independent or form associations with their neighbours. The ties which bind Britain to Canada and Australia are not political or legal so much as cultural and racial. Ceylon and Britain are not united by any such ties. In a conflict with Britain, not necessarily armed conflict, Ceylon must turn to India as Indo-China and Indonesia and even Palestine are doing today. Mr. Senanayake speaks of the tradition of the Dominions Office. An office has no tradition. It is the men who control them who have. There are the permanent officials. It is as likely that they might bring the tradition of the India Office into the Dominion Office as that the latter may to the former. Indeed, the former is more probable. Gresham's law operates in administration as in currency, the bad has a strong tendency to drive out the good. John Bright long ago warned the British people that Anglo-Indian traditions will inevitably infiltrate into British administration. So it has. Two Indian officials, both of whom have lost their safe seats in the last general elections, were inducted into the Churchill Cabinet. An important London daily had at least on one occasion reminded Sir John Anderson, Chancellor of the Exchequer in the last government, that Britain was not Bengal. Sinhalese statesmen should apply their minds to their country's problems unobsessed by the urge to eliminate Indians.

THE AMERICAN SCENE

President Hutchins, of the University of Chicago, has been indulging in some straight talk that might well be imitated by some other college presidents that I can think of. When we condemn the whole German and Japanese people for the crimes alleged against them, says President Hutchins, we are doing the same thing that the Nazis did when they condemned the Jews. "We call Japanese soldiers fanatics when they die rather than surrender, whereas American soldiers who do the same thing are heroes." Then he continued:

"We prove that all Germans are murderers and all Japanese apes, and at the same time insist that we are going to have one world in which all men are brothers. We say we are going to reeducate the Germans, and adop-

a policy of non-fraternization. We hate slavery and propose forced labour. We want Europe rebuilt, but will leave no heavy industry in Germany. We are against dictatorship, but the dictatorship of the proletariat is an exception."

What President Hutchins is here protesting against is the collapse of our intellectual and spiritual integrity under the impact of war hysteria—that acceptance of a double standard of morals in our thinking which in peacetime we would regard as a disgrace. The single standard, the universal application of truth, the playing of no favourites, the indulgence of no blind partisanship *pro* or *con*, pure objectivity which is simple honesty—this is what he is after. And why not? Take some examples! I am opposed to concentration camps. I was opposed to them when the English established them in South Africa, when the Spaniards established them in Cuba, when the Americans (we ourselves!) established them in the Philippines, when the Nazis established them in Germany, and now when the Bolsheviks are maintaining them in Russia. I am opposed to dictatorships. I grew up to hate the dictatorships of the Tsar and the Sultan. I hated instantly the dictatorships of Mussolini, Franco, Hitler, and Huey Long. I hate dictatorships of Japan in Manchuria and Korea, and of Britain in India. And I hate and loathe and fear the dictatorship of Stalin in Russia, Poland, Rumania, and a dozen other countries. I denounce atrocities—the atrocities of the Nazis and the Japanese in occupied countries, and the atrocities of the English and the Americans in bombed cities. I love people, the common people of whom God made so many—the English people, French people, the Russian people, and the German people and the Japanese people, and Jews and Negroes and persecuted minorities generally—and I would include them all, without distinction or qualification of any kind, in the one great brotherhood of man. This is the way to think, and to live. Not otherwise can we have peace. Thanks to President Hutchins for his reminder!

Is there no end to these atrocity tales? Here is a very recent one that for some reason has especially horrified me. It concerns an American soldier who was sentenced in his prison camp "to break rocks with a short-handled sledge at a cadence of 120 blows a minute." Obviously, this was an impossible task. "No human could possibly carry on at that speed," says the newspaper dispatch. Then came the punishments for failure! The prisoner was ordered to stand at attention with the sledge at his side. The account goes on:

"He was then smashed across the jaw with a club which raised a welt on the left side of his face about as big as a fist, and which knocked the fillings out of his teeth. He was knocked down, and upon arising was again knocked down and smashed into unconsciousness and beaten around the shoulders, arms, and legs. He was then dragged off to the guardhouse and placed in solitary confinement."

It should be added that this tortured victim was not in a Nazi concentration camp, but in an American prison—at the Army Air Base at Lincoln, Nebraska. His torturers were American Army officers. The disclosure was made on the floor of the House in Washington by Representative Leon H. Gavin, of Pennsylvania, who said that the House Military Affairs Committee had uncovered "a number of other beat-

ings." All of which means not that we have a Gestapo in this country, as Representative Gavin intimated, not that America is the Reich or Americans Nazi! But that human nature is about the same everywhere, with a mixture of good and bad, merciful and cruel, in any considerable group of men and women! I have taken delight in publishing in these columns the stories of good deeds done by Germans—not to prove that all Germans are angels, which they are not, but that there are good Germans. I count it my duty on occasion to publish stories of bad deeds done by Americans—not to prove that all Americans are devils, which they are not, but that unfortunately there are bad Americans. I would expose the slander, the sin, of making sweeping and universal judgments, either good or bad, of a whole people. Let us remember Stevenson's familiar statement—"There is so much good in the worst of us, and so much bad in the best of us that it does not behove any of us to say very much about the rest of us."

Varian Fry some time ago resigned in disgust from the editorial staff of the *New Republic*. Louis Fisher has similarly resigned from the *Nation*, after twenty-two years of association with that once noble and now ignoble sheet. Here is a dramatic presentation of the line of cleavage being drawn ever more and more sharply between liberals and fellow travellers—between men of the open mind and the free spirit, and men bound in intellectual and spiritual servitude to a preconceived and utterly dogmatic set of ideas. The *New Republic* and the *Nation* were once truly liberal journals. Think of the former in the days of Herbert Croly and the latter in the days of Oswald Garrison Villard! Under the direction of these two great editors, these papers were independent of every influence but that of their own convictions. They followed no party line, they played no favourites, they prated no shibboleths. Their columns were open to all competent and honest thinkers, to say whatever they thought should be said on public questions—not closed, as now, to all who are not orthodox according to the standards of a hard and fast editorial creed. The downfall of these two papers, as of so many other liberal individuals and institutions, began in the early days of President Roosevelt and the New Deal. Scared to the point of panic, bereft of their editorial senses, unable in the terror of the hour to think for themselves, they threw themselves into Roosevelt's hands, and became the abject "me, too's" of his administration. From that time on they lost the faculty of criticism and independent judgment. Anything that Roosevelt said was true because he said it—anything that Roosevelt did was right because he did it. What was at work, of course, was infantilism—the father complex of the feeble child bound in glad subjection to the parental domination. And now we see this same complex at work in the case of Russia. With both the *New Republic* and the *Nation*, Joseph Stalin is now king—and the king can do no wrong. What Moscow says goes as infallibly today with Bruce Bliven and Freda Kirchway as what Franklin D. Roosevelt said yesterday. Which means that liberalism is dead in these two great papers! They are now little more than high-class editions of the *Daily Worker*. Let me advise those who would read liberal journals still, to return to the *Progressive*, the *New Leader*, *Common Sense*, *Fellowship*, and the *Christian Century*. In these papers lives today the true tradition of American liberalism. —UNITY.

JAVA UNDER DUTCH RULE

Java is governed from Holland—a nation suffering from a high state of tension and Germanic dyspepsia. All laws are made in Holland and sent over to Java by parcel post! Many of them are never taken out of the parcel, and none but those that apply to taxation of the native or are calculated to annoy the visitor—specially the English visitor—are put into force. The ruling power seems to be suspicious of foreigners. Every man, woman or child having the hardihood to enter Java must within three days register his or her name and pay 2s. 6d. for the pleasure of being registered. If they fail to register and pay the fee, the Dutch will enforce a penalty to the extent of 100 guilders.

The Dutch law makes special sumptuary regulations for the natives under their sway. A Javanese or Malay is forbidden under heavy penalty from wearing hat or boots and trousers are not allowed unless a girdle of cloth is around the waist. Short coats are allowed if they show the waistbelt, but long-tailed coats are strictly forbidden.

In Java, natives do all the work. No Dutchman does any work. Beer-drinking, flogging the native men, and imposing their will on the native woman, are their pastimes. In the main policy of idleness and lascivious laziness the father sets an example to the son, and the son improves upon his father's example by becoming a terror and a plague to the mothers and maids who are unlucky enough to cross the young Dutch devil's path. The copper-skinned mothers and maids of the nation—the pure-bred Javanese women—are comely, quiet and even-sad. They are peace-loving and industrious, and their one wish in life, I am told, is to be good wives and mothers. They often become mothers in white households, but seldom wives.

Java contains a large Malay population. The Malay women are more lively, jocular, and mirthful than the Japanese. You can tell them in the street as they laugh and gambol along, happy in their ignorance and pure in their simplicity and modesty. Yet the silent Javanese woman, delicately framed, and sometimes with beautiful-chiselled features, silent and sad, and her more boisterous, yet lovable sister, the Malay girl, bear an equal share of the white man's burden laid upon them by men who live pigs and die hogs.

Under the Dutch laws made in Holland, if a Dutchman is convicted before the local Dutch magistrate for some offence against the authorities the magistrate in passing the sentence asks the person convicted how he would like to do the sentence. The Dutchman thinks hard, then replies: "I'll be busy tomorrow and Wednesday, on Thursday my wife is giving a party to some friends, on Friday I must attend my mother-in-law's father's funeral. How would Saturday do?"

The magistrate also thinks very hard and then says: "Well, go in before one o'clock on Saturday and come out first thing on Monday morning; that will be two days off the time. We'll then see how your affairs stand before fixing the balance of the time; but remember, you must do your sentence—the law of our Father in Holland must be obeyed."

No man or woman can enter Java without a permit, and no one—man, woman or child—can leave the coun-

try if he or she owes money to a Dutchman. It is a grave offence in Java to depart without paying up.

The Dutchmen make no secret of their policy in dealing with the natives, the owners of the country. They say glibly: "Why should we teach them anything? Why should we place them on a level with ourselves? They all live to work, not to be taught such sentimental humbug as the English are teaching the Indians—simply making educated loafers and agitators of them. Once you educate the yellow or black races you teach them what you yourself know, but you deny them equal rights with you. You will not marry into their class nor will your artisans work side by side with them. Thus you create a class which is educated, discontented and forceful against you. Keep them down. Make them work. Don't allow them to wear hats, boots, or trousers or indeed use the European's manners or customs. Allow no native to sit in your presence. Flog the men and use the women for pleasure and profit is the proper policy for dealing with the yellow or black races."

The policy is carried out with a vengeance in Java. Although one cannot state with exactness that a recognized state of slavery actually exists, still it does exist under the cover of the Government, who permit it by winking at what was done 50 years ago quite openly. As an example. I clip from the *Free Press of Singapore* the following excerpts which but a short time ago, would tend to show that slavery was still openly recognised:

"Voute and Guerin will, at the auction on Monday the 11th instant at Rijswijk, sell on account of the estate of Mrs. Patei the following slaves:

"Dantony, aged 48 years, cowherd,

"Pelo, otherwise Constantine, aged 37 years,

"Malative, aged 17½ years, lady's maid, washerwoman,

"Mochamat, aged 14½ years, house-boy.

"Antionetta, aged 15½ years, lady's maid, and.

"Selana, aged 2 years,

"together with an entirely new Brussels-wagon."

The *Free Press* merely quoted from the advertisements appearing in the *Java Courant* and this was but one of the many examples of men, women and children being disposed of in the rest of the household goods and chattel.

Today, though nominally slavery is not recognized, a girl can be bought as a servant for about 20 guilders. She has all the duties of a slave to perform and receives all the whippings a slave usually receives. If she is young, plump and attractive, she is locked in an out-building early at nights to ensure her being kept more secure for her master or the master's hopeful son! Many girls are not bought at all; they are simply taken by force from their parents and supplied to customers or put into brothels at so much per girl, cash down. There is a regular traffic carried on in this way between the keepers of houses of ill-fame and the raiders.

The army of Java, such as it is, was supplied, under Government orders with girls. This fact is denied by authorities, but nevertheless it is true. The *modus operandi* is this: A Mandor, or headman, is sent into the country among the rice-growers or other agriculturists. He is always well received there, hospitality being one

of the charms of the Javanese. In the cool of the evening, after supper, the great man talks to the assembled company about the doings in the great city of Batavia or other large cities adorned with Government buildings, of course, not calling attention to the fact that every brick of them is cursed with the sweat, tears and, perchance, the blood of thousands of helpless natives. The Mandor's business is to interest the young maidens with fairy tales of dresses, jewels, sweet-scented houses, etc. Once the young girls are deeply interested, the fathers' and mothers' doubts are easily removed for, "Is not the Mandor in the employ of the Government?"

A contract is then drawn up and is signed by the girl, her father and the Mandor. She is then taken with quite a number of other girls at Government expense to, say, Batavia and after resting at certain compounds or rest-houses the girls are cleaned and made spick and span for military inspection. They are then taken to another compound where Dutch military officers take the pick of the new consignment. The girls that are left are handed over to the soldiers to scramble for. Nearly every nationality under the sun is represented in the Dutch army. No Englishmen, however, are serving in the ranks or as officers.

Thus the work of destruction on the maids of the nation is commenced and continued by the soldiers. The girls are practically in bondage as long as they please the soldiers under arms for a Christian Queen. When the girl gets ungainly or becomes impertinent or shows any marked preference for any particular man, she is bundled out. Where?—Christian people will ask. The answer is: On the streets, into brothels, to live a life of shame until death breaks the thralldom of their chains. Her place is filled by fresh recruits from the country, all daughters of a helpless nation ruled by a rod of iron by the Dutch rulers. One sees hundreds of young Javanese women, cast off by the soldiers, on the streets in all the principal towns of Java. In Batavia, the number is very large and the crowding of the unfortunates in Lock Hospital—an apology for a hospital—is a sight to make a strong man ill.

There is no law—except that of the strongest against the weak. The Press is muzzled and its boldest writers put into gaol, and the highest flight that journalistic imagination may take is to write dissertations on the weather or the goodness of the Queen of Holland and the occupants of the pulpits of the Dutch. Some day, perhaps, the occupants of these pulpits will awaken to the necessity of preaching fair treatment to the natives of the colonies. But so far there is no sign of any such awakening (this was in 1913). Everybody and everything under the hand of the Government seems to be palsied. Everybody is hurrying to get rich before the Dutch rule of the most beautiful country in the world ends and the end is closer than most persons will allow.

It is not my purpose to lift the lid off the hidden volcano the Dutch are resting on in slothful sensuality. I may do so later, for Java would undoubtedly be a great prize for an invading force. Nor would the feat be difficult or dangerous, since a country sunk in sloth, in which only sin is naked, unabashed, and unashamed, is not going to

make much of a fight against a clean attack from the most awakened nations of the Far East—From "*Western Men with Eastern Morals*," by W. N. Willis. Originally appeared in a series of articles in "*Truth*"

GENERAL ELECTIONS AND COMMUNAL ELECTORATES

The decision of Government to hold general elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures at this stage will be received with mixed feelings. On the one hand, general elections are over-due. On the other, the issues and sanctions in India being what they are, general elections may do much harm and no good.

In its very nature a general election is a method to disclose a majority for or against an issue and implies that the majority view will prevail. It is not meant to produce an agreement between opposing views. In England, which has a common and not communal franchise, the last general election disclosed that the majority of voters favoured the policy and programme of the Labour Party, and the minority submitted to the majority. In India today the dominant issues are of a different kind; they are communal like separate electorates, weightages, parity and Pakistan and the electorates are not common but separate and communal. The majority view is already known, and no general election is needed for disclosing it. Mr. Jinnah himself acknowledged it when at the press conference at Simla on July 14 last, immediately after the failure of the Simla Conference, he said, "All the other minorities, such as the Scheduled Castes, Sikhs and Christians, have the same goal as the Congress. They have their grievance as minorities but their goal and ideology is, and cannot be different from or otherwise than, that of United India." Mr. Jinnah's estimate of the attitude of the Indian Christians has received fresh testimony, if such were necessary, in the admirable statement recently issued by several leading Indian Christians in the Central Provinces on the 23rd August 1945. The Muslim League, even if it had the solid support of all Muslims, is still a minority, and no general election is needed to prove it.

The sanction behind a general election is the submission of the minority to the majority. But in India, the British Government which is in power insists on agreement between the Muslim League and other parties and has thereby placed the power of veto in the hands of the League. The general election will not produce an agreement, and will not, therefore, help to decide any election issue.

On the other hand, if communal separatism and privileges are the issues at the general election, as they are bound to be now, and as the electorates are separate and not common, it is inevitable that appeals will be made to the worst religious fanaticisms of the masses of voters, which will leave behind a deplorable legacy of religious and communal hatreds and discords.

The better alternative is to settle the communal problem first and ensure that it is not an issue at the general election. It seems inevitable that the communal issue will have to be settled by imposition and not by agreement. In which case, it is better then to impose it first and get it out of the way, as it were, before the general election is held. It will be recalled that the Wavell Offer imposed

parity between Caste-Hindus and Muslims and did not make it *contingent on agreement*. In fact, all along, since the communal element was introduced in the Indian constitution in 1908 by Lord Minto, it was imposed by the British Government and was never based on agreement between the parties in India. It is true that in the Lucknow Pact the Congress agreed to communal separatism and privilege. But it is well known that it did so partly because it was *fait accompli*, and partly because it wished to prevent the further spread of the evil and hoped to see it eliminated altogether in the near future. If, in recent months, the Congress made concessions to the principles of Pakistan and parity it was against its better judgment and under a sense of frustration and duress. Nobody will be pleased more than the Congress if communal separatism and privilege are altogether abolished. The communal issue must, therefore, be decided by those who wield power as has always been done and not made to depend on agreement.

It is but right that the British Government itself should settle it for the communal problem in India is the creation of that Government. It was introduced in pursuance of the imperialistic policy of 'divide and rule' by the previous Governments. It is true that the last Labour Government of Ramsay Macdonald fathered the so-called Communal Award, but then that Labour Government was merely in office and not in power and had to toe the Conservative line. The present Labour Government is in power, and has already shown its strength in British domestic politics. If as long ago as 1908, Lord Morely, who never contemplated India ever attaining democratic responsible government, felt it difficult to defend the introduction of communalism in the Indian constitution, the present Labour Government which professes democratic, socialistic and anti-imperialistic ideals and envisages full responsible democratic government for India, must find it very much against its grain to sanction and impose separate franchises on India based on race, religion caste and creed. It is not only up to the British Government to impose a settlement, but to impose a democratic one. It is up to it to reverse the disastrous policy of the former imperialistic Government, undo the wrong done to India and democracy and make it possible for India to develop along right democratic lines. It is to be hoped that the present Labour Government will be equal to the task and not shrink from doing the right thing.

In order to persuade it to do so, it is essential that all nationalists in India should make immediate and strong representations to the Labour Government and send an influential and representative deputation to England before it is too late. For if even the present Labour Government fails to eliminate communalism in the Indian constitution, the outlook for India will only grow darker and darker. Away with communalism! Now or never.

P. KODANDA RAO

WATUMULL FOUNDATION FELLOWSHIPS FOR 1946-47

Since the Watumull Foundation announced its plan in 1944 to award scholarships to highly-qualified graduates of Indian universities for advanced study in the United States, the Government of India has announced an extensive programme to send several hundred Indian students abroad each year for graduate training. In view

of this extensive programme, the Foundation is changing its policy somewhat in order to provide Indian universities with trained men to educate thousands of Indian students who are unable to study abroad and who will learn in India the most up-to-date scientific and technological work from the returned professors.

We propose, for the academic year of 1946-47, to award ten fellowships to young Indian faculty members of Indian universities to carry on advanced studies and research in American universities for one or two years, as individually required. These fellowships will be awarded with the definite understanding that, after their return to India, they will continue to teach in the same universities where they were employed prior to their departure for the United States, for a period of at least three years. Fellowships are open to both men and women, regardless of caste, colour or creed.

The fellowships will be awarded in the following fields,

1. American History, Government and Foreign Policies.
2. Agriculture :
 - a. Soil Conservation
 - b. Horticulture
 - c. Animal Husbandry and Dairying
3. Education—Theories and Administration
4. Economics and Sociology
Finance, Banking and Commerce
5. Political Science
 - a. Government
 - b. International Relations
6. Journalism
7. Home Economics and Nursing
8. Applied Physics
9. Applied Chemistry
10. Sanitation & Public Health

The candidates must be of the very highest type of Indian scholar with Ph. D., D. Sc., M. A., B. A., or B. Sc., (First Class, First), with experience in research and three years' experience in teaching. Candidates must be 35 years or younger. Young, unmarried scholars of merit will receive preference.

METHOD OF SELECTION

The authorities of every Indian university will select two to four candidates, who, in their judgment, are most able to acquire the knowledge of the specific subjects which they will teach in the universities after their return to India, with the definite objective that the standard and efficiency of their universities will be raised. The applications of the candidates selected by the Indian universities will be sent by the Vice Chancellors or the Deans of the Faculty, to the chairman of the Watumull Foundation Advisory Board in India :

Mr. J. Watumull
Opposite Holmstead Hall
Fort Road
Hyderabad Sind, India

When all applications are in, Mr. Watumull will send them by airmail to the special committee on the selection of scholars in the United States who will choose the ten successful candidates on the basis of merit only.

The applications must contain the following information :

1. A recent small photograph.
2. A recent health certificate.
3. A complete transcript of all studies pursued in Indian universities by the candidate, both in undergraduate and graduate work, and must include marks received, class earned, as well as any honours or distinctions won.
4. Adequate evidence of research and teaching ability.
5. Three letters of recommendation from Indian educators as well as public men, indicating not only the applicant's efficiency as a scholar, but his spirit of service to his fellow countrymen.
6. A personal letter of application from the candidate, which must state:
 - a. Full name and permanent address.
 - b. Date and place of birth.
 - c. Married or single. If married, how many children. Ages of children. Any other dependants.
 - d. Particular subject he wishes to study in the U. S.
 - e. A declaration that after his return to India he will teach in his university for three years, according to prior arrangements made with the university authorities.
 - f. Any other personal details, including a brief sketch of his family background.

Applications should be mailed to Mr. J. Watumull not later than December 31, 1945. The Selection Committee will make public its decisions early in March 1946, giving both the candidates and their universities ample notice before the beginning of the next academic year.

Successful candidates may be required to appear before a member of the Foundation's Indian Advisory Board for a personal interview at their own expense. They will be informed of the awards by cablegram and the Foundation will undertake to secure their admission in the American universities offering the best work in their respective fields. Choice of the universities rests with the Foundation. This advance notice will also give candidates time to arrange for passports, visas, etc., in order that they may arrive in the United States late in the summer of 1946. Most American universities begin their academic years early in September.

The Foundation will pay passages from India to the United States, tuition and fees in the selected American university and allowances of 100 or 150 dollars a month, according to the candidate's financial standing. This follows the policy adopted by the Foundation in 1944.

RE-INTERPRETATION OF JESUS CHRIST

Sir, Scrutator in his letter published in last week's *Reformer* has called for a reinterpretation of the teachings of Jesus Christ in the light of his own affirmation that he came to fulfil not to destroy, by Hindus in default of Indian Christians in this country. The close similarity between Hindu religious thought and the thought of Jesus Christ has been sought to be explained in various ways. One of the earliest and least recondite was that Hinduism pilfered from the New Testament. This is obviously crude. A more plausible theory was that Jesus spent many years in

India and had borrowed his ideas from Hindu scriptures. There is a large gap in the life-story of Christ and it is not improbable that he had travelled to India during that period. A Russian, Notovitch, claimed that he had come across manuscripts in a Thibetan monastery purporting to embody Christ's teachings. This has been dismissed as a forgery by western scholars. Ramaswami Aiyar of Madras has adduced several facts in support of his theory of a South Indian settlement in Galilee and that the mother of Christ was a member of this colony. The common ground between all these is that the teachings of Jesus bear a close resemblance to Hindu teachings.

A re-interpretation of Christ's teachings in the light of Hindu teaching has been made by an American. After finishing my work in Chicago twelve years ago, I and my daughter spent two days in Washington. Our arrival was somewhat sooner than expected owing to a mistake about the train we were to transfer into at a junction midway. We waited on the station platform for about half an hour for a friend who had been apprised of our visit. Incidentally, we noted that some of the benches on the platform were marked as for coloured people. We took our seats on one of these. In about a quarter of an hour we saw a dapper little figure rushing towards us recognising us by our Indian clothes. He gave a slight start at seeing us on the bench for coloured persons, but he said nothing. He took us to Hotel Willard where he had arranged accommodation. Some hours later he took us to his home. Throughout he kept on speaking of his wife and we expected that she would receive us. But when I said something to the effect that it would be a pleasure to meet her, he replied that she had passed away some years before. Nevertheless he continued to speak of her as if she were alive and working with him, like the little cottage girl in Wordsworth's poem who persisted in saying that they were seven brothers and sisters though all but she were dead.

No one who met Homer Curtiss in the streets would take him for a religious man. He was active and busy and keenly interested in the world in which his lot was cast. Among other things, he told us how on one occasion he had given a lift in his car to the Police who were after some gangsters, driving the car himself at eighty miles an hour. At parting he gave me his book "The Voice of Isis." From the first I had conceived a prejudice, which was quite unreasonable, against Theosophists, particularly the esoteric exponents of Theosophy. Some of their books were entitled Voices and I put aside Curtiss's book without even opening it. If these lines come to the notice of the friend, I ask his forgiveness. A few days ago looking for some other book, I came across the Voice of Isis. I glanced at the inscription in Mr. Curtiss's hand on the fly-leaf—Washington is very much in the world's eye nowadays—and opened the book at random. In the very first page I opened was a saying of Christ, who in a parenthesis was identified with Sri Krishna. A parallel passage from the Bhagavad Gita closely followed. I found several such analogies, all of them apt, scattered about the book. This is exactly what I have in mind and in my small way have been trying to do.—P. if

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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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which is that it should be the aim of the minority to convert the majority to its views. The Muslim League assumes without reason that it could not convert non-Muslims to its views. This may be all right if religious views and political views were identical, but they are far from being so. No settlement based on concessions and weightages which are bound to increase from time to time can afford the foundation of a stable political or social system.

Mudaliar's Optimism:—Almost the only delegate to the San Francisco Conference who continues to be optimistic about the out-come of the San Francisco Conference is the Hon. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar. When the Atom Bomb was flung on Japan, there was a general cry that all the projects of international cooperation had been exploded. Sir Ramaswami alone is unmoved. The steadily widening differences between the British and Russian Governments, have also apparently not subdued his enthusiasm. The fact that the war has not ended and is assuming menacing proportions in Indonesia and Indo-China, that civil war is ravaging the territories of one of the Big Five, are other facts which Sir Ramaswami has no time to think of. He said that he found the conditions in San Francisco far exceeded his expectations. What did he expect? If he expected to wander the streets as did Swami Vivekananda as no hotel would admit a coloured man, he is right. Otherwise his optimism can be only described as temperamental. Sir Ramaswami was eloquent on the great honour done to India by selecting the head of her delegation to preside over one of the numerous committees and commissions of the Conference. As a matter of fact, selection of Chairmen for these bodies was not made on considerations of merit. An American writer describes the way in which Chairmen were assigned to Committees as one of the least satisfactory points about the conference. He writes: Of the twelve chairmen, several were men of outstanding ability but there were other instances in which the grab-bag method of selection was not so fortunate. Chairmen who apparently had little or no previous experience in conducting parliamentary sessions, or who had little familiarity with the subject matter before their committees were not unknown. Some of the most serious bottlenecks of the entire Conference might be traced to the unhappy choice of a committee chairman. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, of course, was acknowledged on all hands to have been an admirable Committee Chairman.

NOTES

The Aga Khan on the Scene:—After five years enforced absence from India, His Highness the Aga Khan is once more with us. He took the lead in founding the Muslim League and guided it with much tact and wisdom for several years. The circumstances which led to his withdrawing from the League are not known. It is probable that if he had been at the helm of the League the present estrangement between Muslim and Nationalist politics might have been avoided. His Highness in a Press interview pleaded for closer cooperation between the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League. Their differences, he thought, were holding up the progress not only in India but in the whole of Asia. As the larger and stronger body, he advised the Congress to make a definite move towards conciliating the League. His Highness did not refer to Pakistan which is at present the great stumbling block. His Highness is probably not aware that short of Pakistan the Congress had gone very far towards assuring Muslims of the League an equal position in the interim Indian Government. Virtually, the Congress offered the League complete control of the Government of the country. Pakistan could at the most be only control of a fourth but here Mr. Jinnah and his friends were offered the rule of the whole India. The fact that Mr. Jinnah has been at considerable pains to prove to the British and the American public that he was not responsible for the failure of the Simla Conference, shows that he recognises that these Congress offers were sufficient to meet the League claims. The Bhulabhai Liaquat understanding, whether it amounted to a fact or not, which formed the basis of the Wavell proposals, has created a breach in the Congress ranks and there is little chance of its being repeated unless His Highness's personal influence on both sides bring about a changed atmosphere. His Highness's view that it is the stronger party which should conciliate the weaker is not in accord with accepted democratic principle,

Between Two Fires:—Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose some days ago rebuked Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru for talking vaguely of internationalism to the detriment of the national cause. Mr. M. N. Roy has devoted a booklet to denouncing the Pandit for posing as a Socialist while all his activities are narrowly nationalist. In the *Life of Litvinov* recently published the difference between Trotsky and Stalin is said to have been just this: how far it was consistent to be a good socialist and a good nationalist. Trotsky like Mr. Roy held that nationalism is totally inconsistent with Socialism. Stalin did not contest this doctrine, but he thought that the work to be done to consolidate the Revolution in Russia was so vast and so beset with difficulties that for the time being at least the Soviet Government should concentrate all its strength on it. The distrust of neighbours had to be allayed and their cooperation secured if possible. Stalin carried the day, or rather commonsense carried it out for him. Not only has Russia under Stalin become one of the greatest world Powers, but Russian influence on world affairs has become so pervading that Trotsky's purpose of world revolution through Russian help is well on its way to fruition. Mr. Roy evidently wants India to take up the task which Soviet Russia had to abandon. He has some reason for complaining of the Pandit's patronising remark that Royism has some good points but his tirade against the Pandit throughout the pamphlet is carrying a personal quarrel to a ridiculous length.

Kasturbhai Memorial Fund:—The Kasturbhai Memorial Fund was started almost on the morrow of the death of Mrs. Gandhi by Mr A. V. Thakkar, the veteran social worker among aborigines and the General Secretary of the Harijan Seva Sangh. The sum which he had fixed as the amount to be collected one crore of rupees, was collected within six months. Trustees were appointed and the plan of work sketched in record time. Among the trustees is Miss Mridula Ambalal Sarabhai, who for several years has thrown herself heart and soul in the political and constructive work of Gandhiji. She was also organising Secretary, has been travelling all over the country establishing centres in different places. It was therefore with some surprise that the public learnt that she had resigned the Secretaryship. Mr. Gandhi in his letter accepting her resignation says that he does so because she could not get on with Mr. Thakkar, who was the father of the Fund and his withdrawal, which is apparently inevitable if Miss Sarabhai remained, would bring the work to a standstill so far as Gandhiji was concerned. It is a pity that the two good workers could not adjust their differences, largely temperamental, before they reached the breaking point. Mr. Thakkar is about the same age as Gandhiji and though his energy is phenomenal, he cannot in the nature of things exhibit the same amount of physical energy as can Miss Sarabhai who is much younger. Further, the Fund's activities are intended solely for women and Miss Sarabhai may be expected to understand the needs of women better than Mr. Thakkar.

Palestine Arabs Let Down:—No one who has followed the development of British policy in Palestine, and the relations as they have developed between the United States and Great Britain during the War, could have entertained a doubt as to the outcome of the Attlee and

Truman talks on the agitation for Palestine being constituted a Jewish State. Mr. Ernest Bevin, the British Foreign Secretary, in his announcement in the House of Commons on Tuesday did not say in so many words that the Zionist demand has been conceded. But the procedure which is being adopted in cooperation with the United States can lead only to that result. The British White Paper which declared that no Jewish immigration in Palestine would be permitted after 1944, against which the Zionists have been protesting not only in words but by deeds of arms, has been scrapped. Mr. Bevin intimated that the Anglo—America Committee, "Arabs will be consulted with a view to ensuring that, pending interim arrangements, there is no interruption of Jewish immigration into Palestine at the rate of 1500, monthly. According to the White Paper Jewish immigration should have stopped on March 31, 1944. It has evidently not done so. It has continued evidently at the rate of 1500 a month since that date and the Arabs are now to be consulted to ensure that this is not interrupted." The capacity of Palestine to absorb more Jews is to be examined afresh. The terms of reference to the Committee lay repeated stress on the Nazi persecution of Jews. In a pamphlet with the sensational heading "Nowhere to lay their heads" Mr. Victor Gollancz maintains that anti-Semitism has not disappeared in Europe with the destruction of Nazi Power. On the contrary it has increased and is creasing. This pamphlet was noticed at some length in the *Reformer* (October 20). Mr. Gollancz has quoted authoritative statements in support of his thesis. Even the United States, with all its professions, would admit only one thousand refugee Jews from Europe and that on condition that they would be repatriated at the end of the European War. The British Government which made contradictory pledges to Jews and Arabs now proposes to hand over Palestine which was promised independence, to Trustees of the United Nations now only so in an ironical sense. President Truman at a banquet in honour of the British Prime Minister applauded the continuity of British foreign policy. Continuity is not difficult, if an individual or nation makes his or its own interest the object of its policy towards others. There is bound to be continuity in one sense. In no other sense has British policy in recent years exhibited even consistency, not to speak of continuity. Mr. Truman might have remembered that Mr. Neville Chamberlain and Mr. Winston Churchill represented diametrically opposite foreign policies. Perhaps, the President meant it only as a hint that the Attlee Government should not throw the Balfour Declaration overboard.

Nobel Prize to Cordell Hull:—Even before the War observant critics suggested that Nobel Prizes were not being distributed entirely on merits and that political and diplomatic considerations were infiltrating the administration of the famous endowment. This was particularly suspected with reference to the award for subjects which were not purely scientific. The announcement this week that the Prize for Peace has been awarded to Mr. Cordell Hull, the late Secretary of State of the United States, will be received with surprise. Mr. Hull's mismanagement was responsible for the war. At an rate he has no claim whatever for the Peace Prize. The Committee in charge of the endowment has evidently been unconsciously impelled to pay a compliment to the United States which for the moment remains, the exclusive owner of the secret of producing the Atom Bomb.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, November 17, 1945.

DEMOCRACY REAL AND UNREAL

Inaugurating the new Legislature two months ago, His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur said, "We do not find in this constitutional development the consummation of democracy; but it does provide a firm and well-planned foundation on which the structure can be built by those who are genuinely ready for both labour and sacrifice." His Highness in this sentence was repeating the mechanical idea of Democracy, current among us. Democracy, however, is not a structure resting on foundations. It is, if it is anything, a living organism drawing sustenance from the social and spiritual life of the people. You may build an imposing edifice to house your constitution, fill it with gorgeous furniture, and appoint numerous officials and non-officials for its service, but Democracy will not make her habitation there. Under democratic forms autocracy, mis-called autonomy, may flourish. We in India do not realise this. We are after the forms of Democracy, electorates, ballot boxes, the mace on the President's table, even the wig on the President's head. The numerous "walk-overs" at the Assembly General Elections that are being staged, show that the spirit of Democracy is not in our politics. A few men posing as leaders ordain that so and so should stand for this or that seat, and no other. The other party likewise puts up its ticket. There is no election. The nomination day is election day. It is difficult to believe that several leaders who will resent their democracy being questioned are active parties to this sort of dodging the electors.

There is a very sympathetic article in the *Political Science Quarterly* for September on the "Prospects of Chinese Democracy" by Mr. Chi-Yun Chang. The writer enumerates various conditions in his country favourable to Democracy. In fact, every condition that any one can think of as essential to Democracy is to be found in China. Chinese civilization as a whole has been conspicuously homogeneous and free from racial prejudice. There is no landed aristocracy in China. The typical figure in Chinese country life is not the hired labourer but the land-holding peasant. This, according to the writer, supplies the middle class considered essential to the working of Democracy. The geographical condition of China affords, we are told, easy means of communication for persons and ideas from one end of it to the other. "China is very old as a social democracy. Her culture and civilization have come not from the Imperial courts, but from the people themselves." Mandarin Chinese is understood all over China. The writer quotes Dr. Sun Yat Sen's dictum that political democracy is not given to a people by nature; it is created by human efforts. In other words, the presence of all these conditions cannot lead by a natural process to democracy. If so, can democracy be achieved by human efforts alone without the help of any or all of these conditions?

The United States is a political democracy created entirely by human efforts. None of the advantages possessed by China was present in the United

States. Geographically, racially, religiously and linguistically the country and the population was conspicuous by lack of homogeneity. Mountains and rivers divided the States. Into the make-up of the American population have gone many thousands of English, Irish, Scotch, Italians, Poles, Russians, Danes, Swedes, Fins, Bulgarians, Turks, Armenians, Spaniards, Jews, Greeks, Germans, Chinese, Negroes, Mexicans and representative of many other racial and linguistic groups in the World, writes Franks Tannenbaum in his article "On Certain Characteristics of American Democracy" in the same journal. Religiously the population is even more divided. "There is more than religious freedom in the United States", he writes. "There is almost a kind of religious inventiveness in the American community. Not only the broad religious beliefs, brought over from the old world, had complete freedom to develop as they could, but an incredible number of American-born credos have risen and flourished. American ground seems to be specially favourable to new forms of faith and some of these new forms have become large and influential institutional groups. One need but mention the Mormons and Christian Science Churches to make the point. There are, moreover, innumerable small sects".

If one sat down to consider if these heterogeneous elements can ever be moulded into a single political democracy, the answer would be a decisive "Never". Nevertheless the fact is there—the United States is a single political democracy. By a mysterious process, all these varieties of race, language, religions, nationality, are, after the first generation, are all Americans, "a curious kind of cultural absorption has pervaded the atmosphere, and has bred a new race out of the diverse elements of the world. All the elements have been proud of becoming American, and almost pathetically insistent on shedding the evidence of their origin." Tannenbaum assigns as the main factors in creating this atmosphere, intermarriage and a common public school system. There is something more than these two influences in creating the atmosphere. In Canada which is divided from the United States by a small river, Britons and French have lived together for a longer period than the different races in the United States, without intermarrying or attending the same public schools. The same thing happened in Ireland. The Irish and the British did not unite though they lived together for seven centuries. The distinct feature in the United States which has created an atmosphere constraining to unity, is that all the several elements had rebelled against and forsworn their national traditions when they emigrated from their native lands. English Protestants came first and established a tradition which, except as regards language, departed widely and fundamentally from their native traditions. This became the norm to which all subsequent immigrants willingly conformed. They were mostly peoples who sought escape from political and economic oppression. They had not the genius and the spiritual energy of the Pilgrim Fathers. They were glad to fit into an existing system and did not trouble to form one for themselves. In their own countries, it would have been impossible for them to break from the old tradition. In the United States they were unresisted in an environment of democratic freedom. They had clean slates to write on.

For countries like India which seek to become political democracies, Mr. Tannenbaum's observations are full of

suggestion. He says that no formal declaratory statement of how democracy is practised can make any nation democratic. No machinery of election to office, no given system of law is adequate for the purposes. He continues: "If we would teach democracy to the people of the world, we must teach it on local rather than on foreign foundations. The way of life must in the long run prove consistent with their inner sense of values. It must, in fact, by some magic appear to be and, in fact, should be continuation of their own past."

Is democracy, then, unattainable for nations without a tradition which can be adopted as a foundation for democracy? Taubenbaum allows that there are democratic elements in any society. As Dicey says there must be a modicum of popular support even to a military dictatorship. To put it in another way, every form of society has inherent in it, in more or less strength, the democratic principle. Some autocracies may be essentially more democratic than some democracies. In Indian society there are plenty of democratic elements if only we look for it, and no Indian constitution can be stable which has not them for foundation; It is not the name it is the substances which matters.

INDIA AND INDONESIA

There will be general approval among people who take a sober view of things, of the decision of Government that it was undesirable for Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to visit Java in the present unsettled conditions there. Dr. Soekarno, the Indonesian leader, had invited, besides the Pandit, Madam Chiang-Kai-Shek, the Australian Minister Evatt and, perhaps, some other nationals also, to go to Java to get a first-hand view of the Indonesian movement and its methods. None of the other invitees would seem to have responded to the call but Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru promptly accepted it and applied to the Government of India for passports and travelling facilities. The Government passed on the request to the British Government. The British Government referred it to the military authorities in South East Asia, and they advised that it will be undesirable for the Pandit to visit Java in the present distributed conditions in that unhappy land. We do not know whether the Pandit seriously expected the Government to give him what he wanted. The Pandit's presence in Java would have been a source of great anxiety to the authorities. They would have had to take special precautions for his protection. If anything happened to him, the public in India would have suspected Government of not having been adequately solicitous of the safety of the Indian leader. He should have been given an escort wherever he went, and this might have been represented as placing restrictions on his free movement. From every point of view, the decision to withhold the facilities to visit Java which the Pandit requested is the only one which Government could have taken. The Indian public, so far as we can see, was quite prepared for it, and, indeed, would have been perplexed if it had been otherwise.

The Under Secretary of State's reply to Mr. Reginald Sorensen's question about the resentment felt in India at the use of Indian troops in Indo-China and Indonesia, was, we are sorry to say disingenuous. Mr. Arthur Henderson said that the British government were aware of the

criticism (not the resentment) in India but the Indian and British troops were being used only to disarm the Japanese, to protect internees and to preserve order. This on the morrow of what the Indonesian leader, Dr. Soekarno, has been obliged to describe as a massacre in Sourabaya. Let us briefly recapitulate some facts. Mr. J. Lawson, Secretary of State for War, said at a Press conference in Singapore that His Majesty's government were under no obligation to maintain by force French and Dutch supremacy in Eastern Asia. This had a reassuring effect. A few days later the Prime Minister Mr. Attlee, corrected this statement. He said that the British Government were under a strong moral obligation to keep order until Dutch authority was restored. This aroused considerable disappointment and strengthened the violence party at the expense of Dr. Soekarno's controlled nationalism. The British General in command in that region Hawthorn promptly ordered the Indonesians to lay down their arms. By what right, except that of arms, he gave the order, it is not clear. It would even appear that when he gave the order he had not force enough at his command to enforce his order. The Indonesians, whether they suspected it or not, disobeyed the order. The General to save his face—it is not the Japs alone who want to save face—explained that the order applied only to ununiformed persons, and that the persons wearing uniforms of Dr. Soekarno's government were not covered by the order. He went further, he arranged a truce with Dr. Soekarno and sent his subordinate, the ill-fated Mallaby to arrange details with the local leaders in Sourabaya. It is not clear if Dr. Soekarno was consulted before Mallaby was sent to negotiate with the Sourabaya leaders. He has been having hardwork to keep down his extremists. What eventually happened is not known. There were two British officers with Mallaby who made their way to a British troop when Mallaby was murdered. The versions have not been published. On learning of the murder General Hawthorn broadcast a warning that if the murderers did not surrender by next day, he will use all his force with its full modern equipment to punish Sourabayans. The culprits did not surrender. British and Indian troops by air and sea and land attacked the port and the slaughter which ensued seems to have been terrible. This was how things stood when Mr. Henderson told the House of Commons that it was not the desire of His Majesty's government to get unnecessarily involved in the politics of the Country and that they hoped to restore law and order with the least possible bloodshed.

Some day ago, the *Times of India* published a message from New Delhi that His Majesty's Government requested Lord Wavell to send more Indian troops to Java but that His Excellency had refused and that no Indian troops will be sent there. General Sir Claude Auchinleck visited Nepal. Immediately the reports from Indo-China and Indonesia which had only so far mentioned Gurkhas as operating in those countries, dropped Gurkhas and spoke of Marathas and Rajputs. Now, the Gurkhas are again in evidence along with the others two. Special importance attached to the message in the *Times of India*, not only because that paper is believed to be in close touch with the Central Government, and had vouched for the authoritative information conveyed in the message, but also because it was the newspaper Lord Wavell had chosen for the exclusive right of pub-

lishing his observations on the essentials of the Common Soldier. Has the Viceroy been since over-ruled by Lord Pethick-Lawrence who proclaimed to the world his high regard for Eastern ideals? The Indian feeling is one of deep humility at the part which Indian soldiers are obliged to play in the effort to re-establish the discredited Dutch domination in Indonesia. Indians are actually being used to restore White Domination in Eastern Asia!

JAI HIND!

K. NATARAJAN.

A book with this title, admirably got up, with several fine pictures, came into my hands a few days ago (Janmabhumi Prakashak Mandali; price Rs. 5/). It purports to be the diary of a woman who was one of the thousands of Indians left stranded in Singapore when the Japanese occupied the place. All or most of the "pure-blooded" Britons had been evacuated before the Japs captured the Port. The Governor, Popham Young, had spoken derisively of the possibility of the Japs taking the place, but they took it with hardly any opposition worth mentioning. The bulk of the Indian community remained in the city. The writer of this book was one of them. Her husband, who was presumably in British service, had promised to meet her in Singapore and she would remain there lest he be disappointed at not finding her at her post. She remained with a bottle of a deadly poison ready for use if the Japanese molested her. As a matter of fact, the Japs were "kindness personified". Major Fujiwara met many Indians and suggested that if they formed an Independence League, he would give them all facilities for the work. The Indian leaders did not jump at the idea. They suspected the motives of the Japanese and asked for time to consider. Eventually they agreed to form an Independence League, on the express understanding that they would work "only and solely" for Indian Independence. The unit in which the author's husband was, had been obliged to surrender. She was told that the men had fears in their eyes when they were asked to lay down their arms. Rash Behari Bose, the Indian who had become naturalised as a Japanese citizen, had married a Japanese wife and had been long settled in that country, wired to the Indian leaders in Singapore inviting them to attend a conference in Tokyo. The Japanese authorities were keen on holding it. But the Singapore Indian leaders were cautious. They did not want by sending a delegation to get committed to any course of action in Tokyo. They decided on sending only a Goodwill Mission.

The author met her husband in the Prisoners of War Camp and he told her that the Indian soldiers would under no circumstances join the Japanese in fighting the British. They would, however, join an Indian army, officered by Indians, to fight for India's freedom. Otherwise they were prepared to die. They would never consent to be Japanese tools.

The Tokyo conference met under the presidency of Rash Behari Bose and decided to start an Indian Independence League. Its object as defined was "to secure independence complete and full from foreign domination, interference or control of whatever nation". Mr. Subhas Bose was then

in Berlin. The author records that she heard him on the radio and took down his speech in short-hand. The author with other leaders made a tour of Malaya recruiting members for the Independence League. At a conference of Indians held at Bangkok the aims of the League were further defined. "India was one and indivisible, all activities shall be national in character, sectional, communal or religious ban is taboo; the programme and plan of action shall be in line with the aims and intentions of the Indians National Congress: the framing of the future constitution of India would be done only by the freely elected representatives of the people of India." The conference, we are told, also decided to organise the Azad Hind Fauj under the direct control of a Council of Action appointed by the League. This was a departure from the principle of Non-Violence to which the Congress is pledged. The Fauj, it was laid down should be entirely distinct from the Japanese Army and should operate only in the cause of India's Freedom. The Conference adopted the flag of the Indian National Congress as its flag. It also requested the Japanese Government to provide facilities for Mr. Subhas Bose to come to and lead the Independence League in Eastern Asia.

I have dwelt at some length on this preliminary phase of the Indian movement in East Asia. From the first Indian leaders were deeply suspicious of the motives and intentions of the Japanese and they were very careful at every step to assert their complete freedom of Japanese influence and control. We are assured that in order to ensure its independence the League never asked for or received any monetary help from the Japanese Government. The voluntary contributions of Indians amounted to several crores, and there was hardly a single occasion when the League was embarrassed for want of funds. Mr. Subhas Bose arrived in Singapore in July 1943, and his presence had an electrifying effect on the Indian community. The central feature of this book is the foundation and activities of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment, composed entirely of Indian women. The Singapore leaders did not favour the idea of women being trained to arms. But Subhas Bose waved their objections aside and gave his whole-hearted support to their demand to participate on equal terms with their men. Addressing a mass meeting of Indian women he recalled the part played by women in India in the Civil Disobedience Movements and in all other activities of the national cause. "If" he went on to say, "there is any one either here or elsewhere who thinks that it is an unwomanly act to shoulder a rifle, I would ask them to turn the pages of our history." He instanced the example of the Rani of Jhansi who at the age of twenty led her army personally and when she fell, the English commander said of her that she was "the best and bravest of the rebels." The training of this Regiment was on the same lines as the men's regiments. When the Rani of Jhansi regiment was sent to serve in a hospital, the members protested that they had been promised active service but were being reduced to do the work of nurses. Then they got permission to go, and the author gives a thrilling account of their encounter with British Indian troops on the border of India. They "fixed bayonets" and charged. She was wounded. It was found later that there was no occasion for the charge as the enemy had surrendered. This is a book which marks an epoch not only in Indo-English literature but also in that History.

GENERAL ELECTION AND THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

P. KODANDA RAO.

It is significant that the Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, among others, have expressed the view that the impending general election will not settle the Pakistan issue which unfortunately has been made the most important, if not the sole, issue by the Muslim League. It is a thousand pities that a general election is to be fought in India on an issue which it cannot settle but which will only further exacerbate communal bitterness. We may as well fight a civil war in India over the issue of the Franco regime in Spain or the restoration of Honkong to China!

The proposed general election is sought to be justified on another ground. It is an essential preliminary for the formation of the constituent assembly which is to frame a swadeshi constitution for India in pursuance of the principle of self-determination. The plea deserves careful examination. In the first place, the election is to be held on the franchise which is determined by the Britain and not India. The present franchise has been laid down in the Government of India Act of 1935, which by no stretch of imagination can be said to have been self-determined by India. In fact, Lord Linlithgow's Committee expressly admitted that no single suggestion made by Indians was acceptable to it. Secondly, the composition of the proposed constituent assembly is determined by Britain in the Cripps' Offer and not by India. Thirdly, the Cripps' Offer lays down the framework within which alone the constituent assembly can operate; for instance, it gives the option to territorial units to vote themselves out of the Union. These impositions from outside dilute considerably the principle of self-determination for India.

The Indian constituent assembly has no sanctions to execute its decisions. It can only make recommendations to the British Government, which has the necessary sanctions today. And the British Government has made it clear again and again that it will transfer its power only if there be an agreed settlement in India. This is again an imposition from above and not self-determination by any means.

The insistence of an agreed settlement is any day, anywhere impossible. More so in India, when the franchise, which is imposed and not self-determined, is communal, the electorates separate, and some elements have weightages, and the whole constitutional philosophy background and machinery is deliberately intended to promote separatism and prevent agreement.

There is then the Government of India Act, which involved unprecedented labour and discussion and research. It is doubtful if any constituent assembly in India will have much to do except to ratify and underline the various provisions of the existing Act. The latitude for new innovations is indeed microscopic. Those who so ardently ask for a constituent assembly will do well to consider in what respects their own draft constitutions differ from the existing Act. They may discover that "India's self-determination" is very largely pre-determined by Britain.

While the constituent assembly has very little latitude for the exercise of self-determination and for drafting of a

new and real "swadeshi" constitution for India, it is very likely to end in a fiasco, communal discord and constitutional frustration. With a constituent assembly elected on the communal and weighted franchises, there is no possibility of agreed settlement between parties, none of which has decisive sanctions. The members are predestined to differ.

Apart from this inherent difficulty, it is very likely that constitutional pandits will find it hard to agree on a whole new constitution. They have their professional pride, pedantry and punditry. Petty points may be elevated to first principles; small differences may be magnified beyond compromise. It is impossible to ignore the fact that protests, walkouts and boycotts may be the fact that unity conferences under non-official auspices and roundtable conferences under official auspices, the latest of which was the Simla Conference under the leadership of Lord Wavell, have failed to secure agreements. Is there any reason to hope that a constituent assembly, consisting very largely of the same parties and personnel, will achieve agreement? It is more likely that it will break up and leave only a legacy of greater political frustration, communal bitterness and economic chaos. That way lies no hope but only disaster.

The problem of Indian independence is largely one of political policy than of constitutional machinery. It is largely a matter of the will, the intention, and the determination, and not constitutional law. Indian independence involves two primary reforms: the transfer of power from England to India and the responsibility of the executive to the legislature. Indeed, the latter involves the former. No new constitution act seems to be necessary to secure this change. Both the Bhulabhai-Liaquat Pact and the Wavell Offer contemplate, explicitly or implicitly, this fundamental change under the existing Act of 1935. It was implicit in the Wavell Offer that if a representative national Government had been formed, the Viceroy would not ordinarily use his reserve powers vested in him under the Act, by a kind of restraining convention. In the Bhulabhai-Liaquat Pact, it was explicitly stated that the Government would be formed and function within the framework of the existing Government of India Act; but it would hold itself, by convention, responsible to the legislature and not to the Viceroy. In the provinces full responsibility of the executive to the legislature has in practice, been achieved by convention, notwithstanding that the Act confers some powers on the Governors. It is open even to the present members of the Viceroy's Council to own responsibility to India, even though legally responsible to England. Thus, given the intention, Indian independence can be achieved by convention under the existing Act and without the help of a constituent assembly and a new written constitution. If England is willing to part with power, there is no need for any new legal instrument; she has only to decide not to use the power that she has under the present Act.

The present Act is there on the statute-book and is the law of the land already. If and when any particular section of the Act stands in the way of devolution of power from England to India, that particular section may be amended suitably by the Indian legislature. For instance, the Wavell offer itself involved the amendment of the section of the Government of India Act, under which

three members of the Viceroy's Executive Council must be servicemen. Mr. Amery readily undertook to amend that section only, as it stood in the way of progress. Such piecemeal amendment of the Act as and when necessary has obvious advantages over an overhaul of the whole Act at one stretch or the drafting of a brand new constitution, which must necessarily be of about the same length and perhaps greater complexity.

India wants power and not a new constitution. Power can be transferred without a new constitution. An attempt to draft a swadeshi constitution by a constituent assembly in the present circumstances is not only a superfluity, but also a mockery inasmuch as most of Indian self-determination has already been pre-determined by the British Government. It will only lead to frustration and further discord. It will do very much more harm than good. There is a better way: the way of unwritten conventions and the amendment of individual sections of the existing Act as and when they stand in the way of self-determination.

There is great force in the advice of Mr. Ernest Bevin, the present British Foreign Secretary, that further progress of the Indian constitution should be secured by unwritten conventions. Speaking to the Labour Conference at Blackpool on the 22nd May last, he said:

I am speaking for myself when I say this. I am convinced that India must approach the responsibility by the process of an unwritten constitution. There is so much legality in India that when you get down to writing the constitution you cannot get agreement. Something is always going wrong. The meaning of words becomes an obsession and leads to disagreement. So far as I am concerned, and I believe my colleagues will be with me, I would, period by period, give more and more responsibility to Indians for their Government. I would encourage them to take responsibility."

If England is willing to encourage India to take responsibility, it can be best done by un-written conventions.

CURTUS ON THE COMING AVATAR

I referred last week to Homer Curtiss's "Isis Unveiled" and his way of harmonising the religious conflicts dividing the world. I reproduce the following passage from the book as it is so apt as a description of the condition of the world today and the agonised longing of humanity for a new Manifestation to lead it out of the prevailing darkness to light. RECLUSE

"The appearance of an Avatar is determined by the needs of humanity and the manifestation is as great as the highest ideals of the most advanced of mankind demand. He comes in answer to the cry of many, many hearts for more love and light, for higher ideals and for a clearer understanding of the universal spiritual truths contained in the one Wisdom Religion. As more and more hearts send up their cries the demand creates a vacuum or a negative vortex into which the positive complementary force of The Christ-principle must flow and find an embodied manifestation in humanity. In *The Bhagavad Gita* Krishna, the Christ—says: "I produce myself among creatures. O son of Bharata, whenever there is a decline of virtue and an insurrection of vice and injustice in the world; and thus I incarnate from age to age for the preservation of the just, the destruction of the

wicked, and the establishment of righteousness." This law is illustrated by the popular saying, "The darkest hour is just before the dawn." Therefore, when we find that humanity has reached a point of great spiritual, mental and social unrest, during which the established and recognized spiritual teachers have gotten so far away from their true spiritual guidance that the great mass of humanity are like sheep without a shepherd, and are sending out their heart-cries without ceasing, "What is Truth?" "Who shall show us the Way?" "How long, O Lord, How long?" this cry must bring forth its answer. In other words, when the enlightened thought of the day recognizes—as it does today—that its spiritual teachers are no longer in personal touch with the higher realms and are no longer divinely called, guided and appointed to their offices, a new regime is demanded. When the ceremonies employed and the sacraments administered by the priests and ministers no longer carry divine potency, it is time for a true priesthood to be established. When the covenant of marriage is no longer a sacred sacrament, but has degenerated into the mere recital of a few words before one who has no spiritual power to discern whether or not the man and woman belong to each other spiritually—as all divinely ordained priests have—and when through such ignorance the resulting mistaken marriages degrade the Divine Creative Power into mere sex gratification, impurity, and lust, then there must come a fresh outpouring of Divine Love, Purity and Wisdom. For there is never a sincere prayer uttered by the children of men that does not by the very law of the universe, create its answer. Neither social, political nor economic injustice and inharmony can ever be truly adjusted and regulated and graft abolished until the divinely appointed priesthood, who are under personal conscious direction of the progenitors and guides of the Race, is re-established. The question of the marriage sacrament alone demands a divinely appointed and trained body of spiritual teachers—a true priesthood—who have the power to know who should partake of that sacrament together and who should not. If there were no other need in humanity for an Avatar this alone would be sufficient to call one into manifestation, that a new order of true priests of the Lord or the Divine Law might be established. But there are many other crying needs expressed in present-day social, economic and political conditions, as well as the awakening of many, many hearts to the need of more direct spiritual teachings. Hence all the signs of the times point to the necessity for a fresh outpouring of Divine Love and Wisdom in this present age."

WHY POLITICS?

BY SRI BASUDHA CHAKRAVARTY

An editorial note in last week's Reformer referred to this article in Visvabharati Quarterly.

It is not everybody that takes to politics; but there is not anybody that is not concerned with it. For politics determines the conditions of life. It is easy enough, when one is happy and settled, to pretend lack of interest in politics. That much snobbery can then be afforded. Then one professes not to believe in politics. As if there is any question of believing in it! You might as well not believe in eating! But ordinarily one can adopt such a pose. Other people are taking care of politics

and we can reap the benefit. Not so, however, when things go astray; prices are high, famine appears, goods are not available. Then everybody is a politician and a superior one at that. Then everybody finds fault with politicians. Allied to this snobbishness is a feeling that politics is something dirty, something too vulgar for good decent people. There are people in politics who make it dirty but they clearly are not those who have determined the world's state-craft and socio-economic organisation. The view of politics as something vulgar betrays a colossal ignorance of the full scope and role of politics.

There is yet another sort of indifference to politics. It springs from an imagined insistence on abiding values. Politics is mundane, ephemeral. There are greater, more lasting things. But most often such abiding interests resolve themselves against the background of ordinary joys and sorrows of life, into matters of day-to-day existence. Nothing very serious or superior. It is only the deep current of life along which men's thoughts and feelings tend to flow. Politics, it is thought, does not enter into that current. It is something outside one's private existence. It does not touch such intimate experience as the death of some one beloved.

Active connection with politics is thus inherently prescribed for all of us and its realisation in practice would evidently help mobilisation of mass opinion with a view to influence the course of public life. There is no doubt that the pretentious lack of interest in politics is responsible for much of formulation of policy and procedure in divorcement from public interest. For this the general indifference to politics is much to blame. Much of what we criticise is there because we have done nothing about it. It is an attitude of acute irresponsibility and self-deception combined. There is indeed nobody—be he the poet in his seclusion or the scientist in his laboratory, who is absolved from his elementary duty in the political sphere.

Political consciousness of membership of a social organisation helps disciplined development of one's individuality as an active, successful unit, the nation's entity. Its potentiality is less than only that of joyful integration of one's self in political work which then shelters one's outer and inner being so well. To say this is not to overlook the fed-up feeling that comes to all except confirmed revolutionaries whose whole selves have become merged in the objects they have in view. Even such, however, are perfectly susceptible to the call of other interests in life. For the capacity for appreciation of abiding things is not the monopoly of the non-political man. At a moment of sudden leisure the political man also feels a vacuum, longs for a final rest somewhere—for the spiritual sustenance of poetry and the arts. Indeed, the more one realises the fundamental reality of political life, the more is one to be supposed to have a total sense of values. The politician that is a mere careerist has often an ominous, unnotified departure to danger and does so only because he knows fundamentals are at stake. He will be found at the depth of night meditating under the starry sky.

History is witness to the people's struggle for self-assertion. To the extent that they are able to assert themselves they influence the governance of their country and that determines their political consciousness. Thus,

in the U. S. S. R., the only socialist state in the world, political consciousness of the people has, by all reports, reached the highest pitch. It stands to reason that when the people's realisation of a society and government of their own is complete and they have no longer to struggle in that regard that they can return to pursuits of a more personal and abiding sort. The unique defence that the Soviet people have put up against Nazi aggression is explicable by the fact that they consider all that are most near and dear to them at stake. It is the opportunity to seek the abiding things of life that they have saved and not counted the cost. Politics therefore is the precondition of abiding life. We in India are at the other end. We have not even political freedom let alone the social and economic freedom that will enable us to seek what may roughly be called things of the spirit. Politics here is the precondition of the beginning of life. Only through it can we reach life abiding. To seek life away from it is for us to escape from life. Life without it would not be real, would not be complete. That is the consciousness we badly need: the consciousness of the need for political consciousness. Even for the sake of our personal return ultimately to non-political life we need to spread this consciousness. So we need to awaken the people to facts and movements. But it seems we do not notice the people at all. Certainly, we do not count them as having a place within the orbit of our existence. The people need to be aroused, to feel themselves in unison with the course of national life. They have to feel the pulse-beat of the world's life, to react to events. Politics then will mean a process of their conscious self-realisation. They will not regard it as something outside them, something affecting them remotely, if at all. They will, for example, feel themselves enthused when the Kisan Sabha is meeting. They will wait to hear the news when the National Congress is in session. They will feel themselves a part of the process of events.

Such perception of oneself as part of the process of history inevitably adds zest to life, adds reality to it. That is easily the ultimate personal sanction for interest in politics. But it pre-supposes realization of one's organic connection with the course of events in the world and the country. To this end the realization, which is now increasing, that life is dependent on one's political and economic existence is a help. Even short of acceptance of Marx's materialist interpretation of history, there is increasing recognition of the supreme importance of the politico-economic factor in life. No more is it considered something ephemeral, something secondary. It does no longer do to retire into a sort of other-worldliness. Science made the world small; with growing closeness of relations international complexities grow. Air raids have become facts, War has entered even the remote villager's house. Nobody is left alone. Membership of the world community has become a matter of everybody's day-to-day perception, active understanding of such membership expands the meaning of life. Not that everybody would be a politician; only nobody can deny his or her relation to politics. To leave it as somebody else's job is at one end dangerous; at the other it is taking undue advantage of others. On one hand it causes one injury; on the other, it is shirking responsibility. For it is not possible in this age to live outside politics. What then is the place of politics in life? Is it not too late to ask?

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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 Labour Policy:—The Information Bureau has issued a speech of Mr. Attlee in Washington on the creed of his Party. He began by saying that the Labour Party did not consist only of working men but included journalists, lawyers, preachers, doctors and even perhaps some stockbrokers and capitalists and landlords, so that it was a good cross-section of the population. Why does it then call itself the Labour Party? It may call itself the National Party. The Prime Minister of Britain is also the arbiter of the destinies of a vast Empire. Mr. Attlee forgot this when he spoke of the four freedoms as universally prevailing under his Government. Outside Great Britain the Dominions are independent countries. The British Government rules by violating not only the principles of democracy but every principle which in the past has been recognised as binding on all rulers, violation of any of which branded them as tyrants and oppressors. Not only in wartime, but in peacetime imprisonment of persons without trials, is normal to British rule. A licensed Press is not a free Press and this is what we have in India and have been having for the greater part of the century and a half of British rule. No law governs the relations of the Paramount Power to the Indian States. Flouting the universally expressed protests of the Indian people, Indian troops are today being engaged in giving effect to the "moral obligations" of the Labour Government to help French and Dutch to tyrannise over the Indo-Chinese and Indonesians. In Persia Britain in the past has played an ignoble part. In the Life of Litvinov by Arthur Upham Pope the statement appears in black and white that "British ambition has been implemented by outrageous bribery (£ 50,000 each to three notoriously corrupt Cabinet Ministers. The trouble in Persia today in which the Russians and the British are the protagonists scarcely veiled, is due largely to the inaptitude of British policy. In the last analysis British's democracy will and should be judged by its

attitude to the nations which it dominates. India has lost any hope that it might have entertained on the accession of the Labour Government to power. Ramsay MacDonald foisted on her the Communal Award and his successor pleads the differences it has accentuated among Indian communities as the main obstacle to giving India self-government.

United States of Europe:—In our leading article last week on "Democracy, Real and Unreal", we pointed out why it has been possible for emigrants from all countries of Europe and a few countries outside of Europe to become a political democracy in the United States of America and why it would not be possible for the nations to combine into one in Europe itself. Mr. Winston Churchill, speaking before the Belgian Legislature, propounded the doctrine that a United States of Europe alone can secure the peace of the world. A federation of Europe might have been easier to achieve before the first World War when the whole continent was comprised in four or five political divisions. The Versailles Treaty broke up the Continent into a score and more of independent States. What is going to be done after the Second World War, is not known. Hitler had united Europe except Russia and Great Britain in one Reich but he has been overthrown and the United Nations have not agreed on what is to do with the liberated countries, especially Germany at the heart of Europe. If the United States of Europe is a condition precedent to the peace of the world, there will be no peace of the world for as long as the human mind can foresee. Mr. Churchill is also a great advocate of closer union between Great Britain and the United States of America. He is himself half American and half British and during his Prime Ministership, Britain had become very closely dependent on the United States for its very existence. The position remains the same today and Mr. Attlee's visit to Washington has put the seal on the Churchill policy. But if the United States of Europe proclaims a similar doctrine for Europe, Great Britain will find herself falling between two stools. Perhaps, Mr. Churchill had in mind that he might be the link between the two, and become the arbiter of their destinies.

Strange Apology:—The Prime Minister of the Australian Commonwealth, Mr. Chifley, has apologised to Lord Louis Mountbatten, Supreme Commander in South-East Asia, for a recent Australian Ministry of Information broadcast, saying, among other things, that "the United States Government was underwriting the policy of Lord Louis Mountbatten." Mr. Chifley in a letter to

Lord Mountbatten expresses his "extreme regret if you have been occasioned any embarrassment or irritation by the recent shortwave broadcast from Australia. The transmission in question occurred without reference to or knowledge of Government or the Department of External Affairs and did not represent our views." It is to say the least, curious for the Information Department, which nowadays, is a very important one, to take upon itself to express views on public policy without reference to the Prime Minister. It is well known that there is strong public feeling in Australia against the way in which the Indonesian situation has developed, and one of the members of Mr. Chifley's Cabinet had openly expressed his sympathy with the Indonesians. For ourselves, we have not been able, try as we might, to recancile the course of events in Indonesia with the declarations of the British Minister for War and other authorities.

Pandit Jawaharlal on Ceylon Indians:—On the whole the statement which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru made on the questions of Indians in Ceylon runs on the same lines as the leading article in the *Reformer* (November 19). As he says, the problem has become acute owing to the large number of Indian labourers in the tea and rubber plantations. In this respect the Indian problem in Ceylon is not unlike the problem in South Africa. The plantation labourers are for all practical purposes indenture labourers, that is, their status is semi-slavery. India has lost much in her relation with countries on the Indian Ocean by sending unskilled workers to do the menial work there. India should not send this section of her people aboard. It is cruel to them and discreditable to us. We have suffered equally by the large influx of merchant and moneylenders to Burma. There have been far too many migrant labourers and moneylenders, too few Indians of culture and education to exchange ideas with the Sinhalese and Burmese. Our traders and merchants have taken their cue from the British and other foreign traders and exploiters. A definite change in the Indian outlook, a recognition of the duty which India owes her neighbours, as in some respects more advantageously placed than they are, will immediately bring about warm response from our neighbours. India is resuming her eastward expansion which has been interrupted for several centuries. Indians are taking keen interest in the affairs of Eastern Asia. There is one point which Pandit Jawaharlal overlooked in his statement: The people of Jaffna are staunch Hindus and look to India for guidance in cultural and political matters. They number among them highly cultured men and women, Sir P. Arunachalam, Ponnambalam and Coomaraswamy, hail from Jaffna. Owing to the too rapid westernisation in manners and social life of the Sinhalese, there has grown up a sort of aversion among the Hindu Ceylonese and the Sinhalese but there has been of recent years a reaction and this may lead to closer union between the two. Above all, though the Sinhalese may regard India as a foreign country, India can never reciprocate this feeling. To her Ceylon is part and parcel of her geographically and politically. Indian policy will have always to be oriented to having Ceylon incorporated in the Indian body politic.

British Policy in Germany:—The British in Germany are following a different policy from that of General McArthur in Japan. A United Press message from London says, "A new German army headquarters has been set up in the British zone in Germany. The sensational report was given by the British-controlled radio at Hamburg which announced the formation of "Wehrmachtsstab Nord" in Hamburg under the command of Major-General Johann Cramner—Rommel's successor in the African campaign."

The new headquarters has been set up ostensibly for dealing with the administration and care of a hundred thousand German prisoners of war in Schleswig and Holstein. Political circles in London say that there seems no reason why this comparatively small body of prisoners cannot be dealt with by the British authorities pending their dispersal. They regard the setting up of the German army headquarters complete with German sentries and armed German officers as a political move directly linked with the rising tension between Western Powers and Russia.

The International Court of Justice:—The International Court to be set up in connection with the new Security Organisation, is to consist of fifteen judges. They will be nominated or elected by the several Governments from among candidates competent to be chosen for the highest judicial office in their respective countries. Each country can nominate four candidates. No two of the judges might be of the same nationality. If two of the same nationality are elected, the elder of the two will become a member of the Court. The maximum period of office is nine years but there is provision for retirement by rotation before that period. The permanent seat of the Court is the Hague. This is no longer a suitable place for an international court. The Hague in the pre-war days was a neutral country. Today Holland has become odious to Asiatic nations as a low type of imperialism and the choice of some other place will be welcome to them. There is a clause in statute which may be commended to Mr. Senanayake of Ceylon. It runs, "A person who could be regarded as a national of more than one State shall be deemed to be the national of the one in which he ordinarily exercises civil and political rights." Mr. Senanayake's objection to Indians in Ceylon retaining their Indian nationality seems to be whimsical.

Mr. Jinnah's Latest:—It is really difficult to understand Mr. Jinnah. In his latest as in previous speeches, he has declared that, so long as he lives, he will not agree to Muslims living under a Hindu majority. Surely, his Pakistan is not to include the whole Muslim population of India. In seven out of eleven provinces, Muslim minorities will live and thrive, as they are doing now, with a Hindu majority. Does he expect that the institution of Pakistan will immediately convert Hindus all over India to Islam or that it would so increase the Muslim birth-rate as to make Muslims majorities in the provinces? Why does he assume that, if Muslims will not live with Hindu majorities, Hindus should live with Muslim majorities? The assumptions underlying his argument are too grotesque to require disproof.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, November 24, 1945.

THE CEYLON CONSTITUTION

The Ceylon National Congress which may be called the ministerialist party, passed a resolution on the Soulbury Committee's scheme as embodied in the British Government's White Paper, condemning His Majesty's Government's Declaration "as it does not concede to us the right of freedom." In the same breath it accepted the scheme "because the implementation of a constitution based on the White Paper of October 31, 1945, will give us a more effective instrument for carrying on our struggle for freedom." In an explanatory statement published in *Public Opinion*, a non-party journal published in Colombo, the Secretary of the Party stated that the elections under the new constitution will be on the issue of freedom. A detailed criticism of the new constitution by Mr. D'Souza who shows that it cannot advance the cause of Independence, which we reprint, is also published in that journal. It is clear that opinion in Ceylon is sharply divided on the scheme quite apart from the objections of the Indian minority on the ground that it does not give all rights of citizenship to the group. Mr. Senanayake, the leader of the State Council, has explained that Indians cannot have full rights of citizenship unless they renounce their Indian nationality. We pointed out last week that the statute of the International Court of Justice to be set up, expressly contemplates nominees to judgeships of the court, possessing double nationality and provides for the contingency. Mr. Senanayake must be living in a dream world when he insists on Ceylonese nationality being exclusive of any other nationality. This reason for denying Indians full rights is not a valid one. The new Government is given the power to regulate rights of citizenship and it will be removing one obstacle to the smooth working of the new scheme by removing all disabilities on Indians having their business and domicile in the Island, whether they retain their Indian nationality or not. Amry Vandambosch, Professor of Political Science in the University of Kentucky, in the course of a detached statement on the political situation in Ceylon in the October American Quarterly Journal, *Foreign Affairs*, observes: "The position of Indians in Ceylon is peculiar and in some respects not too happy. The Sinhalese fear Indian domination and are determined to restrict Indian immigration as much as possible. The Indians already suffer certain civic disabilities under existing legislation." It should not be difficult to provide that Indian and Ceylonese citizenship is common and interchangeable. In practice, Great Britain and the Dominions have this, and the idea has been mooted with reference to Britain and France.

The Ceylon National Congress indulges in wishful thinking when it believes that Independence or Freedom can be secured by making it the issue at a General Election. The Soulbury Report is definite that Defence can not be handed over to Mr. Senanayake because Ceylon must depend upon Britain for protection against external attack and internal disturbance. Senanayake is Sinhalese for Sena-Nayaka, Commander-in-Chief. But where is the Ceylon Army?

British protection means Indian protection. The British have not enough soldiers for their own defence not to speak of their operations in Europe, Africa, and Asia. They have recently decided to enroll Danes as soldiers in the British Army. Mr. Churchill offered to absorb Poles stranded by Russia in the British Empire. The Dutch in Indonesia may be invited to do the same. With all this, India is the military reservoir of the British. The Defence of Ceylon, even otherwise, is India's natural concern. India cannot allow Ceylon to be over-run either by famine, epidemic or foreign invasion without imperilling her own safety. Likewise for plantations, Indian labour is indispensable. Mr. Senanayake must admit these hard facts. Surely he will not let Indians fight and toil for Ceylon, and deny them the elementary right to retain their nationality as Indians. As Mr. D'Souza points out from experience, Defence means the whole range of administration. What happened in the recent Bengal famine? The Army had hoarded vast stocks under the Linlithgow regime, much beyond its needs. Lord Wavell, when he became Viceroy, made it disgorge large quantities of it and he was able to do so because he, as an army man himself, knew the tricks of the trade, and had, in fact, as Commander-in-Chief himself assisted in the over-stocking. The Commander-in-Chief has merely to say that he cannot be responsible for the defence of the country unless he has whatever he wants, and Mr. Senanayake will have to comply. The Cripps proposals broke down on the Defence membership. Sinhalese statesmen are evidently acting on the maxim, a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush—a dangerous maxim, if the bird in the hand is only a stool pigeon. In any case, the strength of the Senanayake Cabinet, its power to press for further advance, will depend entirely on the strength of the "extremists" pressure. No British Government cares for politicians who have no backing from extremists. The Irish Home Rulers counted among their membership first-class parliamentarians, but could achieve nothing. The Sinn Feiners were not parliamentarians: but they could shoot. Three days before De Valera was invited to negotiate, Prime Minister Lloyd George had declared that he had murder by the throat in Ireland. English statesmen boast their indifference to logic. They recognise only facts. South Africa is no exception. A year or two after the Union an English statesman who had bitterly attacked Campbell-Bannerman's act of statesmanship, visited South Africa. He confessed that but for that act, there would have been civil war in that country. The Zionists know this perfectly well, and they are getting what they want: Unless the Ceylon people are able to develop their fighting strength, whatever promises they finally secure, will remain unredeemed. Without India, the Sinhalese will never become a Power.

Bringing in small Nations:—In an adroit performance, Mr. Bevin has brought in the small nations from the shelf to which they had been relegated by the Big Three in the past—from Teheran to Potsdam. Though Britain is suddenly coming forward as champion of the small nations once again—"little Belgium" and "little Poland" have set up quite a tradition—it is obvious that the necessity behind this idealism is a very real and stark—the need for a big stick for Russia.

THE NEW PATRIOTISM.

(BY K. NATARAJAN.)

In noticing last week "Jai Hind", the Diary of a member of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment of women organised in Singapore after it fell into Japanese hands, I touched barely on a few main features of the movement which, beginning as a means of self-preservation, by Indians who were left to shift for themselves, developed under the leadership of Subhas Bose into one for Indian independence. The Japanese tried hard to incorporate it as part of their organisation in the war against Britain, and when they failed to persuade the Indians to fall in with their idea, they put all sorts of difficulties in the way and there was constant friction between them and the Indians which came to a head when the Japanese army approached the Indian border.

"Ugly whispers have come to my ears," notes the Diarist on March 22, 1944. "The Japanese are behaving scandalously. We have 20,000 of our Fauj in Burma. Only 10,000 are at the front today. But into the battle line only 5,000 are actually fighting. And even these have been broken up into small lots on a dozen sectors like Tamu, Kohima, Palel and Tiddin. Why is the Fauj not concentrating all its strength in one sector, so that we can break through into Assam or Bengal? And why should we be stamping our feet idly like this when our men are so keen on getting into the battle?"

On the 18th March the Fauj crossed the border and entered India. "I am told our soldiers did *shas'ang namaskar* (prostrated with hands, feet and face touching the earth) to Mother India and kissed the soil that day." "This mystic worship of the Motherland, embodied in the prayer, *Bande Mataram*, was here enacted, the soldiers with the soil of Mother India in their hands, vowed that they will not falter in the fight, that they will not rest till India was free." It was not the fighting men alone who felt the surge of the new patriotism. The civilians were equally affected. A Muslim merchant paid over a crore of rupees to the Fund. A Chettiar, of the class of hard headed businessmen noticed that Netajee Bose was pre-occupied when about to board a plane to Rangoon, approached the leader and enquired what was weighing on his mind. Bose replied that the Fauj needed fifty lakhs of rupees immediately. There was only a few minutes for the plane to start. The Chettiar at once pledged himself to give the sum, 30 lakhs himself and the balance from his friends. There was not the least difficulty about finance. Other instances are given of the enthusiasm with which the civil population responded to the call for support. This was what enabled the Indians to keep clear of obligations to the Japanese, which would have made it difficult for them to maintain their jealous, almost fierce, resistance to all Japanese attempts to divert them from their single goal, Indian freedom.

Is this book a real Diary or has it been written up so as to seem one? The Diary form has been used by several writers and it has some advantages over the narrative form. As for this "Diary" it is impossible to avoid suspicion about its entire genuineness. Much of the Diary consists of broadcasts and speeches by Subhas Bose, who is the central figure throughout. Next to Bose, the Diarist's husband, indicated by the letter P. is most often in evidence. When the Diarist marched

with her Rani of Jhansi Regiment to the Front, she left a note for P.—"I am going P.—. If I do not come back, do not grieve for me. I would like you to remarry with one suggestion. You can choose from the active workers of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment. A painted, lip-sticked doll will never fit you after your present life." Yet, she herself confesses that she was just such a doll transformed by the new patriotism. "When I look back—the high-strung convent girl I used to be, with the darling Prince of Wales' picture on my dressing table, with my hysterical intonations and sentimental hurts—I do find I have changed out of recognition."

The "Diarist" betrays her ignorance of the social background of Indian history in a rather important particular. When the Rani of Jhansi Regiment was deputed to Hospital work, a protest signed in their blood by nine members "of non-martial" Indians was sent to Netaji (Subhas Bose) as Supreme Commander, demanding to be sent to the Front. "Two Maharashtra Brahman women" were among them. The Rani of Jhansi was a Brahmin, a Karhada, the same sub-section of Maharashtra Brahmin as the ex-Congress Premier of Bombay, B. G. Kher. Her family name was Tambel.

I have to make a correction. The derisive remark about the Japanese invasion of Malaya was made not by "the Governor, Popham Young," but by Commander-in-Chief, Brooke Popham. The Governor was Sir Shenton Thomas not Popham Young.

INDIA'S COMING ELECTIONS: NEW HOPE OR OLD FRUSTRATION?

BY FRANCES GUNTHER

Mrs. Gunther, the author of this article was foreign correspondent for the London "News Chronicle," has travelled widely in India and talked with the principal figures in the present Indian situation.

The British Labour Government keeping its party pledge, had presented through Viceroy Wavell and Prime Minister Attlee a programme to break the Indian deadlock. Its main features provide for: 1. holding general elections based on the present franchise system; 2. convening a constituent assembly to frame a new constitution; 3. arranging a treaty between Britain and India leading to self-government.

In Britain and the U. S. the programme was found cautious but not uncommendable. But in India, the Nationalist Congress Party, while negotiating for terms of acceptance, judged it "vague, inadequate and unsatisfactory," with no real change of policy, and, instead of the projected "self-government," demanded "nothing short of independence," a term carefully avoided by both Wavell and Attlee.

This article will deal with the first of these three points—general elections. What do they mean in India? Not what they mean anywhere else on earth. In India they are based on a uniquely abnormal suffrage system—the root cause of the much advertised "complexity" of the Indian problem. It has led to the central internal struggle in India today between Jinnah's Moslem League demand for a separate sectarian minority state, and the Congress demand for national unity with normal democratic majority procedures. It is one of the main reasons for Congress distrust of the new Labour Government plan.

Viceroy Wavell stated that it would not be possible "to undertake any major alteration of the franchise system because this would delay matters for at least two years." What are the intricacies of a franchise system that would require two years of the post-atomic era merely to alter? It is an English, not an Indian system, embodied in a British Act of Parliament, imposed on India in 1935. It multiplies a millionfold the problem of converting Viceregal India into a democracy.

Recently, U. S. Secretary of State Byrnes protested against the Bulgarian one-party voting system as undemocratic dictatorship. Mr. Byrnes, when he has time, might glance at the Indian system. It has no fewer than 17 separate voting categories. These are based not on normal political lines but on religious separatism, "statutory segregation of voters by religious sects," and on sub-divisions of sex and fascist-corporative groups. The essence of democracy is the agreed rule of the majority. But in India, the majority vote can be and is nullified by minority dissent: and both majority and minority votes can be and are overridden and voided by Viceregal decree. British rule has required either total Indian agreement—and who ever heard of 390 million people, or 390 people, or 3 people, totally agreeing?—or continued British rule. Compared to the Bulgarian one-party system, the Indian 17-party system is not more democratic, but only more complicated. It does not yield more freedom, only more headaches.

Nobody in India can vote as a normal citizen of Britain or the U. S. votes. Indians, by English-made law, *must* vote by religion, by sex, or by corporative position. A Hindu is allowed to vote only for another Hindu, a Moslem only for another Moslem. There are enforced suffrage separations not only between Hindu Indians and Moslem Indians, but also between them and Sikh Indians and Christian Indians.

Persons born of mixed Anglo-Indian parentage, with or without benefit of clergy, may vote only for persons born of similar sex aberrations.

Only 14 per cent of the 390 million population is permitted to vote, and these are subject to literacy and property qualifications, necessarily low, since after a century of British administration, only 10 per cent is literate and the average annual wage is three pounds.

To balance this mass vote is the separate representation, resembling the Italian fascist corporative system, of landholders and of persons engaged in commerce, mining, and planting, self-nominated as such. Intellectuals are separated from other classes by "university seats". Labour is kept separate from industry. A colour line is tactfully drawn in separate seats for "Europeans". (The British call themselves such only in the dependencies of the Empire).

Everyone is separated from everyone else, and held together only by the imperial-constitutional trusteeship of the English Crown. The lists of voters in each category are theoretically computed by political mathematics in proportion to population, by an English decision: "the Communal Award". But in practice, due to political pressures, there are slidings and "weightages"—e. g., Moslem Indians.

All these suffrage regulations refer to the Provincial Legislative Assemblies, the most popular representative bodies, comparable to American state legislatures, except

that the Governor of the Indian province, a British appointee, often a peer, has the reserved right to veto or decree almost anything he wants to within the province, just as the Viceroy has for all India. There are in addition other suffrage regulations and electoral rolls for the following: the Provincial Legislative Councils, comparable to state senates, with six voting categories, about ten per cent of the members being appointees of the governor; the Federal Assembly, 250 members, similar to U. S. House of Representatives, with eleven voting lists; the Council of State, 150 members, similar to Senate or Lords, with eight categories. All of these have their own electoral rolls.

Lord Wavell has promised revision of these rolls, last used in 1936. These rolls change with populations, residences, professions, and even religions. A farmer may become a labourer, a labourer an industrialist, an industrialist a landholder, a landholder may become broke and return to a Backward Area. Hindus may marry Moslems, and both become Christians. All this means a continual revision of the electoral rolls, which often become elements of discord with right or wrong people left in or out of the right or wrong roll.

Small wonder Lord Wavell said that any major alteration in this voting system would take two years! It wouldn't take two years to scrap the whole hocus-pocus and enact a law that all literate Indian citizens over 21 could vote for any others regardless of race, religion, sex or job. That could be done in two hours. But it might mean the end of English rule. So those two hours are being put off. This doesn't strengthen the position of England or the Empire, but weakens it. Such a voting system would drive any other country totally nuts. The high Indian survival rate of political sanity is due to the unusual stability and stamina of leaders like the Hindus, Gandhi and Nehru, and the Moslem Congress President, Maulana Azad.

In defence of this system, intricate and often fascinating (especially if one does not have to live in it), it may be said that each division has its commendable feature. An entirely religious suffrage system might possibly have been a good thing—in 17th century Europe. A purely sexual voting division may still have its piquant possibilities in a, we hope, distant war of the sexes. Political representation on economic levels, although a fascist and communist idea, has much to recommend it, if used as an overall system. But when injected on a small scale into a large scale religious babel with sex undertones, it merely adds to the confusion: another cogwheel in a series of cogwheels of such divergent sizes and stresses that they can neither mesh nor engage with one another, but only rasp, tear apart, and wear down the whole machine.

JINNAH TURNS "TO PLAGUE THE INVENTOR"

Despite all handicaps, the Congress Nationalist party won the 1936 elections, but in the past decade, tacit British approval has expanded Jinnah and his Moslem League to proportions unexpected even by the British. To appreciate the Anglo-Jinnah situation today, imagine Edgar Bergen with Charlie McCarthy on his knee ventriloquizing "Yessir, Yessir," and then visualize Charlie suddenly adjusting his own monocle (Jinnah wears one too), and saying out of his own mouth, "Not at all, my dear Bergen, not at all."

As dictator of the Moslem League, demanding break-up of India and secession of a separate Moslem Pakistan State, Jinnah was convenient to British control in India throughout the war. But for postwar economic development, Britain needs all-India co-operation. To meet this need, the Wavell Plan was presented, a workable offer for an interim national Indian government (actually, a tardy version of the Nehru Plan of Co-operation short-sightedly spurned by Britain in 1940). The Wavell Plan was accepted by Congress and all other Indian leaders, but one. Jinnah alone dared to say, "Not at all, my dear Viceroy, not at all."

Jinnah now demanded not only his private Moslem State, but also insisted that all Moslems be obliged to vote only for him and his party ticket. Heretofore Moslems had voted for Moslem candidates in other Moslem parties as well as in the National Congress Party. Analogy: Father Coughlin, pampered by foreign conquerors of the U. S., demands break-up of the Union, secession of all Catholics, formation of a separate Catholic State in Massachusetts and the Northwest, voting by Catholics for him and his party only, none to be allowed to vote for Dr. Shuster or any other Catholic leaders allied to non-sectarian political parties.

Single-handed, Jinnah, who had turned down the Cripps Plan, also broke up the Wavell Plan. Indian viceregalism is not readily disconcerted, but latest Jinnah intransigence may present a bit of a poser. The Wavell offer was certainly sincere. The Viceroy is not only a great field marshal (he is credited with planning the Middle East Campaign, the execution of which won laurels for General Montgomery), but a student of imperial development in its most responsible sense. His distinguished biography of General Allenby, under whom he served in World War I shows how his hero helped to bridge Egypt's road to independence; it is his commendable ambition to want to do as much for India.

Wavell inherited, did not create, the Jinnah jinx. What to do with a puppet that breaks away from his strings is not often an imperial problem. There is always the rest cure of jail. But it is significant that the head of the Moslem League has never been imprisoned. Nehru and others have spent decades in prison for advocating democracy and unity without violence in India. Jinnah shouts for secession, boldly threatens bloody civil war and global Moslem uprising—and goes scot-free, is awarded worldwide publicity. Why? One reason may be the well known oil of the Middle East, to which so many strange new roads seem to lead these days. The coddling of Jinnah may be intended as a mollification and recording of the Moslem Arabs of the Middle East, and as a counter-balancing pressure on U. S. oil interest also paying court there. Whether the Arabs are taken in by this game remains to be seen: it can hardly fail to flatter and amuse them. But it does not amuse Indian progress in self-government.

The Jinnah pay-off must come soon. Many outside pressures will tend to accelerate decision in India; postwar changes in Asia, the Russo-Chinese pact, the emergence of U.S. and Russia in the Middle East, the termination of American Government's Lend Lease to Britain. The last is a spur to renewed industrial activity and reorganization throughout the empire. More urgently than ever, Britain

needs Indian trade, Indian payment for British services, and the expenditure of frozen Indian credits within her sterling bloc.

The British Labour government knows that Britain needs Indian goodwill for Indian co-operation. It is probably ready to give India as much responsible internal self-government as is compatible with continued British control of Indian industries and raw materials, foreign trade and foreign relations. This will be a long step forward, from the British viewpoint. Indian opinion is another matter.

So far, the Labour government has shown no appreciable divergence from that of Mr. Churchill in foreign or imperial policy. New Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin, whose political infatuation for Mr. Churchill is one of the touching and not unimportant by-products of the coalition cabinet, made a maiden speech on Labour foreign policy with which his Conservative predecessor, Anthony Eden, found himself in complete agreement—probably a unique and certainly an amiable event in the history of the Foreign Office. This is nice for Westminster, but where does it leave India?

The Indian National Congress has seemed for a long time to be standing still, but only because it was so far ahead of its adversaries in its political thinking that it has had to wait—in prison—for them to catch up. Between World Wars I and II, Nehru and other Indian leaders have spent and wasted over half their lives, talents and energies in prison. The Congress party will not recede. But it cannot proceed against blockage by British power.

Congress could win the elections again under the present system, just as they did in 1936, but if under English law, the religious barriers remain, and the majority has no right to act in the face of an intransigent minority then the deadlock will become only more aggravated and inflammatory. Concretely, if in the 1946 elections, Congress again wins the majority vote, and Jinnah or others with minority support still refused to accept majority decisions, and the Viceroy still retains power to block democratic action by his own decree—what then? The Wavell Attlee statements give no answer to this question.

Congress is ready to take responsibility on normal terms. But it cannot meet the fantastic or crazy British requirement of complete agreement of all rival political and economic groups on the basis of religious voting, with no majority right to action. No party could, anywhere. Even Mr. Bevin, who loves Mr. Churchill, fought him in elections. They fought by means of political, not religious, parties. Both agreed to abide by the decision of the majority. Both did. The loser became the loyal opposition. That is how democracy works. It is so elementary that we never even think of it. The British are rightly proud of their use of the democratic system. But that is no good reason for withholding it from others.

What the Indian nationalists want is simply the chance to use the democratic system in the democratic way. Whether the Labour government will give them this chance still remains to be seen. If they don't, Secretary of State Byrnes might send them a slightly amended copy of his note to Bulgaria. Americans hope he won't need to.—Worldover Press.

GOVERNMENT AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH IN THE U. S. A.

On November 17, 1944, President Roosevelt asked in the U.S.A. Dr. Vannever Bush, Director of the Office of Scientific Research and Development, a temporary wartime agency, to make recommendations on four points: What could be done, consistent with military security, to make known to the world the scientific contributions of wartime; what could be done to continue the programme "with particular reference to the war of science against disease"; what could the federal government do in the future to aid research activities of public and private organizations; could an effective programme be developed for discovering scientific talent in American youth?

In July 1945, Dr. Bush sent to President Truman his report on a "programme for postwar scientific research" entitled *Science: The Endless Frontier*, available on application to the office of Scientific Research and Development, Washington, D. C. Dr. Bush contended that "science is a proper concern of government" and that "freedom of inquiry must be preserved." He noted that since the year 1900 the federal government had established more than 40 "scientific agencies." For more than 80 years the federal government had supported research carried on in Land Grant Colleges. Yet Dr. Bush observed: "We have no national policy for science.....There is nobody within the government charged with formulating or executing a national science policy." Dr. Bush contended that "there are areas of science in which the public interest is acute but which are likely to be cultivated inadequately" if left with support only from private sources. "These areas—such as research on military problems, agriculture, housing, public health, certain medical research, and research involving expensive capital facilities beyond the capacity of private institutions—should be advanced by active government support.....With the exception of the intensive war research...such support has been meagre and intermittent."

Further, Dr. Bush stated: "The publicly and privately supported colleges, universities, and research institutions are the centres of basic research. They are the wellsprings of knowledge and understanding. As long as they are vigorous and healthy and their scientists agree to pursue the truth wherever it may lead, there will be a flow of new scientific knowledge to those who can apply it to practical problems in government, in industry, or elsewhere."

"Scientific progress on a broad front results from the free play of free intellects, working on subjects of their own choice, in the manner dictated by their curiosity for exploration of the unknown."

FIVE FUNDAMENTALS

Dr. Bush presented "five fundamentals" by which freedom of inquiry should be preserved under any plan for government support of science. These are:

"(1) Whatever the extent of support may be, there must be stability of funds over a period of years so that long-range programmes may be undertaken.

"(2) The agency to administer such funds should be composed of citizens selected only on the basis of their interest in and capacity to promote the work of the agency. They should be persons of broad interest in and under-

standing of the peculiarities of scientific research and education.

"(3) The agency should promote research through contracts or grants to organizations outside the federal government." It should not operate its own laboratories.

"(4) Support of basic research in the public and private colleges, universities, and research institutes must leave the internal control of policy, personnel, and the method and scope of the research to the institutions themselves. This is of the utmost importance.

"(5) While assuring complete independence and freedom for the nature, scope, and methodology of research carried on in the institutions receiving public funds, and while retaining discretion in the allocation of funds among such institutions, the Foundation proposed herein must be responsible to the President and the Congress. Only through such responsibility can we maintain the proper relationship between science and other aspects of a democratic system. The usual controls of audits, reports, budgeting and the like should, of course, apply to the administrative and fiscal operations of the Foundation, subject, however, to such adjustments in procedure as are necessary to meet the special requirements of research.

NATIONAL POLICY

"Basic research is a long-term process—it ceases to be basic if immediate results are expected on short-term support. Methods should therefore be found which will permit the agency to make commitments of funds from current appropriations for programmes of five years' duration or longer."

Therefore Dr. Bush proposed a new agency to be known as the National Research Foundation which "should develop and promote a national policy for scientific research and scientific education, should support basic research in non-profit organizations, should develop scientific talent in American youth by means of scholarships and fellowships and should by contract and otherwise support long-range research on military matters."

The Foundation should, Dr. Bush said, have five divisions: medical research, natural science, national defense, personnel and education, publications and collaboration. Dr. Bush recommended an appropriation of \$33, 500,000 for the first year and increases up to \$122, 500, 000 in the fifth year. He concluded: "Legislation is necessary. It should be drafted with great care."

PENDING BILLS

A Bill 22, introduced by Warren G. Magnuson of Washington, follows closely Dr. Bush's recommendations. Among the other bills dealing with scientific research is S. 1297, sponsored by Harley M. Kilgore of West Virginia, Edwin C. Johnson of Colorado and Claude Pepper of Florida. This is referred to the Military Affairs Committee of which Elbert D. Thomas of Utah is chairman. It is announced that sub committees of both the Military Affairs and the Commerce Committees will hold joint hearings on these and other bills early in October.

The Kilgore bill would create a National Science Foundation which would survey and study all government-financed research. The Foundation would be authorized to promote any research that is in the national interest. The bill would provide that at least 50 per cent of the Foundation's funds be spent through contracts with non-profit educational and research institutions. The

Foundation would be directed to make available to the public full data on all significant finding, but a proposed defense committee should be authorized to classify as secret any information which the President might "certify as being essential in the interest of national defense." Senator Kilgore is reported to be particularly interested in provisions which would give to the proposed Research Foundation the right to patent inventions made under its programme, and also authorize it to prevent monopolies in the use of such patents.

President Truman, in his long message to Congress on September 6, recommended a single federal research agency which would "promote and support research in the basic sciences and in the social sciences." Up to that time the social sciences had not been mentioned. The President further observed: "Although science can be co-ordinated and encouraged, it cannot be dictated to or regimented."

There has already been considerable public discussion of issues relating to governmental development of science. Would the Magnuson and Kilgore proposals result in regimentation of scientists? What is meant by coordination of scientific research? By organization? How much control might be exercised by a government agency over private institution that might co-operate? The bills are drawn in general terms. Many of the discussions consist of speculation as to the manner of administration.

SOCIAL SCIENCES

As for the social sciences, apparently one reason why they were not dealt with by Dr. Bush was that the office of Scientific Research and Development had no responsibility for them and he was reporting on developments over which he had jurisdiction in wartime. As soon as the report and the bills appeared, however, influential persons in the executive departments of the government and in Congress noted the omission of the social sciences and expressed their concern. These persons are now working for a suitable amendment which would include provision for grants for research in the social sciences. Of course, Congress may not readily include the social sciences in the programme. It is one thing to approve government participation in the discovery of weapons of war and another to consent to government's organization of research projects in economics and sociology. It may be that the experience of the Department of Agriculture will be regarded as a precedent. That Department has been called the largest research organization in the world and its activities include economics and sociology. The federal government also makes grants-in-aid to the state colleges of agriculture for research in agricultural economics, home economics and rural sociology.

RESEARCH AND UNIVERSITIES

The relation of the universities, private and public, to a government programme of scientific research in the post-war period has also been discussed somewhat. Pertinent comments were made in the course of a discussion on *Atomic Force, Its meaning for Mankind*, under the auspices of the University of Chicago Round Table, broadcast in co-operation with the National Broadcasting Company. (No. 386, Aug. 12, 1945, 10 cents a copy.) The announcer of the programme said that the University of

Chicago had "served as a principal centre of fundamental research in the development of the atomic bomb." Professor William F. Ogburn of the University of Chicago, one of the participants, stated: "The atomic bomb has now put to the universities the biggest challenge which they ever faced, in my judgment." Professor Ogburn also commented as follows: "The history of research has shown that industry is interested in applied research and that government is interested, in the main, in contemporary applications. The only fundamental research of any significance has been done at the universities."

Reuben Gustavson, vice-president of the University of Chicago, added: "After all, where did the government turn in its hour of great fear? It did not turn to industry, and it did not turn to itself; it turned to the universities." Dr. Gustavson contended that "solution of the cancer problem will be a by-product of fundamental research on how the cell divides, why it divides, and so forth." Professor Ogburn noted that radio broadcasting and radar "were dependent upon the discovery, through pure research and science, of Hertzian waves."

Professor Ogburn also said significantly: "What the natural scientists do is to unloose these new inventions which cause a reorganization of society, a reorganization of our economic institutions and of our social institutions, and always, what should not be forgotten, a revaluation of our ideologies.....If the various social scientists had two billion dollars and three years of research, may be we could give better answers, but I think may be that we ought to consider declaring a moratorium on all pure science and natural-science development until we social scientists can catch up."

It is understood that all of those who are advocating the promotion of scientific research through the aid of government contemplate the making of extensive grants to the universities.

WANTED AID NOT CONTROL

The *New York Times* published an editorial on August 19 contending that wartime research problems were solved "so rapidly because they were organized and competently directed." It then asked: "Why should not the same principle be followed in peace?" In a later article on September 9, Waldemar Kaempffert of the staff of the *Times*, replying to critics of the editorial, wrote: "We simply want to accelerate the advance of science by planning and organization."

In a letter published in the *New York Times* of September 2, 1945, Dr. Warren Weaver of the Rockefeller Foundation comments as follows: "What then should we do? We should, as a national policy, support science adequately. We should sponsor every movement and development that helps to create a favourable climate within which co-operative scientific enterprises may flourish. We should sedulously seek out young scientific talent, and see to it that, independent of geographical or social or financial origin, it has a full chance to develop.

"But we should not, in my judgment, try to set up some group of scientific supermen who, seeing, hearing and knowing not only of all present science but also divining its mysterious future course, try to chart that course and tell all the rest of us what to do."

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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 Elections:—The elections to the Indian Legislative Assembly took place on Monday and Tuesday. Mrs. Frances Gunther in her close analysis of the Indian electoral system, published last week showed how every possible device has been used to divide, distract and disunite the Indian people. Vertical, horizontal and diagonal lines have been drawn across the general body to prevent its recognising itself as a single people. Mrs. Gunther showed how if the system was applied to the United States which for extent and diversity of population bears resemblance to Indian conditions, the country would go to pieces. In addition to these contrivances and to accentuate them, elections for different provinces and different constituencies are to take place on different dates. In the United States the results of the voting over the whole country are available within two or three days. The Bombay results will not be known until Monday, that is, a whole week after the voting day. Mrs. Gunther attributed "the high Indian survival rate of political sanity" in the face of the calculated chaos of the electoral system, to the unusual stability and stamina of Gandhiji, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. These qualities have enabled them to devise protective devices to break the impact of the system on the body politic. The most effective of these is "uncontested" elections. Every interest likely to compete, is persuaded, cajoled, bullied or otherwise influenced to abstain from nominating candidates. "A walk over" is managed wherever possible. A considerable proportion of Congress as well as Muslim League nominees have been already elected. There had been no "landslide" as in the last British elections as suggested as likely in the Viceroy's broadcast of the present programme. His Excellency doubtless knew that, in the conditions of the Indians system, the results were a foregone conclusion.

Extraneous Influences:—Some extraneous influences have entered to some extent in the shaping of the

elections. The most important on the Congress side is the I.N.A. officers' trial by a general Court Martial in New Delhi. The Congress did not take up the matter on an impulse. It was rather indifferent to the I.N.A. or even antipathetic, as a departure from the Congress method of non-violence. Not until Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a speech during his Punjab tour called attention to the rumour of some officers of the I.N.A. having been executed, and demanded full particulars from the Government of India, did the matter assume a political aspect. Although officially the Congress has not so far made any pronouncement, leading Congressmen and non-Congress leaders have taken up the matter. The revelations about the happenings in Singapore after the British abandoned it, must have stimulated Congress interest. The Indians in Singapore met and decided to organise themselves as a part of the Indian National Congress, adopting its flag and acclaiming its great leader, Gandhiji. It is due to Gandhiji's personality that the Congress which began sixty years ago as a supplement to the British administration, to strengthen and stimulate its development on the lines of the Queen's Proclamation, has grown to its present stature as the mighty pillar of hope for Indians wherever they may be. It is to the National Congress, not to the Liberal Party nor to the Justice Party, nor yet to the Muslim League nor the Hindu Mahasabha, that Indians turn instinctively for support in their difficulties in full confidence that they will be redressed. The Congress today is the greatest force working for political and national redemption.

Palestine and the Muslim League:—The Muslim League has also attained prominence from an external event. The Palestine question is not essentially or even pre-eminently a Muslim question. It is a question involving large international issues. Muslim Arabs revolted at the instance of Christian Lawrence against Muslim Turkey. Whatever may be the nature and extent of the pledges contained in McMahon's letters to King Hussain they were given not to Muslims but to Arabs. The Jewish home in Palestine concerns Arabs not Muslims as Muslims. Indian opinion as a whole is in sympathy with the Arabs not because they are Muslims but because they have inhabited Palestine for centuries after the Jews turned their backs on it in search of fresh pastures. The Roman Emperor, Hadrian, forbade them only Jerusalem not the whole of Palestine and after the Turkish conquest even this ban ceased to be operative. It is only during the last World War that the Zionists awoke to the need of a home in the

Holy land. Nevertheless, Mr. Jinnah has insisted that the Palestine question is a matter of life and death to Indian Muslims and, in his last pronouncement on British policy in the Commons, Mr. Bevin has admitted and emphasised the claim; with what intent events alone can show. This should have had some influence on Muslim voters.

Wanted Explanation:—The public is entitled to an explanation of the circumstances in which Captain Lakshmi, qualified Doctor, who from accounts was doing useful work among Indian women in Rangoon, after the surrender of the Indian National Army, has been removed to Kalaw in the Shan States for detention. Is this action taken at the instance of the Government of India or of the Government of Burma? The Government of India have wisely taken no action against the women of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment. The Government of Burma has adopted a conciliatory policy towards of National Burma Army. Why should an exception be made in the case of this lady doctor?

Situation in Indonesia:—The *Hindu* of Madras has rendered valuable public service by sending its own special correspondent to Java, Mr. Narayan. Two of his letters have been published so far and they described the actual situation there, which the messages transmitted by some news agencies often misrepresent. Mr. Narayan observes in his last message:

"Over 90 per cent of the area in Java, and Bali are under the Indonesian Republican Government which is the *de-fac'o* authority in these parts. For Indonesians it is also the *de-jure* Government though the British and the Dutch refuse to recognise it and, following their lead, the other United Nations have also so far turned a blind eye towards the facts of the Indonesian situation. Much of the effort of the Republican Government, therefore, is towards raising its case to the International level in order to secure international adjudication and moral support to their right of self-determination.

"Internally all its efforts are directed towards perfecting every instrument of administration and securing and canalising the nation's support in the fight for freedom. This is no easy task, as the Allied military administration, whose policy and activities are largely dictated by Dutch influences and the Tory-controlled British Foreign Office, is daily disrupting the strength of the Indonesian Government to maintain law and order and smooth administration in Indonesia."

Is India Earnest?—Foreign observers are puzzled by what seem to them contradictory trends in Indian movements. The passionate demands for Freedom, for instance, seem to be incompatible with persistent and influential propaganda for industrialisation. Industrialisation is impossible without the supply of machinery from abroad. Machinery must be paid for. Some thousand million pounds sterling owed by Britain to India for all practical purposes for the time being are as good as wiped out. Indian currency has long ago outstripped metallic backing. Our paper currency will not buy even a sewing machine or a type-writer in a foreign country. We should, therefore, borrow in order to pay for machinery and that means much diplomatic and political manouevring. Great Britain is finding it a rather tiresome procedure. The United States is the world's lender

today, and with the Atom Bomb—President Truman has said that they are still producing atom bombs only for experimental purposes—it is in a position to give or withhold. The States are no longer disinterested outside the Americas. They have interests in Japan, China, Korea, Palestine. They have undertaken to administer part of Germany which involves them in disputes with Soviet Russia. The Indian industrialists who went to Britain and the United States early this year have as a delegation achieved little though as individuals some are said to have made profitable deals. Although officially denied, the United States has made significant gestures suggestive of interest in the composition of British Cabinets. President Truman had to disclaim any intention in that direction in his sudden stoppage of Lend-Lease. Industrialisation on the scale proposed by the Tatas, the Birlas and Nehru, is impossible without India giving hostages to foreign nations. It practically means the continuance of foreign domination in one form or another for an indifferent period. If India is earnest about industrialisation she had better drop talking of Independence as an immediate objective. Freedom is indivisible. Industrial subservience and economic freedom cannot co-exist. Neither can flourish unless backed by political freedom, which, again and in the ultimate analysis, means the will to be free and the power to resist domination. India must choose a single goal and pursue it determinedly undistracted by any other, however fair-seeming.

Future of Brahmins:—We print elsewhere a statement by the President and Secretaries of an Association in Salem in Madras province, which has for object the redemption of Brahmins from their present state which it depicts as one of almost unrelieved gloom. They have issued also, a questionnaire and invited suggestions as to the best means of arresting their downward progress. To our minds the picture of the position of the Brahmins steadily sinking in the economic, social and political spheres, is far from being true to fact. It is in fact an illusion created by the rise of non-Brahmin communities in these spheres. As regards the future, the Brahmin as Brahmin has no future. The hereditary system of caste, has served a very useful purpose. But it is out of date. The Brahmin today is not the embodiment of the principle of plain living and high thinking which he was expected to be in the ancient *varnasharma* system. He is up to his neck in the cut-throat struggle of economic competition turning his hand to any occupation which brings the best return in cash. The word "Hindu" does not represent a religious denomination. It is a territorial designation. There is no such religion as Hinduism. The correct word for the religion which goes by that name is Brahmanism or Brahmoism. The relation between the Brahman and the Atman—the Universal and the Individual Soul—is the differentiating principle among the main sects. Brahmanism is the right word for the religion comprising these sects and all who believe in it are Brahmins. The Hindu Mahasabha has recognised this principle by including as Hindus, Sikhs and Buddhists. The attempt to constitute Brahmins into a political or economic unit is ill-advised. Our Salem friends have got hold of the wrong end of the question.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, December 1, 1945.

RELIGIOUS TEACHING IN SCHOOLS

Travancore has lately been the focus of an all too wide-of-the mark controversy on the question of religious education in schools. Though the Travancore Government's Order related only to grants to elementary schools in the State, which give religious instruction as part of their regular curriculum, the discussion ranged over the larger question of religious instruction in educational institutions. It evoked a remarkable dictum from one of the Roman Catholic Bishops who unfortunately deemed it their duty to join the fray, to the effect that Catholic children should be given not only instruction in the Catholic religion but that they should receive even secular education in a Catholic atmosphere. The Bishop by this pronouncement destroyed the whole case of the Catholic protagonists; and the Dewan, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, promptly retorted that, if this was what was being done, grants to Catholic schools would mean grants to institutions which drew non-Catholics into a Catholic atmosphere, which was more potent because it was insidious to undermine their own religious beliefs than direct, frontal attacks such as were made in some Protestant institutions.

The question arose in the United States recently in a different form. It may be noted in passing that United States precedents are more applicable to Indian conditions than British or other European precedents, because in the United States as in India there is a large variety of religious beliefs. The American constitution sharply separates the State from the Church. No religious education, therefore, can be included in the curriculum of public schools. This has been sought to be circumvented. A compromise is developing, observes Karl Baehr in a sermon which is published in the October number of the *Protestant*. "The State is using its influence—if not actual pressure—to teach any or all forms of religion in the schools on school time...For one hour each week children are released to the pastors or teachers of their particular faith for religious instruction. In some places this instruction is administered on the school premises, while in other districts, such as Chicago, the children go to neighbouring churches." Mrs. Vashti McCullum has instituted a law suit against the Champaign Board of Education (Illinois) on account of the released hour programme in public schools being an infringement of the principle of religious freedom. Claiming to be a Rationalist, Mrs. McCullum declares that the inclusion of sectarian religious instruction in public schools is a violation of the historic American principle of the separation of church and state. Karl Baehr explains Mrs. McCullum position, thus.

"If classes in religion be taught, then those who disbelieve should also be given the privilege in our free society to conduct classes in their particular beliefs. For example, Mrs. McCullum would like to have her children instructed in the various beliefs of all religions in order that they may use their minds in discovering for themselves the highest truth. She would not object to their being

taught any and all the Bible stories as long as they are not taught as something that they must believe even though it may not agree with reason or scientific knowledge. She wants Bible stories to be taught merely as stories, or as stories teaching some religious principles that the ancient Hebrews were handing down to their children. Having met Mrs. McCullum and talked with her, I know she is a woman with high ideals who wants her children to make creative contributions to the world. She fears that they will not be free to explore their world, or free to make the best contributions, if their minds are encumbered—or even enslaved by ideas and stories that do not correspond with truth as they see it."

Karl Baehr shows that though the "compromise" appears on the surface to be fair and just to all religions, in actual practice it is not so. In many places in the U. S. A. as in India there are more forms of religion than can be taught in the school. There may be small minorities, like Jehova's Witnesses in the U.S.A. or Jains in many places in India, too small for them to pay to conduct a class in their religion. In the United States the Unitarians, the Universalist, and the Jews are not numerically strong enough in many localities to take advantage of the released hour for religious instruction. The system, therefore, actually works to the advantage of the larger denominations and to the disadvantage of smaller and less known religious bodies. The programme has in many instances served to divide rather than to unite children. Minority groups like the Jews have been conspicuous and tensions have been created. As Mr. Baehr observes, the public schools are the greatest melting-pot agency. It is there that children should gain a consciousness of their oneness in a democratic culture. Another defect of the system is that it makes no provision for those who do not attend classes in religion. "The minority not taking the religious classes is denied the civic right to receive maximum instruction during public school hours."

The writer recommends as a partial solution of the problem the introduction into public schools of a course in the moral and ethical foundations of society, to be taught to all children regardless of creed.

WANT OF PERSPECTIVE :

Miss Louise Ouwerkerk's pamphlet on "The Untouchables of India" (Oxford University Press Price) is on the whole a fair presentation of the problem. But it suffers somewhat from lack of perspective. Throughout her essay she implies that the problem is peculiar to India and arises from causes inherent in the Hindu religion. The position of Negroes in the United States is broadly analogous to that of the Untouchables of India. There have been and there still are pious Christians who believe that the Negroes were designed by God to servitude. Writing of "Racial Equality in Greater New York Area" *Social Questions Bulletin* for October records the case of a young Negro woman wishing to enrol for special training in Occupational Therapy, who was refused admission to the University of Southern California (Methodist) and was admitted in New York University. "Unlike the situation in Chicago and some other Mid, Western cities," it observes "there has been no friction in New York in the inter-racial use of beaches and bath houses." Again, "Many of the high-priced hotels discriminate against

Negroes as to rooms but not to the same extent in restaurant service." As to residential areas, "although the vast proportion of Negroes live in all Negro communities because whites have moved away when Negroes in any considerable number have moved in," there are some inter-racial neighbourhoods. Negroes are not, it is true, untouchable in the United States, but if they had been they would have been spared the large scale unmorality to which Negro women have been exposed. Notwithstanding the treatment of Negroes who are about a tenth of the population of the United States, no one has questioned the fact of the States being a self-governing Sovereign Power. It is because there are no organised vested interests, religious, and political, to make capital out of its social shortcomings.

Miss Ouwerkerk says that the origin of caste is obscure. And yet in the very next sentence she observes that "there is a tendency in every society for peoples doing the same kind of work to be grouped together socially and for sons to follow their fathers, occupation." Several generations of Britons in the Indian Army and Civil Services are not unknown. Even Christian missionaries have become a hereditary group. The Hindu religious books as distinct from law books make no reference to heredity as the basis of caste. Miss Ouwerkerk's remark that the special feature of Hindu caste is that it has the sanction of religion, is incorrect. As for the Depressed Classes, Miss Ouwerkerk surely knows that in Europe long before Hitler, the Jews were a persecuted caste; and even today, according to Mr. Gollancz (*Reformer*, October 20), anti-Semitic feeling in nearly all European countries finds expression in behaviour seldom seen in India. Miss Ouwerkerk, in order to know how the untouchables originated, has only to observe what is being done to the Germans and the Japanese. Deliberately, methodically, in cold-blood General MacArthur is demonstrating the process by which a ruling race is degraded into a depressed class. The same thing is being enacted in occupied Germany. The position of the untouchables has decidedly deteriorated under British rule. It is curious, that when the same things are done by the white man and the coloured man, the white man is absolved of any intentional misdeed while the coloured man is made accountable for his as well as the white man's sins. The responsibility for making political capital of caste and communal differences belongs wholly and solely to Anglo-Indian administrators.

Dr. Ambedkar acknowledges in his book "What Congress and Gandhi have done for the Untouchables," that Indian religious and social reformers worked for the removal of untouchability and that their method was acceptable to the people and roused no antagonism as Gandhiji's method is doing. The blame for giving a political bias to this social reform is not Gandhiji's but Government's Lord Minto set the ball rolling by giving separate electorates with weightages to Muslims. Sikhs demanded the same treatment and it had to be conceded to them. The Depressed Classes came next. It is true that for the time being Gandhiji's Harijan policy has thrown the removal of untouchability in the background. The coining of the word "Harijan" has conferred on a large number of groups divided from one another by social barriers a semblance of unity which has greatly assisted the policy

of Dr. Ambedkar of using politics as a lever to separate the Scheduled castes from the general body of Hindus. But Gandhiji's method is valuable as implementing the work of social and religious reformers for the removal of untouchability.

Christian Missionaries, when conversions from caste Hindus ceased as the result of far-reaching reforms in the community under Indian leadership, turned to the untouchables as a fruitful field of exploitation. They said that no improvement was possible so long as these classes were not led out of the Hindu fold and concentrated on making mass conversions, as it was called. This was particular an American idea, like mass production of commodities. This also is likely to be soon stopped as the depressed classes are finding that conversions do not lead to improvement of material or social conditions, as they were led to expect. And the missionaries themselves acknowledge this by the demand that the concessions to Harijans from Government should be extended to their converts also. In fact in one instance an offer was made to Gandhiji by a mission to co-operate with him in Harijan uplift but Gandhiji declined it with his customary courtesy.

The strong tide of nationalism which is rising will sweep away this as well as other communal problems in respect of minorities. An active, fighting programme will unite all classes and communities and both sexes. This is the lesson to be learnt from the example of the Indian National Army some of whose officers are undergoing trial in Delhi.

"MY LIFE'S PARTNER" *

This book is indeed one of the most remarkable autobiographies which I have come across. It is an English translation from Bengali. Mr. D. S. Mahalanobis, the translator, pleads that the peculiarity of the language of the author, Motilal Roy, has been a stumbling-block to its translation into a foreign tongue particularly in passages abounding in ideas unfamiliar to Western thought. The unfamiliarity of the ideas springs from the radically different structure of Indian society and family life, the disintegration of which is here depicted in some of its most crucial phases. Briefly, the story is that of a wayward, sensitive soul, sheltered by the unswerving devotion of a wife married at the age of eleven to a youth whose face she had not seen and who had not seen her face until the moment when at the end of the wedding ceremony she lifted her veil to let him have the first glimpse of the features of his bride. Motilal was brought up in a rigidly orthodox Hindu home. The locality in which he lived as a boy however was a home of vice. At an early age Motilal became a drug addict. Other temptations beset him. But he had strong faith in a protecting Deity and he is constantly repeating that but for Its grace he would have become an abandoned sinner. He importuned his mother to get him married. The mother took time to make a suitable choice. She rejected one offer. Her boy was wild with rage, "Dark or fair does not matter; all I want is a wife", he shouted at her. Motilal is next seized with a passion for asceticism and blames his wife for being an obstacle in the way of his quest for spirituality. "I have no escape until I get rid of you," he once

* Prabartak Publishers, 61, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta price Rs. 5/-

exclaimed. She quietly replied: "Why do you talk of getting rid of me? You have liberty to do as you please. I do not want sensual pleasure. I am extremely happy if only I can see you before my eyes." Next Motilal turned to the sect which in Bengal was associated with orgies of eating, drinking and promiscuity. His wife got alarmed. He was not admitted to the inner circle but he struck up an acquaintance with one of the women initiates. He was gaily pursuing his sensual life with her, where one day by some impulse he told her that he loved her as a Mother. She turned furiously on him. That was the end of their relation. He confessed his backsliding to his wife who insisted that unless the woman herself came and confessed to her she would not be pacified. Strange to say the woman agreed. There is also a reference to a woman who practised gruesome sadhanas which included the mutilation of corpses in cemeteries. From religion Motilal was drawn to politics. He was the first to give asylum to Arabindo Ghose. He hid him in his house for several days unbeknown to his wife. One day she in the course of her daily routine of tidying every nook and corner of her home went into the godown where Arabindo Ghose was concealed but when she was told that he belonged to Suren Babu's Swadeshi Party she entered heartily into the scheme and ministered to his needs until he left Calcutta by a midnight boat for Pondicherry. The story illustrates the effect of the religious and political unsettlement of the time on a highly sensitive spirit and the miraculous manner, in which the devotion of an unlettered wife saved him from catastrophe.

THE SOULBURY SCHEME

BY DORIC DE SOUZA

I thank you for the opportunity you give me of stating my views on the Soulbury Report. I do so as briefly as possible, touching only on the most important features of the proposed new Constitution. Despite the fact that the Commission for its own purposes has placed the "minorities problem" in the foreground of discussion, I do not deal with this question at all but seek only to emphasise the reactionary, counter-reformist character of the Constitutional Scheme as expressed in (a) the maintenance and strengthening of Imperialist prerogatives exercised through Whitehall and the Government; (b) the undermining of the value and effect of the mass vote; and (c) the setting up of a new partnership between the Imperialist bourgeoisie and their native younger brothers at the expense of the broad masses.

Despite their differences on many other matters, Queen's House and our Ministerial cliques were always agreed on the need to reduce the political influence of the masses exercised through universal franchise. This anxiety showed itself after the briefest experience of the working of the Donoughmore Constitution, as soon as mass pressure made itself felt in the atmosphere of the State Council, and was transmitted through the Executive Committee to the administration as well. A frontal attack on the mass vote was recognised by all to be "outside the pale of practical politics." This was the phrase of Sir Caldecott, and was a notable recognition of the growth of political consciousness among the people. Hence, to "infuse discipline into democracy" (another

happy expression of the same Government) other means were required. The Second Chamber, and the Cabinet System represents these means.

The Soulbury Report is the fruit of a conspiracy against the people hatched over a long period by the Imperialists and our Ministers in collaboration. Every stage in the preparation of these "Reforms" was marked by fear, distrust, and contempt for public opinion. The earlier negotiations were conducted with the Secretary of State over the heads of the people and even of the State Council. The Commission itself was signally boycotted in Ceylon, but showed itself quite heedless of the fact. The final insult to the people is the present design to rush through the "acceptance" of these "Reforms" in a State Council which is thoroughly unrepresentative, and should have been dissolved five years ago.

Argument is hardly necessary to show that the Second Chamber is intended as a makeweight for the vested interests against popular legislation. That is its very reason for existence. The mode of selection of the body ensures that in its working, it will act (a) as an agency of the Governor, who will screen himself and save himself the need of direct intervention by the skilful use of his nominees, and (b) as a prop to the reactionary Ministerial block in the Lower House. For lack of space I will not dwell on the type of politicians who will be installed in the Senate except to say that it will be an incomparable collection of antiquities. It is important to rebut the suggestion that the Second Chamber will be a harmless body because it has few powers. If that were so, it would not have thus been planned in the teeth of public antagonism. Any Constitutional text-book will explain the manifold uses that can be made of powers of delay to sabotage, whittle down and render ineffective the legislation that passes the Lower House.

The Cabinet System will give the big bourgeoisie of Ceylon an official rallying point in the legislature. The private member of the Lower House (naturally the most responsive to mass pressure) will be reduced to being a mere voting machine. Under the present system of Executive Committees he has a share in executive power, which will be completely lost to him in the future. He can exercise a substantial initiative in the introduction of legislation. Such legislation emanating from the State Council which did not bear the clear class impress of the big bourgeoisie (e. g. the "free education" scheme, despite all its miserable limitations) is due to the pressure of private members on the Ministerial clique. Again, the Executive Committee System ensured a great deal of publicity to the preparation of legislation and the working of administrative departments. This publicity was invaluable to the public. Under the Cabinet System all the real business of government will be carried on over the head of the ordinary member, and the Lower House itself will be little more than a debating society. The projected increase in the number of Ministers, and the device of appointing Parliamentary Secretaries to the number of ten, are all intended to strengthen the hand of the Ministerial bloc, which will most decisively promote the interests of the bourgeoisie.

The "Cabinet System" is the biggest concession made in the proposed new Constitution to the Native bourgeoisie. And it is a concession, not at the expense of the Imperialists, but of the democratic rights of the people.

So far as the power and position of the Imperialists themselves are concerned, it is necessary to expose the falsehood of the suggestion that there will be any real transfer of power from their hands under the new regime. It is the height of foolishness to mistake Constitutional manoeuvres for a real shift of power. The power of Imperialism in Ceylon will come to an end only through the destruction of that system by revolutionary means. The Constitutional "partnership" that is now to be created is aimed precisely at postponing this eventuality, by enlisting for Imperialism the support of the Native bourgeoisie on favourable terms. But even for this support the British are not going to pay with real concessions. They will consign the mere routine of law-making and administration to native bourgeois hands, and allow their lackeys to play with the trumpery forms and trappings of power, while they retain its substance firmly in their hands. It is easy to show that even in the field of Constitutional change, there is no weakening in the position of the Governor and of Whitehall.

Firstly, the initiative in legislation left to the Governor and the Secretary of State is sufficient to ensure that in all matters of high policy they have full control. The basis of Imperial rule in this country, apart from its importance as a Defence outpost for the Empire as a whole, lies in its capitalist exploitation by the British bourgeoisie. Now Defence as well as External Affairs are subjects on which direct legislation by Ordinance and Order-in-Council is arranged for. What Defence means, we have all experienced in the last five years of Defence Regulations. It is a field which can be made to cover the whole range of our daily life. External Affairs, coupled with those other subjects in which the assent of Whitehall is compulsory, together cover all that is required to safeguard the vital interests of Imperialism, including Tariff policy, Exports and Imports, Currency policy, etc. The economy of Ceylon cannot be freed to the smallest extent from the stranglehold of British finance-capital under the new Constitution, any more than under the old.

The abolition of the posts of the three Officers of the State is a change of very slight significance, since the vital functions performed by those Officers will still be under the control of Queen's House. Thus the Finance Minister will have no control over currency! The Defence and External Affairs portfolios will carry no real power at all.

Apart from this demonstration of the retention by Imperialism of all its real prerogatives, let us note two respects in which the power and influence of the Governor vis-a-vis the whole Legislature is to be positively increased.

His stranglehold over the Upper House means a real increase in the powers and influence of the Governor. By the power he has over half the votes in the Senate, the Governor will be able to relieve himself of the need to use his own big stick of veto, by the simple expedient of creating a deadlock in the legislature itself.

Again, in the new Constitution, room is deliberately created for the growth of a centralised big bureaucracy, irresponsible to the legislature and to the people, but under the control of the Governor. This is the meaning of the Commissioners' cant about the independence of the

Public Services. Under the new dispensation, the Public Services are to be independent of all popular control. At the same time as this "independence" is safeguarded, the bureaucracy is to be centralised through the Permanent Secretaries to the Ministries, who are to co-ordinate the work of the departments. The effect of these changes will be to weaken the control of the administration by the Legislature.

It remains briefly to emphasise the solid base of the new and closer alliance between the White and the Black bourgeoisie that is being forged. The British have learnt bitter lessons in the war. Above all, they were made aware of the instability of the political structures reared by their Empire Builders in the colonies. In Malaya and Burma, they toppled at the smallest military blow struck by an Imperialist rival principally because there was no sincere support from any quarter, for the British regime. The British are seeking to put their colonial houses in order, by stabilising their foundations. They require a better system of alliances with the native bourgeoisie for this purpose. They are working hard against time in India, Burma, etc to achieve this, before the Asiatic revolution, which has opened in South-East Asia already, overtakes them. The Soulbury Reforms are the adaptation, to Ceylon, of this general policy in the colonies. The Native bourgeoisie have equally strong reasons for entering into and working the pact. The rise of the mass movement, the emergence of the working class independently on the political arena, the awakening of the people to revolutionary ideas, have frightened them. In the State Council, these have been reflected in the pressure for the provision of all sorts of social reforms. In the post-war crisis which is looming ahead, the question of increased taxation for social reform will be the most critical one in the legislature. The vote in the hands of the masses confers only very slight privileges in a country which is a subject one, and in a society where everything besides the vote is the monopoly of the bourgeoisie. But even so, the bourgeoisie feel the need to entrench themselves in the Legislature by weakening the pull on it of the masses. All these factors drive them into the arms of the Imperialists, and they are ready once again, to sell their country in order to protect their class interests.

The bourgeoisie, led by Senanayake and Co. will welcome these reforms. Even the pretence of being "a little dissatisfied" has been thrown off already. But aside from these circles no other sector of Ceylonese society, the depressed petty-bourgeoisie and the working class, will do other than condemn and reject these mischievous proposals of "Reform". The masses will indignantly fight against the imposition of these "Reforms" as a new noose round their necks, and as a further obstacle on their road to the revolutionary overthrow of Imperialism.

WHO FOMENTED RACIAL BIAS?

Sir, The Japanese, the Annamese and the Indonesians are charged with stirring up racial anti-European sentiment. It is quietly insinuated that the English, the French and the Dutch never cherished any racial prejudice. They were free from any sense of racial superiority but the wicked Asiatics have started this despicable feeling in the world. As a matter of history Asiatics never cherished racial hatred. It is the White Man in the middle nineteenth century started this devilry. And he is paying for it and has yet much to pay before the account is finally settled.

ASIATIC

REHABILITATION OF BRAHMINS

Dewan Bahadur R. V. Krishna Ayyar, President, and Messrs. S. V. Lakshmana Ayyar, and E. S. Balasubramania Ayyar, Secretaries, of the Brahmana Seva Sangam, Salem, write :

The condition of Brahmins as a class is not, at present, very satisfactory. The majority of them are extremely poor, and are unfit for and unable to do any manual work. In the ancient classification of Hindu Society into four castes, the functions allotted to them were: study, teaching, performance of yagas, officiation at the performance of yagas by others, making gifts, and receiving. For some reason or other, these functions have fallen into disuse among them. By tradition, temperament and habit, and perhaps by sheer necessity, they took to English education, and for a time, a few of them flourished in Government Service and in the learned professions. The Government needed and appreciated their services, and much of the efficiency of the British Administration, at least in South India, may be said to have been due to the ability and integrity of their Brahmin officials. But the very success of the Brahmins in Government Service and in the learned professions evoked jealousy; and now, for nearly three decades in this province, there have been persistent attempts and agitation to restrict their entry not only into Government Service but also into quasi-Government and private service. Of late, there has been a tendency even to exclude them from educational institutions, including professional and technical, on the pretext of want of accommodation in them for all the candidates who seek admission. Apart from the obvious injustice thereby done to several deserving members of the Brahmin community, the country is deprived of such services, as the members of the said community can render in various spheres of activity.

In addition to these grievances, there is daily growing amongst the members of other communities, a feeling of secret and overt animosity against the members of the Brahmin community, mostly due to the malicious propaganda of abuse and misrepresentation unceasingly indulged in, in season and out of season, by a few Brahmin haters on the platform and in certain organs of the press. False historical theories of a bygone ancient Dravidian civilization in South India, in which the Brahmins had no lot or part, are propounded. And on the basis of those theories a cry of Dravidastan has been raised for the suppression of the Brahmin Community who are held up as the sole representatives of an alien inimical Aryan civilization. No objection can be raised to academic discussions of the origin of the Tamil peoples, were such discussions not accompanied by abuse, sometimes vulgar, of Sanskrit and Sanskrit Literature, of Hindu gods, religion and shastras, and of the Brahmin community generally and its revered leaders. This hymn of abuse and hatred has so far gone on practically unchecked by the wiser and more responsible sections of the non-Brahmin communities, is dangerous as it is sowing seeds of unthinking hatred in the minds of the absolutely illiterate and rowdy sections of the population. The patience with which the Brahmins have borne the abuses

and gibes heaped on their devoted heads, has not softened the hearts of the maligners or moderated the virulence of their attacks.

The Brahmins of the present day are in no way more responsible for the existence or the defects of the present day system of castes, than the members of any other community. On the other hand, they have done their best to obliterate the social superiorities, if any, involved in the caste system, and to co-operate with the members of all other castes, in every attempt at unity among the castes and at national upliftment. Yet all other communities than the Brahmins are invited not only to unite among themselves but also with the members of other religions, for the purpose of excluding the Brahmins from all fields of remunerative activity and even useful public service.

It is high time that, in sheer self-defence, the Brahmins should unite amongst themselves, and fight this tendency to exclude and eliminate them. Fortunately, the situation, though serious, is not yet desperate. There are still a considerable number of wise, responsible and respectable men among the non-Brahmin communities who do not share in this unreasoning prejudice against and hatred of the Brahmins as a class, and look with disapproval on the vicious tirade that is being carried on against an innocent, intelligent and useful community. It is necessary to rally to their support. There are also hundreds of members of the Brahmin community itself, still possessing sufficient wealth and influence who can, if they will only take some interest in the uplift of the brother members of their community even now, prevent the rushing tide of Brahmin hatred from overwhelming and destroying their community. Every day of hatred, however, involves more danger and less strength to resist this evil.

SCHEME OF COMPULSORY COLLEGE EDUCATION IN BRITAIN

One and a half million young people in Britain between the ages of 15 and 30 are to benefit from a new scheme of compulsory education described in a Ministry of Education pamphlet entitled: "Youth's Opportunity: Further Education in County Colleges."

Under the Education Act of 1944, every local education authority must establish such a scheme for all young people under 18, not in full time employment. Attendance will be compulsory for one whole day or two half days a week for 44 weeks a year or in certain cases one continuous period of eight weeks or two periods of four weeks during the year.

The scheme will operate from a date to be announced and the educational aims will be to help young people live a healthy life, promote knowledge and understanding and develop character and a balanced outlook on life. The needs of young students vary. All aspects of their lives are being catered for.

The student needs social experiences, must be allowed to feel his place in the community and he will be given opportunities for responsibility. The student must feel that he has progressed towards adult life and is not being sent back to school. Friendliness and co-operation will be the aim. A rigid classification of study or academic

approach would create resentment and defeat the aims of the system instead of promoting self-discipline.

Other adolescent needs catered for are religious, intellectual and vocational. No educational system is adequate which does not provide for the physical welfare of students. Regular medical inspection will be the prime duty of local education authorities.

A wider scope is implied than contained in the term "physical," as it must provide for those not "good at games" and thus give scope for climbing and camping as well as football and cricket. All dispositions and types must receive fair development. Self-control, self-confidence and a sense of physical efficiency as well as properly co-ordinated physical development, should not be reserved exclusively for those gifted with the "games sense." The tasks and ventures must cater fully for the adventurous spirit in the adolescent.

A generous and catholic library is the basic essential of each college. Importance is understood of good atmosphere and comfort for study and research. The student's common room will be the focal point of social life, where the vital art of living together can be unconsciously developed.

The whole scheme is being handled in a logical and realistic way with a deep understanding of the problems of adolescents coming from all kinds of homes. It is realised that they are wage-earners, but partly grown children. The purpose of country colleges will not be to impose education and restrictions but to enrich the lives of these youngsters, to implant and foster a desire for, knowledge and understanding and to encourage initiative and give opportunities for their initiative to attain successful achievement. A flexible system is to be used bearing in mind the variation in the needs of all areas with different densities of population and regional variation of occupation.

In large towns, it is suggested, there should be one central college or a group of colleges—technology, art, commerce, etc. and a number of branch colleges in association. An area of 500,000 people would probably need one central college and six or more branch colleges. The central college would provide the work of the higher grades and courses, requiring large and expensive equipment, and students would pass from the branches to the central college as necessary.

It is essential for the success of the scheme that the colleges be properly housed. New buildings will be required, but in many areas it may be desirable to adapt and extend existing buildings. In some country towns spacious houses with large grounds would be suitable and some buildings erected by the Government for war purposes might also be used.

MORAL REARMAMENT

Sir, The Prime Minister of England has, with great forethought, urged every human being to understand the moral crisis that confronts the world. Such understanding should bring home to everyone his individual responsibility to do all that may lie in his power to avert or minimise the crisis and abstain from doing anything calculated to aggravate it in the least degree. It

is further the duty of every intelligent human being to apply his mind to the discovery of means by which this awful crisis, which threatens civilization and even total destruction, of mankind may be averted.

To my mind, the crisis could to some extent be averted by the emergence in answer to the cry of humanity, of great spiritual leaders who might bring men all over the world to love virtue and wisdom and promote goodwill and peace. We have seen that wars are really caused by only a few men of devouring ambition and demonic energy who crop up from time to time, in one country or another and obtaining domination by the force of their exceptional character, lead their country astray. What is therefore needed by way of counterpoise to such men is spiritual leaders of wide influence to create in advance a world environment inimical to their aggressive aims and foster love of peace and hatred of war among the people of the world.

I regard the Moral Rearmament Movement as a great nursery of spiritual leaders, and would like to see the movement flourish and spread itself far and wide. Many eminent men believe in it and belong to it. Rotary is another beneficent instrument for the promotion of international goodwill and understanding, and it is bound to make its influence increasingly felt as it grows.

Democracy is another potent instrument for the prevention of the men of the type of Napoleon or Hitler acquiring domination in a country, and the spread of democracy in the world would consequently greatly reduce the chances of war.

We are exceptionally fortunate in possessing in Mahatma Gandhi a spiritual leader of world renown who is the very embodiment of peace and non-violence upon earth. When India becomes free in the near future and he comes to take his place in international councils as her representative, he shall have found his true metier and his unrivalled spiritual influence will be more unreservedly available to the world in the great cause of preserving peace upon earth. P. J. TALYARKHAN.

ANTI-CHRISTIAN BIAS

Sir, The most extraordinary charge against some prominent non-Christians who had approved of the Travancore Government's policy in regard to primary education, is that they showed anti-Christian bias. The critics are Christian missionaries who are here to destroy if they can all religions except their own particular brand of Christianity. There is no question of bias here. It is open avowed hostility. That these men should expect other religionists to welcome Christianity, is a great tribute to them.

India is a land of deep religious feeling. For ages past the preoccupation of her finest minds, has been religion. There is no hostility to any religion. India has been from early times the asylum of persecuted peoples. Full religious freedom has been the policy of the Indian rulers flowing from the idea inherent in the principle that all religions are so many different roads to heaven. This is a time when all who believe in religion should work together to stem the tide of materialism which is sweeping over the world. Religious representatives who set themselves up as sole patentees of truth and claim the right in the name of religious freedom to impose their dogmas on others, are enemies of religion. Notwithstanding the aggressive character of much missionary propaganda, Indians have been singularly patient and forbearing.

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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

Caste Origins:—The authority generally cited for the fourfold caste system is the statement in the *Bhagavad Gita* that the system was created on the basis of qualities and behaviour. An earlier authority, however, mentions that there was at first only Brahmins. The other castes were evolved in course of time under stress of necessity. The process should have lasted over a long period. Even at the time of the *Gita*, and, also, perhaps of the *Dharmapada*, there were only two recognised pure castes. Vaisyas were included with Sudras and women as impure. As the pressure of economics increased on society, the Vaisyas who were the wealthiest class, were admitted to the ranks of the twice-born. In course of time, even Shudras were admitted to many of the privileges of the higher castes. Thousands of Panchamas also, as they rose in the economic scale, were absorbed into the higher castes. This was the Hindu method of social evolution which was in operation for centuries until it was hardened by the Muslim conquest and, later, altogether stopped by the British Indian law courts. The process has now to be reversed and all now known as Hindus, subsumed in a single category, Brahmins.

Wind up Justice Party:—While some Salem Brahmins are apprehensive of the future of their community on account chiefly of the activities of the non-Brahmin Party in Madras, the most aggressive member of the Justice Party, an alias for the non Brahmin Party, Mr. P. Balasubrahmanya Mudaliar, is reported to have declared on Monday, when the result of the election for Madras city to the Central Legislative Assembly, was announced, as an overwhelming majority for the Congress candidate, Mrs. Ammu Swaminathan, that he would advise the leader of the Justice Party to wind up the party and that his policy hereafter would be not to fight for non-Brahmins against Brahmins but to fight for merit and talent wherever it was found. Mr. Mudaliar may be congratu-

tulated on the result of his defeat which, as has often happened before to many others, may prove to be the stepping-stone to signal victory on a higher plane. The admission implied in Mr. Mudaliar's declaration that hitherto he was not fighting for merit but for caste and community, may be taken to heart by members of all communal parties. We trust Mr. Mudaliar's advice will be adopted by the leaders of the non-Brahmin party and the party wound up soon. It has already been deserted by most of its ablest men. It has served the useful purpose of shaking the complacency of Salem Brahmins who, and others feel like them, who may, like Mr. Mudaliar, cease thinking in terms of Brahmins and learn to think in terms of merit and character wherever it may be found.

A National Army:—Brigadier Cariappa told a Press Conference in Bombay that he had discussed the question of an Indian National Army with several Indian leaders and that all of them agreed that it was necessary, and welcomed the idea. The Brigadier was one of a mission of Indian Army Officers and educationists who toured in the United States, Canada and Britain, studying the facilities provided for higher army education and training in these countries. He explained the Government of India's plan to start an up-to-date College in India teaching Army, Navy and Air Force curricula. A National Army is not only needed to defend the country. It is of first-rate importance as a nationalising agency where all differences of creed and caste are smoothed out. We take it that the present practice of communal regiments will be abandoned in the new Plan. In the Indian National Army which Subhas Bose organised and commanded in Burma, the greatest offence, says one of the released prisoners, Mr. Kirde, was to call oneself Hindu or Muslim. The penalty was death. There is another matter which may be kept in view. The Indian practice hitherto has been to keep the Army isolated from the rest of the population. Due to this there has been lack of sympathy between the two, and even some estrangement. The new institution might include side by side with training in the fighting arts, training in social service. William James in a famous essay praised the effects of military training and suggested that there should be training in social service on the same lines. The title of the essay was "The Moral Equivalent of War." We may hope that War in the future will become scarce. The Army-trained men and women (for we assume women will also have the benefit of training in arms) will have little occupation as soldiers. But they can do great service in fighting disease, ignorance, and social customs which have outlived their utility. Thus will be renewed the ancient ideal of the kshatriya as protector of the people from harm of all kinds.

Drink or Food?—The *International Record*, quarterly journal of the World Prohibition Federation, in its October number sharply criticises the British Government's decision to release, for the manufacture of whisky, from the current year's barley crop fully one-third more than last season, when millions in Europe are starving and rations are being cut down in Britain to feed the population of the continent. It quotes from the official syllabus of the British Board of Education that beer, wine and spirits are not of real use because they cannot make people grow nor keep their bodies from wearing away. The *Record* publishes items of news of work in different countries to advance abstinence from alcoholic drink. But none from India. Here almost the first thing that the Governors did in the provinces where Congress Ministers had introduced Prohibition, on their resignation on the declaration of War, was to repeal the Prohibition laws while retaining the additional revenues which had been provided to compensate for the loss from excise to the treasury. The restriction of imports due to shipping shortage, has to some extent counteracted the effects of the repeal of Prohibition but the manufacture and sales of country spirits have gone up. There has been famine in the land and food shortage is still a present danger.

An Untimely Communique:—The Government of India issued last week a communique purporting to summarise its policy towards the Indian National Army prisoners, as laid down in previous communications. This was considered necessary in order to remove misconceptions which are said clearly to exist. So far as we know, the intentions of Government as stated in the previous documents are perfectly clear. The communique, even though it was merely a summary of the previous ones, would be objectionable as an unnecessary stressing of allegations when the cases of some of these prisoners are being tried before a Court Martial and a number of others are awaiting similar trial. But this communique is not a mere summary. It expresses opinions and conveys directly or indirectly suggestions which, coming from Government, cannot but prejudice the proceedings unfavourably to the persons under trial. In the Court proceedings the accused are referred to as Indian National Army men without any prefix. The communique injects the word "so-called" which means a good deal. Then, again, it has been deposed that, when Singapore fell, the British officer in charge of the men in surrendering them to the Japanese officer who was in command, told them to obey the Japanese officer thenceforward. To the lay mind this it true seems to be an express release of the men from their oath of allegiance. The communique nevertheless speaks of forty thousand men having remained firm to their oath of allegiance. There are other statements and suggestions in the communique which should not have been made and published when the prisoners are under or awaiting trial. The communique would seem intended to assure the public that all the thousands of I.N.R. prisoners are not to be tried but only those guilty of "brutalities", who are expected to number between 20 and 50. War itself is a great brutality and in this war particularly all previous brutalities have been surpassed. The hurling of the atom bomb on whole cities is, to any normal mind, a brutality almost inconceivable. The only conclusion possible to our mind is

that Government realise that the institution of the prosecutions was a bad blunder and they want to minimise its effects by declaring that only a few are to be tried.

Extraordinary:—Another communique gives the following account of how two I.N.R. officers came to commit suicide a year ago in Red Fort, Delhi. This is issued to contradict some statements in the papers implying that these took place recently. The communique reads:

"Towards dusk on the evening of November 5, 1944, a sentry, in spite of orders to the contrary, entered the officers' quarters armed with a Sten gun to switch on the veranda light. When about to do so, he was suddenly pounced upon by Lt. Ajmere Singh, who endeavoured to take away the gun. Lt. Maghar Singh then joined in the struggle, and getting a stranglehold on the sentry, forced the gun from his hands. The sentry raised an alarm, but before the guard could be turned out Lt. Maghar Singh had shot Lt. Ajmer Singh and then shot himself through the forehead. All this happened within a couple of minutes and death was instantaneous in both cases."

"For disobeying orders in entering the quarters while armed, the sentry concerned was sentenced to 28 days' rigorous imprisonment."

"A letter addressed to the Officer Commanding signed by the two officers and found on one of them says: 'We could easily escape from here, but did not think it to be proper. This action of ours is purely voluntary and nobody is to blame. Lastly, we thank you very much for the good treatment we received while under you. Adieu, Adieu.'"

It is clear from the first part of the communique that the entry of the sentry with the Sten gun, the wresting of it from him by the two officers and the murder by and suicide of Lt. Maghar Singh, all happened within two minutes, causing instantaneous death. When had two the officers time to write the farewell note? Did he expect the sentry to enter with the Sten gun, against the express orders of his commanders? If it was a prearranged affair, what need was there to get a stranglehold on the sentry to get possession of the gun and why did he raise an alarm? If there was collusion the punishment inflicted on the sentry was ridiculously inadequate.

Gondal:—The Kathiawar State of Gondal is totally unaffected by the political turmoils which rage in many parts of the country. His Highness the late Maharaja Bhagavat sinhji died last year after a reign of sixty years during which it was his pride that not a single new tax was levied nor an old tax increased. Nevertheless the finances of the State were always in a flourishing condition. His son, Shri Bhojrajji, succeeded to the gadi but the investiture celebrations were postponed for a year, the full period of mourning for his father. They were held at the end of October when His Highness was presented with a glowing address by the leading citizens of all creeds. The Maharaja granted numerous boons and benefactions. Seventy-two of them are listed in a pamphlet issued by the Mahotsav Committee and some fifty others are also mentioned as having been granted to individuals. Among the beneficiaries are dumb animals for whom rest is prescribed on ekaleshi and amavasya days.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, December 8, 1945.

THE PETHICK-LAWRENCE STATEMENT

For weeks past, the likelihood of the Secretary of State for India making a statement on Indian policy in the House of Lords, to be repeated simultaneously by the Under-Secretary in the House of Commons, has been advertised in the Press. Forecasts of its contents were every few days in the interval published as from persons in more or less close contact with the India Office. The statement was made on Wednesday but it was not the Under-Secretary, Mr. Arthur Henderson, but the Lord President of the Privy Council, Mr. Herbert Morrison, who acted as Lord Pethick Lawrence's mouth-piece in the House of Commons. What significance attaches to this, may be known to pandits in parliamentary lore. The statement in either House was carefully calculated to damp any enthusiasm which may be aroused in India or any alarm among Members of Parliament who, whatever their differences in British politics, are all, with insignificant exceptions, Tories in regard to India. The reason given for the statement is that the implications of Lord Wavell's statement on his return from his second visit to London, have not been understood in India. That statement was quite clear and there seemed to be no need to look for implications between its lines. But it seems that there were implications which cannot evidently be explained in writing. A deputation of British parliamentarians chosen by the Empire Parliamentary Association, is to be flown to India to explain them but the Members are forbidden to make any commitments. In other words, the explanations of the Members will carry with them no significance and it will be entirely open to be repudiated by the Government or by the Members themselves. Without casting doubt on the good faith of the British Government, we must say that they do not realise the rapidly mounting sense of humiliation and consequent resentment in this country. Speaking for ourselves, we have come to despair of any British Government in the present circumstances being able to understand and to deal with the situation as it has developed within the last few months and is developing from day to day, almost from hour to hour. That British policy in India is no longer a matter between the two countries but is motivated by a determination to uphold white supremacy in Asia, is a recent complication. Lord Pethick Lawrence and Mr. Morrison both declared rather ominously and wholly unnecessarily that Government would support officials in maintaining law and order. There is, as far as we know, no serious threat to public peace except that which may arise from over-zeal on the part of its guardians, which, we fear, may be stimulated by the assurance offered officiously in the statement. Public peace is not in danger and its preservation is not beyond the resources of Government. But domestic peace in an increasing number of officials' homes is being distressingly disrupted and Government guarantees are wholly futile to prevent it. "You can lathi charge or even fire upon a crowd but

you cannot do that in the case of your household." The internal revolution in Indian society is beyond the ken of the British Government and there is nothing it can do which will not accelerate its pace and aggravate its acrimony. Lord Morley warned Lord Minto in one of his letters that the great difficulty in India was that neither the Viceroy nor the Secretary of State knew what exactly was passing in the Indian mind, and of the risk of forcing politics into a region where they cannot follow. There may be no black-flag demonstrations such as those which greeted the Simon Commission this time but the Parliamentarians, are not likely to gather any impressions from their visit which are not already present in their minds. Central Assembly elections were supererogatory (as they are proving) as a test of public opinion and the Parliamentary delegation will be no better. Both are in the same line of dilatory tactics. Government are evidently waiting for something to occur to precipitate a decision.

"If the feeling of a common nationality began to exist only feebly" observed Sir John Seeley in his famous lectures on "The Expansion of England", "if, without inspiring any active desire to drive out the foreigner, it only created a notion that it is shameful to assist him in maintaining his dominion—from that day almost our Empire in India would cease to exist." The position thus envisaged is rapidly developing to a climax, and the task of British statesmen is to arrest the process and make Indians feel—as they did until the beginning of this century—that association with Britain is nothing of which they need be ashamed. The form and details of the measures to be adopted, of the constitution to be framed, are useless unless they produce this sentiment in the hearts of the Indian people.

JOTTINGS

Mr. Govind Rao Kirde who was with the Headquarters of the I.N.A. and was recently released from Jubbulpore Jail in a Press interview stated that the I.N.A. Balasena (Children's Army) worked suicide squads in blowing up Allied tanks in the battle of Burma. They used to lie prostrate under tanks with mines fixed to their backs, says a United Press of India message from Nagpur.

Mr. Korde further stated: The gravest offence in the eyes of the I. N. A. was to call oneself a Hindu or Musalman. Punishment for it was death. They were all Indians (Hindustanis). There was no separate mess for officers. The rank and file and the officers dined together and even Netaji when he had the time squatted with the men to enjoy his dinner.

Capt N. R. Fulay (son of Capt R. W. Fulay of Nagpur) was considered as the most intelligent and promising young officer and even before he was raised to the rank of an officer he had the unique privilege of discussing with Subhas Bose.

* * * *

The Indian Civil Service Governors of the United and Central Provinces have been making minatory speeches warning Indian politicians of the dire consequences of their speeches. Both the men are due to leave the country on retirement in a short time. They will be far away from the scene when the consequences of *their* speeches begin to take effect.

INDIAN TROOPS FOR FOREIGN SERVICE

For many years it was forbidden to employ Indian troops outside India without a special resolution of Parliament. When Disraeli who is responsible for seducing Britain from her free traditions into Imperialism of the worst kind which has since perverted her culture and politics, called out Indian troops to Malta as a counterstroke to Tsarist aggression, there was a loud protest in Britain led by the powerful voice of Gladstone. Gladstone also protested against the assumption of the Imperial title by the British Sovereign as derogatory to the historic tradition of the English people. The worst effects of the Imperialist policy were felt in India. Since the middle of the last century British Indian policy had degenerated into race domination. The Ripon regime was a break in this sinister chain. Indian troops have been since then employed practically in every British military operation, except the Boer War where white troops alone were employed. This convention that whites must be fought by whites, was abandoned at the opening of World War I. Indian troops were rushed to France without training and equipment. The trenches in which they had to fight were too high. The whole contingent was wiped out. In the second World War Indian troops have played leading in operation in all parts of the world. Indian opinion felt that this was wrong, but it was not felt as a humiliation of the Indian people as the employment of Indian troops to extinguish the national movements in Indo-China and Indonesia is. It is no good mincing words. It is felt that Indian allegiance is being prostituted to restore the domination of the French and the Dutch in these countries. Mr. Attlee has declared that the British have a strong moral obligation to replace the Dutch in their pre-war position in Indonesia. This was directly contrary to the statement of the Secretary for War at Singapore, that the British were under no obligation to fight the Indo-Chinese and the Indonesians on behalf of the French and the Dutch. In his recent statement on foreign policy, Mr. Edwin Bevin, the Foreign Secretary, amplified the Prime Minister's statement. The Dutch had made sacrifices in Europe, he said, for which they should be recompensed. By all means let them be. But what have India and the Indians to do with the matter? If the British feels that the Dutch helped to ward off invasion of their country by the Germans, they should reward them out of their meagre resources. It is an act of melancholy meanness and even of perfidy to use Indian troops to destroy the aspirations of India's neighbours, bound to her too by ancient ties of cultural and spiritual kinship. Freedom was proclaimed as the sole object of the war on Germany and Japan. Professing that they are in Indonesia to disarm the Japanese, the British are using the very Japanese to disarm and defeat the Indonesians. The Dutch in reply to British criticisms of their position in Indonesia have retorted that it is identical with that of the British in India. Such retorts do not easily impress British statesmen. Mr. Leopold Amery, late Secretary of State for India and Burma, said the same in more emphatic language of the position of Japan in Manchuria. Nevertheless, such is the flexibility of British statesmanship, he bled India white to fight the Japanese. The British Labour Ministers have evidently accepted the Dutch claim that their position in Indonesia is on a par with that of the

British in this country. We do not. The *Reformer* in its issue 10 of November published an excerpt from a book on the Dutch regime in Indonesia. The blackest part of it was the way in which Indonesian women have been used for the pleasure of the Dutch colonist. The large proportion of Eurasians who figure in the internment camps as a distinct community tells its own story. Two friends—one, high up in the Congress hierarchy, the other not far removed from it—remarked on reading it, "We have our complaints against British rule. But nothing like to this." The *Reformer* has more than once said that the status, capacity and prominence in public service in British India of women is what will remain in the view of the historian the most praiseworthy result of the British regime. Even the Rani of Jhansi Regiment from this point of view, is the product of British connection of which Britain will be proud when the passions of the moment are hushed. There is no comparison between Dutch and British Imperialism. Britain and India will part, if they must, with mutual respect and goodwill.

MODERN BENGALI LITERATURE—I

From Ram Mohan Roy To Tagore

(BY KAZI ABDUL WADUD)

Bengal in the older days had a literature neither meagre nor immature. But the new literature that was born in Bengal in the 19th century has a distinction of its own from more than one point of view. The profundities of love entranced the Bengali mind of old; the joy of exploring the World-Mind has stirred the Bengali mind of the new era. That Bengal in the 19th century experienced an awakening comparable to the European Renaissance is a fact known even to people outside the Province. But they may have no detailed knowledge of it; nor have many Bengalees for that matter.

It was indeed a renaissance, nothing short of a new birth, that happened to Bengal in the 19th century, the impress of which modern Bengali literature is proud to bear.

As with the European Renaissance, a variety of influences went into the making of the Bengali one—the protracted clash and communion of Hindu and Muslim civilization and culture, the French Revolution, Christianity, English Literature, and so on. Of the many operative factors there are two that stand out: one is the novelty-seeking Bengali mind; the other, the New Humanism of Europe of the early 19th century. Bengal is an alluvial land. Alluvial too is the Bengali mind. In Buddhist times Bengalees turned Buddhists; it is a historical fact that Bengal was the birthplace of some noted Buddhist preachers. There is proof too in early Bengali literature that, at a later time, newly arrived Islam was received with some gusto by the Bengalees by way of a reaction to the Hindu-Buddhist conflict. The Bengali mind thus could not fail to be attracted by the New Humanism of Europe.

This new Bengal had its mentor in Raja Ram Mohan Roy. As a matter of fact, Ram Mohan Roy is the mentor not merely of New Bengal but of New India as well. The French savant Romain Rolland has even placed him among the creators of the modern world. In whichever way he is viewed, he was a marvellous personality. The introspective depth of the Hindu mind, the sturdy practicality of Islam, the charity of the Christian found a unique synthesis in Raja Ram Mohan

It was indeed a great good fortune that the Bengali and the Indian of the modern era should have found a guide like him. It is a pity, however, that the gain has been more historical than psychical. If Ram Mohan's lead had been properly imbibed by the Indian mind, many a knotty problem that troubles India today would have been solved long ago.

The Renaissance of Bengal worked itself out along three main channels. The first, deriving from Raja Ram Mohan Roy, took shape in the Brahmo-Samaj movement; the second derived from the Hindu College through that rationalist and lover of India, Henry Vivian Derozio; the third is the neo-Hindu revival represented by Bankimchandra, Ramkrishna and Vivekanand. Each of these three phases was marked by the appearance of a large number of active workers. They were not always aware of the significance and possibilities of their particular line of work in the context of national life. The result has been both a gain and a loss for Bengal. While, on the one hand, the Bengali mind has gained in depth and refinement, on the other it has developed a perplexing complexity. In fact, one main problem that faces the Bengali mind today is how to resolve the complication and find out an easy and broad path of action. I am glad to record that the process of resolution has already started.

Though this renaissance of Bengal started almost at the beginning of the nineteenth century, it took about fifty years to find a worthy expression in literature. In the years immediately following the death of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, certain leaders of the Brahmo-Samaj movement did create a literature that retains its distinction still today. But the specifically modern literature of Bengal—modern both in form and in substance—did not emerge till the middle of the century; it came along that channel of the Bengali Renaissance which derives from the Hindu College. The founder of this new Bengali literature was that darling of Bengal, the ill-starred Michael Madhusudan Datta. For long did he dream of fame through the writing of English verse. It was perhaps this dream that drove him to Christianity. Many of his countrymen have sighed over his apostasy. But, however deplorable it might have been on his personal account, it has turned out to be a great good fortune for his nation. It was after his conversion that he made his acquaintance through Christian missionaries, with Greek, Latin, Italian and other such languages and literatures; and the fact that he was able to give his country a new literature was just due to his intimate acquaintance with these languages and literatures.

Madhusudan was able to win the regard of his countrymen in his lifetime, but it is only in these later days that his full greatness as a writer is being realised. With a deep feeling for his own people he unites an equally deep feeling for humanity; he holds aloft the dignity of man above the frowns of gods and fates; his power over words places him in the very front-rank of artists; in the qualities of the heart, he is a prince. The output of this comparatively short-lived poet is not quite proportionate to the genius he was born with; but this is precisely what renders him a perpetual marvel for his readers. Ram Mohan gave the nation the lead of a manly intellect and a virile

humanity; Madhusudan gave them a taste of the joy of the heart reaching out to the universe.

After Madhusudan, came a number of Bengali poets of considerable power, some of whom were as famous in their time as Madhusudan himself. But in the march of time the less known among them have emerged to the fore while the known ones have fallen back. The really worthy ones among the Post-Madhusudanites turned away from the grand manner of Madhusudan to the native Bengali manner, easy, familiar, simple-timbred, and thus prepared the way for Rabindranath, who, in manner, belongs to the native tradition of the Bengali lyric but attains to epic grandeur in the sweep and expanse of his mind.

The literary king of Bengal after Madhusudan was Bankimchandra. That he was endowed with a remarkable literary genius is undeniable. But the wonderful influence he wielded in his time was due not so much to his literary genius as to his intellectual leadership. He is the accredited spokesman of Neo-Hinduism.

Attempts at a fresh appraisal of Bankimchandra are being made in recent times. The modern critic of Bankimchandra finds no basis for the charge against him of anti-Muslim spite. For one thing, he has created some beautiful Muslim characters, for another, as a specialist, he championed the cause of the have-nots against the haves, irrespective of race or creed. What the modern critic discerns in Bankimchandra is a split personality. On the one hand, there are his eager quest after truth and his inborn love of humanity; on the other, his concern, rather inordinate, on behalf of his oppressed and bewildered community. It is this last which stands in the way of a definite placing of Bankimchandra in the ranks of the great leaders of modern India. But his literary greatness is indisputable, all short-comings notwithstanding. With a profound knowledge of the human mind, he unites a remarkable power of delineation of character. His pictures of the human heart divided against itself do at times recall those of Shakespeare. There is a striking affinity between Bankimchandra and Iqbal, the poet of North-Western India. Both are brilliant in their expression, both hazy in their thinking; yet both influenced their times mainly as leaders of thought.

Bankimchandra's immediate disciples did not fully realise the uniqueness of his literary powers. Perhaps that is why so few among them can boast of any literary talent worth the name. All that they did was to take up the tune of their master and fill the skies of Bengal with hallelujahas of Hindutva—specially marked on the stage. But in the field of literature they were a decided failure. Literature is the product of the rapture or anguish of expression; ostentation is always fatal to it.

His own literary genius enabled Bankim to sense the promise of young Rabindranath, whose appearance he greeted enthusiastically. Rabindranath was the son of a reformer of the Hindu religion, whose remarkable personality made an abiding impression on the Poet and was a perpetual source of inspiration for him. In his recently published letters Rabindranath shows, even as a young man, a deep awareness of life which must have been due in a very large measure to the influence of his father. The same influence would naturally induce in Rabindranath a certain distrust of Bankim, the new preacher of

old Hinduism. Rabindra's inborn love of nature and acquired antipathy to Bankimchandra's line of thinking perhaps determined the course of his own genius. At a later time there came a phase in Rabindranath's thinking when he almost turned into a Hindu nationalist of Bankimchandra's type. But, however strong his love of his country and people, it never ran along the lines of Bankimchandra's thinking. A comparison between two of their mature utterances would show the difference between their attitudes:—

Bankim: "Do not forget that love of one's countrymen ranks above all religion".

Rabindranath: "Build high the throne of your nation; But remember it is not higher than Truth. If you really love your country, you must rise above it. And place not country above humanity".

Nearly every aspect of the great nineteenth-century renaissance of Bengal of which I have spoken, strikes a chord in Rabindranath's mind and at times raises sublime music. Viewed in that light, Rabindranath, like nearly every other great poet, is not so much original as assimilative. He is the personalized epitome of the great nineteenth-century renaissance of Bengal and of India, just as Goethe was of the great renaissance of Europe.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR (BY MARQUIS W. CHILDS)

The hushed cathedral quiet of *The Christian Science Monitor* news-room in Boston would give an ordinary newspaperman the screaming meemies. It just doesn't seem natural. Most of the typewriters are noiseless and the others seem strangely muted. The whole place is bright and shiny and clean. No haze of tobacco smoke hangs over the copy desk. So far as can be determined, no one has ever smoked in the *Monitor* offices.

The *Monitor*, the property of the Christian Science Church, carries more news of world events than an ordinary daily. Christian Science itself is discussed in only one article each weekday—the *Monitor* is not published on Sunday. This article appears on the Home Forum page in English and also in one of 15 other languages. A national newspaper, the only one of its kind, the *Monitor* has many readers who are not members of the Church.

In an editorial published in the first issue of the *Monitor*, in 1908, Mary Baker Eddy, founder of Christian Science, set as her ideal a daily newspaper that should "injure no man, but bless all mankind."

To keep within the spirit of Mrs. Eddy's instructions and yet not entirely exclude human frailties and follies is a problem that has plagued the editors from the beginnings. As if to compensate readers for the absence of the more highly seasoned fare, the editors have encouraged the light touch in the writing of feature items. Present editor Erwin D. Canham once kept a basket of apples beside his desk and the news editor producing the snappiest anecdote to enliven Page 1 was rewarded with an apple.

The *Monitor's* basic news policy has been "responsibility." News beats and sensationalism have taken second place. *Monitor* correspondents are held accountable for a balanced insight into the situation they are

assigned to cover. Dispatches that give only one side of a controversial matter are sometimes held up so that a parallel dispatch from some other source may be obtained to round out the picture.

Today, few religious inhibitions prevent the *Monitor* from reporting the important news of the world. There is, of course, a special policy with respect to crime. No details of Errol Flynn's legal trouble appeared nor a single line about the sordid Chaplin affair. But if a crime is considered to have national significance—the Lindbergh kidnapping, for example—it is briefly reported.

The news policy today represents a striking evolution from a period when the most narrow taboos were enforced. Twenty-five years ago the first that *Monitor* readers learned of a disastrous New England flood was when the paper reported collection of a Red Cross fund to aid the victims (in the Christian Science doctrine death is not recognized). The inhibition extended to the weather. An adverse phenomenon, such as a heavy snowfall, could not be reported. In fact, snow itself was considered pretty unfortunate and, if it had to be mentioned, was referred to as a "blanket of white." Reviewing book called *Apple Tree Insects and Diseases*, the *Monitor* dropped "and Diseases" from the title.

These taboos derived not from the founder herself but from overscrupulousness among some of her followers. Searching for precedents for realistic reporting, Editor Canham found that Mrs. Eddy, in the *Christian Science Sentinel*, another church publication, had included totals of the dead and wounded in reports of the Spanish American War. So World War II was reported realistically, and Jap atrocities were recounted in some detail. Most of the curious prohibitions once prevailing have been gradually eliminated. Willis J. Abbot, who became editor in 1921, set the paper on its present path. After Abbot gave up the editorship and became a roving columnist to write "Watching the World Go By," he set the tone, too, for the *Monitor's* foreign correspondents.

They still work hard to maintain the tradition he set of poking into odd places. Often their zeal sets them a little apart from the ordinary, regular breed of reporter. The paper's Latin-American specialist, Roland Hall Sharp, was one of a group of correspondents who made an inspection tour of the Amazon rubber country. There has probably been nothing like his jungle equipment since Stanley went to Africa to find Dr. Livingstone. He had a portable distilling apparatus for producing fresh water, a mosquito-proof tent with hammock, pith helmet, white drill riding breeches and black leather boots equipped with flypaper tops to stop bugs from crawling any higher.

Fellow reporters called him Frank Buck, Jr. But Sharp had a perfect answer—he intended to stay on five months after the rest of the party returned, and visit all sorts of out-of-the-way places.

Another of the *Monitor's* far-roving correspondents, R. H. Markham, covered the Italian conquest of Ethiopia. Markham found it necessary to buy a mule. No other means of conveyance was available, he explained to his home office, when he put the mule on his expense account. Moreover, he wrote a story about the mule which caused more comment than his more serious news dispatches.

In normal times, before the war, more than ten percent of the *Monitor's* subscribers lived outside the United States. Though its circulation has never been large (today about 155,000) the paper's influence is disproportionately great, partly because of its widespread distribution—only 15 per cent of the total is in the New England region where it is published.

The *Monitor* has regularly carried advertising from firms in various world capitals. Women readers are sometimes bemused to discover that the attractive bargain advertised is on sale not on Boston Street but in Wellington, New Zealand. This advertising derives in part, of course, from faithful Christian Scientists. Other advertisers, however, have discovered that an ad in the *Monitor* has exceptional pulling power because members of the Church take their paper with unusual seriousness.

Consistently the *Monitor* has kept to a higher ratio of news to advertising than the average secular daily. At least as much advertising is turned down because of Christian Science principles as is accepted. The schedule of prohibitions would horrify the ordinary advertising manager. Listed as "not acceptable" are: tea and coffee; tobacco; liquor; medical articles; food-products, soaps and complexion preparations or other commodities when advertised on a health basis; hotel, resort or travel advertising employing a health appeal; schools, camps, travel agencies; undertakers or cemeteries; chiropodists, dentists, hearing aids.

The fortunes of the paper are not dependent on the upswings and downswings of business. In bad years the Christian Science Publishing Society absorbs any deficit, and the high standard of the *Monitor* is maintained regardless of losses. In some years the paper makes a handsome return. Over both the business and the editorial departments the five directors at the top of the Christian Science Church maintain a close watch. The *Monitor's* editorial policy has generally been on the conservative side, in Presidential elections the paper invariably swinging to the Republicans. And the New Deal has come in for some sharp criticism. But in foreign policy it has been consistently internationalist and even on domestic issues there is liberal expression in its columns.

Members of the faith have a very real sense that the paper is theirs. The editors like to tell stories of their volunteer contributors' zeal for accuracy. For a special edition devoted to the Northwest, a *Christian Science Monitor* reader sent in an article on the work of the Girl Scouts in her area. Just before the edition was to go to press, the contributor telegraphed, "Please hold up story. Error discovered. Letter follows."

The article was withdrawn. In a letter that arrived later, the contributor explained that she had written that the cookies sold by the Girl Scouts were round, whereas actually they were oblong. That, the *Monitor* editors knew, could happen only on the *Monitor*.

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN TRAVANCORE *

I

Sir, On the last page of the "Indian Social Reformer" dated 20.10.1945, you have published a note under the heading "Travancore Primary Education," which is capable of giving rise to the impression that at present fees are levied from pupils in the primary schools of the State. This is not so. Primary Education in the State has

always been free and all that is contemplated by the new Primary Education Act is to make primary education compulsory also.

N. P. HARIHARAN

Director of Information, Travancore

II

Sir,—I find you keep on hammering at a point, viz, that neither the original Travancore Order nor the Education Act debar private schools which conform to the requirements of the Act from receiving grants. I concede that the Order is ambiguously worded and is amenable to your interpretation, while the Act is altogether silent in this matter of grants-in-aid. But I am afraid that in thus interpreting the Order, you are ploughing a lonely furrow. The trouble arose because the official interpretation ran counter to yours. The stand taken by the State authorities is that, since they were providing schools open to all communities, there was no call for the State to give grants to private schools, and that any community which on religious or other grounds wished to maintain its own schools, could do so *at its own cost!* This is the crux of the question and the root of the agitation which is neither spurious nor mistaken as you seem to believe. If your interpretation were correct, the Dewan could long ago have laid the agitation by saying just one word, which he has so far refused to do. However, I have sent him a copy of the resolution (copy enclosed) recently passed by the Executive of the Catholic Union of India, and am awaiting his reaction.

You apparently have been misled by the phrase 'approved schools' in the Act. "Approved schools" merely means schools recognised by Government as coming up to the official standard, whose leaving certificates, therefore, are held valid. It does not mean 'registered for grants'. The omission of the word 'grants' in the Act is significant in view of all the agitation that has taken place.

As for proselytising which like King Charles' head crops up every time in your paper, it is enough to state that Catholic schools being meant and maintained for Catholic children, the question of proselytising does not arise. As for the non-Christian children attending, the millions of such pupils which have gone through our schools and colleges should, if they have any regard for truth, bear witness that no religious instruction has been thrust on them or any effort made to convert them. Your suppositions to the contrary are baseless and betray a suspicious mind.

A. SOARES

Secretary, Catholic Union of India.

III

Sir, Will you kindly permit me to point out that in your notes and comments in the *Reformer* vis-a-vis the new Educational policy sought to be adumbrated by the present Travancore Government several untrue statements and erroneous assertions find place? I do not wish to refer to all of them here. Let me however, hasten to refer to some of them. In your issue of November 3, 1945 you refer to the recently promulgated Travancore Primary Education Act as "having passed the Legislature, received the assent of H. H. the Maha-

The publication of the above letters has been unavoidably delayed.

raja a few days ago." It is not true to facts to state that the Act was passed by the Legislature. May I point out that the bill was never introduced in the Legislature notwithstanding the definite assurance of the Dewan to the members of the Legislature that it would be introduced as a bill, and notwithstanding the recommendation of the Travancore Education Reorganization Committee that, "preparatory to the introduction of Compulsion, a Primary Education Act should be passed by the Legislature"? "No programme of primary and compulsory education," the Travancore Dewan stated in the Legislature in September 1944^b can be launched without sanctions. Punishments cannot be inflicted on persons who do not send their children to school excepting under a statute providing for such punishment. Therefore a statute would be necessary and that statute naturally will come before the Houses of Legislature." Utterly disregarding this assurance to the Legislature and its right to discuss this important

measure, the Travancore Primary Education Act, 1921 which contains provisions, for inflicting punishments on persons who do not send their children to school and for levying an Education cess from the people, was promulgated on 18th October 1945 by means of Royal Proclamation, thereby denying to the Legislature the opportunity to consider the Bill.

In your issue of October 20, it is observed that the Government of Travancore has now adopted the principle of making elementary education free. This is not consonant with fact. Elementary education has been free in Travancore for nearly four decades now. It is not a new reform in the educational policy of the State.

I wish some of your comments and observations on matters concerning Travancore were made after a closer understanding of the state of affairs obtaining in the State.

K. A. MATHEW,

Member, Travancore Legislative Assembly.

Cloth Rationing in Bombay City and Suburbs

SECOND SIX-MONTHLY PERIOD

The second six monthly Cloth Rationing period in Bombay City and the Bombay Suburban District has begun from December 2, 1945.

● You can purchase upto 10 yards per adults and 5 yards per child in the first quarter, that is, upto the end of February.

● The balance of the quota or the entire quota can be drawn in the second quarter.

● The six-monthly quota can be purchased, subject to the above restrictions, in instalments not exceeding four.

● The maximum obtainable in each rationed variety is:—12 yards in dhotis, 12 yards in saris, 12 yards in mulls—voiles—Dorias separately or in combination, 8 yards in coating and the entire quota in shirting.

● If you have not yet purchased the full quota for the first six-monthly period, you are free to purchase it upto December 31, 1945.

The weeks in the first quarter of the current six-monthly ration period are given below:—

On the Counter-foil		Corresponding week in the first quarter of the current period
Month	Week	
6 or $\frac{1}{2}$	1	December 2 to 8
6 or $\frac{1}{2}$	2	" 9 to 15
6 or $\frac{1}{2}$	3	" 16 to 22
6 or $\frac{1}{2}$	4	" 23 to 29
7 or $\frac{1}{10}$	1	January 6 to 12
7 or $\frac{1}{10}$	2	" 13 to 19
7 or $\frac{1}{10}$	3	" 20 to 26
7 or $\frac{1}{10}$	4	" 27 to February 2
8 or $\frac{1}{11}$	1	February 3 to 9
8 or $\frac{1}{11}$	2	" 10 to 16
8 or $\frac{1}{11}$	3	" 17 to 23
8 or $\frac{1}{11}$	4	" 24 to March 2

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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 Anglo-American Settlement:—The negotiations between Great Britain and the United States were concluded last week. Lease-Lend having been terminated at the end of hostilities, Britain was faced with the problem of how to make both ends meet in the national economy. The food produced in the country would feed only half the population. Food for the other half has to be imported. The imports must be paid for by maintaining exports at a high level. This required speeding up of manufactures. There were shipping difficulties. Also the principal countries which took British exports have been ruined and cannot pay for them. Some other countries have developed manufactures themselves and do not want to import from Britain. There was also an enormous debt to pay to countries from which Britain had bought materials during the War. The Settlement has taken the form of a large, long term loan to Britain by the United States on a low rate of interest. The payment of instalments will begin after five years and may be omitted whenever Britain thinks she cannot afford to pay. The British Finance Minister, Dr. Dalton, in a mood of self-pity bewailed that this was the reward which Britain has for her sacrifices. These sacrifices were made to preserve British power and possessions and can hardly be called sacrifices. The real sacrifice have been on the part of India and other dependencies which have had no return whatever for them. However that may be, a settlement which runs to half a century argues an invincible faith in the stability of the two countries at a time when all the old landmarks have disappeared or are disappearing. In the last half a century, most Empires have vanished. New nationalities have sprung up and the map of the world has become unrecognisable. Who can guarantee the existence of the British Empire and the United States for the next fifty years? Neither is an organic unit like France or Japan. The third

World War is already at our doors when the second is still factually not at an end.

Congress Casey Talks:—Gandhiji's visit to Calcutta, it was stated, had no political object. But almost since he arrived at the city he has been doing nothing but political work. He visited the Governor, Mr. Casey, the very day he reached the place. He has had three or four interviews following the first, and the Congress leaders, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had an interview later. Mr. Casey is on the eve of retirement from the Governorship of Bengal. He, it was announced, was returning to his native land, Australia, to resume his political career. Why he should suddenly interest himself in All-India politics, at the fag end of his stay in this country is a puzzle. Gandhiji and the other leaders were in or near Bombay for some months before they left for Calcutta. Sir John Colville, who has acted twice as Viceroy during Lord Wavell's absence in London and who has repeatedly expressed his hope that India will soon have complete self-government, would have been the obvious medium for negotiations with the Congress party. The only explanation that may be thought of is that Mr. Casey as Governor of Bengal would have acquired an inside view of the working of the Muslim League during an eventful two years in which he had a Ministry of its members functioning in Bengal. This might be of use in bringing about an understanding between the League and the Congress. The New Delhi disavowal of these talks between the Governor of Bengal and Congress leaders as negotiations, can be understood only as meaning that the Congress attitude has not been acceptable to the New Delhi or London authorities.

Dr. Lakshmi:—We commented last week on the removal of Dr. Lakshmi, of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment fame, who was taken prisoner with other I. N. A. officers, from Rangoon where she was doing useful social work among poor Indian women, to Kalawa in the Shan States. The Hon. Dr. N. B. Khare, Member for Commonwealth Relations, told the Associated Press that the Government of India had no official information of her detention. His Department may not have been informed but it is inconceivable that the Government of India as a whole can be kept in ignorance of the fate of one of its subjects in another part of the Commonwealth. There is an Agent of the Government in Rangoon. What is he doing? While other I. N. A. prisoners have been brought to India, there is no reason why Dr. Lakshmi should

not be restored to her home to practice her profession. If she remained in Rangoon of her own choice, she should not, of course, be compelled to return to India. But it does not seem that this is the case. In any case why keep her in Kalawa?

Governors' Speeches:—The most wearisome task of Governors of Indian provinces is, we imagine, to have to make speeches on all conceivable subjects in the course of their quinquennium. This task has been much lightened now by the fewer occasions on which Governors are called upon to preside at functions not immediately connected with the administration. The old idea that the Governor was the head not only of the administration but also of society, has steadily weakened. Nowadays, Congress leaders, and leaders of other political parties, are preferred for all but strictly administrative functions. Lord Sydenham invited to preside at an Indian Music Conference, produced an essay based on the article on Chinese Music in the Encyclopaedia Britannica which was warmly applauded by the audience which was prepared to applaud anything which fell from the lips of His Excellency. Present-day Governors may thank their stars that they have no occasion to refuse such invitations. Still, even a Governor wants occasionally to say something which is not banal and that is perhaps why Sir John Colville began his address to the Agricultural Exhibition at Anand the other day with the observation that "we are thankful to God for the victory of our arms against Hitler, Mussolini and the Japs but we have yet to fight against one of our greatest enemies—poverty." How the Anand kheduts took this forced parallel between dictatorships and poverty, may be easily guessed. The Japanese were vanquished by the atom bomb against which there is no military defence. Can not our scientists invent an atom bomb to annihilate poverty? If they can not do that, can they not invent something to abolish hunger in the same offhand way in which General Mac Arthur has abolished Shintoism? For if men ceased to hunger, food shortage will have no terrors for them. Famine would be almost welcome as a release from the drudgery of cooking. To be serious, poverty is not an enemy which can be vanquished by the methods by which Hitler was. Poverty in India is the outcome of a perverse political system, and you cannot abolish it without basically changing that system.

Was it Worthwhile?—If Hitler be alive, as some people still believe he is, he must be chuckling at the enormous effort and cost in lives and resources of the Allies in taking upon themselves the clearing up of the terrible mess he had made. Left to himself he would have had to feed the population of Europe, maintain order among them, find work for them even if only to exploit their labour. Now, the Allies have to do all this and they are getting involved in quarrels among themselves. But for the Allies engaging them in war, the dictators both in Italy and in Germany would probably have met the fate of all Dictators at the hands of an assassin. While overthrowing the Shintoists of Japan, the Allies have created a conflagration all over Asia. In Palestine, in Persia, in China, in Malaya, in Indonesia and Indo-China, the World War has produced a brood of small wars, which may easily flame out into bigger dimensions. General MacArthur has frozen the assets

of the Japanese Emperor and given a "directive" to the Japanese puppet Government to levy 100 per cent tax war profits in order to teach the Japanese that War does not pay. By the way, is the General a product of Democracy? Is the Atom Bomb a product or even a by-product of democracy? By their fruits ye shall know them, declared a great World Prophet. May we know Democracy by General MacArthur and by the Atom Bomb?

Unstable Political Structure:—While Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar repeated at the Patna branch of the Indian Council for World Affairs, his view of the necessity of a strong Central Government in India, adding that the States would not stand in the way of constituting one, the Aga Khan told a representative of the *Times of India* that the solution of the Indian problem is a confederation some of the components of which may call themselves Pakistan; in other words, the total elimination of the Central Government. The New England States in North America began as a confederacy, became a Federation and Abraham Lincoln crushed with a heavy hand the attempts of the Southern States to secede on the issue of slavery. In India the Maratha Confederacy which for a brief century had practically the whole of India under its control, broke to pieces because a Confederacy has no binding power.

Pakistan, an Islamic State:—Addressing the students of Peshawar, Mr. Jinnah said: "Our religion contains a code of life in the conduct of every department and we want to live in accordance with the same ideals." A code does not enunciate ideals. It lays down rules and penalties for their violation. Mr. Jinnah, however, is not a purist in the use of words. He did not indicate even briefly the more important provisions of the code nor whether he and his friends are now and have been in the past living in accordance therewith. Anyhow, it is plain that Pakistan is to be an Islamic state administered according to the Islamic canon law. Church and State will be united as in the Caliphate which Kemal Ataturk abolished in Turkey as inimical to national well being.

FROM INDIA TO DINIA

Sir, In the interest of accuracy would you kindly allow me to make one or two corrections in your review ("From India to Dinia") of Choudhary Rahmat Ali's "The Millat and The Mission" which appeared in the *Indian Social Reformer* July 14, 1945. The price of the booklet is one shilling, not six shillings as stated by you. Secondly, Prof. F. Krenkow is neither a member nor Office-Secretary of the Pakistan National Movement, as mentioned by you. He is an Orientalist and the author of the article on "Pakistan" in the Encyclopaedia of Islam of which a copy was enclosed with the booklet. Finally, your remark that "the Statement (The Millat and The Mission) is a complete exposition of a Plan inaugurated in 1933 to meet the crisis created by the Indian Federation Scheme," can only be due to some misunderstanding; for in the introductory note from which you quote, Choudhary Rahmat Ali says that "The Millat and The Mission" inaugurates Parts III, IV, VI, and VII of the Pak Plan," thus leaving at least Part V to be published later.

Office-Secretary,
Pakistan National Movement, London

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, December 15, 1945.

LORD WAVELL'S SPEECH

The address which Lord Wavell delivered before the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta on Monday, is, we are afraid, not likely to make easier his task of reconciliation in India. It has been a grievance that the Viceroy should make important pronouncements on public affairs, before a body of persons whose interest in India is limited to what they can get out of it. Lord Curzon, a master of his mother tongue, did not think it derogatory to associate Government with them as joint exploiters of India. This grievance has been recognised as just by some Viceroys who succeeded Lord Curzon, and this practice, speaking generally, tended to fall into disuse. Lord Wavell has revived it and revived it in particularly irritating circumstances.

For some time past, there has been noticeable a sort of concerted attempt, on the part of some correspondents in Delhi of London newspapers, to work up a panic about the state of things in this country. By experience we know that this is often a prelude to or precursor of a stiffening attitude towards political movements. But we did not expect Lord Wavell to catch the infection. He spoke of himself as the "agent" of His Majesty's Government and it is not unlikely that the Attlee Cabinet has become apprehensive of the consequences in India of its inability to fulfil the expectations aroused in a section of politically-minded Indians by Labour party professions out of office. Lord Morley had no difficulty in showing that Lord Minto's claim that the Indian Viceroy was something more than an "agent" of the British Government, was wholly unconstitutional. The Viceroy cannot, he said in effect, submit a proposal direct to the King any more than Godley, then Permanent Under-Secretary of State, can. Though that clearly is the constitutional position, the office of Viceroy of India is one of such pre-eminence and the men who held, it as a rule, of such approved political integrity that direct communication between them and the Sovereign was not unknown and, indeed, passed on important occasions with the express approval of the Secretary of State. A soldier-Viceroy without party affiliations in British party politics, is at an obvious disadvantage. If, however, he is not in agreement with His Majesty's Government, he has the right to refuse to undertake responsibility for their policy, as did the Dutch Governor-General of Indonesia a few months ago, and the American Ambassador at Chungking the other day. We say this because, to be frank, we have grave doubts of the Labour Government being able to make any substantial contribution to the solving of the Indian "deadlock." The continued employment of Indian troops to kill Indonesian nationalism, and, worse, the excuses and explanations offered to justify it are of sinister augury. Lord Wavell spoke of the sincerity and honesty of His Majesty's Government. We do not doubt it. What we doubt is their ability to do anything to take the sting of foreign rule out of British rule in this country. Their inability is not due to unwillingness a defect but inherent in the British national temper which is not what it is proclaimed to be. "A concern for the

simple truth," Mathew Arnold wrote, "is rare in English literature as it is in English politics and English religion, whatever zeal, vanity, and ability, may be exhibited by the performers in each of these three spheres." Jefferson said that, while the individual Englishman was the soul of honour, the English as a nation were apt to interpret their engagements to accord with their own interests. The estrangement which cannot today be glossed over by any formula, is largely due to Indian political leaders for three generations having persisted in investing British statesmen with impossible virtues. Under the irresistible pressure of events, Indian leaders have been steadily forced out of this beatific attitude. They are now prepared to meet Englishmen as man to man, and naturally the English in India do not relish it; although they may profess to enjoy it. Most misunderstandings between the two peoples, are due to this. It is passing and so will the misunderstandings. Lord Wavell counselled moderation and goodwill. For over thirty years the National Congress did nothing but demonstrate these qualities. It was ignored, ridiculed, denounced as the attempt of "a microscopic minority" to exploit the dumb masses. The New England colonies revolted under much less provocation. The United States is now the great stand-by of the British Commonwealth.

Lord Wavell spoke rather in two voices. In one he proclaimed the great future which awaits India. In the other, he spoke of her standing on the brink of tragedy. For our part, both are beyond our vision. As for the great future, no country can have it when all the world around is dying of hunger, disease, and despair. Even if India had really a prosperous future she cannot enjoy it. War prosperity is notoriously an illusion. There are, besides, special reasons why India's future cannot accord with His Excellency's picture. But we shall not dwell on them. Neither do we feel that we are on the verge of tragedy. What greater tragedy can there be than the Bengal famine? One can meet any tragedy with equanimity if one felt that one has brought it upon oneself. This satisfaction is denied to India. Policies conceived and promulgated thousands of miles away, which 'agents' in India have to carry out, are the most prolific parent of Indian tragedies.

We shall not follow His Excellency in his reflections on the large Indian Army which was surrendered to the Japanese in Eastern Asia. We regret that Lord Wavell thought it proper to make them on such an occasion. It is inevitable that Indian estimate on the question should be different from that of high-ranking British authorities. The large majority of Indian prisoners who did not join the Indian National Army, deserve the high praise which Lord Wavell bestowed on them. But it does not follow, and we do not think Lord Wavell intended to imply, that these who joined the Indian National Army were actuated by a less sense of honour and duty. Only they conceived their honour and duty in a different way. If any reflection is implied it can only be on the commanders who, in violation of Field Marshall Wavell's express orders to fight on, surrendered these splendid men to the Japanese.

CONGRESS IN A DILEMMA

On Saturday, December 8, there was held in Calcutta a mammoth public gathering estimated at between 5 and 7 lakhs of people to inaugurate the Indian National Army week. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru were the principal speakers. The occasion was also signalised by the unveiling of a painting of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose by Sardar Patel. The Sardar damned the Indian National Army which Bose organised and led, with faint praise. The Congress creed was non-violence and the National Army was a departure from it. Such an army was not needed, especially in these days of the atom bomb. "The significance of the ideal of non-violence placed before the country by Mahatma Gandhi should be realised". But, he went on to say, the I.N.A. was not without its lessons for the Congress. The discipline, sacrifice and suffering of members of the I.N.A. would serve as an example to the Congress. He advised them to sheathe the sword as its use would be harmful to the interests of the country.

In his address to the meeting, the Sardar said that he had never seen such a huge gathering and so much enthusiasm in his life. The credit for this remarkable enthusiasm, the Sardar added, should go to Netaji Subhas Bose. "His head stooped in veneration to Subhas Chandra Bose for the patriotism, courage and suffering in the cause of the country". The Indian National Army, he said, was Subhas Bose's creation; it was Subhas Bose.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his speech at the meeting made a perfunctory reference to non-violence. He pointed out that modern science has placed in the hands of governments weapons against which the people can oppose only organisation. "When India is free," he cryptically remarked, "she will have to decide this question for herself." To the Indian National Army, the Pandit paid a fervent tribute. He said:

"The Azad Hind Fauj fought bravely for the freedom of India and a large number of them died in that struggle. We honour them for their struggle, for their fight for freedom and for their sacrifice. Yet the most important lesson that they teach us is not only of love of country and of freedom but chiefly of discipline and organisation and above all, of unity they built up among themselves. The communal problem that troubles us so much in India was solved by them; in their ranks Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs were all Indians forgetting their separate selves and struggling together in a common cause. We honour them for this specially, and we honour their great leader Subhas Chandra Bose."

This was on December 8. Three days later the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress, adopted the following resolution on the Indian National Army:

"Whilst the Congress must feel proud of the sacrifice, discipline, patriotism, bravery and the spirit of unity displayed by the Azad Hind Fouj, organised as an independent force in foreign countries in unprecedented conditions by Shri Subhas Chandra Bose, and whilst it is right and proper for the Congress to defend the members of that body now undergoing trial and to aid its sufferers, Congressmen must not forget that this support and sympathy do not mean that the Congress has in any way deviated from its policy of attaining Swaraj by peaceful and legitimate means."

Indians in Singapore when it fell into Japanese hands in 1942 met and formed a League which was to work on the lines of the Indian National Congress and adopted the National Flag of the Congress. Later, when Mr. Subhas Bose came to Singapore, he accepted and endorsed this action, hailed Gandhiji as the Father of the Indian Nation. Indeed, the scrupulous and studied avoidance in his actions and speeches of any hint of his severance from the Congress under not altogether pleasant circumstances attests to his largeness of mind and freedom from all personal rancour. He admitted that the method he had adopted was a departure from Gandhiji's creed of non-violence. If Gandhiji's method succeeded, no one would rejoice more than himself. But it has not.

"We, in East Asia, have chalked out a concrete plan for winning liberty for India. Whether that plan is good or bad, so long as no alternative plan is forthcoming, our plan is bound to hold the field. The only other alternative plan that has been mooted is that of Mahatma Gandhiji, embodied in the Quit India Resolution of the Congress. If that plan succeeds, our plan and our activities would become superfluous and redundant. None would be happier than myself in that event.

But unfortunately Gandhiji's plan has been rejected and has failed. Now all hopes for Indian Independence rest entirely on the fulfilment of our plan. Gandhiji's plan is a shorter cut than ours. But it is disapproved by the British. Now to fulfil even Gandhiji's plan, the success of our plan is absolutely essential to force the hands of the British. The only way the British can undo our plan fructifying is by making peace with Gandhiji and the Congress on the basis of the "Quit India" Resolution. If the British quit India, I shall plead with you to disband the Fauj immediately."

Congress stock was at a discount for over a year past owing to Mr. Rajagopalachari's dallying with Pakistan, Gandhiji's "talks" with Mr. Jinnah, and the "parity" formula accepted by the Congress representatives at the last Simla Conference. The National Army revelations came as a windfall. There is some ground for the imputation that Congress leaders were not above exploiting the National movement of Subhas Bose. There is no doubt whatever that the incidents of that movement have caught the public imagination and powerfully affected public sentiment. The circumstances in which Mr. Subhas Bose has to leave the Congress, have not faded from public memory. For all that, Mr. Bose never harboured the least grudge against those who worked against him. His statement quoted above is like his other pronouncements crystal clear. He would have been happy if Gandhiji's method had succeeded in bringing India freedom. But it has failed. He adopted the course he did as there was no alternative. He had even hoped that his efforts outside might help Gandhiji's non-violent efforts inside India. To admire and applaud him in extravagant terms, and to exhort Congressmen not to forget the terms of a resolution passed a quarter of century ago, strikes one as a pettifogging attempt to gather the roses without being pricked by the thorns. The ordinary man cannot understand whether the Congress leaders accept or repudiate Subhas Bose. It was their duty to give a clear lead, and they have failed in it.

A TIMELY PAMPHLET.

"The Indonesian Question" by "Kaushik" (Thacker & Co. Bombay, Price Rupee One) is a clear and candid presentation of the facts forming the background of the distressing situation in Indonesia. The author, nevertheless, indicates his personal reactions in a short and piquant preface. He writes:

"Appearances are deceptive in Burma and Malaya, from where we distinctly hear the rumblings of discontent under the surface. Thanks to the seven divisions,—250 tanks and hundreds of aircraft with which the British entered Burma—the political situation in that country developed differently in its early stages. Divisions and tanks are more effective arguments than wordy statements and threats. Unfortunately for the French and more so for the Dutch, they have not got divisions and tanks to back their words. Otherwise the problem is the same in all the three countries—Burma, Indonesia and Indo-China, and will probably henceforward develop broadly along the same lines. This, then, is the disturbing—yet hopeful—post-war picture of South East Asia. This is also the most crucial and fateful period in the history of the countries of this sphere. The tide in their affairs has come, which they want to take at the flood. Shall they continue under foreign domination even after the war for the "Four Freedoms" has been won? This is the issue that is being fought out in Indonesia and Indo-China."

"Kaushik" does not mention India in the Preface. But towards the end of his pamphlet he brings it in the picture. He writes:

"The Dutch rule in Indonesia appears to have been no worse nor better than British rule in India. There has however, been one striking difference between the two; while the British in India have stubbornly insisted on being 'birds of passage,' returning 'home' after their term of office or business in India, the Dutch have proved better colonisers. Many of them settled down for good in Indonesia even intermarrying with Indonesians. Hence there is a large "European" population in Indonesia, besides "Eurasians". Some ninety percent of the 240,000 "White" men are said to have Javanese blood."

"Eurasians" presumably are the offspring of extramarital relations. If intermarriages are common, children of such marriages cannot be permanently relegated to a group different from that of either parent. The Anglo-Indians who also were known as "Eurasians" not many years ago are a community because intermarriages between British fathers and Indian mothers are rare in this country. The children of Indian men married to European women are absorbed in their fathers' caste and community and create no problem.

Notwithstanding that intermarriages are common in Java, the Dutch with the half castes have not been assimilated to the native population. This is an interesting problem for anthropologists and ethnologists.

"Kaushik" observes that the Sourabaya operation began as a vengeance operation against the people who had dared murder a British Officer, Brigadier Mallaby. He characterises the spirit as entirely unworthy of a government. General Christison's broadcast that he would use all modern weapons—did

he contemplate an Atom Bomb—if the perpetrators of Mallaby's murder did not surrender in twenty four hours, entirely bears out "Kaushik's" stricture. Some months earlier an American officer, Colonel Dewey, was murdered in Indo-China in more aggravating circumstances. He had gone to observe what was happening and was shot dead by the Annamites. The American Government took the attitude that if you stick your head in a hornet's nest you must expect to be stung. The Attlee Government instead of recalling Christison attempted an offensive justification of the vengeance operation and have become involved more and more deeply. "Kaushik" is entirely right when he holds that it is war between Indonesians and the British, all but in name. "In the meanwhile," he adds, "the last shred of faith in the British Socialist government is fading out in world opinion." Mr. Attlee, by his assumption of strong moral obligation to reinstate his Dutch Allies in Java, betrayed the cloven foot of Socialist Imperialism. His Foreign Minister Mr. Bevin improved upon him and casually explained that Indian troops were being sent to suppress the Indonesian nationalists just because they happened to be the nearest available. Evidently by the millions of India, in the opinion of this Minister, have no right to have any moral scruples so long as they are British subjects. These are the people who expect India to trust their promise to hasten the day of complete Indian self-government.

MODERN BENGALI LITERATURE—II

(BY KAZI ABDUL WADUD)

2. The Post-Tagore Period.

The twentieth-century in Bengali literature opened with Rabindranath's Naivedya. The Poet had then completed his fortieth year. Already he was the author of a considerable body of literature, which, according to many Bengali readers, represents the best work of Tagore. We are not of this view. We would rather regard the vast body of Tagore's writings as the progressive manifestation of a developing personality, massive and multifarious; the development started early in the life of the Poet and went on unimpaired right up to the moment of his death. Most fortunately, no alien exigencies ever interfered with the growth of the Poet's soul or turned it awry. And so the vast body of Tagore's writings remains a mighty record of a healthy humanity, a perpetual source of joy, sustenance and inspiration to seekers after life in all ages.

That the twentieth century in Bengali literature should open with Rabindranath's Naivedya is particularly significant from one point of view. Naivedya is one of the finest poetical works of Rabindranath, which embodies, on the one hand, a profound consciousness of God (in other words, of the True and the Good), and on the other, a deep sympathy for his country. He clearly foresees the fate of Europe with its greed and pride and prophesies the blood-bath of the twentieth-century.

"Behold nationalism rushing towards Death

With its cargo of self-aggrandisement
towards submerged rocks".

And to God he prays on behalf of his countrymen:

"Give me strength, not to slight the humble,
Not to bow to the mighty."

It is worth noticing how close is the affinity between this line of thinking and that of the greatest political leader of modern India.

That Rabindranath should be deeply stirred by the Anti-Partition agitation of 1905 was only to be expected after the revelation in *Naivedya* of his profound patriotic awareness. The shape in which Rabindranath appeared to his countrymen in those stirring days, has impressed itself for ever on the minds of many Bengalees. There is no telling the number of those writers and workers who in those days received from him, unaware to themselves, their initiation into their life's work. Rabindranath, however, could not keep up to the last his connection with the Swadeshi Movement. There were two principal reasons for this. For one thing, a considerable section of the movement veered off to terrorism; for another, the Poet's inner life was being increasingly dominated by a creed of mystic devotion. The product of this turn in the Poet's inner life was *Gitanjali* and its successors, the English translation of which won for Tagore the appreciation of Europe. The whole of India now did him homage as did the rest of the world. Many critics of Bengali poetry, however, are of the opinion that *Gitanjali* by no means represents the Poet's best. Some among them would assign only a secondary importance to the poems of Rabindranath's mystic period. That this latter opinion is entirely mistaken need hardly be stated. It loses sight of the distinctive development of Rabindranath's genius. *Gitanjali* and its kind deserve a place among the most precious gifts of Rabindranath's genius, for they record a significant development of his personality. The depth of that contempt for the bloodbath of the twentieth century that he shows (as we have said above) at its opening, derives ultimately from his profound God-consciousness, and it is the same God-consciousness that inspires *Gitanjali* and its kind. (God in Rabindranath's poetry is at times a matter of profound mystic experience, but speaking broadly, his God-consciousness may be paraphrased as an intense awareness of the True and the Good.) The whole of the poetry of Rabindranath must be regarded as one single long poem, of which the separate poems are the separate cantos. Unless his work is so regarded, it is not possible to realise its full worth and greatness. In his separate poems Rabindranath is merely a fine lyricist; it is in the totality of his poetry that he is a great poet—one whose wonderful mind has experienced nearly all the multifarious stirrings of which the human consciousness is capable, and who has, in addition, translated them into beautiful words. If it is a fact that Rabindranath's reputation in Bengal before his winning the Nobel prize was less than what it was after; it is equally a fact that even as early as the last decade of the nineteenth century he had produced a band of devoted imitators, who soon came to make their mark in Bengali literature. But these disciples of Rabindranath were influenced mainly by his craftsmanship. They have written many an enjoyable poem, but perhaps only one among them, Satyendranath Datta, would be able to survive the test of time, and that not so much because of his artistry as because of the universality of his sympathy. His poetry reveals a fervour of appreciation for whatever is beautiful and great, no matter where, that is enough to win him the spontaneous respect of discriminating readers.

At the time when Rabindranath was absorbed in his mystic communing, there appeared in Bengali literature Saratchandra Chattopadhyaya, who presently had the attention of the public drawn towards him. Some of our critics have described Saratchandra as the greatest novelist of Bengal. He has no doubt a superb power of delineation yet not all are sure if his glory would shine the same for ever, for he is not rich enough in creative imagination and the range of his thinking is comparatively narrow—this latter is certainly a great handicap for a writer of this age. But all shortcomings notwithstanding, Saratchandra will ever have the respect of his readers because of his infinite sympathy for the distressed, the down-trodden and the outcast. At the root of this sympathy of his is the implied belief that man is by nature lovely and great; all his errors and sins and lapses are dust and mud sticking on the outside; in a moment they could be shaken off and man re-established in his native glory. It is because of this latent faith of his that we are inclined to look upon Saratchandra, despite his so-called realism, as an off-spring of the Renaissance of Bengal—perhaps the youngest off-spring. It was a new and virile faith that provided the driving force behind the Renaissance. That Ram Mohan, Derozio, Bankimchandra, Keshabchandra, Ramkrishna, Vivekananda, Rabindranath, were all impelled by a new faith, is a point hardly requiring elaboration. Even Madhusudan, primarily an artist, was religious in the ancient pagan sense. He was a new Prometheus, giving to man his self-respect in defiance of the frowns of the gods.

Saratchandra's appearance in Bengali literature was followed not long after by that of Kazi Nazrul Islam. Like Saratchandra, he too made a conquest of the Bengali mind within but a few years. He was perhaps not more than twenty at the time he made his debut in Bengali literature (1919-20). He must have been, therefore, a mere boy at the time of the Swadeshi movement in Bengal. Yet somehow, he carried about him all the fire and fervour of that movement as he made his debut. His radiant youthfulness and his passion for freedom made him in a short time the darling of Bengal. With these were combined an ardent desire to see his community gain in strength and spirit, and anguish on account of the distressed Islam of the years following the Great War of 1914-18. Nazrul was the first writer among Bengali Muslims who won the esteem of all alike of Bengal. Not that there were no powerful Muslim writers in Bengali immediately before him. Mir Masharraf Hossain, Kaikobad, Yakub Ali Choudhary, Lutful Rahman, Begum Rokeya, Kazi Imdadul Haque are names that will live in the annals of modern Bengali literature. But Nazrul was the first Muslim writer in modern literature who won the esteem and admiration of the entire province. Nor is his fame confined to his province only. His successor in this respect is the Muslim village-poet Jasimuddin, who has won an all-Bengal status.

The question of the true worth of Nazrul's writings as apart from his contemporary fame, has been a subject of debate among literary people in Bengal. Some have not hesitated to describe his writings as ephemeral. This view, however, no longer holds the field. None in the literary world of Bengal would deny today that Nazrul is a memorable poet of twentieth-century of Bengal, nay,

of India. There is a great surge of life within this poet which bears away all his faults, however numerous. Moreover, he is the writer of modern Bengal who has specially succeeded in touching the mass mind. The poetry of Nazrul has been one of the contributing factors of that awakening of the masses that we now see about us. From that point of view, his historical importance is very great indeed.

Talking of Nazrul, one is led to enquire about the literary contribution of the Muslims of Bengal, who form the majority community of the Province. That they had a notable share in the making of early Bengali literature is a generally accepted fact. Their contributions to folk literature were as considerable as those of the Hindus. The songs of certain Muslim 'bauls' (vagrant singers) were quoted with appreciation by no less a person than Rabindranath in his address at the first session of the Indian Philosophical Congress. Yet the educated Muslim of the present era has undeniably failed to take a worthy share in the making of modern Bengali literature. Two main causes of this have been the political changes of the eighteenth century and the Wahabite movement of the nineteenth. By the former the Muslim, proud of his earlier hegemony, was quickly reduced to insignificance. During the first half of the 19th century he remained for the most part sullenly hostile to the British (while the Hindu co-operated); the second half of the century opened with the Sepoy Mutiny which brought down on him Governmental displeasure. Add to this the Wahabite Movement (with its literalism and slogan of 'Back to pristine Islam') which set his face towards the past. The Ali-garh movement of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan did something towards the uplift, mental as well as mundane of the Muslim of North-Western India, but left Bengal practically untouched. Thanks to Syed Ameer Ali, a disciple of Sir Syed Ahmed, just a faint ray of modernism touched the minds of the English educated Muslims of Bengal, but it was too faint to be effective. The 20th century, as it set in, found the educated Muslim of Bengal admiring the educated Bengali Hindu, as a result—specially of the latter's success in the Anti-Partition agitation. Such was the setting amidst which Nazrul Islam found his way into Bengali literature. This would throw some light on his intimate acquaintance with Hindu mythological lore.

The years 1926-27, a time when Nazrul was deep in mass contact, witnessed the rise of a small group of Muslim thinkers in the University area of Dacca. 'Emancipation of the intellect' was their watch-word and they proclaimed themselves Kemalists. They were able at the time to influence Muslim youth towards a distinctive line of thinking. The association of Nazrul with this group enhanced its influence. But it was soon faced with so much opposition in Muslim Society that it could work effectively only for some five years or so. Its activities, however, lingered on for a fairly long time. One or two members of the group are still active as writers. But its influence on the educated Muslim Society of Bengal as a whole has waned. To its watchword of intellectual liberation Muslim Bengal today seems to prefer that of self-determination. The word "seems" is advisedly used, for neither leadership nor following has yet grown into a vivid reality in the Muslim society of Bengal. Leading Muslim writers of Bengal (the names

of several of them are mentioned in the brochure by Mr. Anandsanakar and Mrs. Lila Ray) are, on the whole votaries of intellectual liberation still today; but for the most part they plough a lonely furrow. Among the self-determinists Furrakh Ahmed has come into some prominence as a writer. He is endeavouring to follow Iqbal, though he lacks Iqbal's philosophical temperament. He is young and we must at the moment withhold judgment and analysis and wish him well.

While the Muslim rationalists of Dacca were busily engaged in the application and propagation of their doctrine of emancipation of the intellect, there appeared in the field of Bengali literature a group of young writers who styled themselves or were styled ultra-moderns. Gokul Nag, Premendra Mitra, Jibananda Das, Buddhadev Bose, Achinta Sengupta were some of the shining lights of this group. Their credo was well expressed in the following lines of Premendra Mitra :

" I am the poet of the black-smiths, of the brass workers, of the carpentars, of the day labourers.

am the poet of the low ".

Of this group Buddhadev Bose and Achintya Sengupta were pronounced Freudians and on their heads were heaped the curses of elders. But abuse and protest simply helped to publicize the group all the more. Rabindranath Tagore himself got perturbed over them and had an exchange of unpleasant words comparable to the literary skirmishes between Goethe and Schiller on the one hand and the Romanticists on the other in early nineteenth century Germany. The unpleasantness, however, did not last long. Rabindranath, the poet of eternal youth that he was, was soon convinced of the literary promise of many of these young writers. The latter even claim that they soon come to influence Rabindranath himself: it is said that the Poet's later writings bear the stamp of their influence. The Poet's famous latter day novel, *Sesher Kabita* or "The Last Poem", is adduced in support of that claim: it is contended that Rabindranath would have hesitated to draw his lovers and end their story in the way he did had he penned it earlier. The claim though forceful is untenable. For the ultra-moderns were essentially egotists and hedonists. But Tagore's genius was more kinetic, not tied to one thing, even though he had his full share of the sensuousness of poets: and, if he had his touches of egotism, he loved more to widen himself out in humanity. Moreover, there was the difference of taste; the ultra-moderns of the day were a long way off from Tagore's refinement. The "Last Poem" of Tagore may rather be regarded as a further step in the Poet's humanism.

By degrees the ultra-moderns were able to shake off many of their angularities. Much of their writing today, poetry as well as prose, is not only readable but often enjoyable. Many of them have moved away from the fog of neo-Hinduism into clearness of thinking and vision, and so they are able to view man and his environment with a commendable directness. But they are unfortunate in their historical position. They have come just after Tagore whom they cannot transcend nor bypass, however hard they might try, and they are trying hard enough. That is where their position is shaky. Time must dim their lustre if they cannot grow into an ampler stature. For honours in literature are not for those who

repeat but for those who rise higher. Bishnu De, however, among the post-Tagore Poets, has evolved a distinctive technique which seems to have the impress of beauty about it.

Among prose-writers, Sailajanand Mukhopadhya, Anandasankar Ray, Manik Bandhopadhya, "Banaphul", Bibhutibhusan Bandyopadhya and Tarasankar Bandyopadhya have already distinguished themselves. Of them, again, Tarasankar is particularly popular, and perhaps deservedly. He seems to have completely shaken off egotism—the cancer eating into the vitals of many of our gifted moderns. With an intimate knowledge of the Bengal countryside he unites a considerable power of delineation. To them he adds a far-reaching vision: he observes closely the shattered life of Bengal today and looks wistfully to a new order of things.

Bengal today, politically and economically is a land of chaos, but there is bright promise about her post-Tagore literature.

COMMUNAL DEADLOCK.

Sir, That unwillingness of Pakistanists to refer the communal dispute to arbitration is understandable as in that case they would have to abide by the arbitrators' award whatever it might be, whereas their position is that Pakistan is inevitable and there could be no alternative to it. But in view of the unrelenting opposition to Pakistan in the country, they should be as much desirous as their opponents or any well-wishers of the country to obtain a disinterested and impartial authoritative opinion on it, and there is no better way of arriving at such an opinion and getting at the truth than a judicial investigation. An opinion so obtained, while it can be arranged to be not binding on either party by previous agreement, will at the same time be most helpful to the members of the Constituent Assembly, who will be called upon to make the final decision, in coming to a satisfactory solution of a fundamental problem, and it would be just as helpful to the Muslim members of that body as to the rest. At present there is such a plethora of conflicting and confusing views before the public on the subject that it is difficult to see the wood for the trees and comprehend the problem in all its bearings. The members of the Constituent Assembly will scarcely be in a better position, in this respect than the rest of the public, and it is feared that they will not be able to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the problem, or indeed any solution at all, unless they are helped by an antecedent judicial investigation and findings on the questions involved. Such an investigation would be best entrusted to the Federal Court, to which one or more additional judges might be temporarily affiliated with a view to ensure confidence of all parties in its integrity. It would be open to all parties to state their respective cases before the court and support them by any evidence and arguments which they wish to offer, while combating the case put forward by any other party by similar means. In giving its opinion, the court will of course be at liberty to suggest alternative solutions of the problem. Among the advantages of an antecedent judicial investigation would be a great saving of time, and

an expeditious disposal of the work of the Constituent Assembly, instead of a probable standstill or a possible break-up.

My suggestion, if accepted, will give the Muslim community the opportunity of proving, which nothing else can do, that Pakistan is the only right solution of the problem facing the country. Similarly, it will give the Hindu community the chance of proving that Pakistan would be calamitous no less to the Muslim community than to any other. Moreover, whichever community is proved to be wrong will not have cause to be thankful that the country had been saved in the nick of time from the disastrous consequences of acceding to its demand.

If my suggestion commands itself to the Congress, I would further suggest that it might, in supercession of its offer to refer the dispute to arbitration, offer to the Muslim community to refer it to the Federal Court for its opinion, on the understanding that the opinion will not be binding on any party and was being sought merely to help the members of the Constituent Assembly in the task awaiting them.

OBSTACLES TO INDEPENDENCE

In your criticism of the Constituent Assembly and the project of replacing the 1935 Act by another instrument which is to be the product of the exercise of the right of self-determination by India, you appear to have ignored one vital factor, namely, that Indian independence is now made to depend upon and await the result of the exercise of the right of self-determination of the Muslim nation in consonance with the exercise of a similar right by India as a whole. If independence is now given in disregard of this, the transfer of power will be not to India but to the majority community as composition of the legislatures under the present Act gives predominance to that community. That composition shall have to be altered by the new Act to bring about parity of representation unless the Constituent Assembly accepts Pakistan. Your proposal, if accepted, would bring in Hindu *raj* by the backdoor, howsoever much it might be contrary to your intention that such a thing should come about.

Besides, are you sure that the sort of independence that we would be getting if independence were conceded under the present Act by the simple device of a convention that the Viceroy was to hold his power of veto in abeyance; would satisfy the Congress which is out for complete independence in the immediate future?

Lastly, is it not quite natural that the British Government should want us to settle among ourselves as far as possible regarding the sort of self-governing constitution that would suit us? That does not necessarily mean that self-government will be withheld from us unless and until we come to a complete settlement in regard to all matters. I think it only means that they want to avoid legislating for us as far as possible and to legislate only in respect of those matters about which we are unable to agree among ourselves.

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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

American Loan Agreement:—In her long experience as a debtor country India has had not a single occasion in which her principal creditor, Britain consented to a loan agreement even remotely like that which the United States has just concluded with her. Indian opinion therefore, was struck by the easiness of the terms as regards interest and repayment. In Britain, on the other hand, much resentment has been expressed. The opposition in the House of Commons led by the late Premier, Mr. Churchill, abstained for the larger part from voting and so did the House of Lords. Lord Simon said that he was angry at the rate of interest but they had to keep on good terms with the United States and to reject the Agreement would mean the end of all future co-operation between the two countries. They are sure to read the speeches in the United States and they will not feel much flattered. The Americans think that they have given generous terms including the wiping off of a huge sum due on lend-lease. The cause of resentment in Britain seems to be that Britain bore the brunt of a great war which threatened the United States with ruin and they were entitled to gratitude from the latter and should not have to repay the debt or at any rate they should not be charged any interest. There is some force in this plea. President Franklin Roosevelt was elected President on the assurance that he meant to keep his country out of the war but he later swung round to the view that Germany wanted to conquer the United States after conquering Britain and that, therefore, they had to join the fight in Europe in order to save themselves. The German archives which have been explored for evidence in the Nuremberg trials, have disclosed Hitler's intentions towards Russia and to some extent against Britain but they do not seem to have disclosed anything towards the United States. Still, it is possible that Hitler's might

have cast covetous eyes on the American gold hoards. America has waived the debt due on war transactions and has granted a large credit for buying goods in future from herself. Mr. Churchill in condemning the loan arrangement as unduly severe, contrasted the absence of any offer from India to mitigate the burden of British debt to this country. The very next day, the President of the Bullion Merchants in Bombay, promptly offered to scale down a part of the British debt to this country. It is quite probable that India might have to scale down not a part but the whole debt and Sir Chunilal Mehta may claim recognition for his being the first in the field in favour of the scaling process. The great danger to India at present is that business men have usurped the place of leadership in international matters. Protests against Sir Chunilal's proffered generosity at the expense of the Country have not been slow in coming but this kind of thing once started is not easy to catch up with.

Country or Continent? In his pamphlet "Can India Be United?" Mr. J. M. Kumarappa observes: "The solution of India's political problems has always been tackled from an entirely wrong stand-point. Perhaps in no other country of the world does society manifest itself as in so wide a variety of social communities some of them as large as nations in themselves. Nevertheless, India has long been considered a single country and is still so considered. And yet it is a continent of nations and not communities. What is considered a community in India would be a nation in Europe." So Indian problems are to be approached from the right standpoint which is its size and variety. The country should be called a continent. Our communities are to be called nations. And the problems are solved. India's political problems are to be solved by an etymological sleight-of-hand. Whether you call India a country or a continent its problems remain the same. By calling our communities nations, you do not bring a single problem an inch nearer solution. There is another consideration. Air travel and wireless have reduced continents to countries and even districts. Old theories of administration have to be scrapped. They were based on the difficulty of centralisation of government over areas which could be traversed if at all only in months. Today, orders and troops from Delhi to any point in the extreme east or south of India are carried in a few hours. Large areas under one government mean economy, efficiency, better defence and more striking power. No waste in provincial boundaries, no reduplication of services, no swift recurring frontiers, no constant worries about

converting currencies. As regards our social divisions, much depends on how one views them. If variety is a bar against countryhood or nationhood there are at least three distinct varieties in Britain all of which are Britons to the outside world but jealously Scotch, Welsh and English to each other. There is no country where the worker of political disunion can not trace evidences confirming his own pre-disposition. It is quite as easy to recognise the underlying unity of India for an eye which is trained to see the wood and not only the trees. Mr. Kumarappa's question shows that he is unable to take his eyes off the individual trees. The fact which he admits that for a long time past and still India is considered a country, carries its own moral. India is one, has always been one and will always be one. The concept of country and nation are independent of size and area. Headings like that of his pamphlet are harmful because they suggest a division where there is unity, now, and not to be achieved hereafter by human effort.

Religious Freedom:—We publish elsewhere a very full summary of a comprehensive book on Religious Freedom, by Professor Bates of Nanking University under taken at the instance of Protestant religious organisations in the United States. The question has been forced recently to the front in India by the agitation of Roman Catholic Bishops and journals against the policy of the Travancore Government making itself solely responsible for providing primary education in the State. The agitation was really about a question of grants to schools conducted by private agencies but the Catholic leaders made it appear as if the Travancore Government had decreed restrictions on the freedom of Catholic subjects to profess and practise the Catholic religion. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan of Travancore, in a letter to Rev. Father Carty of Trichinopoly, which is reproduced in part in this issue, has shown clearly that the policy of his Government does not in the least restrict the religious freedom of the Catholics. Professor Bates' book has nevertheless a topical value for us in India because of the extraordinary claims put forward by proselytising missions in the name of Religious Freedom. The Catholic position presents special difficulties in considering this question. As Professor Bates remarks, religious freedom in relation to Catholics really means freedom for one man, the Pope, whom all Catholics are required to follow and obey implicitly. Mr. Bates' thesis is a sound one, that religious liberty postulates the free access of the individual conscience to the highest spiritual values in every shape and form, free of institutional restrictions. It is wholly inapplicable to the Roman Church. Dogmatic religion in every form is the denial of religious freedom.

The Dewan's Letter:—There are a few points in the Dewan's letter to Father Carty, which need clarification. They do not affect the principle of religious freedom. Sir Ramaswami Aiyar refers to Travancore by implication rather than directly as a "secular State." Was it as the rules of a "secular State," that the Maharaja issued the famous Proclamation throwing open Hindu temples to Harijans? It may, of course be explained that the Maharaja acted as the head of Hindu society and religion apart from his position as head of a secular State? The point might have been placed on a highest level and beyond controversy if the traditional policy of a Hindu State, as illustrated nowhere better than in the history of

Travancor, of complete religious freedom and support to all religions, had been made the basis and foundation of the relation of the State to religions professed in its territory. The Nizam's Dominion has an overwhelming preponderance of Hindus in the population. Nevertheless he recognises special obligations to Islamic religion and institutions not only in the State but even outside. Kashmere in different conditions follows the same line. Travancore with a large Hindu population devoted to the same religion as their ruler, is certainly following a Hindu policy in observing not merely tolerance but a sympathetic attitude to all religions. The one sure guarantee of religious freedom in India is and has always been the preponderance of Hindus. If the Hindu element is weakened, as there has been a tendency to do in the constitution, religious toleration will become more largely than it has already become, a matter for police regulation. Another point in the Dewan's letter which does not strike us as strengthening his argument, is what seems to be an attempt to shelter Government behind the Legislature. In our view, if the Legislature by an overwhelming majority adumbrated a policy of religious discrimination, it would be the plain duty of the Government to advise the Maharaja to disallow it under his prerogative. A third point which deserves further consideration is, whether Catholic and other denominational schools cannot be absorbed in the Government scheme by continuing the grants at present made to them, if religious instruction is given out of school hours to all children attending their schools in the faiths to which they belong. This is the practice in America. A school which imparts religious instruction, should provide for such instruction to be given to each child according to the faith approved and practised by his parents. A Catholic school will provide instruction in Islam and Hinduism to its Muslim and Hindu pupils alongside of Catholic teaching for Catholic students. A Hindu school will provide Christian and Muslim instruction and a Muslim school Hindu and Christian instruction for the respective pupils. That will be genuine religious freedom and we commend the idea to Government and managers of private schools.

Unrepresentative Representatives:—The Indian electorates are carefully jerrymantered so as to reflect not the informed, enlightened, progressive thought of the country but so as to awaken, stimulate and stress the least informed, the most narrow and the worst prejudices of the least educated sections of the population. The methods by which these are influenced are necessarily not the highest. Most of the candidates who have been returned either unopposed or with a show of opposition, are party hacks. They do not represent the living, moving forces in the social and national life. Nobody knows this better than the leaders themselves. But they have to work with a machinery created by the British Government and they must make the best of it to get power transferred to Indian hands. When that is done, it will be time to adapt the constitution to the genius of the people and the needs of the country. The only significance to be attached to the elections, therefore, is that all parties and communities are agreed that the present system of directing India's destinies from London should go. Never in the two hundred years of Indo-British connection has the injustice and danger of this relation been so flagrantly exhibited.

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BOMBAY, December 22, 1945.

THE PHILIPPINES AND INDIA

By July 4, 1946, the Philippines will become independent without administrative or legal formality. Independence, however, would mean economic collapse, unless by agreement with the United States the Philippines are able to secure special terms to uphold and advance their economic future. Such conditions, however, will involve a certain degree of supervision and control which will practically leave the Philippines without the substance of independence. Such is the line of argument advanced by Mr. Walter Wilgus in his report on "Economic Outlook for the Philippines" published under the auspices of the Foreign Policy Association of America. "The long record of Philippine-American relations" writes Mr. Wilgus "shows beyond question that up to the time of the Japanese invasion our policy had made the islands an economic dependency of the United States." Political independence without economic independence is merely a phantom. The situation would have been difficult at any time. It is particularly difficult now when the war has ruined the country and it has to build up its economy literally from the ground up. The outstanding factors in the Philippines economy today are, that during the 43 years that the islands have been under the tutelage of the United States, the population has doubled and that two-thirds of the exports go to the United States. As a dependency of the States, Philippine goods are admitted free of duty. When the country becomes independent its exports will have to pay the high customs duties of the United States. Only 15 per cent of the land considered arable in the islands, is cultivated. About a third of this area is under cash crops, chiefly for export. Sugar, cocoanut products, hemp and tobacco are the principal items and the bulk of them go to the United States. Rice was grown in one half of the cultivated area and large quantities of food stuffs had to be imported including fish from Japan. Many of these sources have dried up. The fall in exports will reduce the means of the Philippines to pay for imports. Thus Independence spells starvation to the islands. Mr. Wilgus suggests some arrangement between the two countries to ensure economic security, which would take into account the capacity of the islands to sell their goods unaided in world markets and the actual measure of independence the Philippines will enjoy after July 4, 1946. He suggests also the creation by agreement with the Philippines of a small committee of members of the United States Congress and the Philippine Legislature, which would meet from time to time in Washington and Manila, and report jointly on matters of mutual interest and recommend action in their respective legislative bodies. Mr. Wilgus concludes:

"It seems likely that their (Philippines) status will resemble that of Cuba or Panama—nominally sovereign nations but in fact protectorates of the United States. If Independence were to be complete, there could be little justification for granting the Philippines a favoured position within our economy. If, however, the United

States is, in practice, to retain a measure of control over their foreign relation—as the world situation seems to make it inevitable—then there is an obvious injustice in forcing economic independence upon them."

Mr. Wilgus recognises that, now that Japan has been vanquished, there is no foreign power which threatens the Philippines. China is much too distracted to contemplate armed invasion, though Chinese penetration into the islands has always been and will continue to be a problem. Besides, China is also economically and even militarily a protectorate, all but in name, of the United States. There remains Soviet Russia, but she has many things to settle before becoming an effective factor in South East Asia.

It is surprising that Mr. Wilgus should have overlooked a simple method of assuring full independence without making the islands a protectorate of the United States, which the latter adopted many years ago and is in force today. The Monroe doctrine has ensured this for the South American Republics. Why should not the United States simultaneously with the advent of Philippine independence next July, extend the Monroe doctrine so as to cover the Philippines? The South American States have not sacrificed an iota of their sovereignty in order to have the protection of the United States from outside aggression. The United States proclaimed the doctrine in its own interests without consulting or securing the consent of the South American States. In the case of the Philippines, the United States can and should do this with greater reason. Mr. Wilgus observes:

"The determining consideration should perhaps be found in the intangible factor of Filipino-American relationship during the dark days of the war. The mutual friendship between the two peoples is a heartening example of the co-operation possible between races widely separated in character and traditions; it is an asset which this country (the United States) would be unwise to imperil by a hard "dollars and cents" attitude. The Philippines also will be the most westerly bulwark of American defence and one of the chief bastions in the Pacific for the United Nations. It seems important, if only for the most realistic reasons, that they should not be inhabited by 17 million discontented and disillusioned people travelling towards poverty instead of property."

It is strange that when the nations of Europe are in question, Freedom even at the cost of starvation and worse, is accepted as the first desideratum. Great Britain, France, even Holland and Belgium, are acclaimed as having no more than fulfilled their national destiny by economically ruining themselves utterly, in order to ward off or overthrow foreign invasion. The whole world is laid under contribution including non-European subject nations like India, to help the devastated European countries to rebuild their economic structure. But when Asiatic countries are concerned, the economic argument is thrust forward as conclusive for keeping them under European subjection. This is all the more astonishing as the European countries are living and feeding on their Asiatic dependencies. They are indeed living as parasites on the vast Asiatic producing populations. When Mr. Ernest Bevin boasts in Moscow that his country is not "down and out" notwithstanding that it has just ratified angrily a loan agreement with the United States, he is certainly counting upon the continued

possession of India and having her material resources and man-power under the complete control of Britain not only for her own purposes but for helping such a petty country like Holland in Indonesia and a decadent France in Indo-China. From the way British Ministers talk of their moral obligations, it seems that they believe, no doubt honestly and sincerely, that the Dutch have a greater moral right to Java than the Javanese and the French in Indo-China than the children of the soil. The time is past when the American handling of the Philippine question might have had an influence on the development of Indo-British relations. Today the conditions offer no parallel. Mr. Churchill may think that Britain has saved India from devastation and that Britain is entitled to a big *lakshish* for it. The plain fact is that India has saved Britain. Two million men and a thousand million sterling balance attest to this fact quite apart from the fulsome eulogies lavished on India as having contributed to the victory of the Allies. Today Britain stands in need of India far more than India of England. The mutual goodwill which exists between the Filipinos and the Americans does not exist today between the British and the Indian peoples. It existed abundantly until about a quarter of a century ago. Or rather, we should say, existed on the part of Indians. This valuable asset has been recklessly and wickedly squandered by high-handed conduct on the part of British statesmen. Churchill, Amery and Linlithgow have been the latest and worst delinquents and if the impeachment procedure had not fallen into disuse, these men should have been impeached for gross misuse in the Government of India. Still Indian political thought is deeply imbued by British thought. It is modelled largely on British models prior to imperialist infiltration from the European continent. Free India will, perhaps after a short period of resentful reaction, largely frame her political ideals and institutions in sympathy with Anglo-American ideas. Hindu political theory is fundamentally akin to the philosophy of Edmund Burke in many respects and Burke is the meeting point between India, Britain and the United States. He is their common political ancestor in modern times.

A BANDRA DIARY.

In Britain a statesman who has outlived his usefulness is raised to the peerage, that is, relegated to the dust and oblivion of the upper political shelf. The Labour Government in announcing the creation of some new peers from its partisans, therefore, expressly stated that these were not to be regarded as honours or rewards but were intended solely to supply a working minority in the House of Lords to enable Government to carry on public business. There may or may not be a quorum required in the House of Lords but by merely absenting themselves in a body the Conservative and Liberal anti-socialist Peers can obstruct necessary legislation. In India we do the relegation in a different way. We exalt a leader when he is past his prime to the rank of Avatar. He is then accorded worship but his example and precept are thenceforward considered inapplicable to the world of common humanity. Legend-weaving is a congenial Indian pastime. It has been busy for some years with Gandhiji and is actively winding its coils round Pandit

Jawaharlal Nebru. The latest about Gandhiji is that near the Sodepur Ashram in Calcutta where he has been staying, Gandhiji encountered a cobra with hood erect and outspread. Gandhiji was unperturbed. He and the cobra faced each other for a few moments and then the cobra slunk away leaving Gandhiji unharmed. Gandhiji thereupon drew the moral that even a snake does not strike a man of Ahimsa. I could not help smiling when I read this story in a local newspaper. I have lived in localities and even houses where snakes, including cobras were almost co-tenants. Their existence was known and ignored completely by the people round about. No one would think of killing a snake, particularly a cobra. Even to-day this feeling is common among the masses who have not heard of the Old Testament story which has made the serpent the eternal enemy of man. Snake charmers are institutions in every village. They are able to lure serpents from their holes by playing on a special kind of flute. They draw a line round or in front of the cobra which it will not cross. I have seen this myself. There is caste among serpents. There are pariahs among them who are not amenable to the conventions respected by the Brahmin snakes. Apart from the more obscure idiosyncracies of snakes known to professional charmers, the simple fact is that snakes like most wild beasts are more afraid of men than men of them. Yogis and sadhus who meditate in forest retreats, are not afraid of wild animals because the wild animals are not afraid of them. The instinctive tendency of snakes and wild animals, generally, is to go their own way if men leave them alone. I have read of a snake in South Africa known as *mambza*, which with hood erect measures three feet high or more. The *mambza* lives in pairs, and, if one is killed, the other, it is believed, will follow the track and attack the person who killed its companion. But these monsters never attack man unless man attacks them first. What happened to Gandhiji near Sodepur Ashram would happen to any man whether he professes ahimsa or not. But if he raised a stick or threw a stone at the snake, it would strike at him on the instant and that as pure reflex action. Most men, particularly among the uneducated masses, would if they came across a serpent, leave it alone. It is a superstition with them but like many superstitions this has a basis in long experience. The snake will not strike unless deliberately or unawares one hurts it.

My friend, Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, has at the end of a delightful appreciation of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru by way of commemorating his seventieth birth-day, referred to a comment which I made some time back on his obituary tribute to the late Sir Shadi Lal. I had remarked that Mr. Sinha's estimate of his friend, Shadi Lal, left one entirely ignorant of the ex-Chief Justice of Lahore as a man. There was nothing to show even whether Shadi Lal was married or was a bachelor, whether, if married, he had children, what kind of home life was his; nothing to show that he was anything more than a successful barrister and rose to be Chief Justice and Privy Councillor. I mentioned by way of supplementing Mr. Sinha's appreciation an incident in Sir Shadilal's life which I had quite accidentally come to know. When he finished a brilliant academic career in Lahore he came to Bombay to catch a ship to England to study for the Indian Civil

Service examination and the Bar. The sight of the sea unnerved him. Like many Northern Indians he had never seen the sea. He missed his boat and returned to the shelter of his parental roof. Some time later, an English Professor of his College happening to go on furlough, carried young Shadilal with him and started him on the high road to success. I mentioned the incident not as detracting from the praise which Mr. Sinha very deservedly lavished on his friend but as providing a background and the right perspective. Shadilal overcame his fear of the sea and that is character. To know no fear is not courage. The ship which sails the sea does so because it is lighter than the weight of water which it displaces. There is no character which, in the last analysis, is overcoming fear in every shape.

Mr. Sinha's tribute to Sir Tej is well-poised. It does not wholly hide the features of the man behind the mask of his career. The reader is made aware that Sir Tej is a widower who has cherished his wife's memory with love for many years, that he has three sons and two daughters. He has not dropped from the skies a successful lawyer, a jurist, a public man with many distinguished services to his credit. Mr. Sinha, I think, does not give adequate weight to Sir Tej's resignation of the membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council when he had been barely two years in the office. That, I think, did him more credit than anything else in his public career. I do not know all the circumstances but I know enough to feel that that was an act of high conscience. Speaking for myself that is what marked him out, with Sir Sankaran Nair, as one who valued power only as a means of serving his people. Mr. Sinha tells of Sir Tej's weakness for smoking and his strong aversion to alcoholic drinks. Incidentally, Mr. Sinha reveals his own weakness for drinks rather in a spirit of bravado. Sir Tej at a London dinner asked Mr. Sinha whether he would have whisky or brandy. This hurt him and he said "Plain Water." I gather that it is not proper to offer brandy or whisky to a guest at dinner. It should be some other avatar of alcohol. On one of the very few occasions on which I have met Sir Tej he rather went out of his way to proclaim that he did not care for religion and was not influenced by religious motives in supporting a movement of great social significance to the community. That, it struck me, showed that Sir Tej's extensive reading does not include the march of mind in the region of religion. The words "Atheist" and 'Agnostic' have practically disappeared from modern vocabulary. Most advanced thinkers now proclaim what Indian sages proclaimed centuries ago, "Spirit is the only Reality." I cannot understand why Sir Tej's proficiency in Arabic and Persian literature should make him antipathetic to his Hindu heritage as some of his friends have understood him to be. Raja Rammohun Roy was also a master of Islamic culture. But that made him the most outstanding leader of the Hindu religious revival which, in my view, is the driving power behind Indian nationalism.

RECLUSE.

TRAVANCORE PRIMARY EDUCATION

Sir C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, has addressed to Rev. Fr. Carty of Trichinopoly a letter on the policy of his Government regarding Primary Education from which we take the following :

"In view of the agitation sponsored by certain Catholic organisations within and without the State, Government have taken every opportunity to make it quite clear that their decision to assume the control and management of primary education, will not necessarily involve the complete disappearance of all primary schools managed by private agencies, though such schools will no longer be necessary. Government have been informed that there are various bodies, particularly religious denominations, who will desire to conduct their own primary schools in their own way and for their own adherents, and for the main or special purpose of imparting particular forms of religious instruction. Such bodies will be free to conduct their own primary schools, and if these schools satisfy the standards of attainment prescribed by the Education Department, they will be eligible for recognition by Government. But, when Government make full provision for primary education of all children, it is inevitable that the great majority of children will attend the public schools, and that pupils in the denominational schools which remain outside the State system will be confined to those who profess the religious faiths of the respective managements, and pupils of other creeds will not seek admission to such schools. In this connection, Government have made it clear that, while they have no objection to private agencies conducting primary schools for their own religious and sectarian purposes, such schools, not being within the general scheme of primary education, will not be entitled to the benefit of grants available for the purpose of promoting primary education in the State. The fact that these denominational or sectarian schools may be willing to admit pupils belonging to religions or communities other than those of the managements, cannot be a valid reason for an exception to this general policy, because when Government make adequate provision for every child, there will be no necessity for private agencies to run primary schools. If they continue to do so, they will clearly do it solely to further their own particular religious, sectarian or communal interests. If, however, they desire to do this, Government have stated quite clearly in their Order dated 12th September 1945, that they "will not dispossess or interfere with the management by private agencies of primary schools, whether these agencies are communal, local or religious in character," and that "it is quite open to any body or organization interested in promoting particular religious, social or educational creeds or in pursuing specific educational programmes, to run their own schools with such objectives.

"It may be further pointed out that the policy now adopted by Government, makes no change in the present rules governing the imparting of religious instruction. At present religious instruction is permitted to be given in school buildings outside school hours, and no change is contemplated in this direction.

"The agitation which the Catholic minority in the State is now conducting, with the organized support of the Catholic hierarchy outside, amounts to a demand that Government should deliberately ignore the considered decisions of the two Houses of the Legislature, and this raises a constitutional issue of great magnitude. The Legislature has been established by Government and entrusted with wide powers, such as passing the annual Budget, enacting laws, and passing resolutions relating to

the general policy of Government. The resolution that Government should assume responsibility for free and compulsory primary education throughout the State, was debated for three days in the Assembly and for one day in the Council and eventually passed, as has already been stated, by overwhelming majorities in both Houses. If the Government, at the request of a small minority, were to ignore resolutions passed after careful consideration and by such large majorities in both Houses of the Legislature, it would be difficult to deny that the constitutional powers of the Legislature had been flouted, and it would be difficult to argue that any of its real and worth-while privileges and powers remain. Government are, therefore, constrained to accept the verdict of its Legislature. In doing so, however, they have been careful to preserve the rights of minorities, especially those of Catholics, who will be even freer than they have hitherto been to conduct their own schools in their own way for their own children.

"It is fully realised that the crux of the agitation now being carried on by Catholics is the question of giving grants from public funds according to a grant-in-aid code to schools which choose to remain outside the Government Scheme. This is really the pivot round which the whole agitation revolves. In an Indian State, where there are not only competing sects within the Christian fold, but also the religious claims of a Muslim minority and Hindu majority to be considered with equal and impartial respect, it would be both an unconstitutional and an unfair act of partiality to pick out Catholics for favoured treatment. The Catholics quote the canon law as the authority which compels them to run schools, but it has to be remembered that the canon law is a personal law imposed upon a minority by an external authority, and whilst Government can have no objection to its observance by those who feel themselves bound by it, they cannot regard it as binding upon a secular Government to subsidise its observance from public funds. To do so would raise the rightful opposition of all the other religious, sectarian and communal bodies in the State. It will, therefore, not be equitable or possible for Government to enact a statutory code for the subsidisation from public funds of managements, which, entirely for reasons of their own, continue to conduct primary schools for the adherents of their own denomination or community, though Government are willing to grant full recognition to such schools and allow them the fullest freedom to impart religious instruction according to their own faith. If, as is likely in the future, the pupils who attend such privately managed primary schools are confined to adherents of the managements' denomination, the restriction that religious instruction should be confined to outside school hours will naturally be removed. No one's freedom is, therefore, in any way interfered with.

"It may, however, be stated that, although it would be inequitable, and therefore impossible, to pick out primary schools managed by Catholics or by any other religious denomination or sectarian body for exceptional treatment by making them eligible for regular Government grants according to a statutory grant-in-aid code, there is nothing to prevent Government from rendering them financial assistance in other ways according to their deserts. If the schools which

private managements continue to conduct satisfy the requirements of the Education Department, and if the managements approach the proper authorities in the proper way, instead of adopting the present campaign of unrestrained criticism, the Government would be prepared to consider such representations on their merit. Financial assistance is already given by Government to many philanthropic institutions, like the Ramakrishna Mission agencies conducting adult education, and similar charitable organisations, whether educational or otherwise. It is under this category that primary schools under private management will in future fall."

"RELIGIOUS LIBERTY: AN INQUIRY."

The events of the last few years have made Christians all over the world increasingly aware of the fundamental importance of the whole problem of human rights and of religious liberty as one of those rights. In 1942 the Federal Council of Churches and the Foreign Missions Conference set up a Joint Committee on Religious Liberty to study afresh the whole problem. The International Missionary Council co-operates unofficially in the work of this committee. After considerable exploration of the field the committee asked M. Searle Bates, professor of history at the University of Nanking, then in the U.S.A. to prepare a basic study of the whole problem. "*Religious Liberty: An Inquiry*," the volume which resulted from that intensive study, is the most thorough and comprehensive treatment of the whole problem from the Protestant viewpoint available. The author worked closely with the committee in preparing it. In addition, a preliminary draft was criticized by more than fifty persons selected for their special competence in various fields. The Joint Committee, it may be noted, is continuing its study of current problems.

Dr. Bates begins his study with a survey of the contemporary scene. Case studies are presented for eleven areas varying widely in the degree of difficulty they present—Soviet Russia, Moslem countries, Spain, Germany and the German-occupied countries, Fascist Italy, Japan, India, Mexico, Latin America, England and the British Commonwealth, and the United States. Conditions in the rest of the world are considered more briefly.

In general Dr. Bates thinks: "Religious liberty has been achieved where the individual conscience has acquired access to high spiritual leading of various types, whether traditional or novel, and where the individual conscience has secured freedom from institutional constraint in following the form of truth and abiding values to which it responds. Such access and freedom for the individual have been found possible only in the free fellowship and free activity of religious bodies, subject to the equitable liberties of others in the total welfare of the community.... The ties of a state to a particular religious system have commonly been found in historical experience to involve compulsions in religion. Yet in some countries those ties have recently been modified by the deliberate provision of full religious opportunity to adherents of other faiths in such a manner as largely to remove the dangers of ungenerous privilege."

Dr. Bates suggests that religious liberty may be defined as "actualized opportunity for individuals and groups to pursue high spiritual aims." It consists in

"the freedom of individuals from coercion by the state or by a religious organization and in the equal freedom of religious bodies." While "the preponderance of considered experience" finds separation of church and state favourable to religious liberty that may mean only "the separation of community life from religion, not the triumph of free religion." It may even be hostile to religion. "The church should be free of direction and interference by the state; the state should be free of ecclesiastical dictation."

The problem is particularly serious in regard to education. The "tangible elements of religion in culture" can be taught "as fact" without great difficulty if the problem is approached from "the standpoint of the pupils' needs." "More specifically religious" instruction or participation in religious ceremonies in public schools is possible only where "a large part of the parents and pupils" approve, and there must be "adequate provision for any considerable minority" as well as "a conscience clause" for abstainers. Where private schools are entirely supported from private funds, attendance is voluntary, and "reasonable standards" are maintained, they should be "broadly free" to make their own decisions, though "in some cultural institutions a conscience clause also is desirable. The exacting demands and authoritarian character of the Roman Catholic system are peculiarly difficult to reconcile with adequate liberty and community interest in education, though its religious conviction and its struggle in some societies against secular totalitarianism" merit respect.

Dr. Bates notes a "new interest in the doctrines of natural law and natural rights." He defines the latter as "moral claims to those spheres of action which are necessary for the welfare of the individual and the development of his personality." Among the real difficulties involved in maintaining liberty for religious bodies within the organized community are: "their divisions, their occasional clashes with state supremacy, their actual and alleged faults, their separatism or their near-totalitarianism, their intolerance when strong and their pleas for justice when weak." The other side of the picture is the fact that "the fundamental virtues fostered by religion.....are those which make good citizens.....Opposition of religion, most manifestly of religion in its freer aspects, to totalitarianism in state and society is a fundamental service to mankind ...Religious variety appears to be correlative to cultural advance; as the denial of religious liberty commonly accompanies less vigorous cultural achievement." The greatest danger today is "dull inertia."

In terms of ethics and philosophy the roots of religious liberty are to be found in the "moral consciousness and the spiritual outreach of man." While there are limits to the right of the individual, society has "no absolute superiority over the truth within a needed prophet," though he may have to suffer for his convictions." The religious development of "the many who are not prophets" is best accomplished with "liberty of the free spirit, able to act in society always by persuasion and by willing service, never by compulsion." This need has been made more evident by the "perils of totalitarianism, which threatens to crush the human spirit entirely."

Dr. Bates devotes much attention to an analysis of the Roman Catholic position. Officially, it stands for "an alliance of state with supposedly independent church,

intolerant wherever Catholicism can be asserted by present fact or by historic claim to be the religion of the people. . . . State aid and protection, including suppression of anti-religious acts and words as determined by the one church, are inevitably due. Marriage and education are peculiarly the spheres of the church in social life, where her principles must be accepted by the state."

"Nevertheless, those involuntarily or invincibly ignorant of the true religion may, under rigorous conditions, be saved. Tolerance of other faiths is permissible where they are already established, especially if they have secured legal rights." Where Catholics are in a minority, separation of church and state is "favoured gladly." But the principle is "never granted." The authority of the church "over the consciences and the minds of believers tends to make religious liberty a freedom of the Pope and the hierarchy, not of the Catholic layman. . . . Fortunately, practice is not so universally rigorous as asserted right. The concordats and many other forms of compromise adapt high claims to varying possibilities in different countries." Some Roman Catholics writing as individuals repeat "the old legalism." Many others show "humane consideration for religious persons of non-Catholic faith, while feeling it necessary or expedient to trumpet forth 'dogmatic intolerance'."

Dr. Bates presents a series of recommendations which would, he believes, further the cause of religious liberty. He feels strongly that concern for it should result in "a waxing support" for civil liberty in all its aspects. Freedom of conscience should be rooted "deeply in religion which has been done all too seldom by those in a dominant position." Frequently, the problem is a part of the larger one of "reasonable liberty for minorities." Too often the demand for "partisan unilateral 'liberty'" is really "either domination by the powerful, seeking to maintain monopoly or privilege, or the cringing, dishonest cry of the weak, asking for what they would not yield if they were strong." But this is "ethically a self contradiction." It is "peculiarly difficult for the more definitely authoritarian types of religion" to have sufficient respect for the faith of those who differ with them to support "common liberty for all." There is, therefore, need for "fundamental commitment to the teaching of religious liberty as part of religion itself" and to temper "certainty of form and doctrine with certainty of love" for those who disagree. "In the present era oppression and damage to any one of the higher religions is injury to the spiritual capacities of men....." Thus, there is great need for "conference and growing confidence between a dominant religious group and minorities." Interfaith collaboration is possible on "at least three levels of procedure": parallel but independent action taken after agreement has been reached; "a single declaration or act"; and "stable association of the respective religious bodies for joint action as desired." Dr. Bates suggests as a "voluntary code of conduct" for religious bodies: "Emphasize positive values," "cooperate in tasks of community welfare"; "respect the conscience of others"; "deal open-mindedly and fairly with men of other faiths"; "recognize for others the liberty and regard desired for self"; "promote good citizenship in state and world"; "give due heed to law and custom"; "make clear the purposes and procedures of religious enterprises"; prac-

tice sound respect for ties of family and community"; and "keep the appeal of religion free from material influence."

Wherever a religious faith is a minority enterprise it necessarily suffers "some disability" because of the "predominant beliefs and practices" of the community. "The claim of religious liberty can be only that the disability should not receive coercive and organized backing injurious to the free spirit and free development of members of the community." Discrimination in such situations may be lessened if public authorities feel that "the responsible heads of the religious undertaking are fully within the law, culture, and social influences of the community rather than missionaries rooted in another culture and another state, possibly supported by diplomatic or political influence from without."

The responsibility of "churches and related organs" includes the education of their own constituency in regard to religious liberty. This means: "teaching the significance of liberty, general and religious" in church schools, in discussion groups and through publications; "realizing the importance of minorities and of cultural variety;" "setting in religion the basis for religious liberty" in order to "promote regard for others in religious differences;" "serious and long-continued educational effort in the religious bodies related to practical experiment" in interfaith cooperation and to "common action in fields of community welfare and relationships;" use of the suggested voluntary code as a means of education; further studies in the whole field and the preparation of educational materials. The latter, Dr. Bates feels, should "from the beginning . . . be much more than sectarian."

But this is not the whole story. There is need also for cooperation with the community as a whole. Study and "experimental action" in regard to "the true place of religion in education" is "a major undertaking." Writers on civil liberty, democracy and political philosophy should be "encouraged to deal frankly and in varied fashion with religion. Too often there is a divorce between secular scholarship and religious scholarship, between what is taught and read in the general community and what is said and read in church circles." Another "major task of religion" is to "study and to rethink the nature and purpose of the state, including its relation to voluntary associations and to culture." Community groups of many sorts should be encouraged to study religious liberty since it is "interwoven" with so many community problems. In missionary areas "factual and ideological discussion of religious liberty in progressive circles and in publications" is helpful. We must never forget that "the only stable assurance" of religious liberty is "a public opinion informed and definitely favouring" it.

THE KING AND THE VICEROY.

In our leading article last week we referred to the constitutional position of the Viceroy of India in relation to His Majesty the King. We mentioned that in important matters the Viceroy has the right of writing to His Majesty. One such was the appointment of an Indian Member to the Viceroy's Executive Council. King Edward VII was strongly opposed to the proposal which Lord Minto and his Cabinet favoured. We

learn from Lord Morley's Recollections that the King told him, it would appear casually, when they met at a dinner party that His Majesty had written to the Viceroy expressing his views. Lord Minto replied and an extract from his letter to the King is given in Buchan's Life of Lord Minto. The King's reply to the Viceroy is given below, as it brings out the constitutional issue very clearly:—

"My dear Minto"—he wrote—"Many thanks for your long and interesting letter of 4th instant in which you give me your reasons why you consider it desirable that a Native of India should form part of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

"As you hold such strong views on the subject and have given me many cogent reasons for such a new departure, I am very unwilling to differ from you as well as the Secretary of State on the subject. At the same time I hold very strong and possibly old-fashioned views on the subject, which my son, who has so recently been in India, entirely shares.

"During the unrest in India at the present time and the intrigues of the natives it would, I think, be fraught with the greatest danger to the Indian Empire if a Native were to take part in the Councils of the Viceroy, as so many subjects would be likely to be discussed in which it would not be desirable that a Native could take part. Besides if you have a Hindu, why not a Mohammedan also? The latter would strongly claim it. If the present view which you so strongly advocate is carried into effect, and you find it does not answer, you will never be able to get rid of the Native again. The Indian Princes, who are ready to be governed by the Viceroy and his Council, would greatly object to a Native, who would be very inferior in caste to themselves, taking part in the Government of the country. However clever the Native might be and however loyal you and your Council might consider him to be, you never could be certain that he might not prove to be a very dangerous element in your Councils and impart information to his countrymen which it would be very undesirable should go further than your Council Chamber.

"I have, however, informed the Secretary of State that owing to the great pressure which has been put upon me by my Government, I unwillingly assent but wish that my protest should remain on record, as I cannot bring myself to change my views on this subject.

"That you never repent the important step now made is the ardent wish of yours very sincerely,

EDWARD R. & J."

Subhas Bose Relics: The New Delhi correspondent of the *Pioneer* states that "the ashes of Mr Subhas Bose are being preserved in Tokyo, according to Japanese and others who have recently arrived here from Japan, in connection with the I.N.A. trial. Subhas Bose's watch has been brought here and is being despatched to his brother, Sarat Bose." Pandit Jawaharlal, it is since reported, handed the watch over to Sarat at Calcutta. Subhas Bose met his death as has been stated earlier, in an air crash. His companion—Habibur Rahman—on the ill-fated journey has arrived here and is lodged in the Red Fort. Subhas Bose's ashes may be brought out to India."

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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

Christmas Messages:—His Majesty King George and His Holiness the Pope broadcast messages, the former to the British Commonwealth and Empire, the latter to his Catholic followers, on Christmas Day. Neither of the messages had a bearing on the realities of the world situation. His Majesty's picture of families rejoicing at their fire sides, might have some relation to fact in Britain. It could have no application to Australia where this is midsummer. The fact is that British policy is conceived narrowly with reference to Britain and this is supposed to be the right policy not only for the whole Empire but the whole world. The King's Message was poor in form and tediously long. There was not a single phrase or thought to break its painful monotony. The Pope's broadcast even in print reads much like a duty performance. His Holiness' position in the twentieth century world is a delicate one. When Mr. Churchill tried to impress Stalin with the importance of having the Pope on the side of the Allies, the latter is said to have immediately enquired how many divisions the Pope commanded. His Holiness therefore has to walk warily. During the war he had to please the Allies without displeasing the Dictators. The war is officially ended but is actually still raging in a different form under the name of Peace.

The Elections—The elections for the Central legislative Assembly are practically over. The Congress and the Muslim League have maintained their predominance, the Hindu Mahasabha has fared badly. Many Mahasabha candidates withdrew in time and avoided forfeiture of their deposits. The few who persisted got a pitifully small number of votes and lost their deposits. It was an utter rout for the Mahasabha. The Hindus have rejected the Mahasabha as their political organ, as completely as the non-Brahmins in Madras rejected the Justice Party as their political organ. There is plenty of work to do for

both movements but not in the political sphere. The Hindus have thrown their whole weight in the Congress scale. But the Congress to which they have given their support is only nominally the Gandhian Congress. No stronger proof that the Gandhian ideology has ceased to dominate the Congress can be found than the resolutions passed at Calcutta by the Working Committee reminding Congressmen of the resolution of the Congress passed twenty-five years ago pledging them to Non-violence. There would have been no need to remind Congressmen of the resolution but for the fact that many, if not most, of them have forgotten it or rejected it in practice. This does not mean that the Congress had adopted violence as a method. It only means that the Congress no longer believes in the doctrine that Violence under all circumstances is either folly or sin and believes that there are circumstances in the life of nations and individuals when it would be dereliction of a high moral duty to withhold support, if necessary, by force from a great cause. For the first thirty years of its existence the leaders of the National Congress pinned their faith exclusively to constitutional methods. They were dominated by an ardent faith in the reign of law. Breaking even a bad law was abhorrent to them. A bad law should and could be repealed or replaced by a good law by constitutional means, and that alone was permissible. For a few years, perhaps five or six, the Tilak policy of responsive co-operation, that is conditional co-operation, held the field. Violence was not disavowed. Then came the Gandhian gospel of non-violent non-co-operation, developed later into satyagraha, with Truth and Non-Violence for mottoes. This has served its time. The expressions of high praise embodied in the Working Committee resolution on the Subhas Bose operations in the East Asia show that a new chapter in Congress history has opened. It is likely to be the last. Already Gandhiji and other leaders are acting on the conviction that more can be achieved by personal talk and private correspondence with the authorities than by public meetings and resolutions. Congress leaders have begun to speak in language implying the assumption of administrative responsibility. In a few months they will be actual administrators. There may be a new Congress but the present leaders will be not critics but apologists.

Sir Sultan Ahmed's Convocation Address:—It is not easy to see how essentially the plan outlined in Sir Sultan Ahmed's address to the Convocation of the Punjab University differs from the Nazi pattern which has come in for violent tirades. General MacArthur, the agent of

the American democracy in Japan, is having the same plan adopted by the Japanese Government on his "directive." Sir Sultan's great idea is an organisation to carry on propaganda against communal differences and in favour of communal unity especially between Hindus and Muslims. For this purpose, History is to be rewritten as also text-books for schools. General MacArthur also requires new text-books to be written inculcating democratic principles. So, after all, the world is accepting and adopting the Nazi plan of education. Before the Nazis the Catholic Church had claimed totalitarian rights in the education of Catholic children and in Travancore it seems to demand their extension to non-Catholics also. Sir Sultan wants History to be written leaving out all unpleasant facts and including only such as would be proper in a drawing room or at the dinner table. Text books likewise are to be prepared with a view not so much to impart instruction to and stimulate thinking by children as to achieve some extraneous purpose. The individual child is not to be considered. The school must subserve the purpose of bringing about an agreement between the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress, and to create national unity. Universities are to be transformed into branches of the Information and Broadcasting Department.

Fascism in Britain:—The revival of Fascist propaganda under the leadership of Sir Oswald Mosley, has been causing concern in Britain. The Home Secretary at first took the line that if acts of violence were committed the Police would attend to them, but Britain being a free country, nothing could be done to prevent the Fascist Party from speaking and writing in support of its views. In later replies to questions in Parliament Mr. Chuter Ede seems to have accepted the position that Fascist propaganda should be prevented by law or executive action, but he pleaded the difficulty of defining Fascism so as to exclude the possibility of its being confounded with other schools of politics. He even cited the authority of Milton as justifying restrictions on certain types of opinion. Italian Fascism, Mussolini repeatedly declared was a product, exclusively of Italian tradition and Italian genius and was not meant for export. During the war, however, democratic freedom was in abeyance in Britain and it might have affected, and it does seem to have affected permanently, the British character. Sir Oswald Mosley's propaganda has a greater chance of finding adherents now than before the war. That, perhaps, is the reason why there is so much anxiety to prevent it by administrative action instead of letting it peter out for want of public support. To prohibit freedom of thought, however, is itself a Fascist procedure. If the British Democracy favours it, that itself is proof that it had lost faith in freedom of speech and thought. Anti-semitism has survived Hitler in Europe. Perhaps Fascism too, may survive Mussolini. Ideas are killed by killing their apostles. British Fascism, if it comes, will not be content with administering large doses of castor oil to its opponents.

Future of Iran:—When the fortunes of Iran were at the worst twenty five years ago Reza Ali Pahlavi rose to power and by his energy and ability saved his country from imminent collapse, reorganised the Army and the Government, introduced social reforms, and in a few short years consolidated it into a progressive nation. Iran

was on the high road to prosperity under him. When the European war broke out, Reza Ali was deposed and sent as a prisoner to Mauritius where he died. His son who was placed on the gadi, was unable to cope with the demands made on him by the Allies. Britain on the one side and Soviet Russia on the other are difficult to manage. Soviet Russia works through the Persian provinces adjoining her territory. One of these, Azerbaijan, has asserted its autonomy and when the Iranian Government sent troops to put down the rival parties, Soviet troops barred the way. The autonomy movement has spread to another province. The Teheran Government is apparently unable to deal with the seceders and perhaps it is not over-anxious to take effective steps to arrest their progress. It appealed to Britain to intercede with Moscow but did not find much support there. The Iranian Government is now turning to Moscow for advice. Moscow's view seems to be that the movement in the northern provinces is a legitimate and constitutional movement and is entitled to be treated sympathetically by the Teheran Government.

Dunning Poland:—British leaders are indignant at the United States not writing off the sums due and to become due to it on account of the war and rehabilitation after the war. The British Government has been dunning the Polish Republican Government to repay some seventy millions sterling which the Polish refugee Government had drawn on account from Britain for maintaining itself with an army and all the paraphernalia of a State in being. The present Polish Government has superseded the refugee Government and it has done so against the wishes of the Churchill Government. It has not, however, repudiated the obligation as the Soviet Government did when Britain asked for the repayment of loans advanced to the Tsarist Government partly to suppress the Bolshevik Revolution. The Polish Government has frankly pleaded its inability to pay as the country has not recovered from the ravages of the war. Poland's defence was praised to the skies at the time as epic. The sacrifices of the country in proportion to her resources have been really tremendous. Poland has not, like Britain and Holland, vast colonies to exploit. Britain declared war against Germany for invading Poland in her own interest as much as that of Poland. It harboured the Polish refugee Government in London in order to strengthen her opposition to Germany. In the end it was Soviet Russia which liberated Poland. When the refugee Government felt disposed to resist Russia proposals the British Prime Minister, Churchill, advised it to accept them, because, he said, Russia alone was in a position to liberate Poland from the Germans. Poland cannot be forced to pay for acting in compliance with British wishes and interests.

Discontent in Britain:—A friend sends us a cutting from the *Sunday Times* of London. In it we read that the great bulk of the people who helped to return the Labour Party with a huge majority at the last General Elections are repenting of their folly and have become actively hostile to the Attlee Government. But this is not borne out by the Tory abstention from voting on the American Loan, the House of Lords turning tail on the same subject and Mr. Churchill's long vacation in Florida, could not the ex-premier find a warm spot within the empire on which the sun never sets for recuperation?

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, December 29, 1945.

SAPRU SCHEME.

The report of the All Parties Conference presided over by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, was published on Friday. Only a brief notice is possible in the *Reformer* in this issue. The first observation which occurs is that the Muslim League will not look at the scheme. If it is the hope of the Committee that by offering parity of representation in the Legislature and the Executive and the right to the provinces of non-accession to the Federation, the Muslim League can be brought to accept the scheme, that hope is not likely to be attained. What then is the object of offering these tremendous sacrifices at the altar of communal unity? Considered on its merits, the scheme is a half-way house not to unity but away, definitely away from it. Parity in the Legislature will be nullified by the total absence of it in the country. A Legislature which is so grossly unrepresentative will not command moral support in the country. It will have no moral authority. If the Committee thought that Government should introduce the scheme in spite of the disapproval and opposition of the League, this can be done only by Government going back on its repeated declaration that the communal award cannot be disturbed without the consent of the Muslims. The vice of the award is not its communal character but the weightages associated with it. The Committee propose to retain them in an aggravated form. British India was split up and federated by the 1935 Act. The only merit of the Committee's theme is that it asserts the unity of India. This unity if extends to the Indian States. The report provides a complete schem for all India. The Committee's objection to the Muslims calling themselves a distinct nation cannot be sustained. In any case that need not affect Indian unity. There are instances in which two or three nations constitute a single State; e.g., Canada and Switzerland Sun Yat Sen envisaged a single China State comprising five races. As a compromise, the rejection of the scheme is inevitable. On its merits, it has fatal defects.

ILLUSIONS OF DISUNITY

Serious as compromising the question of Indian unity is a pamphlet by Mr. J. M. Kumarappa, Director of the Tata Institute of Social Science, the institution which Dr. Man-shardt started in Nagpada several years ago, on the lines on a small scale of Hull House in Chicago where he was educated and had many friends, entitled "Can India be United?" It would seem that Mr. Kumarappa's vision can see India only as divided and he seeks to prove whether it can or can not be united. Mr. Kumarappa has lived for many years in the United States and we wonder if it ever occurred to him to write a pamphlet "Can the States be United"? Such an enquiry would have been far more apposite than the query about India. There we find a cross section of Europe with its deep-rooted differences in speech, nationality and tradition fused into a single whole which is accepted by every one as such...in a couple of generations. World

War II, according to General Eisenhower, had consolidated the Union. Not only has the United States a highly composite population, but the contour of the land distinctly shows that Nature never meant it to be a single country. Great mountains and rivers divide it at several places. Vast deserts suitable for trial explosions of the Atom bomb are also a feature of the American Republic. In contrast, India is a land marked by nature to be a single organic whole. The Himalayas on the north and the triple seas around are the ancient landmarks which give India its distinctive idealogical character. There is another point which Mr. Kumarappa is not expected to take into account. Every Hindu begins his religious ceremony by defining his position in time and space. The year of the Kaliyuga, the month, the number of the day after the full and new moons, the name of the weekday are recounted as also the Bharata land, in Bharata continent, south of Mount Meru, (the North Pole). With his mother's milk the Hindu learns to think of his country as one indivisible whole. It requires a great effort on his part to read without irritation Mr. Talyarkhan calmly proposing to refer the question of dividing it to arbitration as if it were a dispute about the exact spot where a mile stone should be planted. The fact is that Mr. Kumarappa, M. Talyarkhan and others approach the question from a point of detachment which is totally out of place. The Congress, from a mistaken idea of conciliating a handful of nationalist Muslims, ventriloquises on the question according to the exigency of the moment. Today it denounces vivisection as a sin. Tomorrow it speaks wisely of self-determination which President Wilson chalked out on the Versailles wall and blotted out when reminded of the Civil war in his own country. Akbar would have given short shift to any Ulema who talked of Pakistan and self-determination. Aurangzebe died in a desperate endeavour to bring the Dekhan into the orbit of the Mughal Empire. The whole idea of separation is stupid, unhistorical and impracticable. Lord Wavell spoke the other day of "the Government or Governments" which the Constituent Assembly may set up Like a dying man catching at straw, Mr. Jinnah has acclaimed the plural alternative as a pledge to carve out Pakistan. He may be undeceived like King Hussain was of the McMahon phraseology. Whether he is or not, if the British Government ordains by law that there shall be two or several Indias, even if the Congress approved it on the principle of self-determination, it will not come to pass. The very stones and trees the very epidemics of India, will rise up against the outrage on five millennia of history. Mr. Kumarappa's analysis leave one cold. The occasion is not for analysis but a powerful synthesis.

S. SRINIVASA AIYANGAR

BY K. NATARAJAN

At long last I have found an Indian biography written as it should be. It is in Tamil. The author is S. Ambujammal and the subject is her father. The book bears the title "My Father," in the series issued by the Tamil daily newspaper, "Dinamani", (price as. 8). The noteworthy feature about this Life is that Srinivasa Aiyangar appears as a whole and not as a fragment of a man. His

father, Seshadri Aiyangar, was an orthodox Sri Vaishnava Brahmin who had for asset only his bright intelligence and keen eye for opportunities. In his early days, there was no regular legal profession. District Judges issued certificates to any young man of promise to practise as pleaders in their court. Young Seshadri with his broad Vaishnava namam (caste mark) emblazoned on his forehead, became the Legal Adviser of the Zamindar of Ramnad and through him of other zemindars. Madras zemindaries are constantly engaged in litigation and Seshadri had to go frequently to Madras to engage counsel and instruct them. Seshadri naturally drifted to the bungalow of his famous co-religionist, the eminent jurist, Sir V. Bashyam Aiyangar. Seshadri used on these occasions to take with him his small son, Srinivasan. Bashyam Aiyangar had three daughters, the youngest, seven years of age. A match between Srinivasan and Ranganayaki was spoken of. But Seshadri wanted his son to marry a Madura girl—he had settled in Madura after his "retirement"—and to practice as a lawyer in Madura. He hated Madras because of the lack of proper observance of ceremonial purity there. But Srinivasan, then about 14 years old, insisted on marrying the fair Madras girl and the father yielded. Srinivasan as a boy was petted by his father—having lost his mother early—and had become obstinate even as a child. One day he refused to take his meals unless one of the elephants of the Madura temple was brought to the door. Seshadri Aiyangar's prestige was high enough to have the beast produced to satisfy his son's whim. Bashyam Aiyangar had practically the monopoly of zemindari practice in the province and Srinivasa Aiyangar was associated with his father-in-law in working them up. In that way Srinivasa Aiyangar succeeded to his father-in-law's lucrative practice when Bashyam Aiyangar accepted a seat on the Bench of the Madras High Court.

Ambujammal describes her father as a rigid domestic autocrat. Nothing should be done without his knowledge and approval. Srinivasa Aiyangar wanted women's legal and social status to be raised but he did not favour their participation in political life. Ambujammal says he was not enthusiastic about social reform. He joined Sir Sankaran Nair in this movement for sometime but parted company soon.

Even politics he entered after much hesitation. As Advocate-General of the Madras Government he opposed vigorously the arrest of Dr. Besant for whom, however, he bore no goodwill. Being thwarted, he was able to get her interned in a bungalow instead of being lodged in the common prison. When Willingdon became Governor, in Ootacamund Srinivasa Aiyangar found his position uncongenial and resigned. Gandhiji visiting Srinivasa Aiyangar shortly after, asked Mrs. Aiyangar how she liked the change from the pomp of office to private life. She replied that the change had only added to the pomp—numerous volunteers were flocking into the house, Aiyangar was garlanded everywhere and was a great man adored by the people. Srinivasa Aiyangar became a devoted admirer of Gandhiji. He asked his family to do special obeisance to Gandhiji and the late Swami Shraddhananda. But there was soon a rift in the lute. In the Madras Congress of 1927 Aiyangar had brought in and had passed a resolution favouring independence as the goal of the Congress. Gandhiji had then opposed it as thoughtless.

Two years later, Gandhiji himself moved the Independence resolution at the Lahore Congress. Another cause of difference of opinion with Gandhiji was as regards the formula of Hindu-Muslim unity which Srinivasa Aiyangar had framed and which had been accepted by Muslim leaders. Gandhiji objected to it, out of, according to Aiyangar, undue deference to Hindu conservatives. The rift broadened and deepened into a gulf, and Srinivasa Aiyangar publicly declared that he would never again join the Congress so long as Gandhiji was at its head and that the country can never gain freedom under Gandhiji's lead. Not only that but he developed a bitter feeling against Gandhiji, which Ambujammal attributes to some unusually severe letters which Gandhiji wrote to her father, on the eve of the Gauhati Congress at which Srinivasa Aiyangar was to preside. Gandhiji wrote to Aiyangar, warning him that he not to go beyond his depth. Srinivasa Aiyangar retorted by saying that he was quite able to swim across the river to the safety of the bank. Srinivasa Aiyangar and Subhas Bose were great friends and the author thinks that the last chance of her father coming into the Congress was baffled by the shabby treatment meted to Subhas Bose by the Congress inner circle when he presided at Haripura and which Srinivasa Aiyangar attended at Subhas' pressing invitation. The part of the book dealing with the relations of her father with Gandhiji and the Congress is a valuable contribution to Indian political history. By the way Aiyangar had envisaged the recruitment of an Indian National Army in his idea of Indian Independence.

Srinivasa Aiyangar inherited the obstinacy of his father who when he fell ill refused all medical aid, holding that he would be cured if he made a pilgrimage on foot to Tirupati some two hundred miles from Madura. He made the pilgrimage and returned whole.

Srinivasa Aiyangar's reception of C. R. Das at Bangalore where the latter went to persuade him to join the Swaraj party is delightfully told. Das reached Bangalore about 5 p.m. The two men began at once to talk politics. The ladies in the backroom heard voices rising. The climax was reached when Das left the house intending to return to Bombay the same night. Srinivasa Aiyangar went to the women's room exclaiming, "This fellow behaves like a child." Ambujammal adds that Das had really the face of a child. Aiyangar accompanied Das to the railway station. The family dined and were preparing to retire for the night when the car returned with the two men in a hilarious mood.

The book is written with much charm. An English translation will make it accessible to readers all over India and abroad.

AGA KHAN ON THE INDIAN PROBLEM.

H. H. the Aga Khan has rendered a distinct service to India and to the entire Muslim world by raising his voice emphatically against all "secession" in the name of Islam of any Provinces from India. With his wide knowledge of international affairs he has rightly seen the grave danger of such a step on the part of Muslims in India to this country and also to many other countries of Asia. Not only does he not want India to be divided, but he would rather have such countries as Afghanistan, Iran and Iraq to be united with

India in a confederation. In this view of his he is led by a sound instinct born of deep knowledge of the world-situation as it is today and is apt to develop in the near future. A confederation of this kind with India as its centre, reaching on one side as far as Iraq and on the other as far as Indonesia, and remaining close together with Britain, Canada and Australia in an Indo-British commonwealth of Nations might well serve as perhaps the greatest stabilising force in Europe and Asia. India with its size, population and resources might well play a great part in such a body. Besides, there are great dangers looming ahead, the full nature of which can be realized only by such a person as His Highness who knows the world as few Indians do. In view of all this to think of "secession" would be simply disastrous not only to India but even to the whole of Asia.

There is, however, one thing in the statement of His Highness which demands further thought. While asking and even urging Hindus and Muslims to live as members of one family, he has spoken of India as a confederation of Hindu and Muslim States. One wonders whether it is right or proper or wise to make such a division on religious line in the world in which we are living today. The entire trend of political thinking everywhere is against making such a division. There is a strong tendency everywhere to create secular states, a tendency from which even such Muslim States as Turkey and Iran are not free. Only very recently the head of the Government of one of these States (which was Iraq if I am not much mistaken) protested against Mr. Jinnah's calling it a Muslim State. He did this on the ground that his State had Christians and Jews amongst its population and that therefore it was not proper to call it a Muslim State. To go against such a tendency and to harp upon the idea of separate Muslim States in India, is hardly helpful to any community.

Again, one might well ask, what is it that constitutes a Moslem State? The two most important Provinces, the Punjab and Bengal, the key-stones of the so-called Muslim States, have a bare majority of Muslims over Hindus. Is this enough to make them full-fledged Muslim States or even Provinces? In one of his statements Mr. Jinnah called these provinces the homelands of the Muslims. Are they less the homeland of the Hindus? If the question be viewed from this point of view, the Punjab has been the homeland of the Hindus for the last five thousand years, and it is so even to-day. It is, besides, not only the homeland of the Sikhs, but even their holy-land. Bengal is as much the homeland of the Hindus as of the Muslims. As a matter of fact the Hindus have been in the majority in Bengal until very recent times. Talk of this kind has poisoned the springs of all public and even private life in India, and the day may not be far off when the Hindus and the Muslim will look upon each other as enemies not to be trusted on any account. Moreover, this kind of argument will soon be applied to such native States as Hyderabad, Bhopal, Junagadh etc. where the Hindus form a very large majority of the population.

It is extremely unfortunate but true that the talk of a Hindu State or Raj comes from the same people who demand a Muslim Raj in India. They say this because they want to justify themselves for their demand. If I am not much mistaken even the Hindu Mahasabha does

not want Hindu Raj in India. And the Congress has never even dreamt of it. It has been on the other hand all along sacrificing Hindu interests for its goal which is secular nationalism. So free is it from any leanings towards Hinduism that it would have gladly made the late Sir Phirozeshah Mehta, had he been living and in prime of life, the first President of India. It would have done the same in all probability with Mr. Jinnah had he remained with the Congress. The existence of Jinnah Hall in Bombay is more than sufficient testimony to its non-communal bias. Under these circumstances to talk of Muslim Raj and Hindu Raj leads us only to medieval times when people waged wars in the name of religion.

Please let me repeat again that all this talk of Muslim Raj and Hindu Raj is anything but good for India and for the entire Muslim world. The Muslim leaders of the so-called purely Muslim lands know this very well. In the course of the last five or six years we had delegations from Turkey, Egypt and Iran, and they all deprecated the idea of dividing India in the name of Islam. The same thing was done by the delegation of Muslims that came from China. They all felt that an undivided India was greater help to them than one that was divided and torn on the basis of religion. In addition to this, there is a tendency towards unity even among States which have remained hitherto distinct. H. H. the Aga Khan himself has acknowledged this and has spoken of a confederation of India and several states in the east and the west thereof, and pleaded for a still larger one which includes in it the British Commonwealth of nations. Let us hope and work for such a consummation, but let us at the same time not make religion a decisive force.

RAJKOT

MANILAL C. PAREKH.

SOVIET FEDERALISM—I

By Prof. I. LEVIN

Even a cursory glance over the history of modern federations is sufficient to convince one that these federations owe their origin to most diverse circumstances which in each case facilitated the preservation of a relative isolation and a certain share of independence for separate parts of the federation. In some cases the determining factor was the manner in which certain territories which later unified to form a single state were first settled (as in the United States of America), in others it was specific geographic features which tended to isolate the territory concerned (as in the U. S. A. and Switzerland), a divergence of economic interests (as in the northern and southern states of the U.S.A.) and even dynastic interests (as in the German Empire of 1871-1918).

In a number of cases the formation of federations was motivated by the demands for democracy. Montesquieu and Rousseau, for instance, considered that a small state offered all the necessary conditions for establishing a republican democratic system. In their opinion, a federation allowed small states to retain their independence within the framework of a larger unification of states and as the same time made it possible to combine the democratic features proper to small states with the military power and defence capacity of a large state. Jefferson followed in their footsteps as an advocate of the democratic features of the Federative system.

No one of these above-mentioned factors, however is the determining principle involved in the structure of the Soviet Federation.

The component parts which make up the Soviet federation do not conform to the territorial divisions which existed in Russia at the time the Soviet state was established. Neither is the divergence in nature and tendency of economic development in various parts of the state a ruling factor in the structure of the Soviet federation. The Soviet system of organising national economy eliminated any and all divergence of economic interests in different parts of the state.

Soviet people did not pose the question of democratic principles in direct connection with the question of the size of the state or with federalism or with any form of decentralisation. Soviet state doctrine considers the theory of democracy to be entirely feasible in a large, centralised, unified state as well as in a small one. Engels pointed out that the central and unitary France of 1792-1793 was more democratic than federative Switzerland. Consistent democracy is quite compatible with centralism. The existence of the Soviet state, moreover, with its unified planned economy is inconceivable except on the basis of a democratic centralism which combines strong, unified state government with the administrative power exercised by locally elected Soviets of working people's Deputies.

Soviet federalism is based on principles which played little or no part in the formation of old federations. The division of territory to form component parts of the Soviet federations follows the national principle and not the geographical, historical or any other principle predominating in other federations.

A nation, in Stalin's definition, is a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture.

By virtue of these characteristics a nation strives toward the establishment of its own national state.

Soviet theory holds this aspiration to be lawful and historically justified. Soviet theory and practice recognise a nation's right to self-determination, including the right of a nation to secede from the state of which it is a part at any time it may so desire and to form an independent state. The recognition of the right to self-determination does not imply any foregone conclusions as to the results of such an act.

A nation may declare for secession from the state of which it is a part and for the establishment of an independent state; it may declare for the retention of ties with the given state or for joining another state. In each separate case the nation enjoys absolute freedom in deciding questions affecting its political forms in the way best suited to its own needs.

It would, however, be wrong to identify the Soviet principle of the right of nations to self-determination with the so-called principle of nationality advanced in the last century by the Italian Maucini and warmly supported by Reinach, Laurent and Gradovsky, all of whom considered the mono-national state, however small, as the most desirable under all circumstances.

Such an identification would be all the more erroneous since Soviet doctrine shows a preference, *ceteris paribus*,

for the large multi-national state providing it is established on the principles of the voluntary participation and absolute equality of nationalities.

The progressive significance of such a large multi-national state lies in the fact that it facilitates the economic development of the several nations it comprises. This is particularly true of a socialist state, where national economy follows a single, unified plan.

The main task therefore of a large, multi-national state is to combine the interests of the whole state with the interests of each nation forming a part of this state on principles of equal and voluntary participation.

Soviet federalism is called upon to carry out this task in the Soviet multi-national state.

Each Soviet federative unit represents a nation or in some cases, (as in Daghestan) a group of nationalities. All federative units in the USSR are established on this principle. This applies not only to the Soviet republics which directly participate in the Union as sovereign members but also to the autonomous republics and autonomous regions—national units which make up the internal autonomous parts of certain Union Republics.

The Soviet federation establishes all-Union legislative and executive authority with jurisdiction over general political, economic and defence problems exercised on the basis of close, fraternal cooperation of all the Soviet peoples. The Soviet federation, moreover, retains the national statehood of each nationality forming a part of the USSR as an expression of the sovereignty of the given nationality and as a means of solving special tasks connected with national political economic and cultural development. National statehood implies the existence of a state apparatus for each nation which functions in the native language of the population, is close to the masses, knows their specific mode of life and needs and is in harmony with the spirit of the national culture of the given people. Such a form of statehood is an essential requirement of true democracy.

Thus we see that Soviet federalism is an instrument for solving the national question on the basis of Soviet democracy and genuine self-determination of nations. Herein lies its essential significance.

Only with this as an initial premise can one comprehend the qualities and specific features of Soviet federalism as distinct from other forms of federalism.

FROM SAN FRANCISCO TO PEACE

Sir William Beveridge writes in "News-Chronicle":—
The Charter of the United Nations was signed at San Francisco on June 26 last.

Its opening words declare the determination of the fifty-one nations whose representatives then signed it and most of whose Governments have since ratified their signatures, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war." For this purpose the Charter establishes an international organisation to be known as the United Nations.

It establishes as the main organs of the new institution: an Assembly of all the nations taking part, in which all nations are equally represented; a Security Council of seven members in which a special position is accorded to five Powers—the United States, Soviet Russia, Britain, France and China; a World Court for arbitration, and a

number of other committees and councils for special purposes.

The new organisation is to meet for the first time in London in January. The Charter setting it up is a long one, but even so could not deal with all the practical issues that will arise in getting the United Nations into being as a going concern for the prevention of war.

In order to prepare the way, it was agreed accordingly, on the same day as that on which the Charter was signed, to set up a Preparatory Commission to make recommendations on these practical points and to draft the detailed procedure of the new organisation. This is the Commission which is now sitting and hard at work in London.

It is not at all surprising that a preparatory Commission should be needed or that its task should be long and difficult. For the Charter of the United Nations, if it means anything at all, means a fundamental change in the government of the world, the setting up of a new world authority with real power to bring about the settlement of all disputes between all nations, whether they like it or not, by means other than war between those nations.

It means a transfer to a world authority of some of the rights hitherto claimed by each of the fifty-one nations for itself separately. Though, by a hotly disputed clause in the Charter, each of the five Great Powers who have permanent seats on the Security Council can veto almost any action by the Council, and so, if it chooses, can remain aloof, none of the other forty-six nations has this right. Their absolute unlimited sovereignty is gone already.

But while, to establish the rule of law between nations, we must have a world authority with real power over some questions, we do not want that world authority to have power over all questions or, indeed, over most questions. To allow this would be to abolish national governments in favour of a world-State.

The San Francisco Charter which is based upon national governments, provides in so many word that nothing in the Charter shall authorise the United Nations to deal with matters which are exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of any nation.

But there is nothing in the Charter to define what matters in future should be regarded as domestic and what as international. The boundary between the new world authority and the existing national governments is nowhere marked: the drawing of this boundary becomes thus one of the main technical problems of political science with which the world is faced.

The nature of the problem can be illustrated by one of the points which caused much discussion at San Francisco: is the immigration policy of each nation a purely domestic matter on which each nation can decide absolutely for itself, or can it be brought as a dispute before the United Nations? The problem will probably be solved experimentally rather than by constitutional drafting, but it needs, and we may hope that it is receiving, a great deal of hard thinking by those who are preparing for the work of the United Nations.

An equally important and more immediate question arises as to the regulation of armaments. The San Francisco Charter proceeds on the basis of each nation continuing to have its own armed forces.

Its authors did not really face the issue that prevention of war means preventing any nation from using armed

force except to give effect to an international decision. But they did realise that one can no longer leave every nation to have whatever armed force it thinks fit without reference to others; that is the certain route to fresh wars, by competitive arming and mutual fear. They provided accordingly for preparation of plans for regulation of armaments.

Since they did this, the atomic bomb has burst and made regulation of armaments, including atomic bombs, one of the most urgent of all the tasks before the United Nations. If the United Nations cannot regulate this, that is to say, if they cannot prevent preparations in many different countries to use atomic energy for mutual destruction, they cannot make even a beginning of their job of saving mankind from the scourge of war.

A less important but even more immediate question has to be settled and appears at the moment to be occupying largely the thoughts of the Preparatory Commission. Where is this new organ of world government to have its headquarters?

A majority of the committee which considered this matter favoured a site in the United States of America, and delegations from various American States and cities are in England at this moment presenting invitations to Philadelphia, to Chicago, to Atlantic City and so forth.

This is not a question on which it is easy or perhaps wise for anyone who has not heard the whole discussion to have a definite view. I confess to finding the suggestion attractive. Certainly most of the arguments used against it are bad arguments.

One such argument is that to place the seat of the United Nations in the territory of any of the Great Powers would give to that Power undue influence in the organisation. Does anyone seriously suppose that the representatives of 50 other nations would become American in outlook because they met in the United States?

Another bad argument is the currency argument, that it is going to be difficult for the other nations to find the American dollars needed to pay for their representatives.

This argument is bad because, though dollars will be scarce, all nations will be able to have some dollars, and all nations ought to regard the getting of peace and maintaining the organisation of peace as having the first claim on any resources which they have. To be ready to spend dollars on petrol or guns or even on food and not on peace would betray a fantastically wrong sense of values.

There is yet one more argument which I have seen used against placing the United Nations' organisation in America, which seems to me even worse than all other arguments. This is that the United Nations' organisation should be placed in Europe because wars are most likely to arise in Europe.

Even if there had been no Pearl Harbour, this argument would be bad. The lesson of two world wars is that wars wherever they start, are the common concern of all the world.

Most people in the United States realise that now but there are still some isolationists left who in spite of experience think that wars can be localised. To use from this side of the Atlantic an argument to encourage isolationism on the other side is foolish beyond words.

But the physical location of the new world-authority is a minor point as compared with the other things which the Preparatory Commission has to do. All humanity must wish a blessing on their labours and on the labours of the United Nations for which they are preparing.

But blessing will come only if the preparatory commission and the United Nations regard as the only vital thing in all their Charter—the thing which stands first there—the prevention of war; if they realise that this means a transfer of some decisions from national governments to an international authority.

We cannot make the omelette of peace without breaking the eggs of national sovereignties.

THE ATOM BOMB AND THE FUTURE.

From an ethical point of view the bombing of Hiroshima and especially of Nagasaki, poses an issue that will not down. That issue has two distinct aspects. First, there is the question, not yet answered in the highest official circles, why a demonstration of the bomb was not made in some relatively unoccupied area of Japan, accompanied by an ultimatum concerning its use upon Japanese cities. It is argued that this could not have prolonged the war by more than a few days, since a refusal by the Japanese government to capitulate in the face of so dire a threat would have been followed by the kind of attack that was actually carried out without specific warning. There are reports, which it would seem should be disproved if untrue, that the bombing of Nagasaki was primarily a military experiment, and that the attack on the two cities without such a relatively innocuous demonstration as above suggested was contrary to the urgent request of the scientists engaged in the project. Major General Groves, who was in charge of the atom bomb project, was quoted in the press as saying that a warning demonstration to the Japanese was considered and ruled out because it would have eliminated the element of surprise. "The Japanese could have steeled themselves against it." Also, they "would have made a big propaganda in this country against it." They might even have found a way to stop it, "perhaps shooting down the plane." On its face, this statement suggests that only a demonstration with huge slaughter would have satisfied the Army, which is the principle on which terror bombing rests. It should be noted that these remarks were made in an interview and not in a prepared statement. More fundamental perhaps, is the question whether air warfare has not progressively degenerated into indiscriminate attack, with the atomic bomb merely climaxing the gradual substitution of obliteration bombing which at the outset was regarded as a peculiarly satanic device of the Nazis and the Fascists.

Much has been written about the effect of the new weapon on warfare. Up to this moment it appears that if one nation or stable alliance of nations possessed the weapon and others continued to be without it the preponderance of offensive power that it gives would make the result of a war a forgone conclusion. However, military history is as full of surprises in defensive weapons as in those of offense. Radar is the outstanding example in the war just ended. As Lyman Bryson of C.B.S. has said, "the inventions of new weapons of offense lead to new

forms of defense, which almost keep up with them—almost but not quite." Our military authorities are talking about discoveries already made or in the offing which will make protection against the bomb a possibility. The preponderance of evidence, however, indicates that no adequate defense is known at the present time. The scientists who are most familiar with it are of this opinion and some of them have rebuked the military men for holding out false hopes. The bombs to be developed will dwarf those already demonstrated. If used on a substantial scale, even though only one of the units employed should get through, the others being intercepted, it would suffice to annihilate a national capital and the entire machinery of the central government.

The possibility of detonating the bomb by radio would invite its clandestine use through secret agents before hostilities had ostensibly opened, substituting for a declaration of war the pulverizing of the cities and major industries of the countries attacked. Professor Reuben Gustav of Chicago University, one of our most eminent scientists, has declared: "It is altogether possible that relatively small numbers of workers in a small country, such as Denmark, could develop all the facilities which are necessary without a single bomber. With only a runway, a rocket, and an atomic bomb a man in Copenhagen might be able to destroy Berlin."

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN BANDRA.

Sir, With reference to the letter of 'Bandraite' regarding Primary Education in Bandra appearing in your issue of the 27th of October 1945, I have to inform you that what has been stated therein is not wholly correct. The children of school-going age are never refused admission in the Municipal Schools under any circumstances but on the other hand, the parents of these children are persuaded to send them to schools by various persuasive and coercive measures such as issuing of notices and attendance orders, meetings and prosecutions, etc. The School Board had to introduce the Shift System in some of their schools to relieve congestion and they have spared no efforts to obtain additional accommodation for their schools but unfortunately due to the abnormal times their efforts did not meet with success.

It is, however, found that some children from a Christian locality were refused admission in the Approved Schools due to the want of adequate accommodation. I may state here that there has been an unprecedented rise in the population of the city during the last two years and the school authorities have not been able to meet this additional rise adequately and hence the enforcement of compulsion could not be wholly practicable in that area. I may, however, assure you that the matter is receiving the closest consideration of the School Board, and I hope the author of the letter will appreciate the difficulties we have to encounter.

Under the present exceptional circumstances, the School Board may think of opening some schools or take some such other measures as would facilitate the working of the Free and Compulsory Education Scheme in that area.

C. C. SUTARIA
Chairman
School Board, Bandra.

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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 Sapru Report:—From our hasty comment on a summary of the Sapru Committee's Report last week, readers might have gathered that the Committee recommended that provinces should be given the right to remain outside the proposed Union. This was due to a misunderstanding of the passage referring to the manner in which the Union is proposed to be constituted. The Committee clearly and emphatically disapprove of the rights of non-accession and secession being given either to Provinces or States. It is in favour of a single Union including States and Provinces with ample autonomy delegated to the units, and concurrent powers to the Centre for use when occasion demands. We generally approve of this and other recommendations with the exception of parity of representation for Hindus and Muslims and the vesting of residual functions in Provinces. This is made conditional on the abolition of communal electorates. Even so limited and qualified, we are unable to acquiesce in the formula. It is not that we apprehend any immediate catastrophic results as the result of there being an equal number of Hindus and Muslims in the Assembly. It will not in the least matter if, as the result of a free election by common electorates, Muslims have actually a majority in the Assembly. The fixing of a limit will necessarily bar this possibility. Under the parity formula Muslims will be eternally limited to an equal number with Hindus and Hindus with Muslims. If there are fifty able Muslims and only twenty able Hindus, thirty of the former will be statutorily deprived of the right and the opportunity to serve their common country as legislators. The principle is wrong. While there can and should be compromise on details there can be none on principles. No thinking Muslim—and these are many—would be happy at having such an artificial advantage foisted on them as the price of their agreeing to forego separate electorates.

Weightages the Real Evil:—Our view is that separate electorates as such are a national, though not inevitable, consequence of the existence of separate communities among us. Even if joint electorates were adopted, Muslims will as a rule vote for Muslims, and Hindus for Hindus. In the recent election in Bombay city to the Central Assembly, it is plain that the bulk of the Parsi votes went to Mr. Masani placing him at the head of the poll. What is objectionable is that there should be weightages given to Muslims at the expense of the Hindus. As the *Reformer* has pointed out again and again this is tantamount either to disfranchising a section of Hindus or enfranchising a non-existent section of Muslims. Political equity cannot be sacrificed at the altar of expediency. If Muslims will not agree to representation in proportion to population and if the British Government in view of its commitments to the Muslims, cannot do away with weightages, obviously constitutional reform cannot go forward, and the alternatives are either to let things slide or accept as inevitable unconstitutional agitation as the only way out. There are occasions when the fire is preferable to the frying pan in the life of individual and nations. The most valuable part of the Report is the deadly exposure of the circumstances in which the communal principle came to be adopted. The very wording of the address presented to Lord Minto by the Muslim deputation were dictated in a letter from the Private Secretary to the Viceroy, Dunlop-Smith, in a letter to the Muslim leaders. Lady Minto in her Reminiscences used the word "engineered" of this episode in Indian politics.

Why Drag India?—When it was announced some days ago that Britain was about to sign a Peace Treaty with Siam, the United States State Department demanded postponement on the ground that the terms were unconscionable and that the American Government in the discharge of its responsibility for the settlement of Eastern Asia, could not agree to their imposition on a poor, weak and small country. A day or two later the American Government withdrew its demand. What passed between the two Governments in the interval and how American scruples were overcome, are not known. The Peace Treaty was signed on New Year's Day. The signatories were Mr. M. E. Dening on behalf of Britain and Mr. M. S. Aney on behalf of India. Except for a single clause, namely, that relating to the restoration of sequestered property, India has nothing in the Treaty of interest to her. There was no need for the specific mention

of India as the clause relating to the restoration of sequestered property in British territories, covers India also. Even otherwise, a separate Treaty relating to this matter might have been easily drafted and signed by the representative of India. By signing this Treaty, India is made party to all the other terms some of which, notwithstanding the withdrawal of American protest, are exorbitant in all conscience and are bound to cripple Siam for several generations. And the irony of it is that all the benefits exacted from the Siam are to go to Britain, very little to India. A national Indian Government would never have agreed to the imposition of such terms on a sister country. Take only the free gift of one and a half million tons of rice to Britain for use in Malaya and Burma. There can be no doubt that the Siamese population will feel the effect of this exaction if not in actual starvation, in the soaring of the price of their staple article of food. Speaking for ourselves, the people of Siam should clearly understand that the people of India have not been asked and, if asked, would not have agreed to this demand on a people bound to themselves by ties of culture and common aspirations from ancient times. This action of the British Government is, on the same lack of principle as the employment of Indian troops in Indo-China and Indonesia. The troops had to obey orders but Mr. Aney is under no such obligation and he would have better vindicated the reputation of his country if he had declined to be a party to this Treaty on behalf of his countrymen.

Pethick Lawrence Messages:—Lord and Lady Pethick Lawrence have sent New Year messages, the former to the All India Women's Conference at Hyderabad (Sind) and the latter to the Indian people. Both husband and wife, it is clear beyond doubt, appreciate India not only as the producer of raw material for Lancashire Mills, and field for employment, on wages not obtained elsewhere, in India in maintaining law and order and in developing industries the profits of which are largely taken out of the country, but also as a land from which cultural and spiritual currents have enriched several parts of the world. Their desire to help India is sincere. Lord Pethick Lawrence, however, harps on the communal differences and the responsibility of Indians to enable the British Government to implement its desire to give freedom to India, by effacing all differences.

Liaison Officers for Provinces:—While negotiations with British Indian leaders are being protracted in various ways, the unity of India is being seriously compromised in diverse ways and by diverse interests. The Nizam has sent a deputation of his State industrialists to negotiate with British industrialists for developing his Dominion industries. The Tatas have made a combine with Imperial Chemicals. The Government of India has announced that it is appointing liaison officers with provincial Governments in order to make coordination of activities easier. This means that the provinces are to be treated as independent states sending and receiving Ambassadors to and from the Delhi Government. The Central Government is thus forestalling the constitutional future of India by themselves abdicating.

Crowning Humiliation:—The use of Indian troops to kill nationalism in Indo-China and Indonesia is

the last straw. It is an assertion of Britain's right to override India's deepest sentiments of self-respect. As an English publicist remarked some time back, it is a mortal stab in the soul of India. Much may be forgiven to British Imperialism, the sterling balances may be scaled down and out. But this calculated humiliation of India in the eyes of her Asiatic friends and near neighbours whose goodwill is worth a thousand times more than the highest benefits of French and Dutch culture, will rankle for long. The Parliamentary deputation that is coming to India will find this a handicap in establishing fruitful contacts with Indian opinion.

The first I.N.A. Court Martial: The first Court Martial on three National Indian Army Officers, Captains Shah Nawaz, Sehgal and Lieutenant Dhillon, concluded on Monday and the result was announced on Thursday in a Press Communiqué. The Commander-in-Chief, Sir Claude Auchinleck, confirmed the finding of the Court Martial that the officers were guilty of the offence of waging war against the King but remitted the sentence of transportation for life passed by the Court Martial in conformity with the law. The proceedings were throughout on a high level unlike some of the trials of "war criminals" in Europe. The Commander-in-Chief's decision has been described as blending law with mercy. That is not the correct view. The officers on trial did not ask for mercy and they would not like to accept any mercy for their conduct in taking up arms for the freedom of their country. Subhas Bose, their leader, acted much Count Cavour did in associating his country with the French in overthrowing Austrian domination of Italy. Sir Claude Auchinleck's decision is of first-rate political importance. For the first time in the history of British rule in India, the highest military authority in the country has in coming to a decision of fundamental importance to army discipline entered into the skin, looked with the eyes and judged with the heart of the heart of the people of the country. The Commander-in-Chief's action, if it reflects, as we think it does, the new policy of the British Government in India, is of happy augury. The decision is bound to have a healthy effect on the political situation and predispose many to a cooperative frame of mind in the solution of the political deadlock. It is desirable that the other Court-Martials now sitting or which are being contemplated should be dropped in view of the result of the first. If there were any who thought that the publicity given to the Court-Martial proceedings was a mistake, they must acknowledge that they were mistaken. It has brought the Government and the public into closer touch and sympathy that anything else could have done.

Monkey Dance in Tokyo:—The Japanese Emperor in a broadcast to his people repudiated any title to be regarded as divine for himself, and for his people to call themselves a superior race. This has pleased General MacArthur. The General's "directives" recall nothing so much as the sight common in Indian bazaar of itinerant entertainers leading a monkey by a chain attached to a belt about its waist and making it dance to their tunes for the delectation of crowds. The Japanese from the Emperor downwards, seem to have accepted the role cheerfully and are playing to every tune which the General calls. Are they earnest or is it their national art, *ju-jitsu* on a nationwide scale? The General regards "Democracy" as a panacea for all ills, political, economic, social, spiritual?

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, January 5, 1946.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

On Friday, December 28, fell the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Indian National Congress. The Congress was started at the suggestion of Lord Dufferin, then Viceroy of India, to Mr. Allan Octavian Hume, a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service who, after holding high office in the Government of India, had retired and settled down in this country. Throughout his official career, Hume had striven to bring the administration in line with the life and aspirations of the people. There is some difference of opinion regarding what Lord Dufferin wished the Congress to be. His own version is that he wanted it to work for social reforms. Hume, however, believed that the Viceroy wanted a popular organisation to which Government might look for reliable reflection of Indian opinion. Whichever was the correct view, a body to represent the different sections of the Indian population should, it was thought, confine itself to political questions. Kashinath Trimbak Telang's argument that Government could be more easily persuaded to adopt reforms than society and that, therefore, they should adopt politics as the line of least resistance, carried the day. Within ten years of its birth, the Congress had its first crisis. The Age of Consent Bill which proposed to raise the limit of age of girls below which sexual intercourse was criminal and to extend the law to the marital relation, roused strong opposition from the conservative section of the population. Lokamanya Tilak launched a campaign to prevent the Social Conference which had been started as an adjunct to the Congress being held, as it was being done, in the Congress pavilion. The Congress leaders by a majority rejected his demand, but Mr. Ranade, then General Secretary of the Social Conference, waived the permission and held the Conference in another place.

Within the next five years, Congress had to pass through another crisis. The prosecution of Tilak for sedition and the apology of Gokhale, both in relation to plague operations, produced a rift in Congress ranks, which, however, did not develop into an open split until 1908 when the Bengal Partition agitation had a serious repercussion in the Congress outburst at Surat. Two years earlier, Gokhale in his presidential address to the Benares Congress had declared self-government on the colonial model as the goal of the Congress. Until then administrative reforms within the Queen's Proclamation, had been the main objective of the Congress. The Congress of 1915, was the last held on the original basis. In that year Gokhale and Sir P. M. Mehta died and after a short struggle with Dr. Besant, Lokamanya Tilak got control of it. The Lucknow Pact endorsing communal electorates, was the outstanding achievement of his five year leadership. Tilak died in 1920 and Gandhiji stepped into his shoes with general consent.

Thirty years have elapsed since the old co-operation gave place, first to conditional co-operation and then to non-cooperation. Now, a new chapter has opened in Congress history. The inspiration for the new era, came

from S. Srinivasa Aiyangar and Subhas Chandra Bose. Srinivasa Aiyangar moved and Subhas Bose seconded in the Madras Congress so long ago as 1927, a resolution fixing Independence as the goal of the Congress. It was adopted but Gandhiji smothered it, until two years later he himself proposed it at the Lahore Congress. Srinivasa Aiyangar never recovered from the shock. A great change came over him. He despaired of the future of the country. Srimathi Ambujammal's testimony is emphatic. Referring to the Tripura Congress which her father attended, she writes:

"There was strong opposition to Subhas Bose's group from the older protagonists of the Congress. Very little consideration was shown to the President elected to guide the session, Subhas Chandra Bose. His party was described by one leader as "a leaky boat". Opinion of leaders being thus divided, what could the rank-and file do? How can they venture to take passage in the leaky boat? Subhas Bose did not secure party-support. Father returned to Madras from Tripura convinced that his attending it was fruitless. He often said, 'There is no future destiny for the country. Purna Swaraj is a dream of dreams. It will not be realised'."

When Germany and Japan declared war, Aiyangar was very much distressed. He often said: "I have all along pleaded for the Congress to raise a National Army to defend the country from foreign invasion and to train our people in the use of arms. Nobody would listen. Everything has been ruined by the doctrine of Ahimsa. The country is being reduced to mud walls. What strength have we?" A popular party within the Congress with himself as President and Subhas Bose as Secretary, did not flourish. Subhas Bose lingered on for about ten years, and he too found the Congress atmosphere stifling, and left the country to help it to gain its freedom with outside help.

Though both these men are gone, they have left a definite impress on the Congress. It is no longer a Gandhian Congress. Those who voted for the recent Working Committee's resolution about non-violence know this quite well. A new meaning of non-violence, and it is the true meaning of Ahimsa, has been given by Subhas Bose's efforts in Malaya and Burma. His efforts have failed in their immediate purpose, but they have left behind lessons which will not be soon forgotten. Pandi-Jawaharlal Nehru, though a loyal party man, is capable of thinking freely and aloud. He has called attention to the complete success of Subhas Bose in uniting all classes and creeds of Indians. Gandhiji's well-meant and laborious efforts have only widened and deepened the gulf between Hindus and Muslims and between caste Hindus and the depressed classes. The only way of uniting all castes and communities is an active, militant pursuit of a great and glowing ideal. Gandhiji's "constructive plan" has no appeal to the imagination and does not furnish a motive for sustained enthusiasm. Speaking recently in Bengal, Gandhiji referring to the August disturbances, declared that there had been departures from non-violence but that was not to be taken as the failure of the principle but they were the failure of the people. This nice distinction between principle and people is more confusing than clarifying. In August 1942 and the following months there were people close to the Congress

who believed that Gandhiji had promulgated a definition of non-violence which was not absolute and unconditional. But that is not the main point. Ahimsa, in our view, is not emasculating non-violence. It is an invigorating idea which looks to the motive behind the deed and if the motive is pure and unselfish, absolves the deed of all taint of violence. An individual or nation fighting for freedom, that is to save its soul, is performing an act of dedication entirely in the spirit of Ahimsa. The Indian National Congress has throughout observed and will continue to observe Ahimsa in this sense, if it is to continue a living force.

MRS. HANSA MEHTA'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

The presidential address to the eighteenth session of the All India Women's Conference, might have been delivered with equal appropriateness at any Conference which dealt with subjects bearing on social and family life. There is not a single topic on which Mrs. Hansa Mehta touched, which would have been inappropriate for discussion in a mixed or even an exclusively men's Conference. The fact is that whatever might have been the case a few years ago, today there is no hard and fast line dividing the men's from the women's sphere. Modern total war demands that women as well as men should be ready and competent to shoulder every task including the use of the rifle. With the general line of Mrs. Mehta's thesis and with most of the specific recommendations which she made, we are in full agreement. Where we are inclined to qualify or amplify her suggestions, is not matters between men and women but entirely on the merits and principles as they concern each individual topic and correspond to contemporary facts. For example, Mrs. Mehta pleaded for the right of wives to limit their families. Mrs. Mehta is no doubt aware that there have of late been quite a number of cases in England in which wives applied for divorce on the ground that their husbands insisted on using contraceptive appliances. The highest Court in England has held that this insistence was a violation of the main object of marriage as recognised by every social and religious system and its denial was, therefore, a proper ground for the dissolution of marriage. It is, of course, extremely difficult to generalise in such a matter. But it is probable that as in European countries the incentive to birth control comes mostly from husbands who find large families impediments to their careers in life. A French writer, Dumont has called this tendency "social capillarity" mostly prevalent in communities which have a large measure of political equality and a small measure of economic equality. A poor man may aspire to be President or Prime Minister but if he was burdened with a large family his energies are likely to be absorbed in keeping the wolf from the door. That this problem is present in India, is evident from the fact that the first places in politics and public life tend to be occupied by widowers or if their partners are alive, by men and women who, have virtually to lead a life of political sanyasins. This tendency will become increasingly accentuated with the extension of political freedom without economic

equality. There is also the danger that if a wife claims and exercises the right of veto against the wishes of her husband, he may in the present state of the law and public opinion marry a second or even a third wife if he was really anxious to make his maximum contribution to the population. It is extremely doubtful if, in the light of the English decision, an Indian court will find that a wife can decline motherhood if her husband is determined to impose it on her. This is a question which should be left to be regulated by the growth of public opinion and is not capable of being enforced by statute.

Mrs. Mehta wants a women's charter. With our experience of the Atlantic and other charters, she is very sanguine about the efficacy of charters. The relation between the sexes can only be the outcome of enlightenment and mutual goodwill. Statutory enforcement of conjugal happiness is sure to result in much needless estrangement on trivial grounds. We entirely endorse Mrs. Mehta's plea on behalf of housewives. In fact, the *Reformer* has more than once called attention to their case and given prominence to the deliberations on the subject at International Conferences. We believe that there is already considerable searching of hearts in India as in other lands in the matter. In numerous middle class Indian homes it will be wrong to say that the position of woman is one of economic dependence. We doubt if depending on an employer for a monthly salary will be a great improvement in their economic status from the women's own point of view. Men have not found that a job in a Government office a private firm, is an or a avenue to freedom secular or spiritual. We do not think that there will be appreciable opposition to a fixed proportion of the husband's earnings being allotted to the wife who manages the household. At the same time, it must be remembered that there is no trade or profession which is without its element of drudgery. Lenin declared that one of the first objects of the Soviet State would be to relieve women of household drudgery. This can be effected by the use of labour-saving appliances and by cooperative house-keeping and in other ways. The extensive electrification programme planned for the post-war years will prove of tremendous assistance in this important domestic reform.

Mrs Hansa Mehta referred at the outset of her address to a question which is causing great anxiety. A very large number of young women have been lured by attractive salaries to service in the departments created in the war emergency. Mrs. Mehta voiced a wide-spread concern when she said in her address:-

"Among the problems created by the war, those which immediately concern us as women are one or two to which I shall draw your attention. A number of women were employed in the various departments created during the war by the central and provincial Governments. These women will be out of employment when the departments are closed as they will have to be. What will happen to them? Will they be absorbed by the Governments concerned in other services? They have been paid well for their work which has enabled them to raise their standard of life. They have enjoyed their economic freedom and it will indeed be a great hardship to them if they are left stranded without any prospects of future employment.

"But the problem that makes one feel most anxious is that of the members of the Women's Auxiliary Corps in

India known as the W. A. C. (I)s. What is the future in store for them? Those who have been trained as nurses can easily find work in hospitals or private practice as there is a great demand for trained nurses all over the country. But what will happen to those who are trained for secretarial or other jobs? We do not know how many women joined the Corps. I daresay the salary attached to the service must have attracted a large number of women. The stories one hears about the kind of work they were required to do are not very reassuring. We would like to know more about them, more especially as the Government of India intend to continue this women's section of the war department for at least another year. We hear stories that some of them have borne illegitimate children; and that one in every five has been infected with foul disease. I daresay these tales are exaggerated but at the same time I feel there must be some grain of truth in them. If there is, then we would like to know what steps are taken to help the unfortunate victims of war who have suffered and are suffering. We would like to know if those who are suffering from disease are taken care of by the Government, and are receiving proper treatment. If they are allowed to go as they are, they will spread the infection and become a menace to the social health of the country. The Conference should appoint a special committee to investigate into these questions and find ways and means to help those women who require our help. If we can utilise the training and experience of the W.A.C.(I)s for the educational and social work in rural areas, they will be an asset to the nation. But with their expensive habits of life it is doubtful if they can now settle down in villages where their help is required most."

The problem exists in every country which has felt the impact of the War. It exists in a far more acute form in countries like Britain which bore the brunt of the war. But there is one and a very important difference. In Britain the Government collectively and its members individually are units of the society which has suffered. They know where the shoe pinches. They have their hands on the mechanism of society as well as the state. In India, this is not the case. The men who are in supreme control are several thousand miles away. They are utterly out of touch with Indian society. They do not know and do not care what effects their measures may have upon the intimate domestic and social life of the people. Their agents are mostly here for a few years. What happens after that period is of no concern to them.

S. SRINIVASA AIYANGAR (BY K. NATARAJAN)

My statement last week that Srinivasa Aiyangar is represented in his daughter's life of him as a domestic autocrat, needs correction. What Ambujammal says is that she has carried from her childhood the impression of his masterfulness in the household, notwithstanding that in later years he broadened and mellowed as the head of the family. Household affairs in their entirety were left to Mrs. Srinivasa Aiyangar. Even the disposition of professional fees were settled between her and the gurnastah (clerk). Aiyangar kept with him only the cheque book, notes Ambujammal with conscientious accuracy. She notes also that while her father was very strict about his

professional remuneration, he would not press people who could not afford to pay and that in cases which he lost he would even forego payment. This seldom happened as Ambujammal says that her father rarely accepted briefs except in cases in which he was absolutely sure of succeeding.

Srinivasa Aiyangar did not believe in courting imprisonment in pursuit of India's freedom. He thought that it was sheer waste of time and energy which might be employed better in working for national salvation. When his daughter—she was his favourite child—came under the spell of the Gandhian satyagraha, he clearly explained to her his strong objection to jail going. But when she felt unhappy over it, he impressed on her that she should not seek imprisonment because some one else did so or out of a desire for public applause. Only if she felt in her inmost conscience that she can serve a great cause by courting imprisonment, would she be justified in doing so, and in that case he would not come in the way of her acting on her convictions. When, however, Ambujammal was taken to Vellore Jail to serve her term, her father with her mother went regularly with baskets of fruit for interviews to Vellore. On the first occasion, the interviewees were kept in a cage, and Srinivasa Aiyangar refused to have the interview, saying he could not bear to see his daughter in a cage, the cage was dispensed with in subsequent interviews.

Similarly, when Ambujammal felt a strong desire to spend sometime in the Wardha Ashram, Srinivasa Aiyangar, who had then become violently estranged from Gandhiji, sharply expressed his disapproval. When she insisted, however he himself took her to Wardha and, commending her to Gandhiji's special care as she had never before been away from home, left the same day for Madras.

* * * *

I ended last week with the remark that C. R. Das and Srinivasa Aiyangar returned home from the Bangalore Railway station in a 'hilarious' mood. It occurs to me that this may be misunderstood. In many towns the Railway restaurant is the only place where foreign liquor is to be had and townsmen with a taste for alcoholic drinks, resort surreptitiously to it under the pretext of receiving friends, and have a drink, come home hilariously on account of the liquor. Srinivasa Aiyangar and I have no doubt, Das also were total abstainers, Ambujammal does not say that her father did not drink or smoke. It was quite superfluous to do that. Srinivasa Aiyangar, she says, would never have hotel food. Even in travelling he took his own cook who prepared his orthodox vegetarian meal on a primus stove. The only occasion when he dispensed with his cook was when he went on a three months tour in Europe. He made a thorough job of it. He visited Moscow and had an interview with Marshal Stalin at the Kremlin. On his return he found that the Nehru Report, which had been just then published, had ignored the Independence resolution of the Congress and had also disregarded his settlement of the Hindu Muslim question. He was disgusted. It may be recalled that Muslims refused to accept the recommendations of the Report. Srinivasa Aiyangar indignantly declared that Hindu Muslim unity had been wantonly sacrificed and that the gulf between the two communities was bound to widen and could not be closed and that Gandhiji was partial to Pandit Motilal Nehru and hostile to him.

* * * *

In the last years of his life Ambujammal says, the repressed religious feeling in her father cropped up vigorously. Verses of the *Bhagavad Gita* were constantly on lips. There is hardly a book published has in India nowadays of a biographical character in which the inspiration of the *Gita* fails to manifest itself. Cohen Portheim in his "Spirit of France", if I remember aright, demands that India must be called in to cooperate in world reconstruction. Not the present day India, he immediately adds: it is too tainted by western influence, but the India of the *Bhagavad Gita*. I think that this call is being answered.

A BANDRA DIARY.

I have often had occasion to discuss with friends the propriety of a total abstainer offering liquor to his guests. Most of my friends agreed that it is not proper and that guests should not expect their hosts to disregard their personal conviction on a mistaken notion of hospitality. One of the friends was the late Sir Akbar Hydari. He would not, of course, provide liquor to guests in his own home. But when he was Chief Minister of Hyderabad, and had to arrange State banquets the question presented itself in a somewhat different form. The Chief of the State is a Mahomedan. The Koranic injunction against liquor is more peremptory than the Shastric among Hindus. Hydari decided that it was not right in the circumstances to provide liquor at State banquets. He communicated his decision to the Viceroy's entourage. It did not meet with a favourable reception. He next appealed to the Viceroy. Lord Irwin warmly approved Hydari's idea. It will be remembered that in his ordinance against picketing Lord Irwin excluded the picketing of liquor shops.

There are people who though they themselves would not drink liquor, have no objection to provide their guests as without it the guests may not fully enjoy their hospitality. One such was a young friend, an Assistant in some Government Department. He invited his British superior to his house for lunch. He bought two bottles of the most expensive stuff in the market, and placed them before his guest. He told me with some disgust that the man did not finish off both the bottles, and that he had to empty the remaining contents into the gutter. Another friend, more considerate, said that he had to take a few sips to put his guest at ease, and that at his evening *sandhya* he repeated the Gayatri a thousand times to expiate his hospitable lapse.

A kindred subject which agitated reformers fifty years ago was the engagement of dancing women at entertainments to high officials. A public meeting presided over by the great educationist, Dr. William Miller, passed a resolution condemning the practice and the Chairman was authorised to send it to the Viceroy with a covering letter expressing his personal support to the request. Lord Lansdowne replied appreciating the courtesy but, he added, the matter was one for Indian leaders themselves to take the initiative in, and for one in his position to do so would be rude to his hosts. It was a proper reply and nothing more was expected. Today the practice is almost forgotten. The devadasi system itself has disappeared as the result of the growth of public opinion about the dignity of woman-

hood. Dancing has now acquired a high status in study and practice by family women which it could not do so long as it was relegated to women who were absolved from the rule of chastity.

RECLUSE

TO EDUCATE IS TO REDEEM BY HENSELEY C. WOODBRIDGE (Special to the Indian Social Reformer)

Probably no Latin American country is making a greater effort to reduce the illiteracy of its population than Mexico. It is an effort well worth noting and detailed discussion and fortunately it has received some publicity in the United States. Therefore, this article will concern itself with merely showing what is being done to put into effect article fourteen of the law of Aug. 21, 1944 that established the National Literacy Campaign.

This article states: "In view of the importance of each one of the indigenous groups inhabiting national territory and the predominance among them of their native languages, the Ministry of Education cooperating with the Department of Indian Affairs, will decide on the proper methodology and will have bilingual primers printed in order to provide the necessary complement to teaching of Spanish among these groups by brigades of duly qualified teachers."

Statistics vary but it appears that approximately a seventh of the Mexican population have no knowledge whatsoever of Spanish and that the Indian dialects number over a half-hundred. It has become the policy of the government first to reduce to writing the native Indian tongues and then with the help of bi-lingual cartillas to teach the Indians both how to read and write their own language and then how to do the same with Spanish.

For the purposes of this discussion we will limit ourselves to the work of the Institute of Native Languages in preparing teachers for use in the campaign and to the development of the primers.

Sr. Jaime Torres-Bodet, the dynamic Minister of Education, has expressed the purposes of the Institute of Native Languages in his inaugural address. The Minister of Education declared:

"What we are attempting to do is to train a group of well-chosen normal teachers in the fundamental principles of the native tongues so that they may be able to use with rapidity and efficiency the texts that are being edited for the Indian population."

"The fifty professors that will here follow intensive courses will return to the areas in which they are working and each one of them will in his turn teach thirty rural school-teachers so that they may be bi-lingual. At the end of several months we will have some 1,500 capable of fighting illiteracy in the regions where Maya, Nahuatl, Tarascan and Otomi are spoken."

These fifty professors now being trained, twenty of whom speak Nahuatl, ten Maya, ten Otomi and ten Tarascan, in the Mexican capital will return to their native states and these give similar training to thirty rural-school teachers. As the programme advances more native tongues will be reduced to writing and taught along with Spanish, so that within a few years all of the Indian population will be bi-lingual.

The requirements for the teacher being trained are that he must be a graduate of an urban or rural normal school, be a native of their respective areas, and have a working knowledge of the native language of their respective regions. The training course to last for three months is composed of three parts: (1) a linguistical study of the native language and of Spanish, (2) the notions of general and applied anthropology with a special study of the indigenous culture of the area in which the teacher is to work; and (3) the technique of teaching the reading and writing of Spanish and the Indian languages.

The Institute of Native Languages will prepare teachers for a mono-lingual population of nearly a half million spread throughout the Mexican Republic. *Excelsior*, one of the capital's leading dailies, has editorially praised these teachers as being the new missionaries of Mexico and compares them to the Catholic priest. Their task will be what the task of the early Catholic priests was when they attempted to evangelize and teach the Mexican after the Spanish Conquest.

The primers used in the illiteracy campaign among the Indian population are of two types—those used by the federal government are mono-lingual in character it being thought best to first teach members of the Native population to be literate in their tongue.

The literacy lessons of the primers are simply (1) a picture with the printed and written form of the appropriate letter, (2) a series of syllables containing the lesson's letter, (3) a brief story describing the picture, and (4) fifty words in which the letter or syllable is used. In this way the instructor has a guide showing the proper writing of the letter, a series of phonetic illustrations and a description of the picture for dictation or reading comprehension and a series of words to illustrate the sounds studies.

To date only one primer in the native languages has been issued by the Federal government. This primer was devised for the Tarahumara tribe living in Chihuahua. The Mexican press has acclaimed the printing of 30,000 primers in Tarahumara as a "new development in our national culture." The issuance of these primers marks another linguistic highlight, for they are the first publication in this native tongue. The state of Chihuahua has also adopted a bi-lingual primer as an aid in the illiteracy campaign among the natives.

Primers are now in preparation for use among the Maya, Otomi and Nahuatl speaking population.

Beside the state of Chihuahua that of Campeche has been outstanding in attempting to face the problem of Indian illiteracy. In certain municipalities of Campeche such as Calkini, Hecelchakan, Aopelchen and Tenabo it was found that 80% of the inhabitants spoke and used Maya as their only language. This fact served as a challenge to the state and intellectuals of Campeche and to work to lower this figure a contest was held for the best Maya-Spanish bi-lingual primer. A distinguished jury awarded the first prize of a thousand pesos to Prof. Fuigencio Alcocer for his primer entitled LAKIN. The state of Campeche has placed the prize-winning primers at the disposition of the Secretary of Public Education and of the Institute of Native Languages.

The integration of the Indian population as an active sector of the country will not be far off. The other Latin American countries with similar campaigns under way

would be wise to study the methods being used with profit in that of Mexico. For the following remarks of President Camacho are equally true of the whole population: "We wish to give guarantees to all the men and women who form the Mexican Republic. Our Constitution exalts these guarantees. Yet how can we succeed in making a man value his rights, who does not possess a rudimentary knowledge of education? Bolivar, rightly affirmed that 'slavery is the daughter of gross ignorance', and an ignorant people is a blind instrument of its own destruction. Therefore, the Campaign against illiteracy is destined to be an active school of democracy."

SOVIET CONTINUES TSARIST POLICY

Is Soviet Russia's present domination of neighboring countries a Communist policy, or a nationalistic hangover from old tradition? Although not final evidence, a suggestion at least is found in an old "will" transmitted by Chevalier d'Eon de Beaumont in 1757 to Louis XV of France, as representing the ideas of the Russian sovereign; Peter I, on foreign policy. There are striking similarities, when this document is put into the modern scene, between the ideas of Peter and present policies of the Kremlin. The "will" appears in an old book, *History of Russia* by Walter K. Kelly, published in London in 1854 by the wellknown firm of Henry G. Bohn. A Text of the document appears in Vol. I, pages 372-376. It was printed in the *Reformer*.

"No opportunity," says the so-called Will, "must be lost of taking part in the affairs and disputes of Europe, especially in those of Germany, which, from its vicinity, is of the most direct interest to us." Compare this doctrine with the Hitler Stalin Pact, the post-war Soviet program in the Russian occupied zone, and the projected role of Russia vis-a-vis German production.

"Poland must be divided," counsels Peter, "by keeping up constant jealousies and confusion there." The authorities must be gained over with money and the assemblies corrupted so as to influence the election of the kings. "We must get up a party of our own there, send Russian troops into the country, and let them sojourn there so long that they may ultimately find some pretext for remaining there forever." Compare this policy with the present programme, certainly not as cynical, but based on political dominance, army control and Moscow hegemony.

"We must keep Sweden in opposition to Denmark and Denmark to Sweden, and sedulously foster their mutual jealousies," asserted the Czar. Note the Soviet opposition to a Danish-Norwegian-Swedish federation, requests for squelching of critical Swedish newspapers, the continued if modified, occupation of Bornholm, the Island owned by Denmark, but close to Swedish shores.

"We must keep steadily extending our frontiers northward along the Baltic," said Peter, "and southwards along the shores of the Black Sea." Observe the Soviet conquest of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and a part of Finland; note the recent demands for bases on the Black Sea and the Dodecanese, and for special rights to the Dardanelles.

"We must progress," advised the old ruler, "as much as possible in the direction of Constantinople and India. He who can get possession of these points is the real ruler of the world. With this in mind we must provoke

constant quarrels, at one time with Turkey and at another with Persia. We must establish wharves and docks in Euxine (i.e., Black Sea), and by degrees make ourselves the masters of that sea, as well as of the Baltic. We must hasten the downfall of Persia, if possible re-establish the ancient commercial intercourse with the Levant through Syria, and force our way into the Indies, which are the storehouses of the world; once there, we can dispense with British gold."

Examine the foregoing outlook against the continued presence of Soviet (and British) troops in Iran, the Russian demands on Turkey for the cessation of Kars and Ardahan, and the reported landing of new Soviet forces at Bandar Shah and Iranian Azerbaijan.

On some points, though, the parallel breaks down. Soviet unwillingness to allow outside journalists and travellers free access to Russian territories seems a violation of Peter's counsel: "Every possible means must be used to invite from the most cultivated European states commanders in war, and philosophers in peace, to enable the Russian nation to participate in the advantages of other countries, without losing any of its own." Yet there were those wartime conferences at Moscow and Yalta!

Worldover Press

THE ATOM BOMB PROBLEM

A melancholy consideration is the fact, not yet widely noted, that the more democratic a country is the more vulnerable it will be to atomic attack. We have proved that a democracy can make war effectively, but a nation that must in time of peace be continually on guard against unheralded catastrophe from without can scarcely indulge its passion for the freedoms of which democracy consists.

This does not mean that some more or less successful defensive measures may not be found. But the fact remains that from the military point of view the best defense is *attack*. All signs point to this conclusion in the matter of strategy. The notion that mere terror of the bomb will prevent its development has little to support it in history. The record of air, sea and land warfare points in the other direction. Fear on the part of military establishments has the effect of accelerating offense as well as defense. The spectacle of the recent London Conference did not precisely support the idea that the potential threat of the bomb is a great impetus toward the making of peace. Whether fear on the part of the peoples of the world who pay the cost of war in lives and treasure will have deterring effect remains to be seen.

It has been proposed that the atom bomb be "outlawed." The difficulty in achieving this is, of course, documented in the history of warfare. Reinhold Niebuhr has remarked, "Any system of outlawry would only guarantee that the bomb would not be used at the beginning of a major war. It would certainly not secure us against its use before the war was finished."

The extended discussion of national policy with reference to the knowledge America's scientists acquired on the atomic bomb project seems to justify certain generalizations:

The "secret" concerns chiefly the processes of manufacture of the bomb, not the scientific principles involved.

Russian scientists have been credited with the best account of the chain reaction up to the time it was written. It is therefore scarcely accurate to speak of the secret of the bomb. What might properly be so designated is now known throughout the scientific world. On the other hand some of the essential facts concerning the production of the bomb are understood to be unknown even to the British and Canadian governments.

It follows that other nations may be expected to put themselves in position to make atomic bombs within a comparatively short time. A period of from three to five years is commonly mentioned in informed circles. The expense involved would be but a fraction of the two billion dollars our government put into the project. Because time was of the essence alternative experimental processes which would ordinarily have been undertaken in sequence were pursued simultaneously at great cost. It is quite conceivable that even some of the smaller nations will find themselves able in the not very distant future to produce atomic bombs.

The question becomes, then, one of internal strategy. Should the U.S.A. with Great Britain and Canada, maintain exclusive possession of the essential information until satisfactory international commitments are secured respecting the control of military use of atomic energy, or make it known to our erstwhile allies without delay? The crux of the matter is, of course, whether or not the information should be given to the Soviet Union.

President Truman adheres to the position that no disclosures of information should be made until a satisfactory basis of control is internationally agreed upon. Preponderant popular opinion seems to support that view. The issue here, however, is regarded by many as a grave one. If it may be assumed that no nation will have any use for the bomb for a period of years, possession of it by America obviously gives less bargaining power to the U.S. government than would have been the case a few years ago, so far as military considerations go. To use the bomb as a military threat against Russia might be approved by a minority of our people, but there is no evidence that more than a small minority would favour it. Conceivably the Russian government, which continues to be very suspicious of American intentions, might prefer to await its own scientific development of atomic energy rather than to enter into international commitments concerning the bomb. The question therefore arises whether retention by the U.S. government of vital information on the subject may fail to induce an adequate international agreement and may actually engender hostility on the part of the Soviet Union.

Without indulging in speculation we may draw certain inferences from the facts thus far made known.

The atomic bomb has so stepped up the business of modern warfare, and has opened up such a terrifying vista of possibilities now only dimly foreshadowed, that the prevention of war acquires a new urgency. The outlawing of the atomic bomb is theoretically possible, but history furnishes no convincing precedent as to the humanizing of the means of war. Poison gas was never out of the range of apprehension in World War II, and it can hardly be contended that it is as terrible as the atomic bomb, which the nation we regard as the most democratic in the world brought into use.

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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

Science and Politics:—It is natural and proper for every one to magnify his vocation. No one can do his work well unless he has a high idea of its value not only to himself but to the world at large. But surely, it is not necessary for this purpose to decry the vocation of others. Professor Afzal Hussain's remark at the Indian Science Congress over which he presided, that it was the co-operation of scientists and not the wrangling of politicians that can rehabilitate this stricken world, was neither true nor even scientific. Surely, scientists too can wrangle as well as politicians and politicians can co-operate as well as scientists. Besides the scientist nowadays has no independent outlook on world affairs. Scientists cooperated at the bidding of politicians to produce the atom bomb. Politics is a science itself, perhaps the highest science, as its field is the whole of humanity. When the scientist has done his best, is the politician who has to apply his results to the purpose of promoting human welfare. To treat the politician as a pariah is to make government a task only for tyrants. It is unfortunately true that there are many politicians who know only to wrangle but are there no quacks who pass for scientists? Professor Afzal Hussain wanted scientists to exercise control on the rate of increase of population. Is it not the fact that population is rapidly decreasing in countries which have made the most advance in science? And that these countries' politicians are making strenuous efforts to arrest the decline of the birth-rate to prevent extinction from sheer inability to cope with the death-rate? A world which has only scientists and no politicians will be a barren wilderness.

Russia's Super Atom Bomb:—The idea of keeping the technical production of the Atom Bomb a secret confined to the two English speaking nations, is so silly that it is surprising that the heads of the two States should have entertained it. A Belfast scientist, Dr. Raphael Armitage, Director of the Lomeshig Research centre

of Anthropology and Human Biology, disclosed on Monday that Russian scientists have produced an Atom Bomb which could be of any size and could be mass produced. In the preliminary trial a bomb of the size of a tennis ball had a pulverisation range of 83 miles. The Russian bomb did not need a definite amount of uranium. Dr. Armitage who refused to disclose the source of his information, said that the Russian discovery may make the Anglo-American bomb obsolete. Two captured German scientists co-operated with the Russian scientists in producing the new bomb.

Congress Cross-Currents:—The results of the elections for the Indian Legislative Assembly, have shown that the Congress holds a position of such strength in the country that it can afford to indulge in a purge of members belonging to other parties who had hitherto been its members. First to be expelled were the Communists. They still profess the principles many of which have been discarded by the Stalin regime in Russia under the pressure of economic and political exigencies. Virtually, Russian Communism today is no more than the State Socialism of the British Labour Government. Mr. M. N. Roy who figured in Russia politics soon after the Revolution, has started a separate Party known as the Radical Democratic Party. Both the Communists and the Radical Democrats adopted anti-fascist slogans during the war and were in friendly contact with Government. They now denounce the action of the Congress leaders as inspired by capitalistic influence. In their view, capitalists are only Fascists in disguise. Capitalism can be more correctly described as the basis of democracy, both British and American. The importation of the watchwords of European economic warfare which have no relation whatever to conditions in this country, makes both the Communists and the Royists ridiculous.

The Forward Party:—On a different plane is the Forward Party which Mr. Subhas Bose founded after his break with the Congress High Command. An unseemly controversy has cropped up between Mr. Kamath, General Secretary of the Forward Party, and Acharya Kripalani, General Secretary of the Congress. The point of difference seems to be whether Mr. Subhas Bose founded the Forward Party as a part of the Congress or as outside the Congress. The fact that Mr. Bose designated his group as the Forward Bloc would also accord with Mr. Bose's activities in Burma and Malaya where he consistently upheld the Congress as the National Party and Gandhiji as the Father of Indian Nationalism. The single point of difference was about the use of violence in the national struggle. Bose did not

reject non-violence as a principle. He only claimed that he resorted to violence because non-violence for the moment had failed to secure the country's freedom. Acharya Kripalani, however, maintains that the Forward Bloc is not within the Congress as it was founded after "the expulsion of Mr. Bose from the Congress. Mr. Kamath denies the fact of the expulsion. The point could have only an academic interest but for the fact that men who acted with Mr. Bose in the Indian National Army have now declared that they will work under the banner of the Congress.

Why Drag India? Last week we protested against India being made a party to the Treaty between Britain and Siam. It appears that the one and a half million tons of rice which Siam is to hand over as a free gift to Britain, is beyond the capacity of that country to spare. We record with greater conviction a protest against the occupation of Japan by Indian troops and participation of India in the Committee to advise or supervise General MacArthur. India should wash her hands clean of any participation in the Imperialist enterprises of America and Britain in Eastern Asia. China has declared she could not spare troops to occupy Japan, Russia is holding out of the arrangement. India should resolutely refuse any longer to play the jackal to the British lion.

All India Women's Conference:—For some unaccountable reason, the All India Women's Conference Hyderabad (Sind) has not had the favourable reception in the Indian Press as it usually had in past years. The chief criticism is directed to the clothes of the leading lights of the Conference. One journalist has called the Conference a fashion parade. A cartoon in a Karachi journal depicts an old woman in rags seeking and being refused admission into the Conference. This criticism is unfair. At any rate this is not the first Conference which is open to it. The real weakness of the Conference is its obtrusive role of a tame imitation of the Congress in nearly all its proceedings. Lively discussions and unanimous resolutions would seem to be the normal routine. Mrs. Hansa Mehta's Women's Charter is adapted to the mammon worshipping society of today. If she had attacked the mammon worship as women can more effectually than men, the Conference would have gained vastly in power.

India and Indonesia:—Dr. Soekarno in an exclusive article in the Madras *Hindu*, makes an earnest appeal for cooperation among Asiatic nations in the struggle for freedom from white domination, that is, to be free to develop along their own lines and not to be dragged behind the chariot wheels of a civilisation of which the atom bomb is the latest and the most cherished product. Dr. Soekarno refers to the ancient ties between India and Java. "In the veins of every one of my people" he writes, "flows the blood of their Indian ancestors and the culture we possess is steeped through and through with Indian influences. Two thousand years ago people from your country came to Jawadwipa and Swarnadwipa in the spirit of brotherly love." What a tragic irony that the descendants of those pioneers are now engaged in fighting Indonesians in order to crush their effort to free themselves from the domination of aliens in race, religion, culture and world outlook?

Literacy Campaign in Mexico:—We published last week a special article by Mr. Henseley Woodbridge

on the plan of the Mexican Government to educate the one-seventh of the population who have no knowledge whatsoever of Spanish. This is the Indian remnant speaking about fifty dialects. The plan is, first, to make them literate in their own dialects and then to introduce them to the State language, Spanish. This is a departure from the policy of the Spanish conquerors who aimed at making the whole population Catholic and Spanish. The South American Republics although many of them speak the same language, Spanish, form different nations, a proof if one were needed, that language is not a test of nationality.

Why this Discrimination? The British self-governing Dominions are following the All-White policy and are prohibiting coloured races to settle in their territories, notwithstanding that at least two of them are sadly in need of population. Why should the Arabs in Palestine not have the same right to pursue an All-Arab policy? The Arabs have been in Palestine for a much longer period than the Canadians in Canada or the Australians in that country. Why should the European Jews who are wanted in Palestine not be settled in Canada or Australia?

"Hiding" or "Biding"?—A Press message from Contai in Bengal dated January 2 reported Gandhiji as saying "I believe Subhas Bose is still alive and is hiding somewhere." This appeared in the Bombay, Madras and some other papers. In the *Hindustan Standard* (Calcutta) and *Hindustan Times* (Delhi) Gandhiji was reported as saying "I believe Subhas Bose is still alive. He is biding his time and will come out at the right moment." The two versions are difficult to reconcile. The first means that Subhas Bose is hiding to escape British vengeance. The second means that he is waiting somewhere for the opportunity to strike again. The discrepancy may be explained as due to translation by two different persons from Gandhiji's Hindustani. However that may be, Captain Shah Nawaz in his speech in Lahore after his discharge by the Court Martial, definitely declared that Subhas Bose was dead and read out his last message to his countrymen which he gave to his friend and colleague, when he knew that he would not live.

Pakistan and Non-Violence:—In the discussions about Pakistan, a rather important matter has been overlooked. The Muslim League is not pledged to non-violence and Mr. Jinnah has more than once declared that there would be bloodshed if the League's demands were not conceded. He is evidently under the impression that Hindustan would remain non-violent and would not take up arms under the regime of the Congress which is pledged to non-violence even in self-defence. If Congress gave up or even suspended this pledge, would the demand for Pakistan be still pressed? The General Secretary of the Muslim League said in a recent speech that India would be free if Pakistan was conceded. But there will be no India to be free if it is cut into two.

MANAGER'S NOTICE.

From the 1st January the price of a copy of the "Reformer" will be annas three instead of annas two. Back numbers, that is, numbers of previous months will be charged annas six.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, January 12, 1946.

A WOMEN'S CHARTER

We made a passing reference last week to the idea of a Women's Charter put forward in Mrs. Hansa Mehta's presidential address to the All India Women's Conference. A more detailed examination of it seems called for in view of the weight which attaches to suggestions falling from Mrs Mehta personally and as President of the premier women's organisation in the country. A Charter is a declaration of rights granted by the head of a State to his subjects. It is essentially a voluntary restriction on his part, of authority which inheres in his position. The provisions of a Charter are fundamental and not revocable by the successor of the Head of the State who grants the Charter, whether absolute monarch or a constitutional ruler. The All-India Women's Charter will presumably be granted by a National Government. We doubt however, if there is unanimity among national leaders on the sphere of women in the family and society. The *Hindustan Standard* (January 6) gives an "authorised version" of Gandhiji's talks in Contai on several topics including women's functions. In reply to a question from a woman in his audience as to how a woman could serve her country while looking after her family, Gandhiji said that a woman who looked after her family and brought up her children truly for the service of the country, thereby rendered the highest service to the country. She need do nothing more. But, he added, such instances were rarely found either in the rich or poor families today. He continued:—

"Mothers wanted their children not to become servants of the country but to qualify themselves for a lucrative profession in the case of boys and for marriage in the case of girls. Moreover, service of the country was not compatible with unrestrained indulgence in family enjoyments. In this, husbands were mostly to blame. The result was that the woman's entire life was spent in procreating and rearing children. Unless a check was put upon procreation it was useless for a woman to think of service. Artificial means were finding favour in the West to remedy this. And educated women were unthinkingly copying the West. It was a remedy worse than the disease.

If men and women adopted the law of self-restraint in their family life, they would not only be able to bring up their children to be true servants of the country but would have leisure for otherwise engaging in the service of the country."

Gandhiji has done more than any other single Indian leader of our time to bring women out of the purdah and to give them a recognised place in the national movements; and, if his views prevail, the Women's Charter, if there be one, will be different from what Mrs. Mehta outlined in her address, and some of her predecessors in the presidential chair of the Conference would like it to be. Mrs Mehta is keen on Hindu Muslim co-operation in national life. Has she considered how Indian Muslims would react to her proposed Charter? Mr. Jinnah who holds advanced views in regard to Women's position, has asked Muslim women not to participate in the All India Women's Conference as he thinks it is merely

a branch of the Congress. His progressive views in social matters are not shared by the bulk of his followers who are sure to make the demand for a Charter a fresh ground for the Muslims to keep aloof from the movement. Indian women themselves are not as yet agreed on the lines on which they should progress. Mrs. Mehta supported the proposals of the draft Hindu Code. The strongest opposition to its provisions has come from Bengalee women of position and education. In the Punjab an attempt was made to mob the representatives of the Hindu Reform Committee and women predominated in the demonstration. This section does seem to have had a hearing at the Hyderabad Conference as all the resolutions were passed unanimously. Social reformers have to meet with popular opposition and, if the All India Women's Conference was a body advocating reforms, the demand for a Charter such as Mrs. Mehta desires would be entirely justified. But the Conference is not a social reform body. It has not the fervour of the reforming spirit. The most crying abuse of educated women marrying men who have wives living, it has passed by with a perfunctory expression of disapproval. It is more concerned than the subject deserves about property rights, What a small proportion of the Indian population has property to bequeath! It has shocked many people that there are Indian women, educated women, who are carrying on active propaganda against the provision for monogamy in the draft Hindu Code. The All India Women's Conference does not seem to have discussed the question at all.

We are afraid that there is a tendency to regard women in India as a separate community like Muslims and to frame the programme of the Conference on the lines of the Muslim League. Separate representation, reserved seats and quotas in public bodies, are retrograde even for Muslims and other communities. In the case of women they are absolutely out of place. Women are not a community. There has been no society consisting exclusively of women. Experience shows that Indian society is not bigotted, that it can be persuaded by reasoning and example to adopt forms of proved efficacy in strengthening social and family life. There is some anxiety in quarters extremely well disposed to the equal participation of women with men in all national activities of a possible drift towards feminism in some phases of the Conference. We have every hope that this tendency will correct itself with increasing experience of public life. The corrective for the excesses of freedom is more freedom and not less.

TO THE PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION

Sirs, You have come to India on an errand of goodwill. I wish you success with all my heart. My object in these lines is to further that object to the small extent in my power.

I have no credentials whatever to speak on behalf of the people of India. As a whole or in part, I belong to no party, political or communal. I am not an industrialist nor an economist nor a scientist, the three categories which have taken the place of the priest, the prophet and the philosopher in the pre-modern world. You need not therefore attach any importance to what I say except so far as it may strike you as worthy of consideration as just and true.

I have welcomed you as messengers of goodwill. I cannot welcome you as arbiters of my country's destiny. Nations like individuals have each to work it out for themselves. The school of thought of which I am one of the few survivors, held that British rule in this country was a stage in the process and that when it had served the purpose for which it was sent, it will without any effort on our part cease, because it would have no further use for us. This purpose was political education. Swami Vivekananda told a Christian Missionary that England was the teacher of the world in politics and India will willingly sit at her feet for political lessons. But she did not want missionaries from the West to teach her religion. India is religion. Our political education was completed before the end of the last century. Perhaps you have forgotten that British rule was not established by British force in India. The bulk of the troops and every rupee of the money for its establishment, were Indian. The main terms of the implied contract was that India would be free to develop her soul in her own way and that the British rulers would confine themselves strictly to administration. Mount-stuart Elphinstone in his proclamation on the annexation of the Peishwa's territories, declared that the British were not here to change the laws but to administer them with greater purity and justice. Later, in the middle of the last century Sir Henry Main wrote that the theory still was that British rule in India was conducted in accordance with Indian ideas. The lesson we have learnt now is that a nation to save her soul must possess her body, that without political freedom spiritual freedom cannot be long maintained. "To thine own self be true" said Shakespeare, "it must follow as the night the day, thou canst not then be false to any man. We realise today that we can not be true to ourselves under British rule.

I am not one of those who hold that British rule in India has been an unrelieved evil. On the contrary, I have always held that it is due to British rule that we have realised our duty to our country and our people. Indian nationalism is the direct outcome of our study of English literature, English History and English politics, that is, before German influence had penetrated British thought. The Rhine has flown into the Thames, wrote Hobhouse in one of his brilliant essays. The great traditions of British freedom, have ceased for about three quarters of a century to inspire English thought. The mantle of Burke and Gladstone was assumed by Lloyd George and Winston Churchill. England lost all moral authority and relied solely on money power, the most contemptible form of power.

The British Labour Party I know, had its inspiration not in Marxian materialism but in Christian teaching. How much of that original inspiration has survived, I do not know. But I think that even your Trades Unionists have not altogether lost touch with it.

Pardon me for pointing out that in two matters you have slipped badly, at the threshold of your mission to India. The first is that one of you at Karachi spoke of India as a sub-continent and of the magnitude of the task before you owing to variety of creeds and communities. Designation of India as a sub-continent, etymologically innocuous, has acquired sinister

bias due to the insistence on it by some leaders of minorities who fight shy of Indian unity. Strange, as the minorities have never had more complete protection anywhere than in India. The Jews came here at about the same time as they went to Europe. They were received not only with friendly hospitality but as honoured guests. They were given land and their religious institutions received liberal subsidies from Hindu rulers. The Parsis and the Syrians are other examples. This attitude to other religions was not a matter of policy but the direct outcome of the religious belief that all are different pathways to the Divine Reality.

We do not think of India as a land of differences. We think of her as a great and abiding unity. From ancient times the land between the Himalayas and the triple seas has been the classic definition of this country. We have never sought to conquer other countries.

I am not surprised or offended that one of you called India by the same politically ill-conceived word as Mr. Jinnah. You come from a small country. Your rivers and your mountains are streams and hills measured by our Indian standards. They are beautiful but grandeur is not theirs. Naturally, what strikes you about India are its extent and its variety. An American or a Russian would not find it difficult to think of India as one country and one nation.

The other matter in which you have been led into a false step, is your becoming guests of high Indian officials of Government after leaving the Viceroy's House. From a purely political point of view this is unfortunate. First impressions go a long way and your first impressions of India will be derived from these Indian official surroundings. But I am not thinking so much of political as of social and, if I may use the word spiritual impressions.

One of you went to live with Mr. R. K. Nehru, a Secretary of the Government. Mr. Nehru at once announced a "cocktail party" in your honour. I understand that in these parties the central attraction is a mixture of several liquors. The name "cocktail" may be due to the fact that this blending of the several drinks shakes the heart and the pulse like the feathers in the tail of a cock. Whatever that may be, if Mr. Nehru had the least care for his position as a host on behalf of his countrymen, a cocktail party would never have occurred to him as a proper introduction of his guests, to India's way of thought and life. Prohibition is a fundamental issue in the National programme of every Indian party. Mr. Nehru's cocktail party is the measure of the estrangement between the Indian people and the high Government officials in New Delhi even when they are Indians. He might at least have had the decency to keep the party private. I felt humiliated when the radio and the newspapers announced that the first entertainment to our Parliamentary guests was a cocktail party by an official bearing an honoured Indian name.

Perhaps, the strongest and only asset we have face to face with the aggressive, aggrandising west, is the unalcoholised brains we have inherited from our ancestors.

Since the above was in type, the All-India Radio announced twice on Thursday that Sir Jwala Srivastava was entertaining the Parliamentary Deputation to a cocktail party that evening. The third time the word

"cocktail" was dropped as also in the news service from the British Broadcasting Station. Sir Jwala is a leading light of the Hindu Mahasabhai. He is also Food Member of the Government of India. In both capacities it is incumbent on him to set an example to his people. The Hindu Shatras prohibit drinking liquor under severe penalties. Even if Sir Jwala regards himself as above Hindu "superstitions," as a Food Member he should know that alcoholic drinks are of no value as food. In preparing them millions of tons of nutritious food grains are used up, which should feed starving millions. The vice of modern politics is that administrators are absolved of all sense of personal responsibility. The War Criminal trials are a belated and a blundering way of bringing responsibility home to aspirants to high office, absence of which is at the root of the present world situation. From the Parliamentary Deputation's point of view, it is not an auspicious beginning. I do not recall any previous Deputation or Commission being thus entertained not at least publicly. I request the Deputation not to carry away the impression that the Indian people enjoy cocktail parties.

SOVIET FEDERALISM—II

BY PROF. I. LEVIN

The Soviet Union has always aimed to have the intrastate boundaries of its federative units conform as nearly as possible with the ethnic boundaries. In this way the Soviet federation endeavours to satisfy the natural and undeniable desire of every nation to see its people united in a single state unit. In a number of cases this required a radical revision of old administrative demarcations since in the former Russian empire, which had evolved into a multinational state, the boundaries of territorial divisions were fixed by Tsarist officials according to military and police fiscal requirements or else with the purpose of dismembering the oppressed nationalities. In a number of cases, these boundaries were established as a result of the dynastic wars fought between certain princes (the Bokhar and Khivian principalities in Central Asia). For this reason some of the component parts of the Soviet federation are territories which formerly did not constitute separate territorial units. In Central Asia, for example, the old lines of demarcation which divided the large Central Asian nationalities into many small units, were entirely eradicated and new state units—like Uzbekistan, Turkmens, Tajikistan, Kazakistan and Kirghizia—were established, each based on the unification of each of these nationalities into a single state.

In establishing the boundaries between the Ukrainian and the Russian Republics a considerable territory to the east of the Ukraine and part of the Black Sea coast was annexed to the Ukraine which meant that it acquired the ports of Odessa and Nikolaev, the Donets coalfields and important industrial centres.

Taking advantage of the temporary weakness of the newly established Soviet republics, Polish militarists seized the western part of the Ukraine in 1920. Somewhat earlier Rumania had appropriated Ukrainian territory which formed part of Besarabia and Bukhovina. In 1939 and 1940 the Soviet Government had these territories restored to the Soviet state.

The same may be said of Belo-Russia. At the time of its establishment as a state in 1919, it constituted a small territory consisting of the former Minsk Gubernia. In 1924-1925 the Russian republic voluntarily turned over Vitebsk, Mogilev, and Gomel Regions to Belo-Russia. In 1939 Belo-Russian territory seized by the Poles under Pilsudsky in 1920 was reunited with Soviet Belo-Russia.

Thus the Soviet federation brought about the realisation of the people's age-old aspiration for national unification.

The unification of the Soviet republics into a single Soviet state was carried out on the basis of a free expression of will. It was a voluntary act and was formulated in the decision to establish the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1922. The Union continued to retain its voluntary features throughout its subsequent history, since each Union Republic is guaranteed the right freely to secede from the Union at its own desire. This right of free secession from the Union is the judicial guarantee of a voluntary Union, a direct and inevitable judicial conclusion arising out of the recognition of a nation's right of self-determination.

In his report on the Draft Constitution of the USSR delivered in 1936 J.V. Stalin made the following statement in answer to the proposal that the Article providing for the request of a republic to secede be deleted from the Constitution:

"I think that this proposal is a wrong one and therefore should not be adopted by the Congress. The USSR is a voluntary union of Union Republics with equal rights. To delete from the Constitution the Article providing for the right of free secession from the USSR is to violate the voluntary character of this Union. Can we agree to this step? I think that we cannot and should not agree to this step. It is said that there is not a single republic in the USSR that wants to secede from the USSR, and that therefore Article 17 is of no practical importance. It is, of course, true that there is not a single republic that wants to secede from USSR. But this does not in the least mean that we ought not to fix in the Constitution the right of Union Republics freely to secede from the USSR. In the USSR there is not a single Union Republic that wants to oppress another Union Republic. But this does not in the least mean that we ought to delete from the Constitution of the USSR the article dealing with the equality of rights the Union Republics."

The Soviet federation has always recognised the right of a Union Republic to secede from the Union. This right was recognised in the Constitution of the USSR adopted in 1924. It was also incorporated in the Constitution now in force.

The right of secession is a specific feature of the Soviet federation. It does not exist in any other federation. It is well known that when the unity of the state became an issue in the USA and Switzerland armed force was used to settle the question of a state's right to secede.

In recognising the right of secession the Soviet Union sees no menace to the stability of the Soviet Union state. On the contrary, it may be said that the Soviet Union regards the right of secession as an extra source of strength and stability for the Soviet, since it consolidates the voluntary union of nations.

The basic principle of the Soviet Union State as laid down in the Constitution of the USSR, is the equal rights

enjoyed by each republic in question of jurisdiction and representation in the second chamber of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR—the Soviet of Nationalities. The Soviet federation extends none of the Union Republics special privileges or rights (the so-called *jura singularia*) such as the special privileges and rights enjoyed by Prussia and Bavaria in the German Empire of 1871-1918.

Another distinctive feature of Soviet federation is the various forms of federalism and the different forms of relations between the federal units. The Union Republics are the main and direct members of the federation. Several of the Union Republics include Autonomous Republics and Autonomous Regions which are also established on a national principle. All nationalities in the Soviet Union are equal and all of them, regardless of their numbers and the size of the territory they inhabit, are represented in the second chamber of the Supreme Soviet.

What is the reason for the differentiation of form in the federal units? During the Soviet Revolution some nationalities realised self-determination in the form of independent republics while others were content with internal autonomy within the jurisdiction of the Russian Republic. These independent republics, after the formation of the Union, became the first Union Republics while the other federal units formed Autonomous Republics and Autonomous Regions within the respective Union Republics. With the adoption of the Constitution of 1936 exact criteria were established for distinguishing between Union and Autonomous Republics.

Autonomous Republics are those republics which cannot meet the requirements demanded of sovereign states. These Republics are either situated in the heartland of the Union and surrounded on all sides by Soviet territory or possess a small population, less than a million, which is insufficient for forming an independent state or else the predominating nationality in their territory consists of less than half of the total population. For these republics, the right of secession from the Union would be a mere formality. In reality they could not exercise this right even if it were extended to them. Thus the fact that Autonomous Republics do not enjoy the sovereign rights granted to the Union Republics does not denote that they are deprived of any national rights to self-determination for they constitute precisely these and only these nationalities which by virtue of geographical and demographic conditions have neither the actual or the logical possibility of exercising the right of self-determination other than as an autonomous part of some other republic.

What has been said about the Autonomous Republics is true to an even greater degree of the Autonomous Regions. These are in most cases agricultural districts without large urban centres and with a relatively small administrative scope. In the economic aspect, these regions form component parts of a larger territory. These factors determine the difference between the status of Autonomous Republics and the Autonomous Regions.

An Autonomous Republic is a state enjoying legislative and administrative autonomy. Each Autonomous Republic has its own constitution which must be confirmed by the highest organ of state authority in the Union Republic of which the Autonomous Republic is a part. It has its

own Supreme Soviet, its own Council of People's Commissars and its own Supreme Court. An Autonomous Region, in view of the limited scope of its tasks, needs only administrative autonomy. For this reason it has no special legislative organ. It is administered by a Soviet of Working People's Deputies and its Executive Committee. Autonomous Regions have no constitutions of their own but are administered on the basis of statutes adopted by the Soviet of Working People's Deputies of the Autonomous Region and confirmed by the Supreme Soviet of the respective Union Republics. The Autonomous Regions in the Russian Republic are part of large territorial formations called Territories. They enjoy, however, a number of rights in the territory which guarantee their autonomous status in the territory.

In the process of its development an Autonomous Region may be re-constituted as an Autonomous Republic. Many of the present Autonomous Republics and even some of the Union Republics began their political existence as Autonomous Regions. Kirghizia, for instance, was an Autonomous Region until 1926 when it became an Autonomous Republic. In 1935 it was reconstituted as a Union Republic. The same process of development took place in the case of Karelia, now the Karelo-Finnish SSR. Kazakhstan was made an Autonomous Republic in 1920 and has been a Union Republic since 1936.

The basic distinction between Union Republics on the one hand and Autonomous Republics and Regions on the other lies in their sovereignty. Soviet legislation regards the Union Republic as sovereign states members of the Soviet federation. The sovereignty of the Soviet Union Republics is clearly defined in the Soviet Constitution which charges the Union with the protection of the sovereign rights of the Union Republics. Entrance into the Union means, of course, a certain curtailment of sovereignty as the Union Republics transfer to the Union a number of rights that fall within the jurisdiction of the Union, including the right to establish, alter and extend its jurisdiction. Under a system of socialist economy based on principles of unified state planning, the jurisdiction of the Union must necessarily be extensive. Besides enjoying extensive rights in the domain of national economy, it ensures the leading role of the Union in matters concerning the army and navy, foreign relations—foreign trade, transport, communications, etc. The Union Republics, however, are granted broad rights ensuring their independent political, economic and cultural development.

EXPERIMENTS IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

BY PROF HAROLD F. CLARK,

Can you experiment in the social sciences? With the help of the Sloan Foundation and several universities, I have had the chance to try to get a partial answer to the question.

The following illustration may throw some light on the problem: Because of observed results in certain communities in Texas, many dentists and doctors have been led to believe that a small amount of fluorine in the water will retard or possibly even stop the decay of teeth. Dentists might argue about this for generations. The obvious thing to do is to attempt to get experimental

evidence but how can you experiment upon a community? Seemingly, it is not too difficult once the decision is made to try it. The experiment has been set up and is being tried over a period of ten years in two cities in New York State. Newburgh and Kingston, two small cities of about the same population, have been chosen. These two cities of approximately the same size and population have much the same social and economic pattern and both are in the Hudson River Valley and presumably would have the same general factors affecting the teeth of the population.

In one city fluorine is to be put in the water. In the other it will not be put in. Will the teeth be better in the community that has the fluorine in the water? This seems like the only sensible way to try to get an answer to the problem—set up an experiment and see what happens.

It is quite true that there are literally thousands of unknown factors that work in both communities. The scientist accustomed to working in the physical laboratory with what he called a controlled experiment would be appalled at the uncontrolled factors in this situation. No one would maintain that this is a perfectly constructed experiment. No one would maintain that it would finally answer the question. If the experiments are repeated in a dozen other communities with a dozen other controls in various sections of the country, and the results always turn out the same, it would probably shed a great deal of light upon the problem. There are an enormous number of social and economic problems that could be experimented upon in exactly the same way. Experimental and controlled communities could be chosen and the experiment carried on.

Does the study of mathematics discipline the mind of the person that studies it? Some say "yes" and some say "no". Some of the world's greatest mathematicians who are most careful in their own field, jump to conclusions when they discuss such a problem as this. They do not use the scientific method. Isn't the sensible way to answer the problem to set up an experiment and try to find out? This, of course, has been done. You may not be able to control all the factors, but if wise men carry on the experiment, men who use the best common sense and the most careful observation, you will get a better answer than will equally wise men with only common sense plus observation.

In the social fields there are so many variables that you can not be sure of causal factors. Is that not reason for more experiments rather than trying to guess? I would like to illustrate by one problem how it is possible to set up an experiment to try to throw some light on an important social and economic problem. I am going to discuss the illustration at length because I believe it is possible to extend the technique to help solve thousands of our most pressing social and economic problems.

Here is a low-income, rural community. The diet is inadequate. Is the poor diet due to the fact that the people are too shiftless to make an effort to improve the diet or is it due to the fact that they do not know what to do? I can find you plenty of learned discussion in the best tradition of the witch doctor arguing that the people are lazy. I can find other equally good arguments maintaining that the problem is ignorance. Is the wise thing to go on discussing the problem, forever, or can we get some experimental evidence?

Much of the land in this community is hilly. The farms are badly eroded. Much of the top soil had washed away. As soon as the people were shown how to improve these conditions they made changes. In one community, entirely agricultural, almost no poultry was raised although it was a very good place for raising it. Would the people raise chickens if they were given adequate instructions? The State Experiment Station bulletins and country agent were there to give them the information, so the answer must be that lack of information was not the reason. But the bulletins were too difficult to read and the country agent went only where he was asked. Could simpler material than the bulletin be prepared and would it be used? The only way to get the correct answer was to try and see.

A series of bulletins at the first, second and third-grade levels were prepared on gardens. Improvement and expansion occurred in many gardens. Some one will say that other factors were at work during this period trying to improve gardens. How do you know that your school instruction and readers made the change? The obvious way to answer the problem is to set up controlled experiments. This is difficult but no reason for not doing it. That is exactly what we did. We found one experimental community. Then we looked for a control community as nearly like it as possible. We wanted two communities of the same general economic status, same educational level, same racial stock, same age distribution, same religious and cultural beliefs. In other words, we wanted two communities as nearly alike as possible.

If the diet improves in the experimental community the new education programme might have caused the change. On the other hand, the diet might have improved in the control community. Many factors might have been working on a state or nation-wide basis. If the diet improved more in the experimental community than in the control community, presumably our education material caused the difference.

Chance factors may still be the real cause. To answer this objection, we took a second experimental and second control community. If the second experimental community improved more than the second control community then the evidence is very strong.

Maybe there were local factors working here that would not be at work in the other sections of the country. The way to answer this problem was to take another set of control communities and another set of experimental communities in a different section of the country.

Perhaps the schools could improve diet. Could they improve any other important area of living? The way to find out whether schools could improve another area was to try it. For this additional part of the experiment the problem of housing was chosen. If we teach people in low-income communities how to improve their housing, will housing improve? That has been debated for centuries and the debate may go on for other centuries. The only sensible thing to do was to try it and see what happened. Steps were repaired, screens were fixed, gardens planted with trees and flowers, houses were painted, chimneys repaired, holes in roofs were stopped. The evidence seems impressive that if you show people how to improve their homes, they will do so.

Experimental communities changed. Control communities did not change as much. The evidence is strong that the education caused the change.

If the housing information were made available in a second community what would happen. Would housing conditions improve? If the information would improve conditions only in one community, the effort would hardly be worthwhile from the standpoint of the Sloan Foundation or society at large. Would the same results happen in a second and third community? Try it and see. It is the only way to be sure. It was tried in a second and third set of communities, experimental and control.

If you took the problem of clothing and tried the experiment in another section of the country, would conditions in low-income communities improve if they knew what to do? The scientific answer would be to try it and see. A conservative New England state was chosen. The evidence seems to be that the people will make a long series of improvements if they know what to do.

In regard to food, clothing and housing in three different sections of the country in various low-income communities, if people are told what to do to improve conditions they are ready and willing to make a wide variety of improvements. One hesitates to generalize too much on the evidence. But within the limits of this evidence, and it is rather broad, it does seem that low-income communities can and will improve themselves if they are shown how. What are the limits? Only further experimentation can tell.

Such experiments are expensive. That may be one reason so few of them have been carried on. This series of experiments have cost the Sloan Foundation a very large amount of money. But in terms of the hundreds of millions and even billions that have been spent and the other billions that will be spent to aid low-income communities, the amount is trivial. Eighty or 90 per cent of all the population of the world live in communities of lower economic standards than our experimental communities. The United States in the next five years will doubtless extend many billions of dollars of relief to various sections of the world. I would be the last to object to this. Many persons believe that the way we will extend the relief will leave the communities in essentially the same conditions as they were. A tiny fraction of this amount, if spent in helping the people to find out far more adequate ways to help themselves, seemingly would produce profound and permanent changes.

In the normal course of human developments there probably will be future occasions in this country when extremely large sums will be extended for relief. Some-
ngly great results could be attained if the people were really shown how to help themselves. This help, of course, has to be in terms of their own environment—things they can do and things that are within their experience.

The immediate practical results of the experiments seem to be important. They may be of greater importance in indicating more clearly than has formerly been done the desirability of extending the scientific method into other fields of human activity. It seems reasonable to say that large-scale experimentation is possible in the social sci-

ences and that such experiments should be greatly expanded.

I will refer very briefly to other types of experiment that could be carried on. Some people advocate one method of setting up a health program in a community. Other people advocate another method of setting up a health program. Why not set up both types of programs in comparable communities and attempt to show results in terms of actual community change? Any number of suggestions are being made to deal with the problem of juvenile delinquency. Why not try out the various methods and see which of them produces the best results?

It is quite true that we cannot experiment in the social sciences in the narrow and rigid way that the laboratory scientist does but we can experiment most usefully. The various parts of the Sloan experiment have thrown great light upon the problem of the effect of school instruction on changing food, clothing or housing in a low-income community. If the experiment is repeated in a great variety of forms and places, we should be able in a few generations to build up a far more accurate picture than any one now has of the effect of school instruction in changing a community. The experimental results available should make us very optimistic of the possibilities of extending scientific procedures into social problems. We can experiment in the social sciences with great profit to mankind.—USIS.

SCIENCE AND ETHICS

Atomic energy has been ushered into the world with promise of greater changes than the Industrial Revolution has brought. It makes inevitable the re-thinking of the organization of economic life. This does not mean that the economic system that has prevailed in the western world will be displaced, but it does mean that fundamental issues of economic and political philosophy have been sharpened in a peculiarly urgent way.

The modern tendency to regard science as a way of life has suffered a rude check. This is impressively and dramatically shown in the fact that our scientists themselves are the ones who are now speaking with the most authentic moral voice in appealing to the conscience of the nation. They know, if others do not, that science can serve mankind only if the laboratory is subject to high moral controls. Whether this mood will communicate itself to a public enamored of the assumed omnipotence of science remains to be seen.

We face the sobering fact that we have entered into a heritage of power which we have developed no capacity to administer—a power which renders obsolete the political and cultural controls upon which we have depended for keeping human acquisitiveness and vindictiveness in check. It is now becoming clear that such power knows no restraint except inner restraint. The crisis in which we stand is a moral crisis. As Hanson Baldwin has said, our problem "is not the control of the atomic bomb. It is the control of power in itself and of the nature of man." Or as the Executive Committee of the Federal Council, of Churches has put it, "Our blindness and self-will as nations and individuals, not the knowledge of atomic energy, are the true cause of our present peril. Only through repentance and regeneration can we hope to overcome the peril we have created."

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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

Violence and Non-Violence: We suggested in an editorial note last week that the adoption of non-violence as a creed by the Indian National Congress is directly responsible, if not for the origination of the idea of Pakistan, for the persistence with which, in spite of irrefutable reason against it, the demand is pressed. We suggested also that the meaning which is popularly attached has no reference to the Hindu principle of Ahimsa. Professor P. S. Naidu's article in the Madras journal of the Sri Ramkrishna Mission is a timely contribution to the elucidation of this much misunderstood creed. We reprint parts of it elsewhere omitting the technical passages. Professor Naidu's conclusion that renunciation must precede non-violence if it is to be anything more than an empty shibboleth, which he derives from an application of the latest psychological theory, is anticipated by all religious Teachers who have advocated Non-Violence. Thus the Bhagavad Gita: "He, who restraining the organs of action, sits revolving in the mind thoughts regarding object of senses, he of deluded understanding, is called a hypocrite, but he who controlling the senses by the mind, unattached, directs his organs of action to the path of work, he, O Arjuna, excels." That what matters is not the deed but the motive for the deed, is the burden of the Gita.

Nonviolent Violence:—A surgeon who cuts away a diseased limb in order to save the life of his patient, a parent who holds back her child from jumping from the parapet wall, the policeman who knocks down the man who runs amok, the soldier who shoots down the enemy who throws incendiary bombs, are not guilty of *himsa*. The politician who stands up against oppression, the peasant who resists extortion, the people who take up arms to overcome a tyrant, whoever is working or fighting to destroy the un-righteous and to protect the righteous, does the work of God whose instru-

ment he is. To expect to achieve independence without violence unless the Power which holds the country in subjection has itself accepted non-violence as its method, is vain. Where constitutional machinery is available and effective, non-violence is unnecessary and out-of place. In Britain, a Government resigns when it fails to get a majority in Parliament for its measures. In the recent General Elections a minister who seemed to be all powerful, was defeated ignominiously and had to resign. If instead of doing so, he had tried to raise an army and overthrow the Labour Government by force, the latter would have been justified in putting him down by superior force. Of course, when you have not sufficient force to resist oppression, it is suicidal to attempt to do so. But to proclaim and pledge yourself never to use force when all round you force is in evidence, is to pledge yourself to impotence. Western writers may applaud the idea because they have no intention whatever to adopt or follow it in their own lives as individuals or nations. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel speaking at Ahmedabad this week definitely declared that Pakistan meant inevitable civil war. Mr. Jinnah's assumption that Hindus will not fight in any circumstances rests on a false reading of history.

Indian States:—A definite change in the attitude of the Indian National Congress towards the position of the Indian States is indicated in recent utterances of some prominent leaders. The old demand for the elimination of the States lock, stock and barrel is no longer heard. There is a growing recognition that the States can play a crucial part in the evolution of the country into a united and powerful factor in the making of the new world. This is largely due to the helpful and patriotic attitude of princes like the late the Nizam Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwar, the Maharaja of Mysore, the Maharaja Scindia and the Maharaja of Bikaner towards constitutional progress in British India. The Maharaja of Kashmir and the Nawab of Bhopal, among those living too have displayed the same spirit. The former stood by British Indians when the admission of Indians to the Viceroy's Executive Council hung in the balance. The late King Edward was opposed to it. The Anglo-Indian Press under the inspiration of the bureaucracy opposed it. The Indian Princes and the Indian Army, it was alleged, would not like the reform. The late Maharaja of Bikaner who was then in London as a member of the War Cabinet gave the quietus to this allegation. Speaking on behalf of the Princes and the Indian Army, His Highness declared at a public function that both would welcome the

reform. When Lord Sinha was nominated to the Executive Council, the late Maharaja Scindia called on him first when His Highness went up to Simla. Even the more conservative among the Princes have been moving with the times. They are realising their duty to their people and in various ways have done much to promote a sense of common interests among Indians irrespective of the administrative and political divisions which they inhabit. On the British Indian side, the progressive nationalism of the Princes is coming to be appreciated.

Travancore Reformer:—Travancore in recent years has led the way in several important directions. Steeped in the tradition of Hindu orthodoxy, the State at one stroke solved the problem of untouchability with which we in British India are still grappling. The Temple entry Proclamation lifted these classes from the slough of despond to an equal religious level with the Nambudris, the most exclusive Brahminical sect in the country. The Food problem which was more acute in Travancore than in most other parts of the country was solved in a manner which elicited the praise of inveterate critics of the present administration. The factitious opposition of a section of the Catholics inspired largely from British Indian ecclesiasticism has been successfully countered by the tact and patience and statesmanship of the Dewan. Now, it is stated with authority that Travancore is shortly to have an extensive measure of constitutional reform. The outlines of the scheme only have been published but they show that the full scheme when it is promulgated will offer new feature worthy of consideration not only by other states but also by British India. The scheme is a blend of Indian, American and Fascist models. The Maharaja will retain all his prerogatives and will be the permanent President of Travancore. His Ministers will be nominated by him and hold office during his pleasure. The American President is the Head of the State and also the Head of the administration. In this respect, we imagine, the American model will not be implicitly followed. There would be a Dewan, probably at the head of the administration. He will choose his colleagues under the authority of the Maharaja. Neither he nor the other Ministers will sit in either House of the Travancore Congress. They will appear before the two Houses whenever their Departments are under discussion, to explain difficulties and to answer questions, but they will not take part in debates and of course, they will not vote. They will not be demovable by a vote of the Legislature. The Executive will thus be entirely distinct from the Legislature. There will be separation of the judiciary function, we are told, on the American model. Of this part of the scheme we must have more details in order to form a fairly correct idea.

Functional Franchise: The originality of the scheme is in the combination of territorial and functional representation in the Legislature. The Lower House as well as the Upper will be wholly elective. But the Lower House will be elected on a territorial franchise and the upper House on a functional. Functional or vocational constituencies were adopted by Mussolini in place of the old

territorial constituencies. "In this new conception," says Mussolini in his Autobiography, "the citizen is valuable because of his production, his work and his thought, and not because he is twenty one years old and has the right to vote". The late Sir Akbar Hydari, seeking a way out of communalism in the constitution which he framed for Hyderabad, constituted electorates solely on vocational and functional lines. But His Exalted Highness at the last moment inserted a few words in it which in fact transformed the draft entirely into a communal charter. Sir Ramaswami Aiyar has retained the territorial for the Lower House and adopted the vocational for the Upper House. As most citizens have a vocation there is bound to be much overlapping. The lawyers, for instance, will dominate even if they do not predominate, in the Lower as also in the Upper House. What exactly would be the relation between the two Houses, will be known when the full scheme is published.

Experiment in Social Science:—We published in last week's *Reformer* an article by Professor Harold S. Clarke on the extent to which experiments are applicable to social life. He admits that their application to social questions is limited. One important factor which he altogether leaves out of consideration is Heredity. "The fathers had eaten of sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge." This ancient formula has been discarded as regards sins. The sins of the fathers are not visited on their children in our humaner conception of religion. But bodily sins are undoubtedly liable to leave their effects on children and no State except the Fascist and Nazi, have even attempted to control heredity. In other respects Professor Clarke's technique is not universally applicable. It is true that the mass of mankind will accept and adopt new ways of life which are demonstrably better than those which they follow. But the larger spheres of life cannot be made subjects of experiment. They are rather a matter of example by leaders of thought and society. Otherwise we have to depend for knowledge of facts of social science, solely on observation. In certain regions of the Himalayas people are liable to be afflicted with goitre. In Malabar cancer of the tongue has been traced to the use of shell-lime with betel chewing. Even the proportion of the sexes are held by some to be territorial. Science except in a small sphere has to depend on observation. Astronomy, for instance. To confine knowledge exclusively to the experimental method is wrong in principle. Experience is the ultimate test of truth and experiment is one method of gaining experience in respect of the external world.

Russian Federation:—Professor Levin towards the end of his article published last week undoes the whole elaborate structure which he has built up in his two articles of the absolute freedom of the components of the Soviet Union to secede from it. The Central Union holds in its hand the reins in all important subjects such as army, finance, foreign policy and foreign trade. The units are formally accorded freedom to secede but they are not expected to use it, and if they attempted to use it, Moscow has in its hands the most effective weapon to pull them up. The freedom given is like the coin given to children for keeping in their pockets not for spending.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, January 19, 1946.

TAMPERING WITH CURRENCY

Some days ago it was announced that over a hundred Ordinances promulgated during the war by the Governor General under the Defence of India Rules, were withdrawn. It was naturally thought that the Ordinance regime was drawing to a close and that no more Ordinances would be issued: the Indian Legislature was meeting shortly and the normal procedure for making laws would be resumed. It was, therefore, with a shock of surprise that the public received the sudden outbreak of Ordinances during last week-end. Late at night on Friday, January 11, an Ordinance called for a return from all banks and other finance-holding institutions within twenty four hours of the stocks they held of Reserve Bank Notes of the value of Rs 100, Rs 500, Rs 1000 and Rs 10,000. On Saturday, January 12, followed another Ordinance declaring that all Notes of the value of Rs 500 and upwards ceased immediately to be legal tender. Holders of notes of the three higher denominations may receive the value of their Notes in Notes of lesser denominations by applying before January 22, to the Reserve Bank and other banks or to specified Government offices with answers to a questionnaire requiring information as to many inquisitorial particulars. Bank Notes are payable on demand and the demand for particulars radically alters their fiduciary character and smacks of repudiation. Naturally the public took fright. Notes of lower denomination were affected. If Governments could prescribe conditions for the higher denominations, they can do the same for the lower. Strange as it may seem, this possibility, certainly, does not seem to have occurred to the authorities in New Delhi. They issued a warning that non-acceptance of the lower denominations of Notes at their face value would be punished with imprisonment and fine. The authorities had not altogether forgotten that there were Indian States some of which had large investments in British India but they had not the patience to wait to get their views of the intended coup.

The action of the Government of India, it is explained, is directed at black markets and profiteers. Some publicists who should know better, have accepted this plea and applauded the measures. A little reflection will show that there is no substance in this explanation. The Black Market is the shadow cast by the inflationary proceedings of Government. The responsibility and the blame for it rests decidedly on Government in India and in Britain. India was dragged into the war. Perhaps this was inevitable in her position as part of the British Commonwealth, though Eire refused to be involved in the war and throughout maintained her neutrality. Indian troops to the number of two millions were recruited and sent to different theatres of war. Munitions had to be made and arms to equip them. This was not all.

India was made the chief basis for the war against Japan. American troops poured into the country. They had to be fed, clothed and transported to the Far East. Currency was needed. The Burma Government squatted in Simla. It had to be provided with currency. Lord

Louis Mountbatten and his South East Asia command was another heavy burden on Indian currency. Reserve Bank notes had to be printed off in astronomical figures. They had no backing except in certain book entries in London, the so-called sterling balances. These balances are entirely in the power of the British Government. They may be made available only when it suits London. London has an enormous load of debt to pay to the United States. Fifty five years have been allowed to pay it in instalments. The late Prime Minister, Churchill, has suggested that India should scale down her dues in return for her having been spared the atrocities of Japan. For practical purposes the sterling balances may be taken to be non-existent. In these circumstances Black Markets were inevitable and the individuals concerned in them were as helpless as Government to prevent inflation. Government have no right to assume an air of superior morality in this very obvious sequence. As for profiteering, where exactly does profiting end and profiteering begin? The British Government bought gold from South Africa and sold it to India with a ten or twelve per cent margin. Was it legitimate profit or dishonourable profiteering? Many hundreds of people would have suffered much more than they did but for the black market and the profiteers. There has been more than a suggestion that Government themselves were directly and indirectly customers of these people.

It would have been straightforward to explain that the volume of currency has to be brought down to normal. We have a managed currency. Not only we but nearly all countries. The only way in which integrity can be maintained is by providing checks on the tendency of Executive Governments to "create money" by the printing press. The Government of India under the Defence of India rules is absolutely uncontrolled. The issue of a single new Ordinance after the end of hostilities, is a wanton abuse of the Defence of India emergency powers. The recent announcement that Government have fixed April 1, as the date on which the War officially ends, is probably meant to cover the extension of emergency powers after the end of hostilities. The confidence of the Indian public in the stability of the currency has been irretrievably shaken. The contraction of the currency in circulation, the necessity of which is obvious, should have been effected with greater circumspection. More time should have been given to the public to adjust itself. The Legislature which is to meet in a few days should have been consulted. The action taken would have had some justification if Government had reason to believe that a large volume of forged notes had gone into circulation along with the authentic notes and it was necessary to ascertain its exact amount and take measures to protect the public from dealing in the forged notes.

PRINCES CHAMBER

After a holiday extending over two years the Chamber of Princes met on Wednesday in new Delhi. Lord Wavell having doffed his Governor General's habiliments and donned those of Crown Representative opened the session with an address which was reminiscent in part of a schoolmaster admonishing schoolboys for failing to do their "home work" and in part, of the same pedagogue out of school hours, expressing admiration of

them for revolting against the drudgery of doing sums when they ought to be playing cricket or football. The lot of the Indian princes is indeed pitiable. They never know where they stand. Lord Curzon, to go no farther than the present century, called them colleagues and treated them as lacqueys. He bullied the Nizam into parting with Bircar and rewarded him with a Grand Cross of the Bath which was popularly rendered as "Gave Curzon Berar." His successor "the gentleman who could only jump heds" was preoccupied with weaning Indian Muslims from the Congress. In a famous speech at Udaipur he told the Princes that he meant to leave them to themselves. Lord Hardings was a trained diplomat and, what is more, a just man. The Princes respected his personality and listened to his advice. There were one or two black sheep among them who defied his efforts to redeem them from their self-indulgence and paid dearly for their recalcitrancy. Lord Reading was brutally frank in his letter to the Nizam taking down the cherished camouflage of being the Ally of the King Emperor. Lord Reading told His Exalted Highness with the authority of Ex-Lord Chief Justice of England that he was in relation to His Majesty on the same level as the chief of the State which comprised an area of two-and-a-half square miles. Lord Willingdon was hail-fellow-well-to every one and particularly impressed the late Maharaja of Kolhapur who had a statue put up for him in the capital the premier Maratha State. Lord Irwin had to deal with some very bad instances of princely profligacy and on the whole dealt with them in a spirit of great forbearance. He seemed to say to himself "Poor Devils what better can you expect of them?" We have not followed in the above recapitulation a strictly chronological order. We have endeavoured merely to call attention to the vicissitudes which the Princes have experienced in their relations with the Paramount Power. On the other side, they had not had a less variegated experience with British Indian leaders. The Congress and the Muslim League have given them some very anxious and trouble hours. As the result of this twofold contact the Princes have emerged today both chastened and broadened. World events too have not left them untouched. They realise that their destinies are bound up with those of India as a whole and that they have to sink or swim with the whole country. The auguries are favourable for cooperation between them and responsible leaders of British India in consolidating India unity. We do not see in Lord Wavell's address anything to discourage them in this noble task. His Excellency might have been more direct and explicit. His normal style is clear and crisp as the style of one accustomed to command larger armies in the field should be. But we are puzzled by some involved sentences which imply a conflict of ideals which His Excellency desired to set before the Princes for their guidance.

THE CONCEPT OF NON-VIOLENCE— A PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

BY PROF. P. S. NAIDU,

Non-violence is a great and inspiring ideal; it is a noble principle quite in keeping with the spirituality of our national genius. Its sway over the minds of the masses is to be welcomed by every friend and lover of our country.

But—and it is a very big but—what is non-violence? Who are the persons competent to be non-violent? and what should be the final goal of non-violence? These questions demand urgent but clear, objective and unbiased answers.

Non-violence is a negative term and is the opposite of violence, and the latter is itself an adverb masquerading as a noun. It connotes a particular quality of behaviour under given conditions. In order to understand its real nature we have to digress awhile, and study the structure of the human mind.

Non-violence is the correlative of, and derives its significance from, violence or violent behaviour. What, then, are the conditions under which violent behaviour occurs? When anger boils up to that high degree of intensity which we call rage or fury, that is, when there is a very powerful, irritating, and not easily surmountable obstacle to self-assertion, acquisitiveness, or some other propensity, then violent behaviour results. The goal of such behaviour is the annihilation of the cause of hindrance. Our analysis reveals to us four different stages in the development of violent behaviour: (1) the excitation of some fundamental propensity, such as fear, sex-desire, self-assertion, acquisitiveness, etc. (2) the normal behaviour of living organism in securing the satisfaction of the desire that has been aroused; (3) the occurrence of some powerful hindrance to such satisfaction, and (4) the arousal of rage or fury resulting in violent behaviour. Violence or violent behaviour is the last stage in the sequence of acts that we have outlined. And non-violence is the opposite of this type of violent behaviour.

Non-violence or non-violent behaviour, to use the correct psychological term, is of two types: one is external and superficial and may be termed pseudo-non-violence, and the other is true non-violence having its roots in the inner depths of the human mind. The latter consists in destroying all the three conditions antecedent to the fourth and final stage of behaviour. In other words, true non-violence starts with the complete annihilation of all those fundamental propensities, the hindrance to whose working is the main cause of violence. Desire of every conceivable kind, chiefly desire for name and fame, for wealth and for marital relationship, should completely disappear before non-violence can arise in the human mind. When the mind has reached that exalted level where the fierce elemental propensities, have ceased to function, then and then alone will behaviour be truly non-violent. It may be objected that the conditions laid down here can be fulfilled only by a Sannyasin. That is true. Non-violence is possible only for one who has renounced this world. Renunciation is the first and most essential condition for non-violence. One cannot be of this world and still be non-violent.

The other type of non-violence (which is external and superficial) is that which has been preached to the masses in our country. It is pseudo non-violence. The agent is encouraged to be in the world and of the world, and to give free rein to his desires, but when there is any hindrance to the satisfaction of his desires, he is directed to check the natural activity of his mind. For example, even under the greatest provocation one should not use force against one's opponent. The latter may be hated mentally; he may even be abused, but no physical hurt should be caused to him. The danger lurking in this type of

behaviour is apparent to students of psychology. Popular imagination may be captured by it, because no great mental discipline, or sacrifice is needed. The most deplorable part of this affair is that those who practise this kind of non-violence will never know what harm they are doing to themselves. As the mind of the pseudo non-violent actor is allowed to pass through the first three stages mentioned in our psychological analysis and is suddenly arrested in its progress at the fourth stage, the energy released by the stimulation of elemental passions is dammed before it discharges itself into its natural channels. The psycho-analysts who are competent to pronounce an opinion in this matter, tell us that in the case of the ordinary men and women the dammed up energy will sink down to subconscious levels, and gathering momentum there will burst forth in the most unexpected manner resulting in anxiety neurosis, inferiority complexes, tics or any of those hundred different ailments torturing the western peoples at the present day.

Non-violence is a quality of the behaviour of the strong. It is not a weapon to be wielded by the weak and the powerless. When the weak use it they are displaying cowardice of the worst type. When lathi blows are showered by a handful of police-men on a vast congregation of valiant warriors, and when the latter suffer pain without even a *thought* of retaliating, then we have a magnificent display of non-violence. Supposing there happens to be present in that congregation your newly married bride of delicate build, and lathi blows are falling thick and heavy on her. She has fainted. What should you, as a devotee of non-violence, do? No doubt, you can cover her up, so that the blows fall on you. But, suppose? this is rendered impossible. What should the husband, or the father or the brother do. Our contention, is that even under those circumstances, the true devotee of non-violence should not entertain even a hostile thought against the aggressor. The sight of the humiliating and painful blows falling on a co-devotee, or the wife or daughter should evoke only kindly feelings towards the tormentor. Christ on the Cross in agony prayed "Father, forgive them; they know not what they do." That was non-violence of the true kind. So long as you have the sense of proprietary right over things and persons, so long is true non-violence out of the question for you. When Christ advocated the turning of the other cheek to the aggressor who slaps you on one, he also laid it down that you must freely give away even your *dhoti* to the man who wants to take away your *chuddar*. In other words, to be non-violent, you must first be lost to all sense of proprietary right over things and persons. Acquisitiveness and sex are the two most dangerous propensities in man. And even in sex, it is not sex-love that is the moving force, but the feeling of *ownership* over the body of the partner. And in all sex-tragedies it will be found that the injury, real or imaginary, to this sense of *ownership* is the motivating force. The complete annihilation of this acquisitive propensity is the first condition requisite for attaining the goal of non-violence. Pseudo-non-violence not based on Renunciation—is bound to prove in the long run a national disaster.

Non-violent behaviour worth the name should be non-violent in *thought*, *word* and *deed*. Non-violence should be manifest in the cognitive, affective and creative aspects of the mind of one who claims to be a real Satyagrahi.

To refrain from attacking your aggressor bodily, and yet to abuse him is not non-violence. The words are violent, indicating the fierce fermentation of violent ideas, and the stirring up of fierce desires in the mind of the agent. Such pseudo-non-violence will do no one any good, and will certainly do immense harm to the agent himself. His mind is violently agitated. Mental energy is being permitted to flow indiscriminately into all the elemental propensities, and as there is no suitable outlet for it, some delicate and vulnerable part of the self will be wrecked.

The test of true non-violence is this. The true devotee of non-violence should be able to meet calmly and steadfastly the use of non-violence against himself. He should in fact welcome such a test, because the touchstone of pure non-violence is non-violence in another devotee. If one is not able to stand this test then he is not a true devotee of non-violence.

Do we then condemn non-violence? No, we do not. We hold that it is the highest spiritual ideal. But Renunciation First, and Non-violence Next.

WOES OF STEP-MOTHERED CHILDREN (BY KOPARGAM RAMAMURTHI)

A friend, who has been for long a humanitarian worker, writes as follows from the Punjab about his own sorrows:

"For the last ten months, I have been very much anxious as to how a measure of relief may be brought to two innocent motherless and helpless small girls who are kept behind the four walls by their hardhearted step-mother. Their unscrupulous father, in spite of his very advanced age has married again. Under the influence of his new wife, he has ceased to show any fatherly affection towards the orphaned children of his former marriage. The motherless children are left entirely to the mercy of the step-mother who in common with her husband considers them a burden upon the family finances and thinks it advantageous if the girls died before they have to be married, though no direct steps are taken to cause their death quickly, for fear of the law.

"If an outsider happens to visit the house, the poor girls are not allowed to talk to the visitor lest they might tell their sorrows and are kept away under the threat of heavy punishment by the stepmother as well as the so-called father.

"The stepmother would not give even sufficient food, to say nothing of the fruits of the season, saying that this will not suit small children and will cause some ailment. Nor would the step-mother even allow the girls' sympathetic relatives on their mother's side to give any gifts of toys, clothes, fruits or sweets even occasionally on some sacred festivals. Neither are the girls allowed to go and see their mother's mother or their maternal grand uncle on any annual festival days; nor are these loving relatives allowed to go and see the girls who are so miserably suffering, in their father's home. Even the eldest sister cannot see or send any clothes or fruits to her younger sisters.

"Even in Government jails, we find that the worst criminals can be interviewed by their near relatives. But these orphaned children cannot be seen in their so-called home by their former benefactors and mother's relations, who had been taking great care of them for almost two

years after their mother died. Now that the father is remarried they are imprisoned for life and cut off from all sympathetic relatives. The right of guardianship is so strong in favour of the father, no matter however cruel-hearted the father may be. The only fault of these poor unhappy children is that they were born in a home where the dear mother died and where the father regards girl-children as undesirable and where the social conscience is so callously indifferent to such terrible evils.

"In the homes of even sweepers and in orphanages the full orphans have better chances of a normal life and are allowed to play outdoors with other children of their own age. But not here.

"The Press, the Platform and the Pulpit in general give no thought, time or space to present these evils to the public. The neighbours who witness such wrongs assume the attitude mostly that they cannot intervene in others' private domestic affairs and that the parents who do wrong will suffer their due punishment in after-life. Charity flows towards more to material than spiritual causes. My heart as well as of my relatives burn with such anxieties. Five premature deaths have taken place in my family. My younger brother, who was the grandfather of the captive children, his poor wife, his daughter (the deceased mother of these young children) his other younger daughter and our dear mother,—all these five died prematurely through unheard of griefs. I hope you will please go over the whole story of my sorrows to give due publicity to this social problem, so that some remedy may be devised by the aroused public, so that others may be saved from such-like evils. If pamphlet is put into proper shape I shall get it printed. I shall have a great relief by doing this service to the soul of my dead but dear relatives before I leave this world. I have no desire to do anything more."

BABU RAJENDRA PRASAD AND GOKHALE

Sir, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru described Babu Rajendra Prasad as "a typical representative of the common man in India for whose sake he has laboured so long and so well." The following anecdote seems unknown to many, that Gopala Krishna Gokhale invited Rajendra Prasad in 1910 to join the Servants of India Society and that the latter would have joined the Society but for his elder brother's refusal of permission. The letter that Babu Rajendra wrote in his 25th year to his elder brother, asking for permission to meet Gokhale, besides giving a clue to the understanding of his personality, and a tribute to Gokhale's greatness, is an object-lesson in selfless patriotism to the youths of today entering the threshold of public life. Extracts from the letter are given below:—

"My brother, A sentimental man that I am, I could not speak to you face to face. I feel the call of a higher and more important character. It may be ungrateful on my part to leave you in difficulty and embarrassment. But I propose to you to make a sacrifice in the cause of 300 millions. To join Gokhale's Society does not mean any sacrifice to me personally. For good or for evil, I have had the benefit of such a training that I can adapt myself to any circumstance in which I may be placed. My living, too, has been of such a simple nature that I do not require any special equipment or comfort. What I shall

get from the Society will be enough for me. In this transitory world all passes away—wealth, rank, honour. Happiness comes not from without, but from within. A poor man with his few rupees is more contented than the rich man with his millions. Let us not then despise poverty. The greatest men of the world have been the poorest, at first most persecuted and the most despised. But the scoffers and the persecutors are gone in to dust, no more to rise, no more to be heard of, while the persecuted and the despised live in the memory and the heart of millions. If I have had any ambition in life, it has been to be of some service to the country. Ambition I have none except to be of some service to the Mother. What prince or commoner is there who has the influence, the position or the honour of a Gokhale? And is he not after all, a poor man?"

Thus Rajendra Prasad like Wordsworth's, 'Happy warrior' has "wrought upon the plan that pleased his boyish thought". Only his devotion to Gokhale was transferred to the "unofficial member" of Gokhale's Society, Mahatma Gandhi.

R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.

SNAKES.

Sir, With reference to a recent comment, by Recluse in the *Reformer* regarding the cobra incident in the compound of Mahatma Gandhi's residence at Calcutta when he was taking a walk, I am reminded of a similar incident some 25 years ago in the Tata's Estate at Bandra when there were only a few bungalows. One evening when the late Mr. R. A. Tarkhud and a few of us were walking in the estate, we found a very big cobra lying right across the road completely blocking the way. The late Mr. Tarkhud who saw it first, told us to wait and spoke in Marathi to the snake not to block the way and to allow us to go along. Immediately on hearing this, the cobra which was lying across the road, moved quietly from the road and allowed us to proceed.

AN OLD RESIDENT OF TATA'S ESTATE BANDRA

UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION

Even while the war was still going on, the United Nations started to think about the machinery that should be set up to prevent future wars. These thoughts gradually developed and at Dumbarton Oaks in August and September, 1944, suggestions were put on paper and a first plan was produced as the work of Britain, China, the USSR and the United States of America. Later, in April, 1945, this plan was put before 50 United Nations in a great conference at San Francisco.

Starting from the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, this conference drew up the Charter of the United Nations, setting up an organisation to maintain international peace and security, to develop friendly relations among nations, to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems, and to be a centre for harmonising the actions of nations.

This organisation, the United Nations, is made up of six principal sections or "organs", the General Assembly, the Security Council, the International Court of Justice and the Secretariat. These six organs cover the whole field of international co-operations in their own work and in their duty of co-ordinating the work of the specialised

agencies, like U.N.R.R.A. and F.A.O. (Food and Agriculture Organisation), each of which deals with one particular class of problem.

The General Assembly is the central body of the United Nations. It will normally meet once a year, and a special session may be called whenever a majority of members wants it. Each member nation has one vote in the Assembly, although it may have up to five representatives. Important decisions can only be taken if two-thirds of the nations voting are in favour of the proposal. Other decisions are taken by a plain majority of votes.

The duties of the General Assembly are mainly to consider, discuss and recommend, and it can deal in these ways with anything that is within the scope of the Charter; but there is one very important limitation on the General Assembly; it cannot make any recommendation on a matter which is being dealt with by the Security Council. In other words, the authority of the Security Council is separate from that of the General Assembly.

Subject to this limitation, the powers of the General Assembly are very wide. It can deal with questions that may arise as to the powers of the other organs of the United Nations, and they have to report to it every year. It elects the members of those organs, except the permanent members of the Security Council and, on the recommendation of the Security Council, it can deal with all matters of general principle concerned with keeping the world secure and at peace and is responsible for disarmament.

If nations, whether Members of the United Nations or not, want to have a problem discussed, they can bring it to the General Assembly, provided the Security Council is not dealing with the same matter. But if the Security Council does not take a matter up, the General Assembly can draw the Council's attention to it. If the Assembly thinks that a situation is arising that may develop dangerously, it can, always provided the Security Council is not dealing with it, recommend ways of settling the situation peacefully. Neither the General Assembly, however, nor any other organs of the United Nations can interfere in a matter that is entirely the home affair of the country.

The Assembly also has special duties to perform in the field of social welfare and in the government of such dependent territories as come under United Nations authority. In the first field it works through the Economic and Social Council, in the second it is helped by the Trusteeship Council, both of which are under its authority. In these fields it can also start special studies and then recommend to Members any course of action it thinks right.

It has to approve the budget of the United Nations and decide in what proportions the Members are to contribute the money to meet its expenses. Finally, it admits new members, can suspend the rights of Members, or even expel them; but for these three activities it must first receive the recommendation of the Security Council.

Thus, with very important limitations in favour of the

Security Council and subject, of course, to the fact that the International Court of Justice is free to make its own independent decisions, the General Assembly is the supreme authority of the United Nations.

The Economic and Social Council is the part of the United Nations Organisation which is to deal with the social welfare of the peoples of the world. Realising that there can be no lasting peace unless men and women are reasonably contented with the conditions in which they live, the United Nations have created a body within their organisation whose special job it is to establish conditions of stability and well-being, to make, in fact, the world a better place to live in.

The Economic and Social Council, made up of eighteen members, will work under the authority of the General Assembly. They will be elected by the Assembly for and at the end of their period they can be elected again. Normally the Economic and Social Council will meet three times a year and one of its sessions will always be immediately before the annual meeting of the General Assembly.

All the United Nations have pledged themselves to work for higher standards of living, full employment, better working conditions, improved health services. These, they declared in the Charter they signed at San Francisco, are the rights of all men and women, no matter what country they belong to, what language they talk or what religion they follow. The Economic and Social Council will have to consider how best these aims can be put into practice.

It cannot, of course, tackle such a vast task directly and on its own. Its work will be carried out in collaboration with a number of other bodies, and it will make recommendations to Governments and the General Assembly. There will be a series of "Commissions", groups of experts of every nationality who will study and discuss matters like transport, employment and child welfare, and make reports and suggestions to the Council.

Then there are what are known as the "specialised agencies", which are bodies of members of the United Nations having world-wide responsibilities in matters like health, food-production and education.

The Economic and Social Council will work very closely with these specialised agencies.

It will also be able to consult with national organisations, such as trade unions and societies, and employers' groups, in countries which are members of the United Nations.

MANAGER'S NOTICE.

From the 1st January the price of a copy of the "Reformer" will be annas three instead of annas two. Back numbers, that is, numbers of previous months will be charged annas six.

The First Court Martial:—There was little doubt from the first that the three officers who were tried by the first Court Martial would not be sentenced to death, but there was the possibility that they might be sentenced to terms of imprisonment. This was clear from the special ordinance issued by the Governor-General a few days before the promulgation of the sentences. The total remission of the sentences of transportation by the Commander-in-Chief was unexpected and came as a great relief. We are not concerned with the legal aspect of the question. But equitably we feel that the three young men would not be held to be guilty of breaking their oath of allegiance to the Crown. It was in the evidence that the English officer who was in command, formally handed them over to the Japanese officer in command at Singapore "on behalf of the Crown". If this means anything, it certainly means the absolution of the soldiers from their oath. After that they were free to act as the occasion demanded. They joined the Army recruited to fight for their country's freedom. If in doing so they had to fight the British Crown forces it was incidental and not intentional. The consideration was perhaps present in the mind of the Commander-in-Chief in ordering the total remission of the sentences.

Congress Medical Mission to Malaya:—The Government of India have declined to provide facilities for a Congress Medical Mission to Indians in Malaya on the that they are themselves sending enough doctors and medicines for their benefit. The Government of India's arrangements to defend Indians in Malaya in the Courts where they are being tried for collaboration with the Japanese during their occupation, are satisfactory. In other ways too Government have shown their concern for stranded Indians. The refusal to grant facilities for transport to the Congress Mission, is, therefore, unexpected. If the Government mission is sufficient, an additional mission will not detract from its sufficiency. Even in ordinary times an official mission is liable to be caught in the meshes of red tape. People are cautious in taking official help. They feel more free in taking non-official advice and assistance. There cannot be too much medical relief in any circumstance; Government are not right in discouraging private co-operation in humanitarian work. Most likely, the Malaya authorities feared political reactions on account of a Congress Mission. The time is past when political reactions can be evaded by refusing transport facilities.

Crowd Hysteria:—Gandhiji has done well in impressing on the public the vital importance of discipline in public demonstrations. The evidences of crowd hysterics are too many and too painful to be passed over

without rebuke from responsible leaders. They have been particularly so in the case of the three younger officers of the Indian National Army who have been released. A young woman is reported to have cut her finger and with the blood to have decorated the men with tilaks on their foreheads. No doubt the girl thought that she must make a sacrifice for the country and could not think of any less hurtful method. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was presented during his recent electioneering tour with an address the whole of which was written in blood by his admirers.

Democracy and Freedom:—Demonstrations are held in England demanding that Sir Oswald Mosley the leader of English Fascists should be imprisoned for carrying on propaganda. Tennyson wrote of England "as the land which sober-suited Freedom chose, where if girt with friends or foes, a man may speak the thing he will." Evidently, this is no longer true of the country. The Home Secretary, Mr. Chuter Ede, declared in Parliament that if Fascist propaganda takes to be violence the Police will deal with it but that otherwise he could not interfere with it. Mosley had the same right of free speech and free association as the Trade Unionists and communists. There is apparently a section of the British public consisting of members of the Labour Party, who do not approve of Mr. Ede's view of the rights of Fascists. Whatever the legal rights may be, it wants the Fascists to be deprived of them by executive action. Nearly three quarters of a century ago, the historian of Human Freedom, Lord Acton, warned the world that Democracy was not necessarily favourable to Freedom. Power distributed among the masses, is likely to degenerate into despotism worse than that of power in the hands of an oligarchy or a monarch. Like the peasants among whom and was distributed in the French Revolution, the masses are apt to become tenacious of power distributed to them and became intolerant of any difference of opinion which seems to question its their infallibility. Behind the agitation to have the Fascist leader imprisoned, is the fear that after all there may be something to say for Fascist views. Democracy distrustful of itself would put down dissent by force just as heretics in the Middle Ages were persecuted for heresy. Ideas cannot be suppressed by force. Whatever is just and true will thrive under persecution. Freedom stands as much in need of safeguards from democracy, perhaps more as against any other form of government.

ADDRESS by K. NATARAJAN

A few copies of Mr. K. Natarajan's address on "Gopal Krishna Gokhale, the man and his Message," are available at one Rupee each (postage extra). Also Mr. Natarajan's presidential address at the Indian National Social Conference, 1927 at the same rate.

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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

Facing Famine Again:—When the 1943 famine in Bengal was in full swing, the Secretary of State for India was assuring the House of Commons that all was well in this country and scare-mongers, intent on discrediting British rule in India, had raised the cry of famine from ulterior political motives. Then when the toll of deaths could not be hidden, there was much grousing, a Food Department was created and the Member of the Government of India for Information attributed the trouble to the predatory action of Japanese "rice-thieves". Then the Woodhead Commission was appointed, it came and reported and the Food Member assured the country that everything was all right and that there was no probability of a repetition of the Bengal famine—he had seen to it himself. On Monday a debate on the Food situation was initiated by Government in the Indian Legislative Assembly. The Government spokesman, Mr. Sen, Secretary of the Food Department, had a doleful tale to unfold. There was grave danger of even a bigger famine than the 1943 famine but this time it was not Bengal but Western and Southern India which were facing the worst shortage of food. The United Nations Council for rationing the world supply of food in Washington has given an inadequate quota to India and the efforts of the other Food Secretary, Sir Hutchins, who had been sent on a special mission to the United States to have it raised, met with no success. His Majesty's Government in London has been appealed to put pressure on the Food Control organisation, to permit sufficient rice and wheat to India. His Majesty's Government are not in a position to put pressure on any one except India and it will do so in many directions unbeknown to Sir Archibald Rowlands. Meanwhile, the export of precious foodstuff goes on. The other day we were told that 7000 tons of groundnuts were sent to Yugoslavia to make up for the deficiency of material there to manufacture margarine. Ground nuts are very

nutritious food and the cheapest. The Indian stomach is accustomed to them. Who allowed this important material to be exported at a time when India is facing famine?

Tampering with the Currency:—Mr. Justice Kania's order on the application of Mr. J. M. D'Souza for an order on the Reserve Bank of India to pay Rs. one thousand, the amount of a Bank Note which he presented and which the Bank officials refused to pay unless he filled up a form which was not contemplated when the Note was issued, does not come as a surprise, except as to the order for the payment of costs by Mr. D'Souza. Where such an application is made in good faith and in the public interest to obtain a judicial pronouncement on an unprecedented, Executive measure, it is but fair that the parties should each pay his own costs. Mr. D'Souza had nothing to gain, by declining to fill a form which a considerable section of the public believe to be an arbitrary invasion by the Executive Government of the inviolability of fiduciary currency. He could have signed the form and got his money without incurring the trouble and expense of instituting a test case against Government which can enact ordinances with a stroke of the pen. For this act of public service, he has to pay heavily. On the whole, however, Mr. Justice Kania's order, apparently a vindication of the Government measure, is a thoroughgoing exposure of the system of managed currency under which we live. To begin with, the Reserve Bank was instituted as a means of keeping the management of currency independent of the Executive Government. The High Court order makes it plain that the Governor of the Reserve Bank over whose signature notes are issued is not much more than the head clerk of the Finance Member of the Government of India. In the next place, it makes it plain to the public that the Bank Notes which in good faith it has hitherto accepted as an irrevocable bond is nothing of the sort. The public will know in course of time how many cases of black market and profiteering Government has detected by its raid on Notes of high denomination. It may be found that in order to catch comparatively few black marketeers and profiteers (whatever these words mean) they have, like the Chinaman in Elia's story, who to roast a pig burnt down his whole house, brought down the stupendous fiduciary structure built up by long years of patient administration. Habits of hoarding gold and silver, and barter as a method of daily transactions, will resume their sway. The loss of confidence will not be confined to currency. It will affect

the whole edifice of administration and the foundations of the political system. We trust the public will not let Mr. D'Souza bear the whole burden of the cost which he has incurred by his display of public spirit. A bench of two Judges of the Bombay High Court has dismissed Mr. D'Souza's appeal against Mr. Justice Kania's order. The Calcutta and Lahore High Courts have applications against the Reserve Bank before them.

Last Week's Disturbances:—Last week's disturbances in Bombay city mark high point in the progressive deterioration of civil life during the war years. An attempt has been made in some newspaper reports to mix up two distinct occurrences namely the attack on Communist headquarters and the stopping of a procession in celebration of the birthday of Subhas Bose. The former which seems have been absolutely unprovoked was disgraceful. The aggrieved Communists did not even invoke Police assistance and the incident had nothing to do with the trouble which resulted in several deaths, many injured and a most unhappy state of public feeling. The origin of the trouble was stated in the report in the *Times of India*. According to the President of the Bose Celebration Committee the route of the procession was approved by the Commissioner of Police but on Tuesday that official intimated to the Committee that the procession would have to be diverted through Vithalbhai Patel Road, avoiding the Muslim quarter. The reason for this, it is understood, says the report, was that some Urdu newspapers had hinted that there would be trouble if the procession went through Muslim localities. The Police could surely have ascertained at first hand how far these hints represented actual Muslim feeling and how far they were mere wishful thinking. Even if the Police found that there was the possibility of conflict, it was their duty after the Commissioner had approved a route to ensure that the procession was allowed to pass without molestation by unruly elements. As a matter of fact it is clear that the Muslims if they did not join would not oppose the demonstration. If the authorities had not been obsessed by their preconceptions, they would have understood the significance of the fact that many of the supporters and collaborators of Subhas Bose were ardent Muslims and that the Muslim League had officially arranged for the defence of some of the I. N. A. officers on trial before Courts Martial. It is an unpleasant truth which forces itself on the mind that the authorities view with jealousy any sign of rapprochement between the two sections of the population. The matter requires to be investigated immediately by an authoritative tribunal. More than that His Excellency the Governor should without delay regain control over his administration. Bureaucracy is a good servant but a bad master.

Mrs. Pandit in America:—In an exclusive interview to the United Press of America a few days before she left Washington on her return flight to India, Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit was reported to have said that gradually as she travelled across the country making speeches and meeting many thousands of Americans, she began to see that they were less interested in Indian freedom than in the situations in which the English looked bad. But in another interview two days later, Mrs. Pandit gave a glowing picture of American enthusiasm for India's cause. During her stay of several months she

had travelled from coast to coast, she had addressed numerous meetings and met thousands of men and women "I have found" she said, "that an overwhelming majority of the American people of all classes are profoundly in sympathy with the cause of Indian freedom". Is there any explanation for this contradiction between Mrs. Pandit's impressions given to the public with an interval of only two days? We daresay there is and Mrs. Pandit will no doubt explain now that she is back among us. The most important part of her first interview was that in which she acknowledged that her view on Non-violence as a political method had undergone change. The atom bomb and the Indonesian struggle had played a part in turning her away from non-violence but her stay in America had even more had that effect. Mahatma Gandhi had welded the people of India together as no other leader has done but at present she felt that events have created a mood in India into which non-violence did not fit.

Franco in Spain:—General Franco's position in Spain is indeed marvellous. He seems to be without a single friend among the nations. Indeed, he is every day the subject of execration by Britain and the United States Governments. But this seems to make his hold on his people stronger. He has recently declared that if necessary Spain would isolate herself from the rest of the world. To take a decision of that kind is itself proof that Spain will never be required to put it into execution. Meanwhile, we may reflect on the disappearance of one more of the War leaders. First, Franklin Roosevelt by a stroke of paralysis, then Churchill by the vote of his countrymen, Mussolini by the bullets of his own countrymen, Hitler in some way not definitely known. And now, De Gaulle. Stalin's health which seemed impervious to any disease of the flesh has been the subject of rumour. What shadows we are and what shadows we pursue!

De Gaulle and Franco:—De Gaulle has resigned and has left Paris. Franco, notwithstanding the daily denunciation by Britain and the United States, seems to be firmer than ever in his position as Spanish Dictator. There is no reason to suspect that the French General's retirement is due to foreign intrigue. De Gaulle's dismissal is the more surprising as his possible rivals Petain, Laval and other prominent figures in the Vichy regime, have been interned, executed or discreetly remain outside their country. De Gaulle was not exactly loved by his friends and Allies. He had very uncompromising notions about the greatness of his country and what was due to her from other nations. Soon after he concluded a twenty years treaty with Stalin he felt out with, him and the Russian Dictator has been very anxious to prevent France from taking her place among the Big Powers. There are three principal parties in the French Chamber; we are indebted to *Labour Research* for the illuminating account of the three main political parties in France printed elsewhere. There seemed at one stage a possibility of De Gaulle having to come back owing to the three parties not being able to agree on one of their own leaders. But this difficulty has been overcome and Mr. Felix Gouin of the Socialist group has been elected Prime Minister.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, February 2, 1946.

THE NEW LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

The relation between the Viceroy and Congress leaders which verged on the intimate before and during the Simla Conference, suffered a setback when Lord Wavell, after getting the Congress leaders to go nearly the whole way with him, backed out of his declared purpose because Mr. Jinnah declined to play the game. Throughout the country there was a feeling that not the Viceroy but the President of the Muslim League mattered in shaping Indo-British relations. What was worse, the Congress leaders who had been prominent at the Simla Conference became discredited with their party. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai who had a large part in bringing the Congress leaders and Lord Wavell together, was thrown overboard. He lost caste with Congressmen. Despite his splendid advocacy of the Indian National Army officers' cause at the first Court Martial, he has been left out of the Assembly where he led the Congress party for many years with distinction, to the regret of many outside and perhaps also inside the Congress. The Congress leaders, most of all Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, whom Lord Wavell treated with special consideration, felt that they had been badly let down and they were the most vehement in denunciation of the part which they had been led to play at the Conference. There should have been much rejoicing in bureaucratic circles which had, it was notorious, resented Lord Wavell's move and done their best to torpedo it. The parity formula and the rest of the concessions agreed to by the Congress leaders, were no longer valid. Congress regained freedom of action and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel declared that there was to be no further parleying with the Muslim League and Pakistan meant civil war.

This violent revulsion from the markedly friendly relation with the Viceroy, was a factor in the overwhelming success of the Congress at the elections to the Indian Legislative Assembly. Congress leaders avowed that they were sending their men to the Assembly merely to prevent more pliant men being returned to it. The petty trick by which the Government with the collusion of the Muslim League tried and failed miserably, to get Sir Cowasji Jehangir into the presidential chair of the Assembly, was not calculated to soothe irritated nerves. Sir Cowasji Jehangir if he wanted to be in the Assembly could have easily got elected to it as on the previous occasion. Mr. Masani would have had no more chance against him than Nariman on the last occasion. It was a surprise that having declined the open front door, he should have agreed to sneak into the Assembly by the backdoor of nomination. His nomination by the Governor-General to preside over the new Assembly pending the regular election of the President, might have been prompted by the desire to give a lead to the Assembly as to where it could find a President acceptable to His Excellency and his Government. This view found corroboration when a day before the election Sir Cowasji resigned the temporary Presidentship on being announced as a candidate to contest

the position with Mr. G. V. Mavalankar, the Congress nominee. This, it is commonly believed, was the idea of Sir Edward Benthall, Member for Railways, who for the first time in many years occupies the place conventionally held by an Indian member of the Government of India. Many years ago, Sir Edward had come into the limelight in connection with some correspondence with the Editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Mr. Tushir Kanti Ghose. It was not a conspicuously helpful context but evidently Sir Edward thinks himself a good hand at dealing with Indian politics. With the solid Government block of official and nominated Members and the support of the Muslim League, it was regarded almost as a foregone conclusion that Sir Cowasji would have had an easy victory. But he did not. Two Members, one a member of the Government, Sir Ardeshir Dalal, and a nominated member, Mr. Himmat Singhji, a brother of the Jam Sahab, publicly declined to vote. It may be surmised that there were other defections from the Government side. Intrigue always provokes counter-intrigue.

It is generally thought that Lord Wavell was innocent of any knowledge of Sir Edward Benthall's plans. Lord Wavell promptly approved of the election of Mr. G. V. Mavalankar and addressed the Assembly on the first day of its opening after the election. It was a short and rather sharp address. His Excellency declared that he would, as previously announced, form a new Executive Council of Indian political leaders and take steps to convene a constituent Assembly. He requested the Members that if they felt it their duty to defeat Government in the Assembly, to use language in the debates not calculated to exacerbate feelings already strained. With this invitation we heartily concur. Non-violence in language is much more important than in action. Blows are forgotten but words rankle. Lord Wavell's suggestion applies to both officials and non-officials; to the former more than to the latter as they occupy a privileged position, while the latter, having no means of removing the former from office, can find vent to their feelings only in vehement protests. The Viceroy's call for cooperation has already been firmly declined by Mr. Jinnah. He will not cooperate unless there are two constituent Assemblies and Pakistan conceded as a condition precedent. He also suggests that there is no longer any need for an interim arrangement but that they should get on with plans for the permanent constitution. This, we think, is reasonable and Mr. Jinnah quotes Sir Stafford Cripps in support of the contention.

BRETTON WOODS DEBATE

The Indian delegation which attended the Bretton Woods Conference two years ago, had not a very cheerful story to tell of its achievements. The Government of India sat tight over the matter and on December, the last working day before the date appointed, December 31, for admission of original members, it intimated its adherence to the monetary plans adopted by the Conference. On Monday the Finance Member of the Government of India, Sir Archibald Rowlands, brought forward in the Indian Legislative Assembly a motion to approve and

endorse the action of Government. In his speech Sir Archibald set forth the advantages to India of being a member and an original member of the organisation, and also the perils of not being one. Prominent among the latter, he mentioned the risk of arousing resentment in America where the administration and the public warmly approved the Bretton Woods agreements and he reminded the House that India would have a great deal to do with the United States in future. This is, perhaps, the first occasion in which an Englishman and a member of the Government of India, advises Indians to propitiate Americans and to cultivate their friendship. Sir Archibald's admonition also sounds strange in view of the complaints of British anti-Indian propaganda in the United States which every Indian visitor to that country has made. That apart, is it true that American opinion has warmly welcomed the Bretton Woods proposals? The Government of India has no doubt its own sources of information, but from our study of American sources, Sir Archibald's statement should be taken with more than a grain of salt. In the *Political Science Quarterly* for December 1944, that is, soon after the Conference, Professor B.A. Beckhart of Columbia University, analysed closely and commented on the Bretton Woods proposals in a paper running to nearly 50 pages. We quote a few passages from it. As regards the fundamental objects of the proposals, Professor Beckhart brushed aside those formulated in the proposals, and observed, "Apparently two reasons accounted for the size of the Fund for these particular provisions; the desire to render financial aid to England and the desire to circumvent the alleged defects of the international gold standard." During the period needed for England to reconvert her industry to peace production, she would require a large amount of dollars to pay for food and raw materials. And the International Fund is the source from which she looks to get them. The other nations which would need most help from the International Fund were Russia, China, Poland, Yugoslavia and Greece. Professor Beckhart added: "India, too may wish to use the Fund to obtain dollars, *should she be unable to convert a part of her blocked sterling balances into American dollars.*" The italics are ours. In other words, India's need to the *International Fund* will arise only out of her inability to convert even a part of her blocked sterling balance into American dollars. Is it a wild surmise that the Government's last minute adherence to the Bretton Woods Plan is due to knowledge that there is no hope of the sterling balances being made available even in part and that it will have to get dollars only through the International Fund? The Finance Member protested indignantly that he was not sitting at one end of a telephone with the India office at the other end and that there has been no dictation from Whitehall. Where is the need for dictation when the man at the Indian end is imbued with the same hopes and fears, purposes and presentiments as the men at the Whitehall end? It has indeed, happened, and is perhaps, happening today that, even when Whitehall showed tendency to relax under pressure of world opinion, the Indian ender was entirely unaffected by what passes around him, and persists in the path of imperialist exploitation.

The leader of the Opposition, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose in his speech quoted a letter which Sir Archibald Rowland had written to the President of the Federation of Indian Commerce and Industry on December 6, stating his personal view that it would be in India's interests to become an original member but before announcing her adherence India should obtain an assurance from His Majesty's Government that she would be released from the dollar pool and that an adequate proportion of her sterling balance would be converted in to free exchange.

Mr. Bose asked what had happened between December 6 and December 26 to make the Finance member change his mind. The Finance Member's reply is not coherent. He said that under the Anglo-American agreement the British Government undertook to make arrangements which involved the breaking up of the dollar pool and it undertook to enter into negotiations with India and other sterling countries with a view to convert a percentage of the accumulated sterling balances. Evidently beyond this inferential vague and wishful expectations, there has been no direct assurance to the Government of India. Negotiations between Britain and India generally end in favour of the former and against the latter. Professor Beckhart in his paper stresses internal political stability as the condition precedent to the effectiveness of all international engagements. That India has not today. The Congress party is accused of introducing political motives in the discussion. The Bretton Woods proposals are shot through and through with political motives and only one who is blissfully ignorant of its proceedings can blame Indian leaders for importing politics into an economic discussion.

HINDI VERSUS ENGLISH.

There was discernible a feeling of disappointment, not to say bitterness, in the address which Gandhiji delivered at the public meeting held in Madras to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Pracharak Sabha, the society for the propagation of Hindi in Southern India. After twenty five years of arduous work by devoted workers and the expenditure of large sums of money, the results in the number of South Indians proficient in Hindi, in the words of Gandhiji, are a drop in the ocean. Analysing the figure by linguistic divisions, the *Hindu* observes that the largest number of Hindi learners was in Kerala and Andhra. It explains that the relatively greater popularity of Hindi in Kerala is due to the larger number of Malabar youths seeking employment in Northern India, and that as regards Andhra, the people are anxious to strengthen their intercourse with their Telugu speaking neighbours of the Nizam's Dominions, "where the Telugus have more need to be well-versed in Hindustani, Urdu being the Court language and the language of commerce". The spur of practical necessity is not felt in the Tamil country and Karnatak. Another reason may be while Telugu and Malayalam are highly Sanskritised, Tamil and Kanarese and especially Tamil is far less Sanskritised. Indeed, Tamil is the only language in the country which has still extant a literature ante-dating the spread of Brahmanism to the Tamil country. While Malayalam and Telugu may be described as Dravidianised Sanskrit, Tamil and Kanarese should be described as Sanskritised Dravidian. Tamil and Kanar-

ese have a status as languages in which the scriptures of important religious sects are enshrined. To Sri Vaishnavas Tamil is the second sacred language. To Madhvas and Lingayats, Kanarese is a sacred language. Telugu and Malayalam have no similar religious affinity. Prominent amongst the strong as well as weak features of Gandhiji's objectives, is his complete ignorance of the strength of the institutions which he seeks to overthrow by dint of sheer iteration of some ill-proved catchwords. That the attempt to force Hindi on the Tamils has been a ghastly failure, is evidenced by the political extinction of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, mainly due to his unwise measure when Congress Prime Minister to impose Hindi on the people through middle schools. The Justice Party which had been all but extinguished at the first elections under the Hoare reform scheme, revived with an anti-Hindu slogan, and even among Tamil Congressmen Mr. Rajagopalachari lost his pre-eminence. His coquetting with Pakistan came later but he had become before that discredited among many who largely helped him to the Prime Ministership. It is significant also that none of the important Tamil Congress leaders have learnt to speak Hindi.

While it is certainly an advantage to have a single language for the whole country, in the same way as it is an advantage to have single race and single religion, these are not indispensable for the country to have swaraj and the advantage may be exaggerated. This is admitted nowadays and is almost a commonplace of political thought. Linguistic provinces with ample powers by devolution from the centre is a simple and direct way of constituting Indian swaraj.

Gandhiji's denunciation of the popularity of English is equally pragmatic. The first and foremost advocate of English education in India was not, as generally represented, Macaulay, but Raja Ram Mohun Roy who established the first English school in Calcutta. Allowing for the distance of time between him and Gandhiji, the Raja's concept of Indian Nationalism was broader and more comprehensive than Gandhiji's. Nationalism to Raja Ram Mohun Roy was another name for freedom, freedom of the spirit in every sphere of life. Gandhiji in his Madras speech as on other occasions harps on English being a foreign language and studying and speaking and writing it as the worst form of slavery. Things are not good or bad; they are well suited for their purpose or ill-suited. That is the main thing. Gandhiji uses many things which are of foreign origin as a matter of course, including the English language. Whatever may be our estimate of the British Indian Government, it cannot be gainsaid that the idea of civil freedom among us is largely the product of English language and literature. We have not hesitated or refused to receive these ideas from English because English is a language which did not grow on the banks of the Cauvery or Godavari or the Ganges. Gandhiji is far above the vulgar prejudice that all foreigners are barbarians. Why dislike or denounce things because they are of foreign origin? Gandhiji owes his intellectual and spiritual debt to Tolstoy and Ruskin, one a Russian and the other an Englishman. Why regard the study of the language in which he learnt their ideas as slavery? A man may be a slave in his mother tongue. Can he not? The Parliamentary system which

has come to stay is not traceable in the Vedas or the Bhagavad Gita. If anything the Gita is not an advocate of what is called democracy. It forbids in so many words disturbing the minds of the masses. It enjoins example of the intellectual and spiritual leaders as the most effective and surest method of healthy progress. Terms like foreign and slavery are words which have no logical value. They are terms of opprobrium well calculated to arouse emotions. Apart from Hindi being a language indigenous to a part of the country, it has none of the advantages that English has as a medium of knowledge and of international intercourse.

The Tamils are a hard-headed people not easily carried away by slogans. There is a Tamil saying against conforming to every thing because it is indigenous. "Because our father dug a well, should we fall into it and die?" The popularity of English in the South is due to several reasons. First, because the sounds of the Tamil alphabet are almost the same as in English. It is also because the Tamil country has been the source of all the great religious philosophical movements and Indian philosophy has many points of contact with European and English is our ready means of contact with European thought. Of course, English has also the advantage of being the language of Government. Hindus in Northern India learnt Persian when Persian became their language at the instance, be it noted, of Todar Mal and not of any Mahommedan minister. Todar Mal was an orthodox Hindu. He refused to join the new religion of Akbar.

While Gandhiji confines himself to exhortations and imprecations to make Hindi or Hindustani the national language written either in the Devanagari or Persian script, his followers threaten the South with persecution if it does not learn to talk—sense or nonsense—in the Hindi language. Messrs. Satyanarayana Avadaṅḍhan admonish the South in their Introduction to Hindi-English Self Instructor, published by the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha first published in 1928, that the South will be a dead branch unable to take part or influence the Central Government which it declares must be strong to control the whole country—unless it learns to lisp in Hindi. "More than either politics or culture", the writers continue,

"Is the problem of obtaining a livelihood. A knowledge of Hindi sufficient to speak and understand and write at once widens the field in educated men of South India who, can offer themselves for service. The pressure of competition in one's own province is driving many thousands of educated men abroad, and a working knowledge of Hindi would certainly better the chances of our young men in public or commercial service all over India".

On this a few comments are obvious. Pressure of competition is as great in the North as in the South. Southerners who have secured jobs in the North have done so almost entirely on the strength of their knowledge of English. So far as the working classes are concerned the drift is all to the South-West not from the South to the North. Many occupations which were formerly in the hands of Marathas in Bombay have passed into the hands of Bhayyas from Upper India.

ENGLISH, THE LANGUAGE OF FREEDOM

A language besides script and a vocabulary has a genius of its own, its heritage from the great masters who used it as the medium for expressing the outpouring of their soul. English is pre-eminently the language of freedom. "We must be free or die," Wordsworth protested, "who speak the tongue which Shakespeare spoke, the faith and morals hold, which Milton held". On the other side of the Atlantic the American poet, Lowell, extends it to cover the whole human race.

Is true Freedom but to break
Fetters for our own dear sake,
And, with leathern hearts, forget
That we owe mankind a debt?
No! true freedom is to share
All the chains our brothers wear,
And, with heart and hand, to be
Earnest to make others free!

True, this genius of the English language is for the time under an eclipse but even now it has not all its force. The worst hide-bound bureaucrat in his most atrabilious mood feels constrained by it to pay lip-homage to freedom. Sir Sankaran Nair used to say that English is a necessary part of Indian nationalism as "you cannot argue a man into slavery in the English language". Gandhiji's "constructive programme" requiring every man and woman to spin to wear khaddar, to be non-violent in deed however violent in thought, and not to open their mouths in public unless they can speak Hindi, pays scant regard for individual freedom while it is doubtful if it will secure national independence. Gokhale, whom sometimes Gandhiji called his Guru, depended on the English-educated classes to be the mediators between Government and the masses. The responsibility for sweeping the liberals off the political board, lies heavily on the bureaucracy which claimed to be the mouthpiece of the dumb millions in rejecting the Liberal's plea for ameliorative reforms. Gandhiji's direct appeal to the masses, left no standing room for Liberals. Gandhiji on his part is being displaced by another group with a greater appeal to the masses and the moneyed classes, the two pillars of the Gandhian movement. Subhas Bose collected 20 crores of rupees in a few months, while Gandhiji's record is but a crore in twelve months. The masses are crowding in larger numbers to meetings attended by Netaji's coadjutors. A new thing is the use of blood drawn from their bodies to put tilak on their foreheads and even to write addresses and paint pictures. Captain Dhillon who is now in Bombay did well in severely snubbing these blood-stained offerings, bidding the enthusiasts to donate their superfluous blood to hospitals for treatment of anaemic patients.

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA ON "OUR WOMEN"

I suppose I am one of the few now living who met Swami Vivekananda while yet a wandering sanyasin. Sir Brojendranath Seal who was at college with Narendra Dutt has told us of the early spiritual struggles of young Narendra. He tried the Brahma Samaj but did not find the peace of mind he sought. Seal introduced him to some English poets and German philosophers, still Narendra found no satisfaction. He wanted a Guru in flesh and blood. This he found in Sri Ramakrishna

Paranahansa. It must have been shortly after he took *sanyas* that my old Professor Sundaraman found him trudging along the road in Trivandram. The *kashaya* all over India ensures respect and hospitality. The Professor was struck by the bearing of the boy sanyasi who spoke English fluently and showed himself a deep student of philosophy and literature of both East and West. He passed him on to friends in Madras. I met him at the Triplicane Literary Society one morning. There was a gathering of friends interested in philosophy. Dewan Bahadur Raghooath Row, then an untiring propagandist of social reform, especially remarrige of young Hindu widows, presided. Young Vivekananda was then a militant opponent of everything savouring of the West. I remember his denunciation of Professor Max Muller, who laboured assiduously for the dissemination of Sanskrit and Indian culture in the Western world, as a fraud. Later Vivekananda met Max Muller at Oxford and became his admirer. A year or two after that he was enabled to go to America with just enough money to pay for his passage. With great difficulty he managed to attend the first World Congress of Religions in Chicago 1893 and instantly made his mark by his eloquent address on Hinduism which was greeted with enthusiasm. After that many doors were opened to him in America and England. His return to Madras was signalled by a mass meeting which he addressed over an hour. Among the addresses presented to him was one from the Social Reform Association. His reply to it was something of a snub. But a day or two later he came to the Association and was in a very gracious mood. He told us that it was young men of the type whom he saw there that he wanted for the service of the Motherland. He always spoke of India as Mother or Motherland and there was a deep note of veneration whenever he mentioned the word.

I recall these memories as I read in the papers accounts of the celebration of Swami Vivekananda's eighty-third birthday. I have received a copy of a neat little book by Swami Ranganathananda of the Ramakrishna Mission, Karachi, with the title "Our Women" in which the Swami has collected talks to American and English audiences on some aspect of Indian life and culture. The Indian problem to Swami Vivekananda was comprised in two words, "Women and the People." The downfall of India was due entirely to the neglect of the welfare of Women and the People. The key to both problems was the same, Education. There was no difference in Vedic literature between men and women as regards education and vocations. Women like men should move with the times but any attempt to modernise Indian women "if it tries to take our women away from the ideal of Sita, is immediately a failure, as we see very day." It is interesting to note that Swami Vivekananda was in favour of training women in the art of defence and holds up the Rani of Jhansi as a pattern for Indian womanhood. Swami Vivekananda maintained that Hindu Scriptures did not forbid the sanyas ashram to women and he had a great scheme for organising bands of Brahmavidyas and Nuns to carry knowledge and enlightenment throughout the country. The Swami quotes Manu's injunction that daughters should be educated with the same care as sons and wonders how sex distinctions have come to prominence in this country where the Vedas and Upanishads make little of it.

Swami Vivekananda found during his wanderings in Malabar many women who spoke good Sanskrit while in the rest of India not one woman in a million can speak it. Dravidian civilization, he held, was the highest in India because women in Dravida occupied a position higher than that of men. The Swami accounts for the fact that Malabar was never conquered either by Mussulmans or Europeans to the fact that women there were not suppressed as in the rest of the country :

He had a great admiration for American women and for American family life. He says:

I have never seen women elsewhere as cultured and educated as they are here in America. I have seen thousands of women here whose hearts are as pure and stainless as snow. O, how free they are. It is they who control civic and social duties, Schools and colleges are full of women while in our country women cannot be safely allowed to walk in the streets.

The Swami spoke some fifty years ago. Today conditions are very different. Swami Ranganathananda writes in his introduction:

"After long ages of self-forgetful slumber and suppression, woman under the Indian sky today is awake and is on the march. This awakening has received an unprecedented intensity and power from the personality and programme of Mahatma Gandhi. The many-sided Indian Renaissance, with its social urges and political upheavals, its spiritual deliverances and cultural struggles, has carried our women and our masses in its onward current towards a larger and a higher level of existence and expression. Our women are on the threshold of a new era of power and progress, with its wider opportunities of creative functioning and creative joys. Freedom is the watchword of all movements of India's soul today. National Freedom is not only freedom of the nation as a whole from foreign domination but also freedom from all bonds within the nation which thwart the free development of men and women. Its content, therefore is social, economic and spiritual as much as political."

NON-VIOLENT VIOLENCE

Rev. Fred Perill who has relinquished the editorship of the *Indian Witness* in favour of Rev. A. J. Shaw, Professor of Civics, Lucknow Christian College, who is the first Indian to be appointed editor of the weekly, writes: "I appreciate your editorial on "Non-violent Violence" in your issue of Jan 19. This is the position I have consistently held through the years. I have not always been sure that it was fully accepted by the *Social Reformer*. I am glad to have this reassurance.

"I fear you have allowed a bit of cynicism to come in where you refer to western writers applauding India's "non-violence". I do not think it is "because they have no intention whatever" of following it. That would scarcely be a reason. I admit that many of them do not understand the issues involved. Some of them following a writer's instinct, have pounced upon something unusual to

add a bit of novelty to their writing. But there are those from the west who have sincerely appreciated the value of India's contribution in decrying the use of force on any and all occasions. Some of the ultra-pacifists have misused the *non-violent* attitude, to oppose the use of force in any and all situation, as has also happened in India. I have frankly maintained that civil war in India is not only possible but probable if the Mahasabha and Muslim League tactics are pursued. History reveals plenty of "Hindu" *violence* and the ordinary attitudes of zamindars and Rajputs today can scarcely be called non-violent. But I still hold that non-violence must be advocated as the only reasonable method of life—when both sides agree."

FRENCH POLITICS

The background to the general election in France has been a gradual clarification of the political scene with the regrouping of the various resistance groups in support of the three main parties (which eventually emerged as such in the elections). The Movement Unite de la Resistance (M.U.R.), the most powerful of the resistance groups, covers the Conseil National de la Resistance (of which M. Bidault was originally the President), some socialists, the C.G.T., and the communists. The M.U.R. supported the communist lists in the elections.

The Union Democratique et Socialiste de la Resistance (U.D.S.R) is the outcome of a fusion between right wing and centre groups of the Resistance, and dates from June 7 when the Mouvement de la Liberation Nationale decided in favour of co-operation with the Socialist Party and left and centre Catholic groups. The U.D.S.R. supported the socialist lists in the elections.

The third new grouping centres around the newly formed Mouvement Republicain Populaire (M.R.P.) which is the outcome of negotiations between pre-war centre Catholic parties (Democrats Chretiens), some Catholic resistance groups and numerous smaller parties. It emerged from the elections second to the Communists and superior in strength to the Socialists.

The low vote again to the radical socialists in the elections and the defeat of all their leading candidates with the exception of Herriot, shows their complete eclipse in the new political life of France.

The actual voting and the distribution of seats had made the Communist Party the leading political party in France to-day.

The election campaign was a somewhat complicated matter since electors were asked to reply to two questions in a referendum, in addition to electing their representatives. The various parties took up their positions on these questions, and it was around the various attitudes that the campaign was waged. As a result of the election, the path for the reconstruction of the governmental machinery of the future has been laid down. Up to the virtual surrender of Petain to the Germans, the country had been governed by the Constitution accepted in 1875; the electors had now to decide whether to return to that Constitution or if not, how the new constitution was to be determined. The first of the two referendum questions was then, quite simply, "Do you want the Assembly which you will elect

to be a Constituent Assembly ?," 15,656,283 voters replied "YES" and 596,283 replied "NO." These replies gave an overwhelming indication that the country wanted to get rid of the out-of-date hidebound constitution of 1875.

The second question was, "Do you agree that the powers exercised by this Assembly—until the coming into force of the new Constitution—should be those laid down in the Government's 'projet de loi' (draft Bill) of August 17th ?" This Bill gives the Government considerable protection and in effect prevents its being overthrown by a simple adverse vote in the Chamber of Deputies. De Gaulle asked the electors to vote "YES" to this question too; the M.R.P. and other right-wing groups, and the socialists campaigned on his behalf. The French T.U.C., the Communists, the majority of the resistance groups and the Radical Socialists campaigned for a "NO" to this question. The results of the voting gave 10,847,925 votes of "YES" and 5,381,106 "NOES."

The reasons that caused such a large section to vote 'NO' were given by the parties campaigning for this reply, and are that it was illogical that any Assembly that had such sovereign attributes as constitution making should be limited in this virtually dictatorial power during the months of constitution-making; and that little more than consultative powers would be left to the Assembly. The considerable majority given to de Gaulle in this question is the main reason that he is being called upon to form the new Government, but the considerable minority vote against him is bound to have its effect on the conduct of the government during the coming months.

To finish the picture, the "project de loi" referred to above gives the Assembly seven months in which to frame the new constitution and get it agreed in a further national referendum; should this be impossible within the seven months, then new elections for a new Constituent Assembly must take place within the seven months time limit; for the powers of the present Assembly are limited to seven months precisely.

A final note on the elections relates to the way in which the voting was arranged. A very complicated system of proportional representation was used, which was on the whole accepted as being pretty fair. On the other hand, strong exception was taken to the distribution of seats, which gave one deputy per 90,000 inhabitants in the densely populated districts (where the left wing is strongest) and one for every 40,000 in the rural districts.

WORLD CO-OPERATION IN EDUCATION

BY THEODORA BOSANQUET

The first session of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation Conference in London was highly successful in achieving just what it set out to do, the drafting of a Constitution or ground plan for solid building. When the delegates met at first they had great hopes and certain doubts in their minds. They all wanted to work out a good cooperative scheme, but they were well aware that there would be various knotty problems to be solved.

The Minister of Education, Miss Ellen Wilkinson presided over the major sessions admirably. She was brilliantly seconded by the Associate President, M. Leon Blum, leader of a highly distinguished delegation from France.

M. Blum offered Paris as the headquarters of the Executive and Administration of UNESCO. Now this question of the headquarters had been foreseen as one of the knotty problems. Paris was the seat of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations. Some delegates thought it would be better to have the secretariat established at the headquarters of the United Nations Organisation, wherever that might be fixed; others preferred the idea of centres of activity in different parts of the world and thought UNESCO might well be separated. Paris was voted for by acclamation.

The delegates who signed the Constitution, solemnly affirmed their faith in "full and equal opportunities of education for all, in the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth, and in the free exchange of ideas and knowledge." To promote those ends the nations will co-operate in all branches of intellectual activity.

What does that mean in terms of a programme of work? First, in the field of education, an active advance in the direction of equal opportunities for all, as much interchange among teachers and students as can be arranged, a basis of agreement about the teaching of such subjects as history, assistance for development in some parts of the world, where educational facilities are still to some extent lacking, a large-scale exchange of books and other useful material.

RADAR "EYE" FOR SHIPS

I saw demonstrated in the vessel, *H. M. S. Pollux* a radar set which makes navigation independent of visibility, writes the *Daily Telegraph* shipping correspondent. It can be fitted in any merchant ship. It is known as P. P. I.—Plane Position Indicator. Experts believe that the radar apparatus is the forerunner of those which will equip the entire British merchant navy within a year or two. We had just steamed blindfold through the mists of the Thames estuary past the south end of the pier at eight knots. I saw the pier on a screen in a darkened chart room. With the ship stationary, the blob in the centre of the screen, line leading to the perimeter of circles showed her course moving as the quartermaster swung her wheel. I could detect the outlines of various sizes of buoys two miles away, ships coming down the river into the estuary or wrecks in the fairway. The indicator records a picture of the whole area surrounding the ship. There are three controls which enable the set to be ranged over distances of upto two and a half miles, from zero to seven and from zero to 20 miles. Thus on the broad Atlantic it is possible for a navigator to distinguish objects such as other ships and icebergs upto 20 miles distant. The trial also revealed that scientists have now overcome one important limitation of radar—its inability to distinguish easily between ships and buoys. It was demonstrated that this difficulty can now be overcome by laying buoys fitted with special radar reflectors in easily arranged geometrical patterns.

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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

Building on Quicksand:—The protracted acrimonious discussion in the United Nations Security Council on the Russian protest against the presence and activities of British troops in Greece has revealed as in a flash the desperately precarious nature of the foundation of the vast imposing international edifice that was planned to be reared in the name of World Peace and Security. An Indian in order to be able to get the right perspective in international matters in which Britain is involved—and there are few in which she is not involved more or less deeply—has to clear his mind of the bias which, as the consequence of Britain's position in this country, he is constrained to entertain. This is not always possible but one should try to do it as much as possible. Approaching the discussions in this spirit, we are obliged to consider the British Foreign Secretary's insistence on getting a verdict of "not guilty" with a commendation of British disinterestedness, as overdone. Greece had liberated herself by her own efforts from Nazi occupation when British troops were a hundred miles away from her frontier. Mr. Winston Churchill's action in sending British troops to Greece was criticised at the time and later, if we remember aright, the American Government sharply dissociated itself from British operations in Greece. Britain, of course, has a traditional interest in Hellenic freedom but the Greeks of today are very differently constituted from the Three Hundred of Thermopylae, and very probably will not be able to maintain their independence without foreign aid. The alternative to British aid is Russian. The presence of British troops in Greece is from the point of view of Russia a menace to world peace and the opinion of the United States Government that it is not, can only be a pious opinion. If Russia does not accept the British claim endorsed by the United States, and feels impelled to send her troops to counter British influence, World Peace conceived as

indivisible is undoubtedly endangered. There are other considerations also. The Russians and Greeks worship in the same Church. Russia has now recognised its national Church. Britain is divided from Greece by the whole length of the European continent. In the last war Britain helped Greece to annex Turkish territory but when France withdrew her co-operation, Britain followed suit and Kemal-Ataturk drove the Greeks into the sea. Not only that but there had to be an interchange of populations at a terrible cost in suffering and anguish. It is more important to Greece to have good relations with her neighbours, and Britain as the traditional friend of Greece should help her to maintain such relations. But our present point is that disputes like this are bound to be chronic and international organisations without an international change of heart are likely to prove a costly failure.

English versus Hindi:—Mahatma Gandhi has done wonderful work for India. Even a blind man cannot fail to see it. But it does not follow that everything he says or does is right or that no one should dare to question his dicta in any matter. We think that the time is come when his constructive programme should either be radically modified or should be kept separate from the political movement with which he is associated despite his efforts to dissociate himself from it. On the question of English and Hindi he speaks without reference to facts. The *Times of India* reports his saying that he is against English because it has swallowed up the Indian languages. What is the fact? There was never a time when books, newspapers and magazines in the Indian languages were published in larger numbers or of a higher quality. And this is true particularly in the provinces where English has made the greatest strides, Bengal and Madras. We are not against Hindi being learnt by the Tamils and Bengalis. What we object to is the mass propaganda for Hindi and against English. This, of course, goes to the root of the Gandhian and our conception of nationalism. Gandhiji wants to expunge Indian history after the time of Babadur Shah. We include the British period in it. Two hundred years of the British connection have been more fruitful of inspiration to India than one century of Maratha and three centuries of Muslim rule. And this is due not so much to the active, direct action of Government as to the influence of the environment set up as a necessary incident of the British connections, the central factors in it being English education. Until the Gandhian era this was ungrudgingly acknowledged by all Indians of

light and leading beginning from the illustrious Raja Ram Mohan Roy. Industrially India has not progressed as much as Japan or Russia in a far less term of years. But ideas are more important than hard cash and Britain has supplied us with great ideas, especially in the field of politics of which there is no greater exponent than Gandhiji among political leaders. Indians cannot afford to discard the study of English as the inter-provincial and international language. One word as to the study of Sanskrit, Gandhiji is reported to have said that it was more difficult than Hindi. We cannot speak of Hindi which is said to have a simple grammar. Grammar is the great stumbling block in the study of any language but the current practice of beginning the learning of language with grammar is radically wrong. Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar was the chief agent in making Sanskrit Grammar to be a text book in the lower classes. In his later days he recognised the value of the traditional method and pleaded in the Bombay University not to allow it to die out. Even in the Tamil country Sanskrit words are so abundant in the current language that a Tamil boy or girl trying to learn Sanskrit has already the vocabulary in the Tamil they speak.

A Maharaja Deposed:—The communique announcing the deposition of the Maharaja of Rewa does not sound convincing. In fact, it is slightly amusing. The head and front of the charges against him, is that he did not adhere to the undertaking given by him to the Crown Representative to do nothing except through his Council of Ministers when he was permitted to return to his own State. The Maharaja in contravention of this undertaking announced his intention to introduce responsible government in his State, that is to say, to constitute himself a limited monarch on the pattern of the King of England. The communique welcomes the idea, and says the omission to consult the Council of Ministers would have been overlooked but for some other instances of the same disregard of the undertaking to the Crown Representative. The particulars given of these are general and vague but none of them appear to involve any moral turpitude. The Maharaja seems to have been in a hurry to introduce constitutional Government on the lines recommended by His Excellency the Crown Representative in his address to the Princes' Chamber and was perhaps apprehensive of obstruction by his Council of Ministers. If the communique gives the whole story without reservations, it does not afford adequate justification for so drastic a step as deposition. His Highness might have taken the Crown Representative's approval and merited appreciation of his alacrity in giving effect to His Excellency's exhortation to the Princes to associate their people with themselves in the government of their State. In our comment on the Crown Representative's address we had noted a conflict of ideas. Since the above was written, the Crown Representative has issued orders forbidding the deposed Maharaja to reside in Rajputana. The Maharaja, it is understood, will take up his residence in Bombay. If the Maharaja had been a British Indian, the Governor-general would have encountered more difficulty in ordering him to quit his home and keep out of a whole province for an indefinite period.

The Malaya White Paper:—The White Paper on Malaya barely saves the British Government from the odium of going back on its repeated declaration that it covets no territorial acquisition as its reward for entering and carrying on World War II. The Sultans of nine states have, we are told, willingly agreed to vest in the British Crown all sovereign rights in their territories, retaining for themselves only those matters which affect the Mahomedan religion. Each of the nine states will have its own Council of Mullahs presided over by the Chief. All the nine chiefs will have a joint council under the Presidentship of the Governor (not a Muslim) of the Union. Singapore will be a separate colony under a Governor of its own. There will be a Governor-General over both. Mr. Malcolm MacDonald has been given this job. The best part of the scheme is as regards the attachment of citizenship to all born in the Union and naturalization after five years residence. But such provisions have been completely ignored in other parts of the British Commonwealth and should not be regarded as inviolable.

Harijans and Caste Hindus:—A headline in a daily paper runs "Why Harijans Hate Caste Hindus". What follows purports to be a report of a talk by Gandhiji during his Madras tour. The reason is given in Dr. Ambedkar's book "What Congress and Gandhiji have done to the Untouchables." Quoting a long passage, by Recluse from the *Bandra Diary*, Dr. Ambedkar writes:

The writer of the letter in the *Indian Social Reformer* is right when he says the Untouchables felt no hostility towards the Depressed Classes Mission Society which like the Harijan Sevak Sangh was also engaged in doing welfare work among the Untouchables. Hindus and Untouchables both worked together in perfect harmony towards furthering the work of the Mission. The writer is not quite correct when he says that this was due to the Depressed Classes Mission having always taken care to have on its Managing Committee a certain number of Untouchables. This is quite true. But the reason why there was no hostility between the Mission and the Untouchables and why there is between the Untouchables and the Sangh is quite different. It lies in the fact that the Mission had no political objective behind its work but the Sangh has. (Pages, 142 & 143).

Dr. Ambedkar is unjust to Gandhiji and the Harijan Sevak Sangh. We do not think they have ulterior motives either, only their methods of approach to the problem of the removal of untouchability are different. The organisers of the Depressed Classes Missions were religious reformers who had intellectually and, many of them, actually repudiated the idea of Untouchability. Every member was pledged to disregard it in his personal life. Gandhiji's supporters are moneyed people who have not thought of the removal of untouchability as involving any change in their personal lives.

Exit Convention:—A correspondent writes: "When the Speaker, Mr. G. V. Mavlankar, of the newly elected Central Assembly took his seat, it was reported that he discarded the conventional wig and gown. In this connection it will be of interest to your readers, that Mr. Norman Makin, the first Chairman of the Security Council, a member of the Australian Labour Administration, when he became the Speaker of the House of Representatives in Canberra, would have nothing to do with outworn parliamentary traditions. He is reputed to have said, "I don't propose to wear anything more than ordinary clothes because I don't think a wig or gown or both will add a cubit to my stature or one whit to my authority or the dignity of office." He also dispensed with the mace, remarking that it was a relic of barbarism and that he was quite capable of asserting authority without it."

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, February 9, 1946.

HINDU RESURGENCE

On Sunday last Gandhiji with a band of Harijans made what may be described as a royal entry into the Minakshi temple in Madura. This is a renowned shrine of Hinduism. The presiding Deity is female, as in the Mahalakshmi temple in Bombay and the Kalighat temple in Calcutta. Gandhiji with his party was admitted to the inner shrine to which only the highest personages are admitted. This is a triumph for the Harijan movement and Gandhiji, its heart and soul. But it is even a greater triumph for Hinduism which has demonstrated once again that it has not lost the vast assimilative genius which has enabled it to endure when most other ancient religions have vanished from the face of the earth. Travancore led the way with the famous proclamation of the Maharaja throwing open all State temples to Harijans. The Madura temple is not a State temple. The fact that the orthodox community, priests and worshippers, joined in welcoming Gandhiji and his party, shows that Hinduism has moved from one of its central citadels in response to the spirit of the time. Other temples will follow suit. The Srirangam Temple, the famous shrine of the Sri Vaishnavas, has declined to admit Harijans. This is strange for Sri Ramanujacharya, the illustrious founder and philosopher of Sri Vaishnavism, freely admitted all castes to his fold and even provided that Harijans should be admitted for three special days in the year to the great Cathedral which he raised at Melkote in the Mysore State. It is safe to prophesy that in the next ten years or even less, the classes considered untouchables will take their place on an equality with all other Hindus in the spiritual as well as in the social and economic planes.

It is curious that Dr. Ambedkar should have on the same day as that of Gandhiji's entry with Harijans in the Madura temple, put forth a demand that Government should recognise the scheduled castes as a separate community like Muslims, Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians. Muslims and Indian Christians have quitted the Hindu fold and adopted other religions. The Harijans have been Hindus all along and are still Hindus. Not very many years ago, Dr. Ambedkar himself attached much importance to temple entry. When the Fanaswadi temple was inaugurated in Bombay he led a party of the scheduled castes demanding admission. The time was not ripe then, and he had to retreat discomfited. Since then, he had discovered that political agitation yields quicker, though transitory, rewards, and he has betaken himself bag and baggage to the political field. But the great bulk of his followers have still retained their religious background and do not wish to transform themselves into Muslims, Christians or even Sikhs. They have now realised that a change of religious labels means very little. It only creates new problems and new temptations but no new opportunities. They are in a better position to meet them by remaining in the ancestral fold. The results of the provincial elections so far known show that the scheduled castes prefer to line up with the nationalist Congress movement rather than to work in isolation which, except for a few jobs to some of

them, leaves the main body where it was economically and socially; and, spiritually, is a distinct source of weakness.

What is the basis of union on which the several hundred castes scheduled in the official census, can join to form a community like the Muslims and Indian-Christians or even the Anglo-Indians? These communities have their castes and sub-divisions but for political reasons, the authorities turn a blind eye to these, and accept each one of them as a single, homogeneous community. They may do the same to the Scheduled Castes, and it is Dr. Ambedkar's demand that they should do so. But political action in the present circumstances of India, has very little influence on the deep currents of social and spiritual life. We do not mean to suggest that Dr. Ambedkar's agitation has been absolutely without effect. But as the Hindu community wakens to its responsibilities to all the elements which compose it, Dr. Ambedkar will realise that there is little to be gained by trying to perpetuate untouchability for the sake of the few official preferments it brings. And be it noted, Hindu society is not stratified horizontally like the Western classes. Its disposition is vertical and, therefore, the terms, upper, middle and lower, have no application to it, except in places where economic competition has modified the social structure.

A POLITICAL MYTH

Pakistan is demanded on the ground that Indian Muslims will never consent to live under a Hindu majority. That they have lived in the past and are living at present amidst Hindu majorities, and not only living but thriving as they are not in the Muslim majority provinces, is completely ignored, if it is at all known, by the protagonists of Pakistan. Nevertheless, this fact is so patent as to need no proof. It may be urged that, in the Hindu majority provinces, Muslims are living with and not under Hindus. This cannot be said of the Indian States in some of which Muslims are a minority living under Hindu rule. It may be urged against this that although in many Indian States the rulers are Hindus and a majority of the population is Hindu, still it is not Hindu rule because Indian States are virtually the rule of one man and not of the people, and that that man is dominated by the paramount British. There has not been a single case of an Indian ruler, Hindu or Muslim, being censured or deposed by the Paramount Power for oppressing minorities. Always it has been for oppressing his people as a whole, that the Paramount Power has taken disciplinary action against Indian Princes. In any case, this argument does not apply to Hindu rule prior to the establishment of British Raj. Neither in the Maratha confederacy which for over a century was supreme over practically the whole country, including parts of it where Muslims were and continued to be rulers, nor in the Punjab under the Sikhs, was there any discrimination against Muslims as such. In fact, Muslims were treated with special consideration, their religious and cultural interests were carefully protected, and they were appointed to high offices on an equal footing with Hindus in striking contrast to the position of Hindus under contemporary Muslim rule. Much is made of the employment in high offices of

Hindus, but as N. A. Moreland points out in his India at the death of Akbar, only under Akbar were there two Hindu Ministers, Todar Mal and Birbal.

The fact is oppression of Muslims or any other minority religious community by the Hindu majority is a political myth invented in the last fifty years. The Hindus have not the motives which more than any other lead to one community oppressing other. They do not proselytise. They do not hold that all people who do not share their beliefs and walk in their way of life, are doomed to perdition. On the other hand, Hindus are about the only religious community (Buddhists are in this as in most other respects Hindus) who hold the belief that all religions are several roads to the Ultimate Reality, almost as a creed. Exploitation by Hindu landlords of Muslim-tenants, has sometimes been adduced as proof of oppression. But this is an incident of the inequitable landlord-tenant relation in some parts of the country, and is not an incident of religious significance. The plea that a dominant Hindu majority will and must as a matter of course, oppress a Muslim minority in the field of religion, culture or social progress, should not be accepted, not at least without independent and impartial investigation. If it were otherwise, the existence of several million Muslims, the great majority of Hindu descent, will be a miracle.

FOOD DEBATE IN ASSEMBLY

For four days the Indian Legislative Assembly debated the Food situation in India. Many people including ourselves had not the least idea that it was so serious as the official spokesman disclosed. The country had been lulled into a sense of security by the speeches of the Food Member during his frequent tours. The reason assigned now is the failure of the rains in South and a part of North India. Surely Government are aware that the rains are not under their control and that they may fail. A prudent Government would collect and store reserves against the contingency. In fact, we thought that Governments in India and the provinces had built granaries and stored grain since the Bengal famine of three years ago. This has evidently not been done. And we do not wonder. The Food Member is expecting any day to have to make way for a nationalist or Muslim League successor. The Viceroy may change his portfolio as he did to his predecessor in the middle of a debate on Food in the Assembly. No body is certain what the next day will bring. It requires a more philosophic temper than the average Government Member has to feel that whether he is working for a day or a month he must work as if he is working for eternity. Well, the upshot of the debate was the announcement by the Food Member that he with about a dozen others, besides, no doubt, an office staff, is going to London and then to Washington to beg for more food than the quota allotted, to be sent to India. Immediately, this would mean a saving in food for about fifty people for perhaps three months. Besides that, we do not expect any result. The United or Allied Nations Food organisation has a large number of nations to feed. If must apportion among them the food it has, it is inevitable that it must think more of the European starving than of the Indian. It is more important to supply margarine to Yugos-

lavia than to retain ground nuttin this country where it is grown and where it is the people's food. All these international organisations are agencies to take the food out of the mouths of Asiatics to put them into the mouths of Europeans who are nearer. The debate in the Assembly was hardly of a high order. For instance, it produced from Sir Cowasji Jehangir a piece of bluster. If the surplus provinces do not send the surplus food to Bombay, said the Baronet, leave us to deal with them and we shall not send cloth to them. The Baronet surely knows that in Bombay people do not feed on cloth. And the Mills will have to sell their cloth. If not to Indian provinces where will they send it? If they do not sell, how will they keep the mills going? The Bombay Government, we note, has prohibited the export of ground nuts out of the province. This should have been done three months ago. But Governments in India never close the stable-door until the horse is gone.

JEHANGIR BOMANJI PETIT

The death of J. B. Petit on Monday at the relatively early age of 67 has caused deep regret mixed with some relief to his friends. He had nearly all the qualities which go to make a man stand out among his fellowmen. He was large hearted. He was intensely public spirited. He was fearless even when he would have done well to walk warily. Many are the institutions for which he worked assiduously, Blind Relief, Parsi Hospital, Prevention of Cruelty to children and animals. Education of Women was another object for which he wrought lavishly. The cause of Indians overseas was close to his heart and the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association for many years occupied a large part of his time and care. In politics he was a radical. He was born to wealth and made large additions to his patrimony himself. But he did not care for money for money's sake. At the end of the last war, he was one of those who found themselves in possession of large bank balances. Petit started at once to get rid of them mostly on institutions meant for the benefit of the public. Among his ventures was a heavily financed daily newspaper and a musical institution known as the Chamber Orchestra. Like several other families which were swept from great affluence to relative poverty by the backwash of war prosperity, Petit also suffered. He bore it all bravely and even in his misfortunes kept himself active in public affairs. But he was a disillusioned man. He had in his own personal life sounded the depths and shoals of human life. He lost faith in human nature, the direst loss which a man with high aspirations has to face. He knew the working of wealth-making machines from the inside. He had himself been a cog-wheel in it. He was thoroughly disgusted with the whole process involving much that was repugnant to his essentially truthful instinct. He came to despise it. "I would have been a Bolshevik were I not the son of a wealthy millowner," he once remarked. That was the conflict in the soul that made his life a tragedy. His personal position pulled one way, his devotion and loyalty in quite another. He was much mis-understood. But he did not care. There was not a trace of communalism in him, which

is much to say of any member of a minority community in these days. Petit's last public effort was the manifesto on Pakistan published sometime back over the signatures of the Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastry, Petit, Professor. Wadia and this writer. In the history of Bombay during the last forty years, the name of Jahangir Petit occupies an abiding place.

NOTES BY THE WAY.

(By K. NATARAJAN.)

I should like to make it clear that my observations in the *Reformer* of January 26, on Mrs. Hansa Mehta's suggestion that wives should be entitled to divorce husbands for insanity and incurable disease should not be understood to mean that I am opposed to divorce under all circumstances. I know too many cases of intolerable unhappiness not only to wives but also to husbands from incompatibility to hold such a view. In several, in fact most of the cases within my personal knowledge, both the husband and wife were estimable people, and neither was to blame. Still, the incompatibility made life a perpetual misery to them and, what is worse, was the cause of irreparable injury to the minds and bodies of their children, and several of them had children. Of course, when there has been a breach of the marriage vow, the marriage has been broken and there should be a way of legal recognition of the accomplished fact. It need not and should not reproduce the scandals of the Divorce Court. I mentioned the Rajatarangini incident to show that Hindu custom provided a way of severing the marriage bond. Some similar method, not involving public scandal, may be devised. Insanity and incurable disease are misfortunes, and, in my opinion, are entitled to sympathetic service from husband or wife. The essence of marriage is that it is a relation which is unaffected by weal or woe. Marriage begins when the superficial relation ends.

As regards the proposed Women's Charter, women if they want to have one, should have it by all means. My personal view is that the Charter, like the Atlantic and other charters of which we have quite a number of late, will not be worth the paper on which it is written. Even the Magna Carta which is the model of all charters, can be suspended, and, even when it is not, does not protect any one's freedom from arbitrary arrest and confiscations of property. The citizen must invoke it at some expense and trouble in order to get redress. The "working class" women have a custom which secures divorce without cost or judicial formality. The great majority of middle class women will not think of divorcing their husbands even if they happen to be, which is, sometimes but not often the case, irredeemable scoundrels. There are ties of children, and the cost is prohibitive. As a British judge remarked when told that the courts are open to rich and poor alike, "So is the Ritz Hotel."

Lady Pethick-Lawrence, a seasoned worker in the women's movement in Britain, in her speech in presenting the other day a deputation of women, to Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, as President of the Economic and Social Council of the U. N. O. remarked that a charter alone will not be of much use.

Legislation as a means of social reform has a value, but it is limited. Education of public

opinion is the one sure method. It has already worked wonders. I am old enough to realise how great and beneficent a change has taken place during my life-time. Education has touched only the fringe of the population but the hands of the clock cannot be set back and we may confidently expect education of women to go forward by leaps and bounds. But education should be accompanied by the growth of a vigilant public opinion. Mrs. Hansa Mehta referred to the scandal of educated and highly educated girls marrying men who have wives living. That is an evil which demands the most urgent attention of women's organizations. When recently such a marriage in peculiarly aggravating circumstances took place, few of the women prominent in public functions, would agree to preside at a protest meeting of women. Mrs. G.V. Deshmukh and Mrs. Hansa Mehta attended and all honour to them.

THE EXAMINER ON DICTATORSHIP

The Catholic *Examiner* can never forgive Sir C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, for having been the unconscious cause of provoking it into making an exhibition of itself. The Government of Travancore decided that it would look after the education of its own children. It expressed its high appreciation of the work of Missions and intimated to them that it would no longer entail on them the labour and burden of looking after its children, but that if they wanted to continue their services they should provide the funds themselves as it was inequitable to tax the people of Travancore twice over, which Government will have to do were they to continue to give grants to Catholic schools. The *Examiner* flew into a rage and charged the Travancore Government with committing an outrage on religious freedom. Some Bishops of the Church took up the hue and cry. A weaker Dewan might have been intimidated by this seemingly formidable barrage. But Sir Ramaswami Aiyar is too well read in the history of medieval Europe to be unaware that it is part of the ecclesiastical technique to cry out before it is hurt. The Protestant Church refused to follow the Catholic lead and even Travancore Catholics felt embarrassed by the ferocity of the onslaught which they realised was altogether out of proportion to the actual proposal of their Government. The agitation has died down. But the *Examiner* is not appeased. Some of the Members of the Parliamentary delegation made their way to Travancore. One of them was questioned by a journalist about his impressions of Travancore. He said that Travancore was ruled by a Dictator and that he disliked dictators, however beneficent might be their rule. The *Examiner* has got hold of this word and adds its confirmation of it by citing the instance of a Travancorean, presumably a Catholic, who is said to have been arrested and released after a month's detention for criticising the administration. Arresting and releasing persons arbitrarily is a highly reprehensible procedure but the *Examiner* does not seem to have noticed that this is not peculiar to Travancore. Hundreds of persons are arrested for "interrogation." There are hundreds held in detention without trial. The *Examiner* has not said a word in deprecation of such dictatorial procedure. We are assuming that the *Examiner's* allegation is based on fact. One can understand the Rev. R. Sorensen

if he was the Parliamentary delegate who made the observation condemning dictatorship. What would he have said of the Vatican if anybody had thought it worth his while to ask him for his opinion of it? For my own part, I think that Dictatorship like Democracy should be judged by its fruits.

Travancoreans have lived under their Maharajas for seven hundred years. The ruler and the people are one in blood and culture. The *Examiner* may be reminded of Byron's verdict of the rulers of Hellas. They were tyrants but still at least their countrymen.

RECLUSE

NON-VIOLENCE, OUR HOPE

(BY PROF. B. S. MATHUR)

There are many who consider themselves extremely practical and say that non-violence is of no use in this world of constant complications and bickerings. This view is forced on them as a result of their knowledge of the present wars which are fought to make the world safe for democracy and universal progress. I think they are right partially. But they do not indicate the entire or real truth. It is true that we have to be cultural rebels before we can think of non-violence as the only instrument of perpetuating peace and goodwill throughout the world. Non-violence alone will not do. But it must be understood that real and lasting peace, from pole to pole throughout the world, can, and will, be established through non-violence.

Just take these words of Aldous Huxley from his book entitled "Ends And Means": "To any one who candidly considers the facts it seems even more patent that it was precisely because of the iron dictatorship of the Jacobins that the republic was destroyed. Iron dictatorship led to foreign war and reaction at home. War and reaction between them resulted in the creation of a military dictatorship. Military dictatorship resulted in yet more wars. These wars served to intensify nationalistic sentiment throughout the whole of Europe. Nationalism became crystallised in a number of new idolatrous religions dividing the world.....And yet would-be revolutionaries persist in believing, that by methods essentially similar to those employed by the Jacobins, they will succeed in producing such totally dissimilar results as social justice and peace between nations." I have drawn upon Aldous Huxley at length. Certainly it is impossible for one to excel him in stating clearly and yet infinitely forcefully the idea that non-violence is the thing, the thing that will lead to real perpetuation of peace and goodwill, all over the world. Aldous Huxley has attempted to criticise Prof. Harold Laski's dictum that "without the iron dictatorship of the Jacobins the republic would have been destroyed." Here I may state that at the moment Prof. Laski himself does not owe allegiance to the same view. In a recent utterance on the coming of the Labour party into power in England, and that too in the event of Mr. Churchill's winning the deadliest War, World War No. 2, he stated that the entire result was due to a silent educational campaign, carried on successfully for a number of years. Here are his words: "And the majority in the new House will have

behind it the important knowledge that, not only has it fought a clean fight, soberly and without malice, but also that its fight was, everywhere, a great educational campaign." And there he does not stop. He continues: "We inherit a fatigued and ravaged world in which every malignant interest stands poised ready to demand restoration of its power to exploit the mass-misery everywhere. We have to co-operate with our Allies, great and small, to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to bring hope and exhilaration to millions in whom hope and exhilaration have almost died."

And this has to be the task of education or an educational campaign. It means that Prof. Laski no longer believes in his dictum of force and violence. Naturally the conclusion of Huxley must be considered with considerable thought, and I for one will certainly advocate non-violence as the chief way-out, the real road to success and happiness, from the present mass of misery and poverty and barbarity. If a vital progress from barbarity to civilization, from poverty to power, from discord to concord, is visualised, the necessary emphasis on non-violence must be placed. This is the lesson of past history, history which is essentially a heart-rending story of wars and conflicts that have meant the slaughter of millions of men and hopes.

Huxley writes: "The only effective methods for carrying out large scale social reforms are non-violent methods. Violence produces only the results of violence and the attempt to impose reforms by violent methods is therefore foredoomed to failure." Definitely violence is accompanied by more violence. Violence will beget more violence. It cannot think in terms of construction, and if there is some construction as a result of violence, if some reform is achieved through violence, if some system is forced on an unwilling group, the resultant always, in every case, is destruction. That is altogether natural. There is progress in the world. At least that is our aim. It can be achieved either through a slow change or through a violent change. Violent change, as opposed to a slow and steady change is effected through violence. We call it a revolution. Never it is, and will be, called an evolution. Evolution implies, indeed, a gradual change, a change which takes into consideration every factor, external or internal, which must be weighed before we can embark on a reformation. This cool thinking, a combination of emotion and reason, is not possible when we are keen on a rapid evolution or veritably a revolution. Any action that does not pass through the discipline of reason is a mere going back to the stage of brutes. And naturally such a change will have seeds of death and destruction. Reasonably, we cannot hope to evolve things permanently through violence which cannot allow reason its real importance and position, which it must have if we are bent on construction and peace. Instead of violence we must have non violence.

Sir Issac Newton, long ago, laid down, "To every action there is an equal and opposite re-action." This mathematical law is generally true in many spheres. If there is violence there will be equal and opposite violence. Similarly, if there is non-violence there will be equal and opposite non-violence. Remember opposite non-violence does not, by any stretch of imagination, imply violence.

What it actually means is indicated by an example of every day life. Take a ball, and with some force strike it against the ground. With equal force it will go up, away from the ground. Exactly if there is non-violence in your acts towards others, similar and equal non-violence will be indicated by them towards you. Love breeds love, and hatred breeds hatred.

It is not for nothing that Mahatma Gandhi writes: "Indeed the sum total of the experience of mankind is that men somehow or other live on, from which I infer that it is the law of love that rule mankind. Had violence, i.e. hate, ruled us, we should have become extinct long ago. And yet the tragedy of it is that the so-called civilised men and nations conduct themselves as if the basis of society was violence. It gives me ineffable joy to make experiments proving that love is the supreme and only law of life." You might think that Mahatmaji is intensely idealistic in these words. To some extent he is. There I agree. But remember to some extent only. I admit that love is not the only law of life. There are many laws. At once we think of "jungle, police and love". These are the three laws of life. But think more deeply: he also adds "supreme" before "the only law". There he is right. First stage is the stage of brutes and the law is that of the jungle. Then when we are removed from barbarity, when we breathe the air of "civilisation", as we are breathing today, we pass into the stage of life when we are governed by the police. That is our present stage. Mahatma Gandhi wants us to cross this stage to that stage when law and love are identical, when instead of force there is love. That is the stage of real non-violence. Such a stage will be the consummation of Gandhiji's efforts. And no wonder he feels an ineffable joy to make experiments proving that love is the supreme and only law of life. Cut down "only", and all will seem reasonable, within the bounds of reality.

As a conclusion I might put this question: Why has the experiment failed thus far? There is one word, and that is not found in the dictionary of an apostle and honest devotee of non-violence. The word is "impatience". Don't be impatient. That is the answer. We are not thinking in terms of a revolution, a rapid evolution. Our emphasis is on "Evolution". Let us wait and see the result. In the words of Lord Krishna:

Who working piously refraineth not,
That is the true Renouncer, firm and fixed,
Who seeking nought, rejecting not-dwells proof
Against the opposites.

What are the opposites? Joy and sorrow, success and failure, heat and cold, these are the opposites and these a true worker has to forget. Hence there is no question of the result. The result may not come in one's life-time. That is one thing. One thing more. Non-violence is difficult to practise. Reduction to zero is not soon achieved: naturally non-violence is not soon achieved. Hence the delay in the result. Here I am reminded of the words addressed by "the Grand Inquisitor" to Christ, when he is represented by Dostoyevsky as revisiting Spain at the time of the Inquisition, in his celebrated novel, *The Brothers Karamazov*. "Behold, and judge of them once more, now that 15 centuries have elapsed since that moment. Look at them, whom Thou didst try to elevate unto Thee! I swear man is weaker and lower than Thou hast ever imagined him to be."

Here these words have meaning in this that according to many non-violence demands things from man which he has not. I don't agree there. Certainly non-violence needs a huge sacrifice, of which we may not be capable at the moment. But soon we will be fit. Let us wait and see.

DIVORCE AMONG HINDUS

Sir, It is strange to find your veteran Reform Paper expressing views against Divorce. Divorce Law is needed for several reasons. It is of course a permissive measure and those who do not care to take advantage of it may not do so. At present a woman's marriage cannot be dissolved even under the hardest circumstances. There are cases where a woman is treated most cruelly, she is not given shelter or food (even if she may have obtained a decree from Court). The husband may be flagrantly vicious, a drunkard, a menace to the family, a veritable tyrant to wife and children yet the wife is helpless. To me, Sir, it seems that the ideal of marriage cannot be sustained by making false pretences by continuing a hellish life and that too in most cases where the woman is the sufferer. It is a direct lie and make-believe that the sacredness of marital relations is being observed when the essence of harmonious life has vanished for good and hatred prevails. Under extreme circumstances, it is absolutely necessary that there should be a provision to end the miserable life.

The suggestion that a man needs care and kindness in mental derangement and incurable bad diseases is all right in theory and women would always try to be helpful as long as they can. But to the bitter experience of many the result is lunatic progeny and hereditary diseases of innumerable varieties. Women who, in spite of mental agony, affectionately nurse a lunatic husband or one affected by venereal diseases, do so out of great love and a high sense of duty, and such women would continue to do so even if the law provides for divorce.

It is a great injustice to such women, to believe, that these women would cease to perform the high duty of a wife and to show devotion to their ailing husbands if there is a way out by providing for divorce. But women cannot be tied down to such husbands and compelled to the work of looking after such husbands by not providing for divorce by law. For such women as do not wish to and cannot stay with such ailing husbands there should be a way of escape. This can only be effected by separation and by nothing else. Charter or no charter, for the sake of humanity a way out is a sine qua non for safeguarding the welfare of society.

Our Rishis of old saw all this and provided escape by prescribing नष्टे मृते प्रव्रजिते etc. I am sure the writer of your editorial is not more old-minded than the Smritikars.

AHMEDABAD

VIDYAGURI R. NILKANT.

[The reference in Lady R. Nilkant's letter is evidently to the remarks in Mr. K. Natarajan's article on "Saint Mira Bai and Women's Charter" in the *Reformer* of January 26. Mr. Natarajan has clarified his views in his "Notes by the Way" in this issue of this paper.—EDITOR.]

VIVEKANANDA'S SCHEME OF A WOMEN'S MATH.

Swami Vivekananda conceived the scheme of a great Women's Math to be the central agency to direct movements to raise the position of Indian women. He said:—

"Know for certain that absolutely nothing can be done to improve the state of things, unless there is spread of education first among the women and the masses. And so I have it in my mind to train up some Brahmacharinis, the former of whom will eventually take the vow of Sanyasa and carry the light of education among the masses, from village to village, throughout the country, while the latter will do the same among women. But the whole work must be done in the style of our own country." He declared that his whole ambition in life was to set in motion a machinery which will bring noble ideas to the door of everybody, and then let men and women settle their own fate. "Let them know what our forefathers as well as other nations have thought on the most momentous questions of life. Let them see specially what others are doing now, and then decide."

"I shall establish the women's Math," he promised. On the Ganges a big plot of land would be acquired, where unmarried girls or Brahmacharini widows will live; devout married ladies will also be allowed to stay now and then. Men will have no concern with this Math. The elderly Sadhus of the Belur Math will manage this Math from a distance. There will be a girls' school attached to this Women's Math, in which religious scriptures, literature, Sanskrit, grammar and even some amount of English should be taught. Other matters such as sewing, culinary art, rules of domestic work, and upbringing of children will also be taught. While Japa, worship and meditation etc., will form an indispensable part of the teaching. Those who are able to live here permanently, renouncing home and family ties, will be provided with food and clothing by the Math. Those who are not able to do that will be allowed to study in this Math as day-scholars. With the permission of the head of the Math occasionally, and during such stay they will be maintained by the Math. The elder Brahmacharinis will take charge of the training of the girl students in Brahmacharya. After five or six years' training in this Math, the guardians of the girls may get them married. If deemed fit for Yoga and the religious life, with the permission of their guardians, girls will be allowed to stay in this Math taking the vow of celibacy. These celibate nuns will in time be the teachers and preachers of the Math. In villages and towns they will open centres and strive for the spread of female education. Through such devout preachers of character there will be the real spread of female education in the country. So long as the students will remain in association with this Math, they must observe Brahmacharya as the basic idea of this Math.

Spirituality, sacrifice and self-control will be the motto of the pupils of this Math, and service or Seva-Dharma the vow of their life. In view of such ideal lives, who will not respect and have faith in them? The Swami held that women must solve their own problem. They must be given education and left to themselves.

After that they will act as they think best. Even after Marriage and entering the world, girls educated as above, will inspire their husbands with noble ideals and be the mothers of heroic sons. But there must be this rule, that guardians of the students in the female Math must not even think of marrying them, before they attain the age of fifteen. The Swami was sure that these learned and accomplished girls will never be in want of bridegrooms. "Society now-a-days," he pointed out, "does not follow the texts recommending child-marriage nor will do it in future." Of course, there will be opposition. "Opposition to a righteous work initiated with moral courage will only awaken the moral power of the initiators the more. That which meets with no obstruction, no opposition, only takes men to the path of moral death. Struggle is the sign of life."

The Swami's message is, "Educate your women first and leave them to themselves; then they will tell you what reforms are necessary for them. In matters concerning them, who are you?" He concludes, "Liberty is the first condition of growth. It is wrong, a thousand times wrong, if any of you dares to say, 'I will work out the salvation of this woman or child.' I am asked again and again, what I think of the widow problem and what I think of the woman question. Let me answer once for all, Am I a widow that you ask me that nonsense? Am I a woman, that you ask me that question again? Who are you to solve women's problems? Are you the Lord God that you should rule over every widow and every woman? Hands off! They will solve their own problems.

"With education women will solve their own problems. They have all the time been trained in helplessness, servile dependence on others, and so they are good only to weep their eyes out at the slightest approach of a mishap or danger. Along with other things they should acquire the spirit of valour and heroism. In the present day it has become necessary for them also to learn self defence: See how grand was the Queen of Jhansi!"

NEW PRESIDENT OF FRENCH GOVERNMENT.

Very different from Gen. de Gaulle is his successor Felix Gouin, writes Jerome Willis, *Daily Telegraph* Paris correspondent. De Gaulle is tall, Felix Gouin is small. De Gaulle is cold and austere, Gouin friendly and good-humoured. De Gaulle hated Party politics, Gouin loves them. At 23 Gouin had already begun to develop an interest in politics. Today at 61 he still likes them and would be unhappy if out of the Assembly. He loves manoeuvrings and discussions and knows every move in the game. He was a lawyer, Socialist and parliamentary leader of his Party during the days of Leon Blum's Popular Front. Gouin is a friendly little man. With the quick smile of his compatriots and their quick temper. He speaks with a Marseillais accent and loves buoillabaisse (Marseilles dish). The first district he was elected for was Marseilles, and he still represents it. He loves the town and his people.

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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 Hoax :— When the Security Council, as the executive of the International Organization, was conceived at San Francisco, it was patent to casual observation that there was a serious gap in its constitution. What was to happen when one of the Big Three was himself the aggressor? The question was shelved by assuming that it was impossible that any of the Big Three would be an aggressor. The falsity of this smug assumption was exposed at the very first session of the Security Council. Britain which is accustomed to sit in judgment on other nations found herself in the unaccustomed position of being called upon to defend herself. The Labour Government in foreign affairs is only the Tory Government camouflaged to look like Socialist. Mr. Ernest Bevin, the Foreign Secretary, grew red in the face and talked of the honour of his country and the Commonwealth. The issue raised by the Russian Delegation was whether the presence of the British in Greece was or was not a menace to the peace of the world. What is the peace of the world? It is the peace and safety of every country. If Russia feels that the presence of foreign troops in Greece was a menace to her peace and security, it is not for any one else to say it is not. In Africa, Britain has resented French troops on the frontiers of her possessions as a menace to her peace and security. She has done the same in India when Tsarist Russia massed troops on her border. Burma was taken because France in Indo-China was considered a menace to India. The United States delegate expressed his country's opinion that the presence of British troops in Greece was not a menace to world peace and the Greek delegate said that Britain was in Greece on the invitation of his Government, as the latter was not confident of its ability to maintain order in the country without British aid. Eventually the Council, at the instance of the Russian delegation, decided not to pass any resolution but to

leave the question where it was, neither party withdrawing its contention. This course was adopted after Mr. Bevin made a show of hesitation but yielded. This is by no means a victory for Britain. The Indonesian issue raised by the Ukeranian delegate is if anything a worse instance of British aggression than the Greek. The Indonesians did not invite the British to send troops nor apparently did the Dutch. The Anglo-American Chiefs of Staff, it seems, decided that the British should disarm the Japanese in Java and the British went there to discharge that high duty. The largest part of the British contingent in Java is Indian and the Socialist Government sees nothing wrong in employing Indian troops against the declared wishes of the Indian people, to carry out its obligations under the agreement between the Chiefs of Staff. A censure motion was passed in the Indian Legislative Assembly this week against the Government of India for failing to represent the Indian view to the Security Council and the astonishing answer was that under the rules of the International Nations Organisation a country can represent only matters which directly concerned it. The use of Indian troops to put down Indonesian nationalism is evidently no concern of the Indian people and the Government! The answer was given by an Englishman, P. Mason, Secretary of the War Department.

The Sind Ministry :— The general elections for the Sind Legislative Assembly resulted in the return of 27 Muslim Leaguers, 21 Congressmen, four Nationalists and four members who had seceded from the Muslim League and stood on their own ticket. There was one Labour representative and three Europeans, as Britons in India are known statutorily. The Nationalist Muslims, the Syed four Muslims with the Congress members formed a single Assembly Party. The Labour representative did not formally join them but is stated to have assured the leader of the Coalition Party, Mr. G. M. Syed, of his support. The Europeans refused to join either the Muslim League or the Coalition Party. They professed to be neutral. In other words, they wanted to be free to give, withhold or shift their support in the way most favourable to maintain themselves as "honest brokers" in Sind politics. The Governor had to choose whom he should call upon to form his Ministry. He was also a new man to the province having been promoted to the Governorship of Sind from the Home Membership of the Government of India. Sir Francis Mudie had

interviews with the leader of the Muslim League Party Sir Ghulam Hussein who was also the Chief Minister in the last Ministry, and with Mr. G. M. Syed the leader of the Coalition. In the end he called upon Sir Ghulam Hussein and he readily agreed to form a Ministry. He has done so and the new Ministers have been sworn into office. The Governor's action in calling upon Sir Ghulam Hussein to form a Ministry has been criticised as unconstitutional. We are not aware of there being any precedent entitled to be called constitutional in the Indian political system. But we think that it would have been sounder policy to call upon the head of a group which represents different elements of the community than upon the head of a decidedly communal group which cannot be anything but communal.

Multi-National State:—On Sunday evening, the All India Radio broadcast Generalissimo Stalin's address on the eve of the Russian elections. The Generalissimo in the address showed how the Soviet State had emerged stronger out of the War belying the fears of friends and frustrating the hopes of enemies. He took item by item the army, industry, and national solidarity in order to prove his thesis. Among other things, he stressed the stability of the multi-national State as established by the experience of the War. This statement had an urgent and intimate interest to us in India where it is maintained by the Muslim League that two nations cannot form one State and by the Congress by way of rebutting that the Hindus and Muslims are not two nations but one. In other words the Congress concedes that two nations cannot form a single State. The *Reformer* throughout has not contested the Muslim League's claim that Muslims are a nation by themselves but maintained that the fact or fiction is no argument for partitioning India. Nation is a word which has been used at different times in different senses. Even at the same time and by the same authority it has not been used consistently in one sense. Therefore, if a group chooses to claim to be a nation it is useless to question its propriety. But the point is that being a nation does not entitle any group to disrupt a long standing geographically cultural unity. The experience of Soviet Russia as a multi-national State is, therefore, of great significance in meeting the argument for Pakistan. The Radio report of Stalin's speech contained it. But the report in the newspapers next morning omitted it. Why? News agencies in this country and, perhaps elsewhere, also conceive their functions as being much beyond what they legitimately are. They are accorded recognition as journalists which certainly they are not. Their business is to purvey news without adulteration and not mould or interpret public opinion which is the responsible function of the true journalist. A journalist is personally accountable for the equity of his judgment. The news agency has no responsibility beyond the accuracy of its facts.

Swami Vivekananda on Women's Problem:—We printed, in the last issue of the *Reformer*, the bare outlines of a scheme which Swami Vivekananda had conceived but did not live to carry out. From the beginning of the last century the condition of Indian women had focussed the attention of the foremost Indian leaders. At their instance and with their support, Lord William Bentinck made the custom of Sutte a crime. In the same way, a law was enacted legalising the remarriage of widows. The raising of the

marriage age and the education of women then became the subject of organised effort. The result of the efforts is seen today in the great awakening among women. Swami Vivekananda's scheme was a comprehensive one. He did not attach importance to particular reforms. He wanted to create a great centre from which a constant stream of dedicated women would be going out to teach and work among women. He did not lay down any programme. He was against fixed programmes. He said that his ambition was to bring ideas and ideals to the doors of the people and leave them to work out their own destiny. Women thus inspired would solve their own problems. He pressed this idea of women solving their own problems a little too far. There are few women's problems which are not equally men's problems and which can be solved without the cooperation of men. Swami Vivekananda himself strongly deprecated drawing a hard and fast line between the human problems as they affected men and women. His insistence on leaving women's problems to women, was directed against social reformers who neglected the spiritual background without which, he held, there could be no continuity or stability in progress. The outlines of the Swami's scheme as published are scrappy as they were made in the course of conversations with disciples. But there are ideas in it, and especially the central idea of a band of dedicated women to carry light into the dark corners of society which are worthy of consideration by the organisers of the Kasturba Memorial.

Future of Small States:—There are among Indian States quite a number which are too small to support an efficient administration even on a modest scale. These States themselves realise this and are willing to adopt measures to get over the difficulty. The States in Central India and Eastern States Agency have adopted a scheme of coordinated services and a similar scheme is being worked out in the Deccan. In the case of the small States in Kathiawar alone is a different line being taken. The small States there are being invited to be compulsorily attached to bigger neighbouring States, politically in the same stage. This is repugnant to several of the small States. The Kathiawar States are ready to adopt a cooperative scheme of services but they do not like being merged in a bigger State. We are led to think that they would prefer to be joined to a neighbouring British Indian province. This course, we think, will be acceptable to the people of these States. The Chamber of Princes has, we believe, expressed itself against the forcible merger of small states with bigger ones. The principle is the same, whether the State is a small or a big one, namely, that there should be no coercion as to the manner in which the desired end is to be achieved. It should be remembered that the size of a State or the amount of its revenue is not the sole criterion of the status of an Indian State. Some small States enjoy more prestige than bigger ones. Kolhapur is comparatively a small State but its prestige stands higher than that of bigger States because its ruling house represents direct descent from the great Shivaji. Similarly, Udaipur among Rajputana States stands preeminent because of the high social status of the reigning dynasty. When the desirable end can be achieved in two ways, the one which least injures the cherished sentiments of the parties concerned should be preferred. Some of the States may even prefer to follow the example of the Raja of Sarawak and cede their territory to the National Government of India. The attachment plan may be postponed for some time.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, February 16, 1946.

FOOD SITUATION.

The revelation in the Indian Legislative Assembly by the Government spokesman of the gravity of the Food position was most unexpected. The country had not been prepared for it by any previous official word or action. It came, indeed, as a bolt from the blue. This has led some people to suggest that the situation has been exaggerated in order to divert attention from the political situation and to get the political leaders to cooperate with Government on the question of saving the people from starvation. Lord Wavell's dramatic dash to Bangalore and over the areas affected by drought and other calamities, was evidently prompted by the desire to ascertain at first hand the extent and seriousness of the position. Three years ago the Bengal famine was not recognised officially until its effects became too patent to be concealed. Lord Wavell was evidently resolved that this should not happen again. In the beginning of the century Lord Curzon's personal tour in famine-stricken Gujarat was not to the taste of the Bombay Government but the Viceroy forced their hands and important reforms were carried out in the land revenue system. Has there been any reluctance on the part of the Colville Government to cooperate with the Viceroy? The question becomes relevant owing to the attitude of the Bombay Governor's Adviser, Sir H. Knight, who put in a belated appearance at the Viceroy's conference in Bangalore and explained that the situation in Bombay was not very serious as only two or three districts in the southern corner were affected by drought. Also the sending of a relatively subordinate official, Mr. Gorwala, as a member of the Food Deputation to London. Sir H. Knight missed the central issue at the Viceroy's Conference which was not whether any one province was less affected than others but how the Food problem as it affects the whole country can be met. Even Gandhiji who is a strong protagonist of provincial autonomy, has declared that Food and cloth should and could be dealt with by the Central Government. Nature is forcing the lesson of Indian unity as even the India Office has found it necessary to mend the Act of Parliament so as to continue the control of the Central Government in certain subjects allotted to the provinces. This is meant to continue for five years. But every passing year will bring home to the most inveterate advocate of provincial independence the dire need of making it fit into a strong unifying centre.

Immediately on his return to Delhi after the Bangalore conference, Lord Wavell invited the co-operation of Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah in meeting the food crisis. Mr. Jinnah was in Delhi and met the Viceroy. He promised to give whole-hearted cooperation to Government and requested His Excellency to let him know in what way it could be accorded. Gandhiji, having just returned to Wardha from his Bengal and South Indian tour, could not travel to Delhi. So Lord Wavell sent his Private Secretary to acquaint Gandhiji with his impressions formed during his visit to the affected areas. Gandhiji has replied suggesting a transformation

of the Viceroy's Executive Council by the appointment of non-official elected members without reference to party affiliations. He himself doubts whether party leaders would agree to take office in the present circumstances. A leader of the scheduled castes has already declared that there would be serious objections to nominating elected non-official members of the Assembly to the Executive Council. The question of quotas for each group and community will at once arise. Lord Wavell is to meet the President of the Congress and the public will soon learn what the Congress attitude is. Gandhiji adds that if properly organised the resources and man and woman power of India will suffice to enable the country to tide over the present crisis, grave as it is. We are inclined to agree with Gandhiji. India is famous for its power of revival. In three short months the rains will come and lift the gloom which now prevails in the land. India's power of resilience is rooted in her social system and religious philosophy both of which have been assiduously undermined by well-meaning foreign missionaries. But they still hold to a large extent and, given an inspiring motive, the Indian people can face and meet calamities with more fortitude and success than most other people. Inspiring motive? there is the rub. The people of India are bewildered by the number of calamities forced on them without their being conscious of any end or purpose in which they are concerned. They feel humiliated and angry. Definitely the country is in a dangerous mood such as it was not in for many years. Endowed with infinite patience the people find that they are being ruthlessly exploited, and are angry with the ravaging wrath of the patient. Seeley's warning is coming true that, if the British tried to govern India as conquerors, they would be ruined financially in the attempt. The moral basis of British rule has been destroyed, the economic structure is crumbling before our eyes. The British Empire today recalls the description of the Roman Empire on the eve of its decline: In the memorable words of Gibbon, it has become a vast prison house, so far as the Indian people are concerned.

THE FUTURE OF THE ARABS

Sir Mahomed Zaffarulla Khan, a Judge of the Supreme Federal Court, an Indian of outstanding ability, character and culture, recently visited Palestine and spent a week in acquainting himself at first hand with the problem of Jewish immigration. The *Sunrise*, a weekly English journal representing the Ahmaddiya sect of which Sir Mahomed is a devoted member, publishes the text of his address to the Ahmaddiya Inter-correligionist Association in Lahore on his impressions gathered during his visit. He met Jewish leaders and he acknowledged the hospitality and courtesy which he received from them. He was, he said, particularly struck by and admired all that he saw of Jewish endeavours in Palestine. "But", he added, "as a Muslim he was very much afraid of the future lot of the Arabs." Sir Mahomed had no difficulty in showing from official documents that Palestine was included in the Arab territories which had been promised independence by the British as price of their cooperation in overthrowing Turkish rule. He brought out the confirmatory testimony of the secret Treaty between Tsarist Russia, Britain and

France of 1916 relating to the distribution of territory seized from Turkey, which the Bolsheviks published on their stepping into power. According to that agreement Palestine was to be an international area. An attempt was made from the British side to explain the agreement away by saying that it was merely an exchange of views between the Powers concerned. We do not think that there is any reasonable doubt that Britain had committed herself to contradictory engagements in relation to Palestine. The Labour Foreign Secretary, Mr. Ernest Bevin, in one of his first official pronouncements, said as much. Sir Mahomed said that the only way at present of settling the problem was to adhere to the white paper undertaking (1939) to close Palestine to further Jewish immigration after 1944, to which, he said, Arabs had become reconciled. This, however, has not been done. Under pressure from the United States, the immigration of Jews continues pending the results of an enquiry by an Anglo-American Commission. The Jews are not satisfied with a limited quota. They demand unrestricted immigration and seem determined to get what they want by force. Britain has been very considerate in dealing with Jewish terrorism in Palestine as compared with the relatively minor forms of violence of the Indonesian terrorists. Sir Mahomed Zaffarulla said that the United States and Great Britain somehow could not act independently of the influence of Jewish financiers. According to one report, the Balfour Declaration was itself the outcome of the pressure of Jewish financiers in America when Britain needed a loan during the first World War and Lord Reading, then Lord Chief Justice of England, was sent to Washington for this purpose.

Sir Mahomed said that as a Muslim he was afraid for the future of the Arabs when he viewed the achievements of the Jews in Palestine. How can any settlement, however favourable to the Arabs, avert the permeation of Jewish enterprise and perseverance and skill into the whole economic and social and, eventually, even the spiritual life of Palestine in course of time? Hitler sought to stem the tide of Jewish domination over German and European life by methods which shocked the Anglo-American conscience which accepts racial discrimination against Negro and coloured people in their own Commonwealth with practically no compunction. Hitler has been beaten but anti-semitism has not only not been eliminated but persists in an aggravated form in Europe and even in America according to testimonies quoted by Mr. Gollancz in his pamphlet "Nowhere to lay their heads" which was noticed in the *Reformer* (October 20). According to a high British authority there is an organisation in Europe to help emigration of European Jews. The Anglo-American Commission itself is a repudiation of the White Paper of 1939 by the British Government. Any one even superficially acquainted with the working of the Anglo-Saxon mind in circumstances such as those presented by the Jewish problem, can easily forecast the recommendations of the Commission. The Jews will virtually obtain their demand for unrestricted immigration and even the setting up of a Jewish State in Palestine with illusory safeguards for Arabs. If the Arabs remain in their present mood of passive resistance, they will be driven by the steady pressure of material civilisation which the Jews have mastered, to become 'judaised' or rather

Westernised in the worst sense of the word or be extinguished as a community. The only way to escape this fate is for the Arabs themselves to master the arts of the aggressive West, as Japan did. Japan has been crushed by the combined forces of Europe and America. But these forces have become themselves exhausted by the endeavour and the next attempt of the Asiatics to free themselves from Western domination may be more successful and cannot be so easily put down. The Atom bomb by that time will be available to Asiatics as well as Europeans. In India, Gandhiji is waging an unequal war against machinery. Arabs are not pledged to non-violence. Their strength lies in organisation which as between States is more feasible than as between unorganised human units. The boycott of Jewish goods by the Arab States acting in concert, is already having its effect and the Zionists have appealed to the United Nations Security Organisation for intervention. But the boycott can not endure unless backed by strenuous effort to produce the goods which the Jews produce.

JEHANGIR BOMANJI PETIT

(BY K. NATARAJAN)

On Monday October 15, I was basking in the evening sun in my front veranda pottering with some papers when a motor car drew up at the gate. I looked to see who it might be. Jehangir Petit came shambling on the pathway. He had some difficulty in coming up a short flight of stairs. I asked him what the matter was with him. He said he had two paralytic strokes recently but he was all right now with but a little trace of the attack. He had come to show me the statement which he and Professor Wadia had drafted on Pakistan. This was published a few days later over the names of the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sasiri, Petit, Professor Wadia and myself. I told Petit that the importance which Pakistan has assumed was largely due to the unnecessary amount of opposition and that I was not inclined to strengthen it further by a fresh onslaught on it. I said that the statement might have weight as coming from two Parsis but my name will be quite valueless. But Petit thought otherwise and I agreed to have my name added. We talked of many things. Petit was able to throw light on many episodes in Bombay public life which had puzzled me. He was with me an hour and a half; he left promising to come again. He did not come and now he is gone. Some time later, I found among my papers a long letter from C. F. Andrews to Petit which had somehow got mixed up with mine. I had seen in the papers that Shantiniketan was sponsoring a biography of Andrews and that letters from Andrews to friends would be welcome. I sent the letter to Petit suggesting that he would perhaps like to send it on to Shantiniketan. He informed me on the telephone that he was sending it there. I had no idea that Death was so close to him.

Jehangir Petit was one of the first whom I came to know in Bombay. I owed the introduction to Burjorji Padshah, who had a genius for helping his friends to be friends with one another. But it was not until 1912 or 1913 that I came into close relations with Petit. Gokhale had visited South Africa and the struggle of Indians there under Gandhiji's leadership came promine-

ntly before the Indian public as the result of Gokhale's espousal of their cause. Gokhale and Petit were close friends. Gokhale stayed at the Petits' home whenever he came to Bombay. Gokhale was frequently in indifferent health and he found rest and refreshment in the quiet of Mount Petit and the unobtrusive care of Mrs. Jaiji Petit. Jehangir and I became joint workers in the cause of South African Indians in Bombay. Petit threw himself heart and soul in the collection of funds and, when the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association was founded, Petit and I became associated in its work as Honorary Secretaries. I do not remember a single occasion in which we disagreed on matters of policy concerning the attitude to our people overseas. Two or three years after Petit started the *Indian Daily Mail*, he invited me to take over the editorship. I hesitated not because I apprehended any serious differences of opinion on public affairs but chiefly because my friends warned me that Petit was a difficult man to serve under. They prophesied confidently that I would not remain in the post for more than a few months. Well, I continued in the post for five years and I found him a consistently loyal friend and supporter. I particularly recall one or two suits filed against the paper connected with its racing reports. I knew absolutely nothing about racing and took no interest in the reports. Even if I did, I could not have made anything out of the reports. Petit also knew very little of racing but he had a general idea that suits relating to racing reports were attempts at blackmail, and he generally succeeded in talking down the complainants into abject apologies.

I have referred to Mrs. Jaijee Petit. She was one of the noblest women I have known. She was gentle, kind-hearted, broadminded and very well-informed in all phases of public life. Gokhale was a frequent guest. The poet, Tagore, stayed with the Petits often. There were others also of Indian leaders who enjoyed the hospitality of Mount Petit. Every one held Mrs. Petit in the highest regard. To the intense and pained surprise of everybody, there was a breach between husband and wife. I had always thought of them as an ideal couple and I had told Petit more than once that what I most liked in him was his deference in all matters to Mrs. Petit. When Mrs. Petit went out of her home, the home was bereft of its soul. Misfortunes befell the proud owner of Mount Petit, one of the best planned houses on Pedder Road. The evening of his life was spent in a small place owned by some Charitable Trust. Yet he was not depressed. He bore himself bravely in the face of calamity. Henley's lines might have been written of him:—

In the fell clutch of circumstance
I have not winced nor cried aloud,
Under the bludgeonings of chance,
My head is bloody but unbowed.

After his retirement from Dewanship I was for a short time thrown in the company of V P. Madhava Rao, whom I first met in 1897. In the course of conversation he mentioned the name of a friend in appreciative terms. Impulsively I interposed with a reference to some unsavoury incident in the career of the friend. Madhava Rao looked at me with his large eyes and in a pained voice said, "Nataraja Aiyar, do you think it fair to judge

a man by his foibles?" That remark I have ever since cherished. My relations with Petit enabled me to speak more than once about this matter with frankness. He never took it ill although my words had no effect. I am sure Petit would not mind my reference to this dark spot in his life, were he to read it in his new surroundings.

BACKGROUND TO SIND POLITICS.

(BY JETHMAL PARSRAM)

The eyes of the whole politically minded India are fixed on Sind at the present moment and mainly on one person, Mr. G. M. Syed, who, as it were, has become the man of Destiny from Sind.

Congress leaders are flying to Sind to woo him, in spite of the fact, that he raised the flag of Pakistan in Sind. Muslim League leaders are again anxious to have him in spite of the fact that they expelled him only a few weeks back, he having revolted against the League high command, specially its chief, Mr. Jinnah. Such is the plight in which politics in India based on vote cultivation and hand counting finds itself.

G. M. Syed is personally a very dear friend of mine, a colleague and a valued comrade in more than one direction but the fate of public affairs need not depend on a single individual. Personality is often a whimsicality like unto a slippery eel or slipping sand. Sind politics have been a source of confusion for many a politician and will long act as such unless we go into the root of the question.

Let us take stock of actual happenings in the recent past. Sind is quite a peculiar province in one respect Congress, in Sind which has 73 p.c. Muslim population, is not only mainly but entirely in the hands of Non-Muslims or Hindus; the very reverse of what is in North West Frontier.

You may call it a misfortune that Muslims in Sind could not or would not take their due share in the national movement, even though one of the chief pioneers of the Congress movement in Sind was a Muslim, the late Mr. C. M. Bahugri, a General Secretary of the Congress, a man of extraordinary merit and personality. After him the Congress organisation has remained entirely Hindu, hardly any Muslim coming into it, a state of affairs, which the Baloch leader Abdul Samad Khan has tried to mend but for the moment without appreciable success. Now if it was a misfortune that Muslims have taken little part in Sind Congress, it was a greater misfortune that Sind Congress leaders did nothing to attract the Muslims either in the Sind Assembly or outside. I am referring to a plain truth: the late patriot Subash Chandra Bose had realised this when he analysed the situation in Sind. He wrote that Sind which is mainly a peasant country, can easily become a strong centre for Congress if Congressmen identified themselves with the masses of the province, who happen to be Muslims. Endowed with insight, he said that, if the Congress made the peasants in Sind its own, there would come into existence no other dominating body.

How true he was! I for one can state without hesitation that, if Sind Congressmen had done their part, there would have been no Muslim League in Sind at least worth counting.

I ought to mention that for 25 years a peasants movement has been in existence which did make a lot of progress with great patriots like Sheik Abdul Majid and Jamshed Nusserwanji as leaders. G. M. Syed who was a younger man also had his share in the movement, he and I working as joint secretaries. It is the pro-peasant tendencies of G. M. Syed that brought him later into the Congress and it is on account of his sorry experience of both Sind Congress leaders and later on Muslim League leaders, whom he found not only not pro-mass or peasant but feudalists of the worst kind who would not budge an inch in doing anything to benefit the peasant (Hari); that he has again revolted as he revolted against the Congress. Leaving aside personalities, the principal truth of Sind is that, neither the Leaguers nor the Congressmen of Sind who had to cultivate Hindu votes, nolens volens, have earned the right to govern. Maulana Azad and Sardar Vallabhbhai who came to Sind before, either could not diagnose things properly or did not give the proper lead. It must also be stated that Mr. Jinnah who thought he had laid the foundation of Pakistan in Sind, who had a full fledged Muslim League Government in Sind, failed completely in his duties and responsibilities. He could have done two things. He could have fulfilled his promise of guaranteeing rights and privileges to the minority, the Hindus of Sind, but he allowed the worst of measures to be imposed on them—Arabianisation of simple and lovable Sindhi, which is purely a Sanskrit language which even the old Arabs did not mutilate, and withholding from the vast majority of Hindus, the right to own and till land, sufficient even to till, were the most tyrannous measures adopted in Sind and I am so sorry that G. M. Syed and his friends became party to the injustice. Another matter in which Jinnah failed in his duty is to support the Muslim League feudalists who do nothing for the Muslim masses.

In Sind out of the population of 40 lacs, 25 lacs are peasants who have not a bit of land, 8 lacs are those who have only uneconomic units of land, it is only a minority of Hindu and Muslim capitalists and zamindars who rule 2000 big zamindaris, 1400 of whom are Muslims and 600 Hindus who own two-thirds of the land.

Therefore, what Sind requires is nothing but relief from overlordship of those two thousand men or families, and who is to promise this? Is the Congress party which is seeking a coalition government prepared to make such a declaration that if it comes into power one of its chief functions will be to take immediate steps to free the millions of serfs? I am suggesting no revolution but definite legitimate constitutional steps.

I am asking for a guarantee from the Congress high command. Are they prepared to do so? If not it is useless for Maulana Azad and Sardar Vallabhbhai to fly to Karachi for negotiations. I doubt very much if they would do so, for even the Working Committee of the Congress has not made up its mind on this matter, for they probably honestly believe that to fight the British, it is not wise to fight the Zamindars—even though as in Sind the Zamindars and Zamindari system came to exist only after 1852, proving that the Zamindars are none but the creation of the British. I doubt it, also due to the fact that a good number of the present Congress M.L.As are themselves very big Zam-

indars of the same class, just a hint of the proof of which was given to Paodit Jawaharlal in Sind near Tando Jam, when the poor peasants lay in length before the engine of the train in which he travelled.

Let me say here that millions of Haris (Peasants), specially of middle and lower Sind, are followers of the great Sufi saints of Sind, a thoroughly civilised people and not the Hurs with whom those outside Sind seem to be identifying the millions of the Haris. Even among the so-called Hurs, there is only a section that is militant, but that is a long story—half a century, connected with religious and economic problems which have not been wisely or humanely handled, but the details whereof, this is not the place to go into.

India is in a very critical state, and it is only the big brained and the big hearted that can solve the wellnigh impossible and agonising situation in which we find ourselves, but I still think it may be solved, and that Sind affords a grand opportunity for both Muslim Leaguers and Congressmen who have gained their experience in Sind to realise that it is now the time to do something. If they did, Sind may still pave the way for a bigger peace in India. The history of Sind shows that it will serve its destined design of belonging neither to Hindus nor Muslims, but become ultimately, through period of coming tests a Sufistao, part and parcel of the greater India to be.

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN LOAN

British negotiations with America in the monetary field have ended with four broad sets of proposals.

The first is that the United States should loan to Britain \$m. 3,750 plus \$m.650 for Lend Lease and Reciprocal Aid items. The interest on the loan is 2 per cent, repayable over 50 years. (Cmd. 6708.) The second proposal is that the accumulated sterling balances owed by Britain to countries in the sterling area shall immediately be convertible into other currencies (i.e., dollars) or be adjusted as part of a general settlement. The third proposal is that an International Conference on Trade and Employment shall be held next year. (Cmd. 6709.) Fourthly, the Bretton Woods proposals for the setting-up of a monetary fund and a World Bank shall be forthwith ratified in this Britain.

The necessity for the loan grows directly out of the export policy pursued by the Tories in the years before the war, aggravated, of course, by the war experience. In the years before the war, there was an average adverse balance of £m. 43 annually. In addition to this, however, another quarter of the imports were paid for out of income from overseas investments and from the activities of the City of London. (See Cmd. 6707.) In addition to this precarious position which the Tories had tried to bolster with the system of economic warfare (cartel agreements with the Nazis, Imperial preference, etc.), war-time expenditure has much worsened the position.

In the first place, the volume of exports has dropped to 42 per cent of the 1938 level, even including exports for relief purposes (January-September, 1945). The Merchant Fleet amounts to less than three-quarters of the pre-war fleet, which had brought in 12 per cent of

the pre-war overseas income. The income from overseas investments has been halved as a result of selling £m.1,118 of pre-war overseas investments and the earning capacity of the City of London is now a very doubtful asset. Moreover, the increase in the amounts owing by Britain to other countries in the sterling area has grown to £m.3,455 (September 30, 1945). Of this, just over 50 per cent is owing to India, Burma and the Middle East.

The sterling area comprises the United Kingdom, the Dominions, Colonies and Protectorates, except Canada and Newfoundland, but including Egypt, Sudan, Iraq and Iceland. This area is closed as far as outside currency transactions are concerned, and therefore is an extension of the pre-war sterling block, and has a dollar pool concentrated in London. There is, however, no doubt that certain areas, such as South Africa and the West Indies are waiting to break out of it, and the pressure from India is well-known.

Long-term promises to pay portions of the sterling balances in exchange for capital goods clearly cannot meet the needs of the people in the sterling area, nor the pressure of American capitalism to enter this market. It is estimated that, in 1946, there will be an adverse balance of £m.750, and for the next two years taken together £m.500 (net).

Whatever trade agreements could be made with the Soviet Union, the European democracies, or even the Dominions, it would not be possible to fill the gap without a loan from America, the only country which is in a position to export consumer goods and necessary raw materials to make a basis for industrial reorganisation in the next three years. It is necessary to see this step as part of an orderly return to an expanded world trade, from which this country benefits more than any other. Before the war, British trade averaged about 30 per cent. of world trade.

The measures suggested for the International Conference on trade and employment covered a gradual elimination of tariff preferences and quantitative trade restrictions. Subsidies also are in general ruled out. These were the measures used by Imperialist countries before the war. But provision is made for the handling on a world scale of commodities in surplus supply, for State monopolies of individual products and for complete or partial State monopolies of foreign trade. It is possible for a Socialist country to enter into this Conference. Further, the measures proposed at Bretton Woods, which were discussed in *LABOUR RESEARCH*, September, 1945, provided for a stable world currency. Though this is linked to the dollar which is in turn linked to gold, the British participation in it will be through the Exchange Equalisation Fund, which insulates British economy from short-term effects. It is necessary to remember that nothing can insulate the world from a first-class American crisis.

The further proposals at Bretton Woods provide for the establishment of a large-scale Investment Bank. Such a proposal, if properly worked, can provide an alternative to the pre-war imperialist capital export, can build up the status of the colonial peoples and provide a stable demand for the skilled products of the industrial nations.—*LABOUR RESEARCH*

HAS RUSSIA GONE IMPERIALIST ?

(BY SHAUKAT USMANI)

Is the Soviet Union an imperialist state like Britain and if so what are the *ingredients* which make up the structure of an empire ?

Empire implies first of all exploitation. It must have colonies and the colonies must have raw materials in food and minerals. It should also yield place to foreign Finance capital and give scope for ample services to the supporters of this system from home country. Empire in the modern sense, means imperialism based on the working of Finance Capital with its adjuncts capitalist factories and industrial concerns. In a word, it is all round exploitation of the colonial country by the imperialist one.

Is the Soviet system built on exploitation? If it is so, then it should also, of course, burn its surplus grains, cloth, and other such surplus goods which it cannot sell for profit. This is what the imperialist countries like Britain, USA and the other minor countries of the Americas and Europe have been doing during the cyclic repetition of the economic crisis. This is necessary under the capitalist system to keep up prices. Has the Soviet ever done it? Russia's worst enemies have not charged her of such a crime whatever else they might have talked against her. The system is based on production for distribution and they sell the surplus which they cannot consume. The capitalist system sells first in foreign countries and cares nothing for the requirements of the home market unless it pays higher than the foreign one. This has been the case and this has been the system from time immemorial. But has the Soviet ever been guilty of the charge that while its people starve, the produce has gone to the foreign markets for profits? There are no instances of the Soviet having large stocks of grain and stores of cloth and other commodities while the populace went hungry and half-naked. Only an imperialist system can tolerate all this state of affairs. Have the worst enemies of the Soviet ever charged that state of ever being guilty of hoarding while people die of hunger, want of fuel and cloth or housing?

Imperialism implies the hold of colonies and the subjugation of the socio-political and economic liberties of those growing under it. This is how British imperialism is built. We need no proof to support our contention when we day to day feel and see it working over our very heads.

The Soviet system believes in a multi-state—a federation of republics with equal rights in all spheres of life; with equal rights for all peoples irrespective of creed or race. This is what is working in Turkestan, Caucasus and the far flung republics of the south as well as of the east and west. What were colonies under the Tsars are full-fledged autonomous republics under the Soviet system.

Is such a thing possible in British Empire or in any other colonial system? Is the partnership of India or other colonies willing partnership? Or is it the forcible dragging of India and other colonial countries by the mighty imperialist power that is Britain?

If the Soviet is not imperialist, then why this trouble with Iran and Turkey and why the discord in China ?

Let us take up Iran first. The November Revolution in Russia liberated the workers and peasants throughout the Tsarist Empire and the colonial people of Turkestan, Azerbaijan and other parts of Russia. It established a new system of Government based on political Panchayats—the Soviets—of the workers, peasants and the soldiers.

The Soviet annulled all the Tsarist debts and concessions in the eastern countries. It abolished extra territoriality in eastern countries from China to Iran and Turkey. The Tsarist banks were turned over to the native Governments of Iran and China. They helped the revolution in Turkey with all the arms a modern state requires for warfare. I speak as an eye-witness. The help that the Soviet rendered to the Kemalists in Turkey was immense. What an immense quantity of ammunition and number of soldiers poured into Turkey from the USSR through Kars, Iriwan and Ardhan which today are the bone of contention. This was in the 1921-22 period. The Soviet was magnanimous that ceded Kars, Ardhan and Iriwan to Turkey as a mark of friendship. The Soviet Government and the Government of Turkey entered into a friendly treaty to liberate all the oppressed countries of the East.

The Kemalists would not have stayed a single day if there was not a mighty republic in the neighbourhood. If Tsarism were in existence in her neighbourhood, then she would have met with great impediments to her goal. The Soviet government helped Turkey. Turkey cannot deny it. There are accounts of several eye-witnesses and there are many statements of the Turkish leaders themselves expressing gratitude to the Soviet at the time. In peacetime the Soviet helped Turkey with tractors for agricultural development. But Turkey allowed herself to be used by Anglo-French American Imperialism. She went so far as to allow the Anglo-French military aviation to reconnoitre over the Baku oil-fields and later on allowed or tolerated German U-boats and naval armaments through the Dardanelles. This was not, of course, the Turkey that the Soviet helped. Turkey's policies in the near past have been guided so much by Anglo-American interests and the fear of German militarism that there is left no vestige of friendship for the Soviet. The Soviet which ceded Kars, Iriwan and Ardhan to a friendly Turkey, has every right to demand them back from an unfriendly Turkey.

Iran is a tiny country with a meagre population but with plenty of mineral resources of which oil forms the main part. As every one knows, the "heroic" wars of these days are always fought for new markets or the preservation of older ones under the sordid slogans of fight for freedom, for democracy and fight for civilisation—the only civilisation prevalent is the civilisation of exploitation by the stronger of the weaker ones. Democracy today does not stand for the colonial people. Britain wants oil and so does America. Iran has plenty of it. The concessions negotiated by Anglo-American interests in North Iran were vitiated by the action of the Soviet Union. Apart from the demands of the people of

northern Iran for democratic autonomy in Azerbaijan or Gilan, it would have been the fear of Anglo-U. S. A. which goaded the Soviets to have a ring of friendly states to their South. The Soviet does not want to see a cordon sanitaire on her southern boundaries, on her east with China as the tool of the Anglo-Americans. Therefore, the Soviet support to the Iranian Democrats is not only on ideological grounds but on practical grounds too.

It ought to be known that in peacetime Russia, whether Tsarist or Soviet, has never been on good terms with Britain. The cause is quite obvious.

Britain wants to expand while the Soviet resists. Any further expansion by the British Empire in Asia is a permanent menace to any system whatsoever governing Russia and any ideological propaganda by the Soviet is a permanent menace to the British colonial exploitation since the Soviet gives equality to the colonial people while Britain shuns it. The Soviet ceded Kars, Ardhan and Iriwan to Turkey while Britain carved portions of Turkey and made colonies of them in Iraq and Syria.

To Iran, Russia gave money, she waived all concessions, she pledged support against foreign aggression, she tore to shreds the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907 dividing Iran into two spheres of influence. She drove the British forces, allied to Deyken and Kojak, from the Caucasus and the north of Iran into Iraq. She swept the territory of Iran clean of foreign imperialist forces. She forced Britain to dissolve the South Persian Rifles. She forced the Syed Zia-uddin Ministry to annul the inglorious treaty of 1919 which pledged or rather bartered away to British imperialism all the resources of Iran. According to it the entire banking system, industry and transport, communications were mortgaged into the hands of British imperialism. Above all, the Soviet discouraged separatist tendencies in the north where in Gilan, was established a Soviet republic.

I was in north Iran at the time and I saw the Comintern representative hotly arguing with the Iranian Commission about the dissolution of the Gilan republic. The meeting took place in Resht. And the republic was dissolved. It was a huge sacrifice for the Soviet State to make a sister republic dissolve. This she did simply to keep up the territorial integrity of a neighbouring state. I have seen with my own eyes the dissolution of the Gilan Republic in October 1921 and the Communists there were obliged to evacuate and leave for Baku.

MARRIAGE-A PERSONAL AFFAIR,

Sir, Young India is glad that you have come to the right conclusion that "marriages had best be left to individual choice". If politics and patriotism have no place in it, should caste, colour, creed and custom be allowed to be in the way?

YOUTH

[We have always been in favour of a simple civil marriage open to all adults who are unmarried or who have no husband or wife living.—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
will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*

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MANAGER'S NOTICE.

Owing to unprecedented disturbances in the locality the Press could not bring out the *Reformer* last week end... This issue is a double number. Single copy of this issue, 6 annas.

NOTES

A Grave Indictment—We publish today a statement by one hundred women of the so-called Women's Auxiliary Corps recruited in this country. It tells a horrowing story of shame and outrage. Young girls and women by glittering promises of a career of public service became victims of bestial lust of soldiers of several nations. We have ourselves heard of incredible callousness Mrs. Hansa Mehta made prominent reference to this matter in her presidential address to the All India Women's Conference. "The Reformer" has held that the advancement of the status of women, was an outstanding of British rule. But if this is the consequence of it, this is not a matter of which it has reason to be proud. We are afraid this episode will do more to poison the relations between the two countries than almost any other in recent history. What the Government will do in regard to the complaints we do not know. But we feel that the question should not be left to Government which at the most will of bring a few of these responsible to look. The future of these unfortunate girls and women is the concern of Indian society. They should not be treated out castes beyond redemption. We are told that quite 50 per cent of girls will have to go straight to brothels on disbandment. This should not be allowed. Every nerve should be strained to restore them to their homes wherever possible and where this is impossible, to open to them avenues of a pure and self-respecting life.

Communal and Personal:—It is a curious fact that the origin of communal movements can be often traced to personal differences and disappointments. The latest instance is "The Real National Congress Party" with headquarters at Sath Brahmana Ashram, Bezwada. We have received two pamphlets issued by this Party. The larger one is entitled "Destroy This Brahmin Raj." The smaller one bears the title "The Congress Brahmin's Nationalism." The contents of both consists of a jumble of religious, social, political and economic grievances all of which are imputed to the machiavellianism, of Dwijas, the victims being Sudras and Panchamas. After some research in this wilderness, we find that the root cause of this onslaught on Brahmins is that the author (and head of the Ashram) did not secure the support of Dr. Pattabhi Sitarammaya whom he regarded as his political Guru in some electoral contest. The Doctor supported instead Sath Sastry's rival who is a younger man, has passed only the Intermediate while Sath Sastry had passed one part of the B. A., that Sath Sastry had been in the Congress longer than Tirumal Rao and so on through two whole pages Sath Sastry's view is that Dr. Pattabhi was actuated by caste feeling, Tirumal Rao being a Brahmin like the Doctor. After wading through the two pamphlets, we think that Dr. Pattabhi could not possibly have supported Sath Sastry even if he was a Brahmin born, Notwithstanding his passing the first part of B. A. Sath Sastry plainly betrays in his writing, that he is unable to distinguish between personal disappointment and public interest. He has magnified his personal grievance into a common grievance of all Sudras against Dwijas.

The Cabinet Delegation:—A Committee of the British Cabinet consisting of the Secretary of State for India, Lord Pethick Lawrence, the President of the Board of Trade, Sir Stafford Cripps, and the First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. A. V. Alexander, are to visit this country in March to devise in consultation with the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, the early transfer to Indians of political power. This is the least satisfactory definition of the objects of the visit of the Cabinet delegation which we are able to achieve. It is evident that this deputation of three of the most important members of the Cabinet will come with powers never before entrusted to any delegation from Britain to India. That the British Government is seriously intent on doing something substantial this time, admits of no doubt. And yet, the general feeling in India will be to say: "Another Dele-

gation?" The situation here is daily, hourly, becoming graver and more intense. No one can say what might or might not happen by the time the delegation puts foot on Indian soil. While the public mind is getting excited, the administration is paralysed. There is demoralisation in the ranks not only of subordinate officials. They do not know what their duty is in situations which are daily cropping up. The Parliamentary delegation which recently visited India should have been clear about one thing; there is no one in this country, whatever his community or political affiliation, who thinks that the present system can endure for any length of time. They have been able apparently to impress the Cabinet of the urgency of the Indian question. The September programme of three stages is out of date. It is not an interim but a permanent constitution that should be the next step. One sentence in Lord Pethick Lawrence's remarks in the House of Lords suggests that the British Government is no longer jibbing at Indian Independence. "He understood that there would have to be a definite treaty between this country and India." The delay is unfortunate but it will be well worth enduring if it results in a sound and stable settlement unlike the Hoare Act which unsettled everything including the political career of its author. The Delegation is fortunate in one respect. It will be in India at a time when the Food question confronts the advocates of partitioning India in its most realistic form.

Misleading Opinion:—The British Broadcasting Corporation in its broadcast some days ago referred to the Cabinet Deputation to India. It said that there has not been time for the Indian Press to comment on it but added, that the British-owned *Times of India* welcomed the appointment of the Delegation but expressed doubts about the acceptability of Sir Stafford Cripps in view of his association with the Mission bearing his name. Simultaneously, it announced, that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, President of the Indian National Congress, welcomed the action of His Majesty's Government and particularly the inclusion of Sir Stafford Cripps in the deputation because, said the President, apart from the fate of his mission, Sir Stafford impressed Indians by his sincerity. The *Times of India's* information about Indian movements is often pre-conceived. It would apparently much like Indians to pick holes in the Labour Government plans for their country, while itself assuming the role of the impartial observer. It is, therefore, well that the British Broadcasting Corporation, in quoting its views, calls attention to its British ownership. It does not represent Indian opinion.

Another Rowland's Adventure:—The Finance Member of the Government of India seems determined to cause as much dislocation as he can before he quits office, in the existing order and consequent confusion in the public mind. His coup against profiteers and income-tax evaders startled the public. It is not yet known how many of these have been detected and proceeded against. The only thing certain is that it has produced distrust in the stability of the currency extending beyond the immediate objects of the Finance Member's crusade. It is perhaps an old fashioned view but it is a sound one that it is better to let some tax-evaders be, than upset public confidence in the entire structure of finance. Now

he has started another hare by bringing in a Bill to alter the basis of currency to the decimal system. Without going into the merits of the decimal system, it is not clear why the change, if desirable, cannot await a more propitious time. The Food problem has suddenly flared up and all our efforts will be just enough if so much to deal with it. Will the change over to the decimal system bring more food or decrease the number of people to be fed? Would it give drinking water to the thirsty lands? What calamity would happen if the present system which has the great advantage of being familiar to the people, continued until economic conditions are fairly reestablished? These lightning measures create the doubt that they are attempts to make it difficult without abstruse calculation to get a continuous view of the country's financial position. Or, Sir Archibald is a currency fanatic who is ready to sacrifice everything to secure a symmetrical system.

Crisis in Tamilnad Congress:—On his return journey from Madras to Wardha, Gandhiji made a speech at Bezwada which caused heart-burning in Tamil Nad. Some one asked Gandhiji if his tour in Tamil Nad was not really meant to reinstate Mr. Rajagopalachari in the leadership of the Congress party and eventually in the premiership of Madras. It was an improper question and Gandhiji would have been right if he had refused to answer it. Even if Gandhiji went to the South to support Mr. Rajagopalachari, it would have been nothing wrong. It is not unusual for leaders of political parties and even Prime Ministers to support personally by letter or speech the candidature of their more important followers. Mr. Rajagopalachari is an outstanding figure in the Congress and, however much one may differ from some of his views, one cannot certainly deny that his presence in the Congress and the Legislature is very desirable in the interests of the country. We differ utterly from Mr. Jinnah on Pakistan, yet the *Reformer* deprecated opposition to his election for the Bombay Muslim seat in the Central Legislative Assembly. Gandhiji denied that he had gone to the South to advance Mr. Rajagopalachari's interests in the elections but took the opportunity of paying a high tribute to his ability and character and indicated that if he (Gandhiji) had a voice in the matter he would certainly support Mr. Rajagopalachari's return to the Party and Premiership. This gave umbrage in the South, for Mr. Rajagopalachari has made himself highly unpopular on account chiefly of his methods rather than his objects during his Premiership. His compulsory scheme of Hindi in Middle schools was particularly obnoxious to the Tamils who hold their mother tongue in deep veneration. The Hindi propaganda through schools was regarded and not without good reason as calculated to supercede Tamil as the language of the people. If the Pracharak succeeds this would certainly happen but it can not succeed. Gandhiji's Bezwada speech was elaborated in the first issue of the revived *Harijan* which we welcome. Gandhiji, most unusually for him, charged those who were opposed to Mr. Rajagopalachari as belonging to a clique. This has caused a crisis in the Tamil Nad Congress. The President of the Congress Parliamentary Board, Mr. Kamaraj Nadar, has resigned and four others would have followed suit but for his earnest request to stay on as the elections were near.

Mr. Rajagopalachari's Retirement:—A letter or a part of it was published last week from Mr. C. Rajagopalachari to Gandhiji seeking the latter's permission to the former to retire from politics. Confining ourselves to the reason avowed in the letter, namely, calumny, we certainly thought that Mr. Rajagopalachari was not the man to be intimidated by abuse however foul. The calumny he particularises in his letter is, in the case of a public man, no calumny at all. To be charged with love of power is a very soft impeachment for public men. The great Gladstone was persistently credited with love of power. Love of power when power is sought as a means of service, is a worthy quality in a public man. That Mr. Rajagopalachari loves power, if he does love it, as a means of service and not from motives of self-seeking is clear to every one who has followed his public career or has some knowledge of his personality and character. We say this the more freely because the *Reformer* which had very high hopes of his Ministry had latterly to criticise sharply two of the measures of his Government. It has always been our view that in those two matters Mr. Rajagopalachari, if he had been true to his own instinct, would not have adopted them. He is one of the few front rank men who understand and have faith in the philosophy of freedom as the basis of constitutional government. Most of the others are using, freedom as a slogan while coercion is the method to which their instinct naturally tends. Mr. Rajagopalachari's offence—because in a Premier it is an offence—is that he allowed his hand to be forced, by party bosses, into measures, one of which he had undertaken to avoid and the other of which must have gone against his grain as a lover of individual freedom. The position of Prime Minister is a lonely position. In the last resort, he must make his decisions absolutely on his own responsibility without reference to any party or personal influence. Mr. Rajagopalachari is not the man to be afraid to stand alone. At the Gaya Congress, when he was relatively a backbencher, he called on himself the thunders of Pandit Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das by hinting at repudiation of India's debt to Britain incurred for imperialist objects. He did not flinch. We cannot help guessing that the real reason for his retirement from the scene, is that the scene is no longer the threshing-ground of ideas but a huge and unwieldy organization in which personal rivalries play a more important part than public interests. The Congress is no longer an army fighting for freedom. It has accumulated vested interests clamouring for satisfaction, Srinivasa Aiyangar and Subhas Bose felt the atmosphere stifling and left it. Mr. Rajagopalachari's reason is perhaps not different though he may himself think and speak of calumny as the cause. The immediate occasion for Mr. Rajagopalachari's desire was occasioned by Gandhiji's maladroit encomium accompanied by an uncalled for reflection on his political opponents at Bezwada in answer to an impertinent question as to Gandhiji's object in visiting South India just then. We should add that in his compromise proposal about Pakistan, Mr. Rajagopalachari from the security of his province threw overboard without a qualm the Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab who for centuries suffered and sacrificed much to preserve their ancestral faith

from extinction. Hindus all over India owe a debt to the Punjab for this service which they can never adequately repay and should, therefore ever be happy to honour.

I. N. A. Trials:—The Council of State threw out by 23 votes to 13 a motion brought forward by the Hon. V. V. Kalikar, that the pending trials of Indian National Army officers and men should be withdrawn and that the entire personnel of the organisation, should be released as they consisted largely of British Indian soldiers who were surrendered to the Japanese in the fall of Singapore. This army fell into British hands when Japan surrendered to the Allies. As we observed in our comments on the result of the first court martial on Captains Shah Nawaz, Sehgal and Dhillon, the proceedings were conducted on a high level and the Commander-in-Chief by remitting the sentence of transportation passed on them showed a keen sense of what was due to public opinion in the special circumstances in which the National Indian Army was formed. We had suggested that further Courts Martial might be dropped as the first had brought into relief the exceptional nature of matters relating to the functioning of the Indian National Army, The Burma Government had passed a clean sponge over the parallel organisation of the Burmese Freedom Army. It has been explained that the Burmese Army consisted of civilians while the Indian National Army consisted largely of officers and soldiers who were enrolled in the British Indian Army. This in our view makes the case for overlooking the behaviour of the Indian National Army men all the stronger.

Plea for Amnesty:—The Crown owed to these men special obligations owing to the oath of allegiance which bound it to them, and this from whatever reasons, it was unable to discharge and it had handed them over to the Japanese. The initial lapse lies with the Crown and it is an elementary rule of every school of jurisprudence that the party which comes to court should come with clean hands. Subject to this consideration, the Government of India and the Commander-in-Chief in particular, have acted with much wisdom and humanity in this very delicate matter. The speeches of the Commander-in-Chief in the Council of State on Mr. Kalikar's resolution were sound in every point. In the discharge of his duty as he conceived it in the case of Captain Rashid who was also found guilty by another Court Martial Sir, Claude Auchinlock commuted the sentence to seven years imprisonment. While Captain Shah-Nawaz's offence was one which would have been his duty in a British Indian Army, he explained, Captain Rashid was found guilty of an offence which would have been severely punished in the British Indian Army where to beat a soldier was a serious offence in an officer. Mr. Kalikar's resolution was not a censure of His Excellency's decision. It was an appeal to the Government of India to drop all the proceedings and to release all the men on grounds of high political expediency. The Commander-in-Chief regretfully declined to surrender his duty to his Army on this ground. But the Government has not only the Army but the whole population to consider and the Sovereign or his Viceroy would be perfectly within his right and will, indeed, be performing only his plain duty if he decided on the royal prerogative

to drop the prosecutions and release the men. The war trials in Europe and Eastern Asia are keeping alive the bitterness which it should be the primary consideration of statesmanship to efface as quickly as possible. The only excuse for civilised men to try and condemn their fellow men for offences for which in the ultimate analysis they are themselves equally responsible, is reformatory. Hanging people by the scores never reformed anybody. It only brutalises public sentiment. European society cannot escape responsibility for the War. Hitler, Mussolini and Japanese War lords were only following in the footsteps of their European masters. The case of the Indian Army men is wholly different.

Provincial Repercussions :—In a leading article we comment at some length on the Viceroy's recent tour of the South and his action on his return to New Delhi. In this note we deal briefly with the repercussions of his movements in the provinces. The Governor of Madras, Sir Arthur Hope, whom the Viceroy took with him in his visits to the affected areas in the Madras Province, resigned on the ground of health although he has yet less than a month to complete his term of office. Sir S. V. Ramamurthi who flew with the first batch of the Indian deputation to Great Britain and the United States, it was stated, was returning immediately. But if he had done so in the expectation of acting as Governor in Madras, he would have been disappointed. Sir Henry Knight, Adviser to the Governor of Bombay, has been appointed to the acting Governorship. Two Indians, Sir Mahomad Oosman and Sir K. V. Reddi, had acted as Governors in Madras and, in the ordinary course, Sir Ramamurti, who is Adviser to the Madras Governor, should have followed their precedent. The Governor of Bombay, Sir John Colville, has been deprived of the advice of Sir Henry Knight to whose assistance in the Food administration His Excellency paid a more than warm tribute in his broadcast on the Bombay radio last week almost suggesting that without him the administration might suffer. In passing, may we say that the Governor of Bombay, even for the short period prior to the advent of a popular Government, would benefit by having an Indian adviser in Sir Henry's place. Sir John Colville's broadcast was a vindication of the Bombay administration against charges which no one has made against it. The Viceroy himself paid tribute to its excellence in his broadcast a few days previously. What both Madras and Bombay lacked was the consciousness that they are parts of a whole and are not greater than the whole. This is an old tradition in the two Presidencies which had induced Lord Curzon to recommend their being reduced to Lieutenant Governorships. Sir Samuel Hoar instead, made them independent provinces. The War has forcibly demonstrated the impracticability of the Hoare scheme but it, like the communal principle in the Indian franchise injected from more or less the same motives by Lord Minto, will have to work itself out or be overthrown by force of national and international developments. The British Government who are responsible for both have not the power or prestige needed to undo them. Mr. Jinnah has already sounded the note of "breach of faith". Without getting these two prime impediments out of the way, a satisfactory or even tolerable settlement of the future Indian constitution, is impossible. Coming

back to Sir John Colville's broadcast, it entirely missed the central point in the Food policy of the Government of India. Sir John Colville did not show a trace of recognition of the fact that the Food problem is not exclusively a Bombay problem but an, all-India question. It is not enough if by our united effort and sacrifice we avert the worst effects of famine from our province. No province can prosper if all provinces do not pull together. This is particularly the case with Bombay which is the Gateway of India. A Gateway by itself is only of ornamental interest. Its primary function is to lead to habitations where human beings live and flourish in comfort and happiness. Sir John has twice acted as Governor General and had special facilities for studying the Indian problem at the centre.

Atom Bomb Secret Out :—The notion that the technical production can be kept secret, of such an object as the Atom Bomb, which requires the co-operation of thousands of men and was known to three nations, one of which has replaced the Government which was in power when the bomb was being made by another of radically different outlook, is so fantastic that only statesmen blinded by their self-importance can entertain it for a moment. The theory of atomic energy is known to every physicist in the world. Technical knowledge could not long be behind. But, it was said, the production of the atom bomb costs so much money that only the United States can afford the expense. But money is of value only as procuring the services of men, and ceases to have any value when a religious or revolutionary idea seizes hold of the mass-mind and creates its own human agency without the interposition of money. In such cases money meekly follows, is indeed forced to do so by the law of its being. History furnishes numerous examples, the latest being the Soviet Revolution and Fascist and Nazi revolutions when money at first supported the regime which was overthrown and then almost overnight attached itself to the victorious revolution. The secret of the Atom Bomb was first smuggled to Britain by a German Jew who secured it from a scientist of the same persuasion. Britain unable herself to produce the bomb owing chiefly to her small area, passed it on to her American ally. Canada was taken into the confidence because Canada at the time was known to have the largest quantity of uranium which was a necessary ingredient in the bomb. Soviet Russia wanted to know the secret badly. She put her own scientists on the job and sent over a thousand trained emissaries to North America to get the secret regardless of cost or consequence. In doing this Russia was not doing anything which other nations have not done or will shrink from doing in similar circumstances. The persons who delivered the secret from a money motive or from ideological impulsion will be detected and punished. But the secret is no longer a secret. Perhaps the uncompromising temper of Marshal Stalin's last address and the attitude of the Russian delegation at the United Nations Organisation, have their explanation in the success of Soviet agents in procuring the secret of the atom bomb. The third World War is not far off.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, March 2, 1946.

LORD WAVELL AND THE FOOD SITUATION

Lord Wavell's visit to the areas in the South most affected by failure of crops, was against the convention of Indian administration. The Head of the Government is not to be seen or heard except after elaborate preparations and in a pre-organised setting. The large doors swing open, the curtains part, an A. D. C. proclaims the advent of His Excellency, and the hierophant walks in slowly turning to right and left, with a set smile on his face, perhaps a vast emptiness at his heart. Lord Wavell broke through all this. He alighted at the Bangalore aerodrome, collected every one who was likely to impart useful information on the food situation in his areas, flew over the worst affected of them, and with hardly any rest flew back to his capital. Among the pictures of Lord Wavell's visit to the affected areas was one of poignant interest published in the *Hindu*. Lord Wavell is standing with a group of people stretching a hand towards the vast expanse of scorched earth which in normal times would have been a huge sheet of water supporting cultivation in thousands of acres. The head of a Government of 400 million souls, could not bring a drop of water to quench the thirsty earth. Such is the insignificance of human authority pitted against natural disaster. That is to superficial seeming. As a matter of fact, human foresight and human skill can avert most natural disasters, has successfully protected humanity from them in the past. In India, the heads of administration have no permanent interest in that country. Their interests are all in a small Island thousands of miles away, and the whole vast continent with its teeming millions, is useful only as a war reservoir of man-power and material resources which is absolutely under their control for employment in any crisis which threatens their mother-land. Whatever benefits India has received are incidental to this grand purpose. Sir Akbar Hydari speaking at the Editors' Conference, rather past its prime in Allahabad the other day said that this famine was not a man-made famine. It could certainly have been averted with ordinary prudence by an administration which regards India as something more than a milch-cow. A catastrophe which could have been prevented even partially by human providence, is as much a man-made catastrophe as the devastation brought by incendiaries. The whole administrative system of the country must bend its head in shame whenever such a catastrophe happens.

Lord Wavell did not let the grass grow under his feet on his return to New Delhi. He called Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah and told them how things stood and asked for their co-operation. To a call of this kind there can be only one answer. Both the leaders promptly placed themselves at the Viceroy's disposal. Mr. Jinnah asked for specific instructions. Gandhiji characteristically offered his own suggestions born of his ripe and intimate knowledge of the countryside. Some of these were for Government but most of them was for the people. Gandhiji declared that if the situation was faced and managed in the spirit of complete identity of interests, India will be able to meet

it herself even if no outside help was forthcoming. We agree with Gandhiji. His most important suggestion was that every household in the land should start at once curtailing its consumption of cereals to the minimum consistent with health. Lord Wavell—or is it, Lady Wavell, for Gandhiji's appeal was specifically to housewives—was the first to set the example. A drastic reduction in the daily meals of the Viceregal household to about a third of its normal, was made instantly. Example always lends force to precept. Having set the example, Lord Wavell spoke to the Indian people in a radio broadcast. His words were vibrant with humanity. He is not going to let any departmental sensitiveness obscure the dictates of his plain duty. "I am responsible as Governor-General for the Central Food Department and I fully accept that responsibility." The Food Member, Sir J.P. Srivastava, has been suddenly taken ill. Even otherwise, he was not able to command the confidence or compel the obedience of some provincial Governments with an absurdly exaggerated idea of their self-sufficiency. The statute is being amended in Parliament, but the Viceroy is not waiting for instructions when the life of millions depends on instant action. There is one small reference in Lord Wavell's broadcast which is obviously due to wrong information. His Excellency said that the food shortage was not due to exports. "Our only export has been a quantity of ground-nuts, which we could not ourselves mill or readily consume, and which were urgently required elsewhere." Except the last part, the statement is completely incorrect. There is no article which we can think of so readily convertible into food as ground-nuts. Roasted dry the thin shell easily crumbles in a child's hand. Milling is not needed, and, for long ages, ground-nuts have been used for dietary purposes by the Indian people. It is highly nutritious according to modern expert analysis. During His Excellency's tour, it was learnt, in one of the villages visited, that ground-nuts are now part of the ration in Mysore State. (*Hindu*, Feb 10.) Gandhiji for some years used groundnuts as his staple food. During his tour in Southern India, a bag of ground nuts was presented to Gandhiji as his train stopped at a wayside station. He smiled and said he was no longer taking ground nuts as he was growing old and could not digest them. The Bombay Government has forbidden export of groundnuts and India should do likewise.

Here are a few suggestions.

(1) Stop all exports not only of articles which can be directly used as food but which can be useful in growing more food such as bone manure.

(2) As far as possible India's exports should be paid for in food;

(3) Introduce total prohibition all over the country and get the Indian States to do so simultaneously. As a purely Police measure, it is necessary. A hungry people are an angry people. We have besides some reckless orators about the right—or is it the duty?—of starving people to loot their neighbours who are not starving. This is a dangerous doctrine but more harm will be done by stopping than by letting it spend itself out. Secondly, every article of which liquor is made is an

article of food. Prohibition will thus directly add to the food supply. Thirdly, Prohibition is the religious duty of practically the whole population. It will be hailed by all leaders and especially by women who are the chief sufferers in drunken homes.

(4) Drinking water is an even more urgent need than food for men and animals. In the great famine at the beginning of the century trains carrying water were run to the affected areas. Tanks were flown in air planes to be used as weapons of war. Let them be flown in a time of drought to quench the thirst of the people. Lord Wavell is best able to gauge the possibilities of this mode of relief.

Lastly, let the religious leaders be enlisted in this campaign. Lord Wavell said, "May I in conclusion tell you, as one who has faced a good many grim-looking situations in the last six years or so, that they seldom turn out anything like as bad as they look, if you meet them squarely and fairly and do your best with determination and commonsense." This is only another way of saying that things are never so dark in actual experience as in prospect or retrospect. This is quite true even in the daily life of common people. But the strength to meet dangers squarely, comes most readily to the mass of men by faith. India is a land of faith. The vast masses and many above them, believe that Divine intervention may be invoked to bring rain. Some European observers have recorded that this belief has come true in cases to which they testify. Do not let them be despised as superstitions. Even a superstition which puts heart in a man in the face of calamity has a high psychological and social value. A single shower of rain would change the face of stricken India. It will provide drinking water for all and grass for cattle. Let all religious communities hold prayers for rain.

THE NAVAL STRIKE AND RIOTS IN BOMBAY

The Bombay Vaibhav Press is situated in a locality which last Friday became one of the centres of mob violence following on the strike of "ratings" in the Royal Indian Navy ships in Bombay Port. The Press had to be closed. The delay thus caused in bringing out this issue of the *Reformer*, enables a brief survey of the events since the beginning of the strike of "ratings" on the H. M. I. S. Talwar on Monday. A strike in the armed forces is something unintelligible to old-fashioned people. But about a month ago British Air Force personnel in India staged a strike in protest against their slow demobilisation and the matter was somehow settled without any action, so far as is known, being taken against the strikers. The Parliamentary Delegation was then in India and it was obliged to give up flying owing to the strike and to travel by the humdrum railway. So when the news of the strike on the Talwar on Monday was known, people thought it would be settled without trouble as in the case of the British Air Force men. And it would have probably passed off without incident if the officers on the spot had likewise dealt with the situation coolly and in a spirit of sympathy. The comradeship which has grown up in the Army between officers and men has not evidently grown up in the new Naval and Air services, no doubt because there has not been enough time for it to grow. There is to be an official enquiry and we should await its conclusions

before forming our own. The Naval Commander-in-Chief who has his headquarters in New Delhi, flew down to Bombay and broadcast a warning to the strikers. Vice-Admiral Godfrey, no doubt, meant it to be conciliatory but, unfortunately, not only did it not conciliate the "strikers" but it was strongly resented by the public. The Vice-Admiral concluded by saying that, if the strikers did not give in unconditionally, Government had an overwhelming force with which it would not hesitate to destroy the Royal Indian Navy of which they were all proud. It did not occur to the Vice-Admiral to ask himself why and how the Royal Indian Navy of which he was so proud, and which in the words of the Prime Minister did magnificent service during the war, should have suddenly become disaffected. Would the Admiral destroy also the Indian Air Force because many men belonging to it have struck in sympathy with their naval comrades? The Vice-Admiral had clearly lost his head. He had no right to speak in the name of Government which consists of Indian members who, we are sure, never authorised him to indulge in such wild language. Still, his indiscretion would have passed unnoticed if it had happened when the Indian public mind was not as exacerbated as it is owing to several causes, all of which convey the sting of racial discrimination on the part of Britons in positions of authority. To some extent, therefore, the Vice-Admiral himself is a victim of circumstances. The Bombay public was incensed by the treatment accorded to the Indian "ratings". The Congress leaders grievously misjudged the depth of public feeling and the weight of their own authority, and contented themselves with issuing a command against a general hartal, closing of factories and business. But their exhortation went unheeded. Workers in the two railway workshops and in practically all the sixty-six mills, came out. This gave the lawless elements, always alert to take advantage of popular frenzy, occasion to plunge into an orgy of arson and looting. The whole city was affected, including for the first time, the Fort area. Trams and buses ceased to run, military aid had to be called. There has been a large amount of police and military firing, and the killed and wounded have arisen to unprecedented figures, about 300 killed and 1600 wounded by bullets. Sardar Vallabhbhai intervened at this stage and his advice to go through the form of surrender was acted upon. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, saw the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Claude Auchinleck, in New Delhi and was authorised to say that there would be no victimisation or vindictive action against the Naval strikers.

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF'S BROADCAST.

The Commander-in-Chief's broadcast on Monday night was virtually a retraction of His Excellency's assurance given through the Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. An Associated Press message dated New Delhi, February 23, read: "Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President who had a half-hour's interview with the Commander-in-Chief this morning, told an A. P. I. correspondent later that he had the Commander-in-Chief's authority to assure all the persons concerned that there would be no victimisation or vindictive action taken in connection with the R. I. N. strikes and that all legitimate grievances would be sympathetically examined and redressed". Nawabzada Liaquat

Ali Khan also saw the Comander-in-Chief the same day in connection with the R. I. N. strike and, "it is learned," said the Associated Press message, "that the C. in C. gave him the assurance that there would be no victimisation or vindictiveness of people involved." The ratings surrendered the same day following Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's advice given in the name of the Congress to lay down arms and "go through the formality of surrender which has been asked for". The Congress, the Sardar added, "will do its best to see that there is no victimisation and the legitimate demands of the naval ratings are accepted as soon as possible". To our mind, the Commander-in-Chief's assurance to the Congress President and the Muslim League General Secretary, plainly meant virtually an amnesty to the ratings on surrender.

In his broadcast on Monday, however, the Commander-in-Chief spoke in an entirely different tone. His Excellency objected to the use of the term "strike" in relation to the armed force. "The correct word," said he, "is mutiny and this refers to any collective act of a few or many persons, subject to naval military or air force law, against the legal authority of the service." Sir Claude went on to explain what "mutiny" meant. "It matters not what form collective disobedience takes, whether negative such as refusal to work or refusal to eat or positive such as a demonstrative march or an act of violence. Such acts are all mutinous, though obviously they can and do vary in degree." The Commander-in-Chief makes "collectivity" an essential ingredient of "mutiny". We think a single individual can commit "mutiny". Nelson turning his blind eye to the signal of the Commander-in-Chief of his fleet at Trafalgar clearly committed an act of mutiny. But his name is venerated in the British Navy. His Excellency recognises that acts of mutiny "can and do vary in degree". Some evidently are even highly meritorious. Lord Wavell as Supreme Commander in South East Pacific, left explicit orders that the troops in Singapore should fight on even if it came to fighting in the streets, when the Japanese invaded Malaya. The British Commander surrendered with a large army. This, too, was an act of "mutiny" but General Perceval found himself in circumstances where resistance spelt annihilation. To have obeyed Lord Wavell's order would have meant enormous human sacrifice. Indians have followed the revelation in the Australian General Bennett's examination ending in the decision that he should not be indicted before a Court Martial. The distinction between "strike" and "mutiny" is largely obsolete. For the simple reason that War today is largely an industrial enterprise operated by machinery, and by persons largely drawn from factories, the indiscriminating application of methods found necessary in an army of professional soldiers, can only end in disaster. That methods practised in India are reproduced in Britain, is being daily proved. And the British public and the British army in their own interests, should see that nothing is done by their agents in India which would in no long time be repeated in their country.

We do not understand "discipline" to consist in tamely submitting to wrong or unfair discrimination against

persons doing the same work and incurring the same dangers solely on the ground of race or colour. In every matter relating to the Indian army, it is necessary to make allowance for this invidious disparity so long as it cannot be removed. The Commander-in-Chief said that the grievance about Indian's pay being lower than the British soldier's could not be removed as it will entail a huge financial burden. We are not concerned with what the British soldiers have. What we say is if you want him in India pay him at the same rate as the Indian, making up if you like the excess, from the British Exchequer. Such obvious methods are ruled out.

The most important thing in the Army, as well as in civil Government, is that people must trust the word of authority. The right interpretation of words is that in which it is understood by those to whom it is addressed, and not that which the speaker may have had in mind. Now, as we said, the Commander-in-Chief's assurance which Maulana was authorised to publish was, to our mind, unmistakable. The broadcast argument is forced and unconvincing. We recognise that His Excellency's dual position as member of Government and Comander-in-Chief, places him on such occasions in a dilemna. In his endeavour to do justice to both his functions, he is inevitably obliged to incur misunderstanding. This was the reason why Lord Curzon wanted the old and tried system of having a Civilian member in the Executive Council for army administration. We will have to revert to that practice in order to place the office of Commander-in-Chief, as it should be, above controversial politics.

MUDALIAR ON MORAL DISARMAMENT

A Reuter's message gives what purports to be the substance of a speech which Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar made last week at the London Headquarters of "Moral Re-armament". Moral Re-armament was much talked of at the end of the first World War. When the second World War broke out, Moral Re-armament went underground. Now, it has apparently emerged into light, and it is sure to go underground again when the third World War which is already on the wing descends upon the earth. Nobody in London or New York or Moscow takes Re-armament seriously. It has not prevented War. On the other hand, every war after a spell of Moral Rearmament propaganda, is more ghastly than the one which preceded it. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, however, by virtue of his position as international spokesman of a country which has no international status, is obliged to accept fictions as facts. His speech at the Moral Re-armament, is so grotesque that we are obliged to doubt if Sir Ramaswami made it. Of late his public utterances showed that frequent sojourns abroad have helped him to view his country and his people as a whole instead of from the narrow separatist standpoint of his Panagal days. If Reuter's summary does not grievously misrepresent him, this speech would show that Sir Ramaswami has gone even behind those early days of apprenticeship. He is reported to have declared:

I know my countrymen inside out and I know that the one thing they will respond to is a kindly smile

and a spirit that recognise them as human beings. The people who go about in a superior spirit and call them "coolies"—a word of contempt in my country don't rouse the best in the human man (mind?) Yet under the most distressing circumstances if you express a kindly word you get the best in every Indian whatever he may be.

The word "cooly", by the way, is not a term of contempt in India. It represents an economic group, members of which will not feel ashamed to avow that they are coolies. The word is used in a spirit of contempt by foreigners who themselves are "coolies" in the sense that they have to carry the burdens of people for a living. We have heard an Indian Maharaja speak of the first Labour Government as a government of "coolies" for which nevertheless he professed much regard. "Cooly" means hire. And every man who does a job not because it is his *dharma* arising out of the law of his being, but for a reward or hire, be he Viceroy or Member of Executive Council, is a cooly, and in this commercial age most of us are "coolies" whether we clothe ourselves in silk or go about in rags of "standard cloth".

So much for the word "cooly". Now, as to Sir Ramaswami's recipe of "a kindly smile" and "human treatment" as the open sesame to the Indian heart. He is clearly repeating—if he did say it—a formula of his salad days. Today no one cares a copper pice—scarce as they have become—whether "you" smile or not. No one will submit to inhuman treatment if he can help it. If Sir Ramaswami was in Bombay last week, he would have had a different story to tell the Moral Re-armamentists. Indians who wore hats and ties, found it safe to discard them when they went in the more disturbed localities. The word "white man" has become a byword and nearly as offensive as the word "cooly" in South Africa. Indian soldiers who fought side by side with "white men", have come back with their old legendary idea worn thin. This has made the low pay of the Indian soldiers as compared to that of his British comrade-in-arms not merely a personal grievance but a national affront. Mr. Philip Mason, the Secretary of the War Department of the Government of India, when this was pointed out in the Legislative Assembly last week, pleaded that to raise the pay of the Indian fighting men to the level of the pay of the English fighting men would require the Indian Army to be kept at a third of its present strength. Either you believe in the International organisations, to which you require India to contribute out of all proportion to her national income, or you do not. If you believe in their efficacy, as you profess officially to do, you can safely cut down the Indian Army to a third or even less. Japan has been destroyed. China has enough internal troubles of her own to think of invading India. Russia is your Ally whom everyday the British Government avows its anxiety to propitiate. If you do not believe in these international plans of ensuring universal peace then say so plainly. Do not force India to contribute fabulous sums to keep up the mockery, and do not send Ramaswami Mudaliars to mislead the world by their opportunist oratory.

Sir Ramaswami said that India did not want to live in isolation. What is she doing now? Simply because a few

of his kind are sent to international conferences, is she "participating" in them with the same freedom as other nations? A country whose international relations are controlled by herself but by another country, is completely cut off from the world outside. Sir Ramaswami's words will be held to confirm the impression abroad that Indians are not earnest about political freedom. He is reported by *Reuter* to have observed:

I want you to realise that whatever you may read in the newspapers of the froth and fury, the dust and din of the controversy behind this (the stress and strain of the next few months), you have 400,000,000 who are not going to isolate themselves from you and cut themselves off from human instincts, who are going to be your brothers and sisters.

English newspapers print very little of Indian news and great stresses and strains here pass unnoticed in London unless they create a stir in Washington or Moscow. The British public are just now slightly stirred by happenings in India because India's sterling balances are somehow got entangled with the American loan. It is unfair to blame the British people for their indifference to India except as a reservoir of man power and material in times of war. Their own problems, created mostly by their haphazard method of doing things, are very pressing and leave them no time or energy to think of India which Lord Wavell and Sir Claude Auchinleck are left to manage as best as they can. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar's soothing syrup will be greedily lapped up as a tribute to British uninterestedness (represented as disinterestedness) in Indian affairs. We have in these comments expressly made reservations about the accuracy not in word so much as in spirit of *Reuter's* summary. The Government of India may call for and publish a full report of what Sir Ramaswami actually said at the London headquarters of Moral Re-armament.

A BANDRA DIARY

Mrs. I. J. Pitt, now of Cambridge, is an old family friend. Her husband died while yet a junior official in the Indian Civil Service at Penukonda in the Ceded Districts. His wife remained in that place for many years doing valuable social work among the people. She was much respected. On her mother's death in England, Mrs. Pitt went for a short time to her native country. When she returned she found the atmosphere completely changed. The people who used to frequent her home now avoided it. Her efforts to serve them (according to her own ideas) met with no response. Her best Indian friend advised her that she had better return to England, as the outlook of the Indian people (including himself) was no longer what it was. It was not hostile to the English but it did not like to contact them more than was absolutely indispensable. Mrs. Pitt wrote to me and I replied, if I remember aright, for this was many years ago, that I could not advise her to the contrary. Unfortunately, she could not understand that this was a natural process, that India had grown up to maturity and wanted to stand on her own legs. Since returning to England, Mrs. Pitt has been writing angrily, sometimes bitterly, about writings in the *Reformer*. But she retains with characteristic British staunchness her friendly

feelings for us. Every New Year Day unfailingly brings her greetings, though even in them there may be a sting or two about ingratitude to Britain. This year Mrs. Pitt sent with her usual New Year greetings a sheaf of cuttings from the British Press. Mrs. Pitt, by the way, almost venerates the *London Times*, which I do not. I always remember Cobden's observation that the opposition of the *Times* to a good cause was the happiest augury to the success of that cause. I also cannot forget the *Times'* Irish exploit in the Piggott letters and its sealed instructions to its correspondent, as a part of the strategy of the Rhodes-Jameson intrigue in South Africa. More recently, the *Times* advocated the annexation by Hitler of Sudeten Czechoslovakia on the eve of Neville Chamberlain's mission to Munich. On Indian questions, the *Times* has not been over-friendly. At times it has been grossly inaccurate and even unfair. All this may seem unimportant and irrelevant in assessing the greatness of the London newspaper to an English man or woman. They may seem even meritorious in their eyes. In her last greetings Mrs. Pitt had included some pictures and I responded by sending her one which came handy at the moment, a picture in the *Hindustan Times* of two Indian women of the Rani of Jhansi regiment practising rifle shooting. I added a note that that was the present state of Indian feeling. This has brought an Air Mail letter typical of the point of view of the large middle class which is the backbone of British society and State.

* * * *

Mrs. Pitt out of the goodness of her heart, and from reading no newspaper, even London ones, except the *Times*, fervently believes that Britain fought the War for world freedom, not merely for her own. I do admire and envy her faith in the infallibility of the British Government for the time being and the *London Times*, in the absolute altruism of all British policies, and in the special solicitude which Britain has, always and in all her measures, manifested for the good of India, never for her own good; in the righteousness of the British support of the Dutch in Indonesia. The burning of villages by British troops was not atrocity though the same thing done by Germans is. It is needless to multiply instances. With Mrs. Pitt, as with all British patriots, it is always My Country, first and last. India must be grateful to Britain for having been saved from German and Japanese atrocities. Mrs. Pitt, of course, does not read of atrocities in India in the *London Times*.

When Mrs. Pitt is very angry she tells me that she finds it easier to understand Indian Muslims. She cannot understand the Hindus. I do not claim to be a model or even a typical Hindu. All my long life, I have been consciously in antagonism to orthodoxy. But I am not hurt by being regarded as a typical Hindu. Far from it. I, like everybody else, would be glad to be understood by friends. To be misunderstood is to be great, an American philosopher once wrote. This kind of greatness I have never coveted. Every week for over half a century I have been trying in these columns to make myself understood. Mrs. Pitt has been a regular reader for years and it is nothing but a misfortune that I have not made myself understood to her; the worse, because she generalises from me to

the whole Hindu community. Nevertheless there is a certain amount of truth in her complaint. Semitic thought, Judaism, Christian, Muslim, makes man the centre of the universe. God made him in His own image and gave all the things thereon for him to enjoy. Hinduism not only does not make man as the centre but it does not even regard him as a point in the circumference in any way different from or superior to the bird, plant or beast, except in so far as he realises himself as one with the Infinite. This is abstruse to the rest of the world and hence it is our fate to be generally misunderstood. But should India in order to make herself understood, clothe herself in the western garb? I often think that she should retain in her heart her spiritual ideal. We may not believe in western ways but we make ourselves better understood and pleasanter company by donning the garb and talking the language of homocentric philosophy. Above all, we should not profess for our conduct motives which our fellowmen do not share. We can thus not only make ourselves better understood but will also flatter our friends by the suggestion how finer they are than ourselves.

RECLUSE

THE GREAT VOICE.

(BY PROF. A. S. MATHUR, M. A.)

Leopold Schwarzschild has written a very thoughtful book entitled "World In Trance", and has tried to read the lesson of the last World War No. 1 in these words; "The voice of twenty years warns us that tanks and guns can be directed against a land of milk and honey as against a land of stones and barren soil. No magic of prosperity and social justice is capable of checking a hungry lust for power." In these words he has indicated his reactions as a result of frustration that followed the last war in Europe. It is true that we have advanced far away from civilisation and peaceful life because of the great lust for power and political power. But there is no occasion for this measure of frustration and disappointment. Time will certainly come when peace, divine and everlasting peace, coloured by intense spiritualism will dawn upon us. Even scientists, who have little connection with faith and religion, are thinking in terms of an escape from present human slaughter. Also they think that escape is possible if there is an agreement on some definite ethical standard.

Economic prosperity and social justice will definitely take us near the cessation of war, and ultimately we will form an international Brotherhood. To say that 'the voice of twenty years warns us that in the business of enforcing peace and order there is no substitute for our own will and our own power' is to prescribe an endless strife and competition for more and more power. The world is power-drunk, and the result is this threatening cloud of destruction and devastation. What is this "our own will?" What is this "power"? The answer is violence. This answer is at least strange to us, Indians, who are on the threshold of a great revolution, under the leader of Mahatma Gandhi, the great sage of non-violence and truth. Certainly there are substitutes for power and will. Think of culture and international appreciation of and for literature. It is not for nothing that all intellectually alive

are trying to establish an Academy to familiarise art and literatures of various countries. Some time ago it was Sardar K.M. Pannikar who indicated in vivid words the need for interpreting Western thought on cultural understanding on which we can build a structure of a lasting peace. This cultural understanding will lead to sympathy and toleration and fellowship, three things so divinely combined in real humanity. That stage will report our near approach to God: the divinity inherited by man will have then its fullest expression in pursuits of peace and co-operation, to the utter exclusion of all that takes humanity into the heart of strife and conflict.

It is true that in the interest of the good of humanity there must be an immediate combination of sympathy, toleration and fellowship. But such a combination or a consummation will not come for the mere asking. What is our aim? Success, an all round success to make us a free people, in perfect possession of wealth and mental comforts. Such a thing, such a success will certainly demand some pains. So the first thing that we have to do is to be devoted to work. This work has to be ceaseless and very helpful in self-revelation. I say self-revelation because at best a man can reveal himself. Generally he is not able to reveal himself. What he definitely reveals in the present stage of civilisation is the animal and the beast in him. I may go farther and say without any fear of opposition, and hence with least hesitation that a man generally reveals not even the animal in him. He is worse than an animal. If an animal is beastly he is to be forgiven because he has no intellect. If a man reveals the animal in him he is definitely inferior to the animal because he claims to possess an intellect, which is clearly not associated with animals. Leave it there. A man has to reveal himself. If he reveals himself he reveals God and the Divine in him. Just go back to the story of man. In the beginning of things there was nothing but God Himself, and in course of time He felt tired of His loneliness, and this world is merely the expression of the One in the Many. Therefore, it is true to regard man as essentially good and divine. Read these lines from Wordsworth :

Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting; The soul
that rises with us, our life's Star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting
And cometh from afar;
Not in entire forgetfulness,
And not in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God, who is our home:
Heaven lies about us in our infancy!

William Wordsworth has spoken like an Eastern Sage urgently conscious of the divine essence in all of us. But here he does not stop. These trailing clouds of glory and divine magnificence do not remain with us. Time is a great thief of our divine essence. Read this from the poet;

Shades of the prison-house begin to close
Upon the growing Boy

The growing boy is the man who is face to face with so many complications in the world. These complications do not allow him to be divine. So what is urgently needed in the present circumstances is the knowledge of

the great reality of divinity in us. The moment this realisation is possible all external differences of colour, caste, creed, and views will disappear, creating an atmosphere of an endless concord and fellowship. But for the creation of this atmosphere are needed three things, so very necessary for the achievement of success. Knowledge, planning and action are the three sides of the human triangle of peace, comfort and security. Knowledge will tell us of a large number of intimate and intense bonds amongst people, inhabiting the world. Planning will direct all our efforts in co-operation. All efforts, not in co-operation are generally exempt from success. Ultimately we come to Action. Action is intimately connected with knowledge and planning in mind. Hence it need not detain us. I would like to point out at this stage that action is just a thought in action. Lord Krishna has said that thought is action in fancy or infancy. Again there can be no action without some thinking.

If we are conscious of the great Voice of silence or of action, we can definitely think in terms of happy and constructive days. The voice of silence implies the silent hand that goes on, and having writ does not retrace. Also the voice of silence implies silent history of the past. The voice of action implies the present wars and their companions. The companions are devastation and destruction, on account of which the great Irish thinker refused to celebrate the V. Day. The great Voices of silence and of action are persistent in one thing. Atleast they have one call. The call is for action and for bliss.

As I close I will like to refer to one thing. I am definite in my mind that there is enough of ground for happiness. There is no room for disappointment as there is no exhaustion of the vast possibilities of human happiness. The source is there, and we have just to tap it. There is no check; there is no limit. Vast are our resources: also there is enough intellect in the world to start the process of achievements. Only not thing is not there. We lack tact: we lack an incentive. All our dreams can cast away their mantle of something dreamy if we think and work. Suggestions are there. We have to take the suggestions, thrown out ceaselessly, we can just enter the Cave of Ali Baba. Joy will be our constant company.

As pointed out by Prof. Gurdial Mallik in his article entitled "Psychology of Prayer", appearing in *Concord*: "Man, indeed, is a fool! All around him there flows incessantly the ocean. But he does not dive in it, and then proclaims to the whole world, "I am dying of thirst!" We all are keen on peace, and there is an ocean of peace all around us, and we can have it for mere asking. Asking is not a formality alone. It must come room within, and then alone it can have what it desires of ceaselessly. This is the Great Voice. The Voice is there, and we have to catch it. It will not come. Clive Bell writes: "Art should not come to people, but people should come to Art or leave it alone." "Substitute" "peace" for "Art," and we have got the thing, the thing that can make us a happy lot.

So the Voice means two things: peace will come, there is no occasion for disappointment; but it will come when real and divine efforts are made to achieve it. "Blessed is he who has found his work". As the great Voice is deathless so our efforts must be deathless. The end will be "Bliss and Happiness".

100 W. A. C. (I)s' OPEN LETTER

TO THE WOMAN EDITOR, BLITZ: Jai Hind: As yours was the first paper in India to come to our rescue by exposing—boldly and fearlessly, while still the war was on—the unbelievable scandals of the Women's Auxiliary Corps (India), the undersigned 100 women attached to the Corps beg to address this open letter, through your columns, to British M.P.s and our Indian M.L.As.

News was officially released some time ago that the W. A. C. I. is to be disbanded slowly over a period of two years.

'Blitz' was right when it thundered editorially that evidently unable to face the joint W.A.C.I.-'Blitz' demand of an independent, non-official inquiry into the charges of racialism and all-round scandalous neglect, Government have taken the only alternative decision of disbanding a Corps that was, to all practical purpose, a corpse."

You very rightly underlined the fact that War Department and Lady Carlisle's rotting outfit should not be permitted to escape without at least a national censure. If the W. A. C. I. is to commit barakiri, then all the more reason there is of an inquest into the war's foulest insult to India.

The winding up of the W. A. C. I. means simply that all the thousands of Indian women whose names are now mud are to be let loose in the unemployment market, Government having disowned all responsibility of peacetime reconversion of the Corps.

This—after making a public scandal of the honour and fair name of India's womanhood!

While we and our sisters are the hopeless and helpless victims of this scandal and swindle, you—our men and our leaders—cannot escape a share of the responsibility of our humiliation. If you do not act, even belatedly, the jeer often thrown at our faces that our men and our leaders are impotent to defend our honour will have become a proven fact.

A mere inquiry into the W. A. C. I. would not cover the tragedy of so many innocent young girls, shamed, demoralised and dishonoured. If the leaders of the Congress openly demand the trial of Amery and Linlithgow for the guilt of the Bengal famine, surely, they will support our demand of court martial of those responsible for the crime of wilfully leading astray a generation of young women in the name of the war effort, of loyalty and of emancipation of our sex.

Let the Indian Assembly appoint its own committee, of investigation into the affairs of the W. A. C. I., material aplenty will be found to damn the entire organization a rotting mess of racialism, incompetence, shameless immorality and waste without parallel.

Fifty per cent. of the girls as a conservative estimate, will walk from the disbanded Corps straight into brothels, being uneducated, unprepared, unequipped for any decent means of livelihood.

We charge that the fountainhead of the mess is the incompetence of our leadership. Lady Carlisle, the Fuehrer of the W. A. C. I. is an ATS officer with no

knowledge of India and no sympathy with its women. She was imported into India and charged with the dangerous and unconventional task of raising an army of the Indian-Girl-in-Uniform which would expose young, innocent, uneducated Indian girls to war-time risks and temptations. Lady Carlisle has failed tragically, criminally.

We charge that the GHQ and the Officers of the Corps have been recruited with Indian money on an insultingly anti-Indian basis. Let facts already published by 'Blitz' speak for themselves.

Under Lady Carlisle there are 4 British Women Controllers and 13 Chief Commanders as against one Indian Chief Commander; 63 British Senior Commanders and 4 Anglo-Indian Senior Commanders as against one Indian Senior Commander; 384 British Junior Commanders and 81 Anglo-Indian Junior Commanders as against 142 Indian Junior Commanders.

The total strength of the W. A. C. I. in August, 1945 was over 10,000 with about 1,100 officers: of these there were 775 British Officers to over 2,000 British personnel and only 145 Indian Officers to over 3,000 Indian personnel. The position has since deteriorated due partly to the mass resignations of Indian Officers.

Numbers apart, there is intolerable discrimination between English and Indian girls in promotion, salaries, amenities such as hospital treatment—even of cases of venereal disease and unwanted maternity!

We charge the War Department of the Government of India and the GHQ. of the W. A. C. I. of diabolic conspiracy, after the scandals of the Corps had become public property, to swindle the Indian public and the Indian taxpayers with the label of Indianisation, now proved a monstrous farce.

Frightened of adverse public opinion, the War Department invited Miss Ranga Rao, an eminent woman educationist, to take over Deputy Directorship of the W.A.C.I. The resignation of Col. Ranga Rao within nine months of her appointment, and the resignations, in the face of threats of court-martial, of some topmost Indian officers of the W.A.C.I. are now history—let our M.L.A's and leaders ask the WHY and WHEREFORE . . .

We on our part charge that resignations were motivated by their knowledge and experience that they had been roped into the Corps on false promises—for the sole purpose of swindling the Indian public. The leaders who resigned are gagged under DOI regulations from making public statements: they can only open their mouths before a proper, accredited investigation.

It is a well-known fact that Col. Ranga Rao, in name the second-in-command of the W. A. C. I. was denied access to the official files, to the Indian girls' complaints, to the W. A. C. I. training schools even to the sick-beds. Her plans for the welfare, peacetime reconversion and resettlement of the Indian W. A. C. I. were contemptuously thrown into the waste paper basket. Gestapos were organised in her own office to spy upon her; and she was superseded by junior British officers.

Our principal charge, however, concerns the absolute, irreparable mess this war-time organization has made of

the lives, homes, character, discipline and morals of so many of us in the W. A. C. I.—through no fault of our own.

Innocent young girls, tempted away from their homes and families by lying propaganda and false promises, put in strange and unnatural surroundings under British and Anglo-Indian platoon commanders who set us all a bad example and worse precept, and exposed, sometimes almost by design, to temptations to which many fell not because of some inherent evil in us, but more as a reaction to our wretched condition, lack of amenities, general colour discrimination and mainly ignorance—this has been our lot!

We charge that we have been pitilessly and criminally neglected. We affirm that our recruitment was made under false promises of pay and promotion, later belied. We declare that, once recruited, the W. A. C. I. schools failed to give us the correct mental and moral training.

We maintain that in the Service itself, we were ill-cared for, fitted for nothing except drinking, dancing, necking and fraternising with the officers and BORs. Our moral and spiritual welfare was left to the sweet indiscretion of foreigners in some cases officers from Australia and the Dominions usually contemptuous of our "ignorance" and "backwardness."

Badly hosteled, badly fed, badly clad, badly hospitalized with no welfare or education officers knowing our peculiar orthodox background, no moral or spiritual training, with moral laxity, indiscipline and general purposelessness all round us—is it any wonder that many poor girls took the wrong course downhill?

There have been cases of young girls sent out to meet and fraternise with, drink and dance with non-Indian enlisted men. There have been cases of Indian girls being transported to distant places simply for the pleasure of an officers' party. There have been cases of drunk W. A. C. I. s picked up from roads and public places. Sometimes we have been hosteled near barracks, sometimes in the same building with BORs in the floors above and below us. There have been cases without number of rape, of forced motherhood or abortion, of venereal disease, of suicide!

Most of us joined the WACI full of hope, full of ideals. All of us stuck resolutely to duty under hard and sometimes desperate conditions.

We charge that the Government of India and the WACI Authorities failed in their responsibilities to us and to India generally. They failed to discipline and train us for the peculiar circumstances of the Service, and they failed to equip us as useful citizens of the post-war world into which we now go as useless, penniless misfits.

And when Col. Ranga Rao and her Indian colleagues fought these issues with the British Command of the WACI they were foiled and frustrated at every step. This is on record.

Must all this go without an impartial inquiry, without national censure, without punishment of the guilty—just because Government decides to disband the organization without the courtesy of an explanation to the Indian publicwithout a word as to what is to happen to the

discharged girls...without any organised plan of reconversion or resettlement of the latter...?

About the proposed disbandment, too, there is a snag. It affects the Indian personnel first. It puts us at their mercy. It is a sort of behave-or-getout ultimatum to the Indian WACI. This is self-evident because it is known that even though the war is off British and Dominion women continue to swell the top-ranks of WACI—at India's expenditure!

This, briefly, is our case against the Corps. We appeal to our good friends outside, like the All-India Women's Conference, and directly to Indian M.L.A.S and British M. P.s to take up our cause and get a proper investigation forced upon the now-panicky GHQ of the WACI.

We declare categorically that this is now a matter of honour and conscience for Britain no less than India. Let the investigating personnel be drawn either from the judiciary or the different parties in the Central Assembly or the A-IWC and other women's organizations in India but they must have access to all the files and documents of the Corps and they must obtain complete immunity for the witnesses from the Corps and all Indian officers who have resigned from the clutches of the DOI Rules, for otherwise the result would be departmental vendettas on individual members of the Corps.

We trust the few shreds of honour and prestige, still in our safe-keeping, to our leaders and friends. Please do not betray our cause for that will be betraying your own homes and womenfolk. It might have been them...

Representation signed before the Editor of
BLITZ and three impartial witnesses... by
100 WACIs.

Dated, February 12, 1946.

HINDI OR ENGLISH

Sir, During his recent tour in Southern India, Mahatma Gandhi addressed the people on his pet theme, the study of Hindi. He decried English as a foreign language and held up to his audience the various advantages that would accrue to them by learning Hindi and abandoning the study of English. The people of the South have taken to English as duck to water as no people of any other parts of India, except perhaps Bengal, have done. The South has produced eminent Indians who have achieved International fame in Literature and Science and have held their own in International Councils. At present the three Indians who have been selected to represent this country at U.N.O. deliberations all hail from the South. Almost all journalists of repute here are all South Indians. Would all these have been possible if they were only versed in Hindi? The English language throws open to Indians vistas of world achievements which none of the Indian languages can aspire to. The future is with the English speaking peoples the Americans and the British. If we are not to withdraw into our shells and stew in our own juice when we get Swaraj, we should not only conserve the advantages we have had of English education but we should go further and encourage our students to study it in right earnest.

Gandhiji held up the example of the Congress President Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and is reported to have said that a cultured man like him though he possessed a good knowledge of English made it a point of taking an interpreter with him when he went to the Viceregal

interviews. This strikes me as an argument for a thorough study of English rather than against it. After all much precious time is wasted in interpreting what one says to the other and vice-versa. I am sure President Azad himself must have felt the handicap. The South has accorded Gandhiji a rousing welcome and liberally donated to his funds, thus showing its appreciation of Mahatmaji's great work for our motherland. I trust the wisdom and good sense of the people of the South will prevail and will enable them to judge for themselves whether Gandhiji's advice may not after all be wrong.

AN ENGLISH ENTHUSIAST.

PROBLEMS OF EX-SOLDIERS

Sir, The recent debate in the Central Assembly re: the retrenchment of railway workers and the stand taken by S. Guruswamy, Secretary of the All-India Railway mens' Federation and a nominated member to the Assembly, makes the position of ex-servicemen hopeless. The Govt. of India and the various Provincial Govts had reserved a certain number of positions to be filled by the demobbed men. These men had been promised to be rehabilitated in secure positions on release from the Army with the successful termination of the War. Those now meant to be retrenched were definitely told by the respective Govts, of the temporary nature of their various appointments. So it should be intelligible to all that no unwarranted retrenchment is proposed, and the responsibility of Govt., as well as the public is immense in this respect. Distress and dissatisfaction of lakhs of soldiers will lead to endless complicated problems to this country.

The ex-soldiers are trained and tested men. Their skill and talent be not wasted. They have acquired a sense of discipline, unity and personal cleanliness which will make for the removal of social distinctions and for the progress of social reform, provided, of course, they are above physical want.

I trust the prejudice of the public to the Army will not be perpetuated endlessly and the excellent lead given by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in a recent speech at Allahabad, will be followed by other leaders of public opinion.

M. C. RAMAMURTHI

PROBLEMS OF TRUSTEESHIP

BY RAYFORD W. LOGAN

The United Nations Charter provides that there may be placed under trusteeship "territories now held under mandate; territories which may be detached from enemy states as a result of the Second World War; and territories voluntarily placed under the system by states responsible for their administration." By contrast, the Covenant of the League of Nations specified the areas to be mandated. Up to now, no area in any of the categories provided by the United Nations Charter has been placed under trusteeship.

This delay has prompted the Soviet Union to ask the nations holding mandates to state when they plan to place them under the trusteeship system. As this article is being written, no mandatory has replied. Moreover, Prime Minister Jan Smuts announced at San Francisco that the

Union of South Africa intended to incorporate the mandated area of South-West Africa into the Union. Although no sanction was given this proposal, the mere fact that it was advanced is enough to raise a doubt of the sincerity of some of the architects of peace. This doubt has been increased by indications that Belgium would also like to incorporate the mandated area of Ruanda-Urundi into the Belgian Congo.

Failure of the recent conference of foreign ministers in London to reach any agreement on the fate of the Italian colonies creates further disillusionment. Some officials in the U. S. State Department, it is known, favoured returning these colonies to Italy. One possible explanation is that this policy might make easier the American demand for unilateral control of, rather than a system of trusteeship for, the Pacific islands captured by U. S. forces from Japan. For how could the United States logically counter the British or Russian claims to the Italian colonies if at the same time the United States insisted on sovereignty over the Pacific islands?

Indeed, the fate of the Italian colonies in Africa may play an important role in the future of other dependent areas. According to an observer recently returned from Abyssinia, a tug of war is being waged there that bodes no good for either dependent areas or the peace of the world. Abyssinia wants all of Eritrea and all of Italian Somaliland but would be willing to settle for Assab as a free port under international control and a free passage through the Eritrean corridor to Assab. Abyssinia has proposed a plebiscite in Eritrea in accordance with her interpretation of the Atlantic Charter. At all events the Abyssinian government fears that restoration of Eritrea to Italy or an Italian trusteeship would result in future wars.

Great Britain is pointing to her "excellent" administration of Italian Somaliland and of Eritrea, in order to justify her claim to them. Britain might be willing to allow Abyssinia some of the highlands of Eritrea, but she definitely opposes Abyssinian control of Assab and, even more, of Massawa, now considered a better port than even Port Sudan. The Abyssinian desire for an outlet to the sea is all the stronger because the French are determined to hold on to Djibuti in French Somaliland, the only outlet that Abyssinia now enjoys. France does not want to be counted out of the tug of war in northeastern Africa, and Djibuti, the terminus of the railroad from Addis Ababa, gives her for the time being a means of control over the government of Haile Selassie.

The Soviet Union is pursuing a vigorous policy in the Near East and the Middle East. Her demands for passage of Russian warships through Turkish Straits, her interest in Tripolitania and Massawa, in the Dodecanesse Islands, the disturbances in Northern Iran—all these are well known. Not so well known are the facts that the Soviet Union and Abyssinia have had an exchange of ministers since June, 1944, and that Russian propaganda activities in Abyssinia are better organized than those of the Abyssinian government itself.

The United States may be forced to participate in this tug of war as a result of the recent agreement signed by Abyssinia and the Sinclair Oil Company. Obviously

the discovery of any considerable oil deposits would require an outlet to the sea—in other words, a port somewhere in Eritrea. Haile Selassie, it is generally believed in Addis Ababa, invited this American economic penetration in the hope of offsetting British influence, which is still strong. Moreover, the J. G. White Construction Company, which seems to appear inevitably when American economic penetration is being pushed, as in Liberia and Haiti, is building houses for its employees in Abyssinia. J. G. White is also expected to train Abyssinian technicians so that they can take over the operation of the railroad from Addis Ababa to Jibuti, to which the Abyssinian government is advancing a strong claim.

The situation in Northeastern Africa is complicated by the interest of the Arab League in the former Italian colonies. Haile Selassie would like to use the antagonism of the League to Italy and Britain as a weapon to prevent the return of the colonies to Italy. But there is the danger that Arab influence might become too strong in Abyssinia, where there is a large number of Moslems.

There is plenty of dynamite in the struggle for power in Northeast Africa, a struggle in which the former Italian colonies are a choice morsel. Until this struggle is resolved, there may be delay in allocating the Pacific islands taken from Japan. At all events, the final disposition of the Italian colonies will determine in large measure how much faith is to be placed in the sincerity of the colonial powers.

Most dismal of all is the situation with respect to the third category: "territories voluntarily placed under the system by states responsible for their administration," i. e., colonies and protectorates. Events in Indonesia afford little satisfaction to those who hoped that independence or self-government for colonies would result from this war. In 1942 the Netherlands government-in-exile promised commonwealth status to the Dutch colonial "partners." The promise was implicit in the United Nations Charter. But today the Dutch, with the help of the British, are crushing a revolt that in the opinion of Mr. Constantine Brown, as close to the State Department as any other commentator, has no real direction from either the Japanese or the Communists. In addition, there is no word as yet that the Dutch government intends to carry out its promises with respect to the parts of the Dutch East Indies that have not taken up arms.

We await the new constitution in France to determine the extent to which France intends to make her colonies an integral part to the Empire. Even Madame Eboue, the widow of the Negro Governor-General of French Equatorial Africa, has publicly declared that the French colonies do not want independence. No one, apparently, expects any of the French dependencies to be placed under trusteeship.

The British are contending that the ideals of the mandate and trusteeship systems have been taken from long-established policies in British colonial administration. Why, then, should Britain resort to the cumbersome device of mandates or trusteeships in order to promote self-government in her colonies? But the rate of progress toward self-government, especially in Nigeria, is so slow that many Negro Africans and West Indians doubt that the Labour government will move any faster than did the

government of Churchill. This doubt is strengthened by the policy of the Attlee government in India.

We may surmise that throughout articulate circles in dependent areas as well as among close observers in the independent nations, there is a growing disillusionment as to the future of the dependent areas. Unless the colonial powers act with reasonable promptness to implement the trusteeship provisions of the United Nations Charter, they may well force the inhabitants of dependent areas to the conclusion that the only way to get independence or self-government is to take it. (World-over Press.)

PUBLIC SCHOOL FOR SIGHTLESS

(BY HUBERT E. BIRD)

It is no new thing that blindfolk can be useful, the great Samson, blinded by his enemies, ground corn at the mill and today in London's busiest streets one sometimes meets blind people making their way confidently to work, moving easily along the crowded pavements with only the aid of white-painted sticks.

There are in England many schools and institutions where the blind are taught to read by the touch of their delicate finger-tips on letters pricked in the paper. They learn to sew and knit, to make baskets and bedding and furniture. They develop a marvellous facility with their hands, a wonderful alertness with their ears, and a truly astonishing power of memory.

But most schemes of training are limited to work in which manual dexterity is most required. It comes, then, as a surprise to many that for the last 70 years there has existed in England a public school for blind boys, known as Worcester College for the blind, where the pupils may learn all the subjects that are taught to normal boys preparing for the universities and the higher professions. Foreign languages, mathematics and the sciences—accomplishments of the mind, not of the hands—are taught in this school, and finally these blind boys take the same public examinations as their normal fellows, what is more, they achieve a very high degree of success, for nine out of every ten of them satisfy the examiners.

This school stands in pleasant gardens overlooking the River Severn, two miles distant from the ancient city of Worcester. It has 60 pupils; all of whom, when they arrive, have already been given the normal blind training. Here they come purely for mental education.

The school has its own motto, which says: "They can, because they believe they can." This approach marks all that is done in this school, and how true is this belief is shown by the fact that the mathematics master here is himself blind; a former pupil of this school, he went to a university and took his degree in this difficult mental science. As he expounds the principles of algebra and works out its problems for his class, the fingers of his pupils are gently and swiftly moving across the embossed pages of their text books, following his argument, step by step.

But writing is taught as well as reading. How is this done? The answer is admirably simple. It is undertaken in a sort of shorthand. Each boy has a writing frame in front of him with only six keys, but by a skilful system,

of combinations these six are enough to permit ample notes to be taken down—and, of course, read afterwards, for each key makes a pricked impression on the paper which runs through the frame.

Geography is taught by means of maps made in relief. The sensitive fingers trace with a clearness and understanding impossible to any but the sightless, the inlets in coastlines and the ups-and-downs of mountain ranges. In geometry instruments are used that make an embossed mark instead of a pencilled line. Thus drawings can be completed and checked with accuracy.

Everything is done in this school to make the lives of the boys as normal as possible. Great attention is given to their health. They are given physical training and they play team-games. The rough and tumble of a football game is, of course, impossible, but they play in their gymnasium a ball game with their hands, not their feet. In this game hearing matters most, for inside the ball is a bell, which guides the players regarding its whereabouts. They find in this and similar games all the excitement and relaxation that others find on the football field.

This small school has produced some first-rate oarsmen. Teams of four, with a cox who, of course, is not blind, have had successes in Britain's classic boat races at Henley Regatta where only the best crews compete.

Their prowess of chess is outstanding among their successes. They have been for 25 years the champions of all the public schools in Britain, at this game which calls for the highest mental concentration and calculation. This achievement proves completely that the blind are capable of the most exacting intellectual training.

The school's directors believe that the training and education of the blind should emphasise their likeness to their fellow-men not accentuate their differences from them. Nevertheless, these blind boys are taught, to take a sensible view of their circumstances, and, if they really need help, to ask for it without diffidence or shyness. In fact, they are so natural and confident in their bearing and conversation that it is hard at first to realise they are so completely locked up in a world of darkness.

Their ultimate careers vary. They become clergymen, lawyers, teachers and musicians. Some have become efficient local Government officials, others expert masseurs. Their training has taught them to realise that even though they are blind, those who employ them have a right to expect that they will do well the work they have chosen. They expect sensible consideration, and take great pride in doing their work well.

Employers were at first dubious as to whether these boys could be so well-trained or could have absorbed with all their disadvantages the knowledge they claimed to bring to their work. Many whose compassion first prompted them to employ these blind workers soon came to realise that determination can overcome the most formidable of life's obstacles and that these boys have earned for themselves a really useful place in the world.

URANIUM FIND IN AUSTRALIA

Mr. J. A. Beasley, Australian Minister in London, says the *Daily Telegraph*, denied on Friday the statement that he was making representations to have the newly discovered deposits of uranium in Queensland developed. He could not do this, he said, until he received instructions from the Australian Government.

But he agreed that before leaving Sydney for London, where he arrived a week ago, he received the holders of leases on the uranium deposits. A statement about the discovery of the deposits was made in Sydney by Mr. T. Dougherty, General Secretary of the Australian Workers Union. He said they were the richest in the world and they were found in Stanthorpe, South-East Queensland. Samples sent to Britain had yielded up to three percent uranium. Mr. Pike, Agent-General for Queensland, said in London that he had not heard of the deposits. But he added that there "must be something in it" as Mr. Dougherty, whom he knew well, was "a most responsible person."

WORLD CO-OPERATION IN EDUCATION

There is the immense department of science. Scientists will be expected and encouraged to work together and to pool their knowledge for the benefit of all.

There is also the great field of what may be called mass information to be taken into account. The media of mass information—radio, cinema, television and the press—can do so much to give us a true picture of the ways of the different peoples living on this earth, just as they can do so much, if they are misused, to poison good relations. UNESCO will be charged with the duty of ensuring to the very best of its ability that these potent channels of information are used for truth and freedom.

When one compares the new Organisation with the old Committee for Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations, there is one important difference which must immediately be apparent. UNESCO is not a committee of the United Nations; it is an autonomous "specialised agency," working in co-operation with the United Nations Organisation for the peace of the world and the general welfare of mankind, but with its own independent authority. This authority is the annual Conference of delegates of States Members. And while all nations which belong to the United Nations Organisation have the right to membership of UNESCO, if desired, there is to be provision for other nations to join in as well.

The annual Conference is not going to be tied to any one settled meeting place. It is to move about the world from one place to another. This is a very good, imaginative plan, as everyone will agree who has been in the habit of attending international congresses. The delegates to the London Conference listened intently to an invitation to hold the 1949 Conference in China. Dr. Hu Shih, who made this interesting proposal, said it would be an appropriate way of commemorating the 2,500th anniversary of the birth of the great sage, Confucius.

THE WARLIS.*

The outburst of unrest among the aboriginals of the Thana District, particularly of the Dahana Talaka, some time back, has attracted the attention of the public and the Government of Bombay to the numerous grievances of these down-trodden people. His Excellency Sir John Colville, the Governor of Bombay, paid a surprise visit to the Warlis quarters in the Thana District on his way back from his tour in Gujarat. The aboriginals were no doubt delighted to welcome the Head of the Province in their midst. Their delight was heightened by the fact that H. E. mixed freely with these people. But their joy must have been a short-lived one, as, soon after H. E.'s departure, things reverted to their old condition.

The Warlis who number nearly two lakhs are an aboriginal tribe of the Thana District of Bombay. They, like all such tribes, are very backward socially and educationally and are nature worshippers. By profession they are agriculturists. They own no lands of their own, and have to cultivate lands of high caste landlords who do not fail to take the utmost advantage of their ignorance.

They are perpetually in debt and as agriculturists they are no better than serfs and slaves. The misery of these people can better be imagined than described. Without proper food and clothing, addicted to drink, with heavy debts to pay, these people merely eke out their existence. They are martyrs to malaria and all sorts of epidemics.

The uplift of these people who are backward in every respect is really an uphill task. But there is an awakening among them and with the proper help of people imbued with a truly Missionary spirit, they can be turned into useful members of Society. All people interested in the social uplift of this and similar tribes of aboriginals will feel most grateful to Mr. Save for drawing their attention to the down-trodden condition of the Warlis. Mr. Save's book which is illustrated, will prove a guide to the workers interest in the uplift work. The price of the book which is Rs. 10/- is rather forbidding.

V.S.S.

Divorce Through Apostacy:—The Bombay High Court has refused to grant divorce to an Irani woman on the familiar ground that her husband had not complied with her demand that he should embrace Islam as she had done or face the prospect of being divorced by her application to the Court. The Irani woman according to her statement, had a dream in April 1944 as the result of which she became a Muslim. She then asked her husband Khodadad Irani to become a Muslim but he did not see his way to do so. Hence the application. The couple were married twenty years ago in Iran and had after marriage settled in Bombay. Mr. Justice Blagden declined on grounds of equity and good conscience to grant her divorce. His Lordship observed that the petitioner's suit would be granted as a matter of course in a Muslim country governed by Islamic law. But India was not an Islamic country. He went on to observe:

* (By K. G. Save, M. A. LL. B., Special Officer for the Protection of Aboriginal and Hill Tribes, Thana. Padma Publications, Ltd. Bombay. Price. Rs. .0/-.)

As far as the particular case before me is concerned, to refuse the plaintiff relief serves, in my opinion, no useful purpose. But to grant it means to give the approval of this court to a doctrine under which the matrimonial rights of Christians and Parsis are largely abrogated by a change of faith on the part of their spouses, and innocent Hindu wives could be consigned to the limbo (quite unknown to the ideas of their community) in which to use a popular expression, they would be neither fish nor fowl nor good red herring. To such a doctrine I am not compelled to subscribe, and without compulsion I am not prepared to do so.

The Bombay High Court several years ago took the same view when it convicted on a charge of bigamy a woman who married a Muslim husband after being converted to Islam. The Calcutta and Madras High Courts, on the other hand, held that a husband or wife is entitled to divorce if his wife or her husband refuses to apostatize at the bidding of a convert spouse. In a recent case, while conversion took place in Bombay, divorce was secured in Madras. This is a crying anomaly. A Privy Council ruling does not seem likely in the near future. Legislation is the only resource and we trust that a law will be passed soon to save religion and morality from being brought into disrepute. Under a regular law of divorce some reasonable ground will have to be shown for securing divorce. But there is no ground at all for divorce because of conversion, except as in this case an April dream.

For Equal Pay:—The troubles this week in Bombay, owing to a "ratings" strike are a premonition which Government and the public should take note of. Differences in emoluments between Indians and Englishmen in the Civil Services are not so obtrusive as differences in the Army. In the fighting services the men whatever their colour or race run equally the risk of death. Every man's life is dear to him. He does not see why he should be paid for his service in war less than the American or the English, with whom he fights side by side. The Chinese soldier is perhaps paid not much more than the Indian but he is at least commanded by his own nationals. Both these differences have left their soreness on Indian soldiers and airmen who have taken part in the War. We think there are many Englishmen and Americans who recognise that this is natural. To raise the pay and allowances of Indian soldiers to the American or even the British level, would impose a strain on Indian finance which it cannot bear. Indian salaries will have to be adjusted to India's ability but this cannot be done so long as British soldiers serving in India continue to draw higher rates of pay. Nationalisation of the Government will necessarily bring about such adjustment, and if Englishmen will not serve in India at rates of pay which bear a rational relation to the national income. By engaging Englishmen in the Services on the present scale Government is rendering the task of retrenchment in salaries difficult for the National Government.

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

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*

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NOTES

Ministry-making:—In two provinces where there were Muslim League Ministries, Congress Governments have been set up as the result of the elections were adverse to the League. The two provinces are Assam and Frontier Province. In Sind there was a tie between the League Party in the Assembly and the other parties which had formed a coalition. The Governor called upon the League Party to form a Ministry. In the Punjab, the Muslim League had a majority in Assembly but not an absolute majority. The Congress, the Akalis and the Unionists have a majority now that they have combined. The Akalis are willing to form a coalition Ministry in combination either with the League or the Congress. The Pakistan issue bars the way to a Muslim Akali Coalition. The Akalis will not have Pakistan unless it is accompanied with the gift of Sikhistan to them carved out of the Punjab. They were ready to coalesce with the Congress if Congress would recognise them as the sole representative of the Sikh community. This is exactly what Mr. Jinnah wants for the League. But there are nationalist Sikhs in the Congress as there are nationalist Muslims and it will not do for the Congress to throw them overboard in order to take in the Muslim Leaguers and the Akalis. Furthermore, the Akalis are a militant Sect further removed from the Hindus than the general body of Sikhs who intermarry and are socially in the same relation to Hindus as the Jains in Bombay.

Punjab Coalition:—The Congress, the Akalis and the Unionists have agreed to form a Coalition Government in the Punjab leaving

the Muslim League which has the largest number of members in the Assembly to function as the Opposition. The leader of the Unionist Party which is the smallest of the three coalitionists, Malik Sir Khizr Hayat Khan, will be the leader of the Coalition Party and Prime Minister in the Ministry now the Governor has called upon him to form a Cabinet. We are unable to hail this as a great achievement. The Coalition is a coalition of convenience; not of principle. To begin with neither the Unionists nor the Akalis are pledged to non-violence, and the Congress, the largest factor in the Coalition, is. This can be passed by as immaterial only if we believe that the Congress creed is meant only for show. Someone has said that the agile politician thinks only of today, the statesman thinks of tomorrow and the days after. The discomfiture of the Muslim League at the very heart of the territory demanded for Pakistan is more apparent than real. It may, indeed, be the consolidation of the Muslim League Party now rather closely knit together on this issue. The Unionists have expressed themselves as favouring Pakistan, only for reasons of expediency they do not for the present favour it for their own province. There is, of course, the possibility that the Unionists may, as the result of their experience in the Coalition, be weaned away from the separatist idea and come to realise that they can get more for Muslims with the help of the other two parties than in antagonism to them. Sir Khizr Hayat Khan is regarded even by Nationalist Muslims as a pliant tool in the hands of the Governor of the Punjab. We should have formed higher hopes of the Coalition if a programme of its main aims and objects had been laid before the public. At present, its only purpose seems to be to demonstrate that the Muslim League is unable to form a Government in the Punjab though it has a respectable majority of members in the Assembly. The Cabinet Deligation, it goes without saying, cannot overlook the fact that in four out of the five provinces claimed for Pakistan, the electorates have favoured a non-

Muslim Ministry. Mr. Jinnah has said that Ministry-forming is of no account but being unable to form a Ministry even with a majority of Assembly Members, does not count either. The League has lost the game, and it is as well to face the fact for whatsoever it is worth.

W. A. C. Disclosures:—Mr. Philip Mason on behalf of the War Department of the Government of India, submitted a written statement to the Indian Legislative Assembly on the serious complaints about the treatment of the Indian women of the Auxiliary Force. His first defence is to question the genuineness of the statement of the 100 women who signed it before the Editor of *Blitz* and two impartial witnesses as expressly mentioned in the journal. What motive can these three gentlemen have to concoct a statement of this kind, Mr. Mason did not explain. If the allegations are false he should have said so. On the other hand, there is nothing in his statement which unequivocally disproves the statements in that document which we published last week, a fortnight after it was published by *Blitz*. Mr. Mason said that the reason why Europeans and Anglo-Indians were given the superior posts, is that they were accustomed to work for a living while Indian girls were new in that line. Is it Mr. Mason's experience that people who are obliged to work for their daily bread are better qualified to conduct organisations than people who for the love of a great cause engage honorarily in building up and directing great organisations from motives of public spirit and a sense of public duty? If so, his experience must be unique. Indian women have and are working in innumerable societies and associations without remuneration because they feel it their duty to do so for their country and their people. We suggest to Mr. Mason that such people would have managed the Auxiliaries on different lines from the imported titled nomenclatures who had not the slightest conception of Indian sentiment and susceptibilities. We do not wish to judge whether the Indian sentiment of purity is better or inferior to the English sentiment, but they are different and we are not prepared to say that their sentiments merit less respect than the English ones. We can see no earthly reason why a Countess should have been made the head of the Corps, except as a piece of British snobbery. Then, Mr. Mason recites certain rules and regulations. But the point is whether and how far these rules and regulations were enforced. There are rules and regulations for prisons. But we know that, notwithstanding them, treatment of prisoners,

especially political prisoners, in jails have been matters of grave complaint. The refusal to order an enquiry into the charges publicly made on the ground of waste of time, carries its own moral. So many enquiries have been instituted with little expectation of profitable results that one more might not have mattered. It would have served a useful purpose by exposing the actual working of the organisation. The experiment was new and it was in the interest of the Government to make it a success. It is also not improbable that some of the complaints are the result of personal disappointments. But there can be no doubt that there has been palpable negligence somewhere of the duties which the organisation of Women Auxiliaries must perform. The communities which have suffered least, are those which have observed caste and purdah while those which had emancipated themselves from these have fared worst. Social reform has been put back by fifty years. If Mr. Mason does not know that few Indian women will come forward to testify to their own degradation even in circumstances of grave injury, he has evidently lived all the years of his service in this country in a paradise of his own fancy. His statement but adds insult to injury.

Celebrating What?:—His Excellency the Viceroy inaugurated what is called a Victory Celebration at New Delhi on Monday. It is several months since the Germans and the Japanese surrendered. What actually we are now in, is a Food famine. The celebration may therefore, be more appropriately be called a Food Famine Celebration than a Victory Celebration. Japan surrendered to the Atom Bomb and the celebration may, therefore, be also called the celebration of the Atom Bomb. President Truman pleaded that he was obliged to permit the use of the Atom Bomb because otherwise the prolongation of War would have cost a million American lives. India's effort in the war against Germany was motivated, according to Lord Wavell, by the desire to repulse the overweening attempt of Germany to dominate the world. To be quite honest, Germany was and is not the only nation to entertain such a desire. Leadership of the world, not domination, might be the aim of other nations but, so far as India is concerned, the difference between the two is not important. Of Japan His Excellency said, India would have suffered invasion and domination by a ruthless and predatory nation. We are not aware that Japan had at any time wanted to invade India before the War broke out. We think that Japanese statesmen looked out rather to Australia where a vast continent is star-

ving for population as a most suitable field for expansion. The War might be said without exaggeration to have been fought to maintain South Africa, Australia, Canada, as the White Man's preserve by the Indian soldiers whose cenotaph His Excellency unveiled. Indian troops are employed to uphold the Dominions in their anti-Indian policy. Indians are often blamed for not being realists; but here are some realities which are overlooked by representatives of British Power. If the dead were alive and heard the Viceroy's eulogy, would they have recognised it as a true diagnosis of their motives? The whole ceremonial seems to us to be ill-timed and unreal. The world has during the past century discarded much religious ceremonial, only it seems to be burdened with a number of political ceremonies. Tombs of saints are no longer venerated. Memorials of fallen soldiers have taken their place. Whether the change is for the better or worse, Time will judge.

Why South African Union?—In the paragraph printed elsewhere from the *Worldover Press*, the South African Union is bracketed with Soviet Russia and Switzerland as examples of multinational States which, Oscar Janowsky in his book "Nationalities and Minorities" commends as the most satisfactory solution of the problem of Minorities. In the Soviet Union as in Switzerland all the nationals, majorities and minorities, are absolutely equal whereas in the South African Union, while the British and Boers have equal status as citizens, the native Africans who are the vast majority and Indians have no political status at all. None of the British Dominions are multi-National States because they discriminate between white and coloured people domiciled in them. The inclusion of South African Union where the coloured people—the great majority of the population—is in a position of servitude, among multinational states as protecting minorities, is evidently a mistake.

More A.I.R. Stations for Bombay:—The glaring injustice in maintaining only one broadcasting station with nearly 46,000 licence holding listeners in Bombay, was brought out in an article in the current issue of the brightly got up *Radio Times*. We endorse the writer's plea for more stations and transmitters for Bombay. At least three more transmitter stations should be established, one in Hubli, to cater for the Kanarese speaking public and another in Poona, the centre of Maratha culture, and a third in Ahmedabad, the capital of Gujarat. Bombay Government and the public should press their claim in the A. I. R. planning in the immediate future.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOBBAY, March 9, 1946.

The Making of The Indian Constitution

One of the objects of the Cabinet delegation which is due in India in a few days, is to institute a constitution-making body of representative Indians. The existing parties, political and communal, will necessarily furnish the largest number of its members. It is, therefore, probable that the new constitution, if not, in every detail, in its main features, and in its mode of functioning, will closely follow the constitution which has grown up in the parties themselves. The Indian National Congress is the largest and most important of our political parties. The Muslim League which is the next in importance, is largely framed on the main lines of the Congress. And so are all the other parties, the Hindu Mahasabha, the All-Indian Christian Conference, the All-India Women's Conference and other similar bodies. Every adult without distinction of sex, caste, creed or race can on paying four annas be enrolled as a primary member of the Congress party. These elect local committees, village, taluk and district, which last elect Provincial Congress Committees. Congress provinces, it should be mentioned, are constituted on the basis of language. The Capital town of each Governor's Province has each a Congress committee for itself. The Provincial Committees elect the All-India Congress Committee which elects a Working Committee, which is the Cabinet of the President for the current session. He is elected on the nomination of the Provincial Committees, the man who gets the largest number of votes of the Session. The method of electing the Working Committee, his Cabinet, was the subject of controversy at the Tripura Conference at which Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose presided. Mr. Bose maintained that it was the right of the President to select the members of the Working Committee but he was overruled and a Working Committee was elected which was virtually hostile to him. This was the incident which led to his leaving the Congress. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose was elevated President against the expressed will of Gandhiji. As a rule, however, the President is a nominee of the Congress High Command and so belongs to the same school of thought as the members. The President is the official head of the Congress but behind and above him is Gandhiji who is not even a four anna member for some years past but whose advice is often sought and seldom disregarded. The nearest analogy to his position in relation to the Congress is the institution of "Elder Statesman" in the now defunct Japanese Constitution. The Congress has of late

shown a disposition to exercise its judgment on Gandhiji's suggestions and in one or two cases has rejected it. There is a distinct cleavage in that body if not on the principle, at least on the interpretation, of the creed of Non-Violence. The Constitution of the Muslim League differs from that of the Congress in some ways. There is, so far as is known, no qualification or even a register of membership. All Muslims are its members, except those who have shown by overt acts that they do not belong to the League. But as all Muslims, Leaguers and non-Leaguers, must vote as Muslims and not in any other way, nor stand for election except in Muslim Constituencies, there is practically a statutory constraint on all Muslims to become members of the League. The Presidentship of the League although formally elected every year, is virtually for life. Mr. Jinnah has been elected for nearly ten years past. The Muslim League President elects his own Cabinet. There are no district committees and the Provincial Committees are based on administrative divisions. Although Muslims in most parts of India speak the provincial Indian language, the League recognises only Urdu as the National language of the Muslims. Both Congress and the League use English in all serious discussions.

The Congress and Muslim League have both adopted an important device to counteract the disruptive influence of the Government of India Act of 1935. This is the Parliamentary Board which has to approve of the candidates put up for election to the Legislatures in all provinces and presumably to control the policy to be adopted in relation not only to policy but also to measures which come before these bodies.

The Congress Constitution which is the pattern generally followed by other organisations, as outlined above, is a growth of sixty years and should be regarded as one which represents the natural aptitudes of the people and their social environment. It is more on the lines of the Constitution drafted by Dr. Besant and the Electoral College scheme of Lord Morley than of the statutory Legislatures created by Parliament for India. Adult suffrage and indirect election leading to a highly centralised authority at the apex, are its main features. A virtually irremovable Executive under a head who also tends to exercise power during his life-time, are other features worthy of notice. These are in striking contrast to the schemes which have been foreshadowed in resolutions. The scheme for the Central Government envisaged in Congress resolutions is one with powers strictly defined with residuary powers left to the Provinces.

The Muslim League does not want a Central Government at all. History and geographical, economic and strategic conditions clearly and emphatically establish that the country flourished whenever it had a strong unitary Government and decayed when the Centre was weak and unable to control its provinces. Nearly all historians concur with the conclusion drawn by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in his "Ancient India" published thirty-five years ago, namely, that there was peace, prosperity and progress, whenever great empires flourished in India and that whenever Imperial unity was wanting the anarchical elements invaded and asserted themselves. Professor Aiyangar asserts that disintegration and decay followed when the attempt to build up a permanent empire which, he says, was the dominant feature of the history of Ancient India, was relaxed or abandoned. The problem of India today is the same as in the past, namely, how to reconcile the principle of local autonomy with imperial unity. Indian constitutional ideas have so far been dominated by the imperative need of counteracting the authority of an alien bureaucracy. When this need no longer exists, it will be free to evolve on the lines dictated by the history and physical and economic conditions of Indian society. These point to a strong government at the Centre with ample autonomy to the provinces by devolution.

THAT VEXED QUESTION OF DIVORCE.

By KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI.

"In America," says the *Forum*, the smart nationalist Weekly Magazine of Bombay; in its woman's column of February 10, "cruelty can be stretched to anything from the length of the husband's nose to the breadth of his shoe laces. Incompatibility could be established in a hundred and one ways and the marriage vows waived. Here in India those methods are not yet known. Until death do us part is true to the very letter in the case of Indian wives and, therefore, sky-scrapers and kerosene stoves prove more handy than seeking shady refuge in any sort of law."

The occasion for this gruesome but truthful reflection which errs only in omitting to mention wells and tanks also among the favourite refuges of distressed Indian wives, was the unsuccessful attempt of an Iranian Parsi wife, named Robaba Khanum, to save herself through the shady alternative of the law in the Bombay High Court. She had qualified herself for this attempt by the now fairly well-known Bengal method of conversion to Islam which has hitherto been invariably upheld by a long course of single-

judge decisions of the Calcutta High Court (barring the recanting judgment of Justice Lodge in a Jewish lady's case in August last) as entitling the convert, under the Islamic law enforceable in British India, to a decree of dissolution of her prior marriage if her non-Islamic husband refused to adopt his spouse's new religion, as he invariably does in such cases (vide, *The Reformer* of the 8th August 1942 and 17th March 1945).

In Bombay too, the case was heard and decided by a single judge, Mr. Justice Flagden, who, however, refused to disentangle the unhappy lady from her intolerable marriage tie on the ground, it seems, that marriages validly celebrated must be "judicially dissoluble" and that the petitioner before him had no cause of action. In the course of his judgment, his Lordship was pleased also to make the following frequent observations to justify his refusal :

'A damsel in distress' has always been considered a proper object for the attention and activities of a Knight-errant, but hardly I should have thought, for those of a judge as such. If the latter attempts to go out of his way to her rescue, 'errant' is apt to be the operative used. A judge as such is ill-qualified for an itinerant career of rescuing distressed damsels. He, for example, has no horse to ride, but the of public policy which is notoriously and judicially, recognised to be an unruly one. He should consequently be very much on his guard against allowing hard cases to make bad law. ... For my own part I cannot but feel that the equestrian adventures of John Gilpin would be a quiet canter round a maidan compared with mine, if I were to mount the unruly horse and ride it in the direction in which I am asked by the Plaintiff to ride it.

As far as the particular case before me is concerned, to refuse the Plaintiff relief serves, in my opinion, no useful purpose. But to grant it means to give the approval of this court to a doctrine under which the matrimonial rights of Christians and Parsis are largely abrogated by a change of faith on the part of their spouses and innocent Hindu wives could be consigned to the limbo (quite unknown to the ideas of their community) in which to use a popular expression, they would be neither fish, nor fowls, nor good red herring. To such a doctrine, I am not compelled to subscribe and without compulsion I am not prepared to do so.

The soundness or otherwise of this attitude can be usefully pronounced upon only by a Full Bench of some High Court in India, if a defeated wife has the means and the grit to struggle further. The husband never contests her claim in the lower court nor appeals to a higher tribunal even if the dissolution is granted. What is more tantalising in the above judgment however is the apparently

sympathetic reference at the end to his fear of "innocent Hindu wives" being consigned to some undesirable limbo. It shows that his Lordship was at pains to take a broad and long view and to visualise to himself not only the hardship which a judicial endorsement on his part of the Plaintiff's claim might cause to Parsi and Christian husbands by abrogating their matrimonial rights but also the incalculable harm it might do to the lives of innocent Hindu wives by encouraging their Hindu husbands to adopt Islam in order to get rid of them and contract a new marriage. With due deference to the learned judge, however, and with every sincere desire to understand him aright and appreciate his earnest ratiocination, one cannot help feeling, in the absence of a full report, that this seemingly kind and wise concern for the future fate of Hindu wives in the present context is rather obscure and puzzling.

His Lordship cannot but be aware from his vast knowledge and experience as an Indian judge that no man professing the Hindu religion has any need under the law to set up any religious or moral pretext or to ask leave of any court to desert his wife any time and marry another. It is only an innocent and deserted or oppressed Hindu wife whose marital bondage has been made intolerable by the husband and is remedyless under the Hindu law, that may sometimes be tempted to clutch at the sharp sword of Islamic law as her only saviour in life. We wonder if his Lordship has thought of the harm he was surely doing to such despairing innocents by refusing to recognise the equity and justice of the Plaintiff's plea in the case before him, if he really meant to befriend innocent Hindu wives as well as Christian and Parsi husbands at one stroke. As for Christian and Parsi wives, whatever may be said about the greater safety of the latter under the Parsi Marriage Act, more than one decision of a High Court has established that the Indian Christian Marriage Act afforded no protection to the Christian wife against her husband's apostasy and remarriage in a polygamous community without leave of a Divorce Court. (Vide '*The Reformer*' of 11th October 1930) The only effect of the learned judge's conscientious horror of his imagined judicial knight-errantry and John Gilpin like equestrian adventure, so far as a distressed Hindu wife is concerned, is to block her way to the Islamic path of safety and drive her to seek relief from her never-failing traditional friends, the burning Kerosene stove or the cold waters of a well or tank or the giddy heights of a sky-scraper, although she is "neither fish nor fowl nor red-herring."

Gandhism Reconsidered :

[By M. N. DANTWALA; Padma Publications; Bombay; pages 64; Price Re. 1.]

The Gandhian literature is increasing, and quite a big philosophy of life is made out of his writings and utterances. Some time ago there appeared a book entitled "The Mind Of Mahatma Gandhi", compiled by R. K. Prabhu and U. R. Rao, with a foreword by Sir S. Radhakrishnan. I consider that book to be of considerable value: there we make a near approach to the mind of Mahatma Gandhi through his own writings. Slightly changing the words of Loius Fischer we see how the great mind works. This cannot be said about this book written by Prof. M. L. Dantwala.

The book under review represents the efforts made by Prof. Dantwala to understand Gandhism in the light of present conditions, especially economic conditions. In his own words, "It may be admitted that doubts and disillusionment about the hundred per cent scientific validity of orthodox Marxism are responsible for a frame of mind which compels a reconsideration of Gandhism." It is true that now in this advancing world of economic exploitation we have to view every thing in the light of the economic advantage that it gives to millions of mouths to keep them away from starvation. But in the case of Gandhiji and all that he stands for, it will be apt to study him because of the great power of healing that he has incorporated in his philosophy, which is a complete philosophy both for the body and for the mind.

In the course of sixty-four pages Prof. Dantwala tries to study Gandhism under five heads. His opposition to capitalism, his opposition to the use of machinery, neglect of sources of exploitation other than the machine, trusteeship, and a non-violent society and its economic structure, these are the things that attract his attention. Gandhiji's disinclination, almost amounting to hatred, to use the machine is quite intelligently treated. But it may be pointed out that Gandhiji is not merely sentimental when he indicates his hatred for the machine. There are enough reasons for his attitude: the machine does not allow man his creative activity: it does not leave him a free agent, or an artist to develop his taste or inclination. Then take into consideration these words of Mahatma Gandhi: "Most religious men I have met are politicians in disguise; I, however, who wear the guise of a politician, am at heart a religious man." If these words are true (Who can doubt Gandhiji's sincerity?)

certainly one need not take pains to discuss Gandhiji's hatred for the machine. Essentially he is for freedom: the machine must go, or, it must be controlled to leave man free, not a slave to machines. So if it is not realised that he is cent percent for freedom no consideration or reconsideration of Mahatmaji can be complete.

B. S. Mathur.

THIS IS YOUR WORLD

Interpreted by DEVERE ALLEN —

IF ANYBODY OWES YOU a couple of dollars, you'd better collect it now. Or if you want to marry someone, dispose of an enemy, read a classic, see the Grand Canyon, write a play, you'd better hurry. Unless, that is, you are willing to get together with other people, make the necessary sacrifices of time, funds, and ancient prejudices, and help abolish war.

NOT ORIGINAL with the writer is this idea. It is what I have heard from two of America's foremost nuclear scientists, whose research had a lot to do with development of the atomic bomb, and who know a lot about it, even though they did not work on it directly. They are not sworn to secrecy. Each is high in his field; each holds an important post in a great university. Both participated in work highly regarded in wartime Washington. Neither is an alarmist, keeping aloof, instead, from those fellow-scientists who have predicted horrors such as chain reactions that might explode the world or radioactivity that might make redheads out of all the blondes.

SLEEPING BADLY since Hiroshima, they have been harassed less by remorse over the use of the bomb thus far, than their inability to make laymen, especially military men, comprehend the doom that hangs over humanity unless people everywhere can be aroused. They sputter furiously at politicians who fancy that the United States can be kept secure by superior atom bomb preparedness. They believe that warships, compulsory military training, present uses of armies, are already as obsolete as the dodo, and that even military aviation soon will be.

NO EXAGGERATION is all this. You do not have to agree. Sceptical, I came away sobered, shaken. One of the experts had drawn a detailed diagram of an atomic bomb, saying, "This may be like one of those used on Japan." A less cautious associate whispered, "That actually is the Nagasaki bomb."

It was alarming because so simple. No wonder these men grow warm around the atoms when they hear someone objecting to the Truman-Attlee programme of conditionally sharing the "secret"! The big job is securing, separating, and purifying the uranium so that every bit is uniform. Even that, the two men insisted, could be done in big countries in two to four years and before long almost anywhere.

ENGLAND TURNED GLACIAL? That is what the second expert, an eastern nuclear specialist, sees as a distinct possibility if one of the tests at sea should get out of control. Britain and western Europe have the latitude of Labrador. If the Gulf Stream were diverted from its course, the British Isles would become centres for an Eskimo civilization. If calculations went wrong in a Pacific test, California, Oregon and Washington could quite possibly be converted into frigid areas pleasanter for seals than humans. This expert was angry at the idea of having tests at all. "No more bombs should be made or used for any purpose," he declared.

WIPING OUT NEW YORK, said this famous physicist, would be easy when the "know-how" gets around. "All you would have to do would be to cook up a small bomb, drop it into the ocean off Manhattan, and six feet of water would sweep across the highest point of that island, cutting off power and drowning everybody in the subways. We have been figuring equations here in the lab, on the basis of how much energy it takes to move a certain amount of water. With one of the biggest bombs we have the knowledge to make right now, we believe a tidal wave 150 feet high could be created."

STILL EASIER! "Look," he exclaimed, sensing a certain doubt. "It will become all too easy, if we go on manufacturing the things. A warped or nationalistic mind could make it simple. You check in at a hotel in a big metropolis. You have a suitcase. You put it in the closet. You check out and hop on a train. Ten hours later...boom!" He dropped his crayon, and when it hit the floor I jumped. "All right," I conceded, "I'm afraid. But will it do any good to scare people?"

FEAR USELESS. "Fear is always useless," he said, "unless it leads to constructive action. We've got to take atomic techniques and atomic machinery out of military hands and turn them over to scientific experts under the United Nations Organization for peaceful uses. This will eventually mean going

further than the Moscow agreement. We've got to make the world organization a really good one. We've got to quit thinking about punishing warlike acts, and think more about their prevention. We've just got to stop wars altogether. And everybody will have to start working at that job." These frightened men of science think we'd better hasten.
Worldover Press.

Multinational State and the Minorities Problem.

One by one the countries of eastern and south-eastern Europe are undertaking elections democratic by their previous standards, but the destiny of that region is almost as obscure as ever. The movement toward confederation...even a loose bloc for purposes of trade...has been forestalled by the U.S.S.R. Resurgent nationalism has here and there resorted to such cruel, if understandable, measures as the mass expulsion of minorities. But the problem of minorities in eastern and south-eastern Europe is too vast and ingrained to give way to homogeneous national states like those in western Europe. Of the 100,000,000 people living there in 1939, 20,000,000 belonged to minorities!

The only answer, argues OSCAR JANOWSKY, in **Nationalities and National Minorities** (Macmillan, \$ 2.75), is a multi-national federalism within each country, borrowing from the federalisms of Switzerland, Soviet Russia and the Union of South Africa. Professor Janowsky's thorough—and hopeful—study raises an absorbing question at the moment: now that the countries of eastern and south-eastern Europe, with hardly an exception, have been conceded to the Russian sphere of influence, will Russia encourage in these satellites the same successful answer that she herself has found to the complex of nationalities and races within her borders?

Five thousand national soviets exist within Russia, decentralized in education and culture, enjoying considerable autonomy. According to Marxist theory, all nationalism will wither away ultimately under socialism, but Russia has abandoned all attempts to make a culturally homogeneous people and is rather strengthening the group consciousness of her diverse peoples. Will the great war-breeding "middle ground" of Europe voluntarily copy from Russia, Switzerland and South Africa, the tolerant federalism of several peoples within one state which alone can ease the old, precarious tensions?

Worldover Press.

HAVAN YAGYA FOR RAINS.

SIR,

Learned people and experts of Havan Yagya say that when there are no rains, Havan Yagyas should be performed on large scales to purify the atmosphere, and our ancient culture also supports this fact. Bawa Parduman Singh Charitable Trust, Amritsar has performed Havan Yagyas for rains on large scales at a cost of several thousand rupees. In addition to this more than five hundred 'Varsha Yagyas' have been performed by the public during the last few days in the villages, towns and cities of the Punjab, in the states, from Peshwar to Simla in U.P.—Hardwar, Rehkikesh, Dehra Dun and in the Delhi Province. As a result of these Yagyas rains have come down at many places, but still there have been no rains at many of the places. Under these circumstances we should perform 'Varsha Yagyas' on large scales at every village, town and city in each mohalla, street at neat and clean places on 2nd March, the sacred day of Shivratri Festival continuously from 7.30 A.M. to 6 P.M. Karir wood (Capir) should be burnt like 'HOLI' or 'LOHRI' festivals in as much quantity as may be available from 25 maunds to 100 maunds at each place, this wood may be burnt alongwith branches and roots. If fresh fruits of 'Karir' can be available then Ahutis of the same should be put in place of Samagri. In case Karir fruits be not available then only 'recitation of Gayatri Mantras' should be done without break burning Karir wood in good quantity. Almighty will shower His kindness and the rains which are not coming down as an affect of the Atom Bomb etc. will come down removing the danger of famine and securing life of humans and animals. I earnestly appeal to everybody to perform Varsha Yagyas and to induce others to do same, on the 2nd March.

Bawa Gurmukh Singh,
Amritsar.

23rd February 46.

WHY HANG AT ALL?

SIR,

John Amery hanged! Lord Haw-Haw hanged! Thousands others hanged! I shuddered as I lay in my cosy warm bed in middle of the night, and pondered over it for hours when my eyes closed through exhaustion. What good has the hanging

done to mankind? Who invented it? Was it in sequence to the saying in the Holy Bible—"Tooth for tooth and eye for eye?" If so, what relief has it brought to the Universe?

In some lands—hanging is not known, if known, at least not practised, yet people there murder one another and commit all sorts of atrocities. In our land and others where hanging is practised, murders are still committed. What difference can we account between the two? Strictly speaking, it has become easier for the murderer or tormentor of the flesh—it makes short work of him, that is why a murderer is least afraid of it. "What worse can you do than hang me," says a murderer. A quick finish and no sufferings for him. Instead of dying a natural death, he dies unnatural. No after-repentence, no sorrows and no chance of living an honourable life again—finished and gone!

On the contrary, if he were made to suffer, as he made others to suffer, if he were tormented and humiliated, as he tormented and humiliated others, if he were made to starve and live in tatters, as he made others to starve and live in tatters, if he were made to toil and sweat, as he made others to toil and sweat, then he would have felt the agony of his evil actions.

Why are millions of men and women afraid of hell? Is it because they wish to live in the presence of their Creator? No, it is because of the eternal weeping and gnashing of teeth—it is that fear that makes many strive to walk on the path of righteousness, not that they wish to live in Paradise hereafter. Similarly, if the murderers were to know that there will be nothing but tears, toil, sweat and physical tortures and sufferings for the rest of life, then alone they would have thought twice before committing any evil. If Hitler's gang were to know that once they lose the war, captured and tried, their end would not be quick either by hanging or facing a firing squad, instead of life-long suffering and humiliation, they would have never been so beastly and inhuman in their actions. It was only the thought of quick end that made them mad with lust, debauchery and thirsty of blood. Why not make them suffer, and from their sufferings, let the world benefit?

Seth Howard.

'Iqbal Manzil' }
Civil Lines, }
Sitapur.

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

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*

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NOTES

Indians in South Africa:—Half a century of strenuous agitation such as India had not exerted in the cause of Indians in any other part of the British confederacy has not only not achieved results favourable to them but has actually made the situation worse for them in South Africa. It is useless to discuss now whether that agitation in South Africa and India was in all its phases rightly or wisely conceived. It is doubtful if any different method would have yielded better results. Englishmen who in India and many of the colonies, have outlived much of the race-and-colour prejudice, have in South Africa succumbed completely to the fanatical Boer prejudice against Asiatics, and are supporting the anti-Indian policy of the Boers. This is the more remarkable as the British indictment against Hitlerism was its overrunning prejudice against Jews as a race. Under their very nose, racial persecution more insidious and, therefore, more dangerous, is being pursued in South Africa under the imperial sanction by a statesman who has been honoured in various ways by the British Sovereign and the Government. This prejudice is about to be embodied in a Statute. It prohibits the purchase of land and residence of Indians except in specified areas but offers them a bogus representation in Parliament through White men hired to speak on their behalf. A deputation of Indian leaders has come to India and waited on the Viceroy a few days ago. His Highness the Aga Khan led the deputation. Two ex-Agents-General of the Government of India in South Africa, Sir Maharaja Singh and Sir

Syed Raza Ali, were among its members. Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, Congress Party leader in the Indian Legislative Assembly, was also a member. Mr. Jinnah who it was stated, would join it, did not do so. What passed at the interview has not been published. But it seems that the Viceroy did not see his way to accept the Deputation's suggestion to recall the Indian High Commissioner immediately. The Member for Commonwealth Relations in the Government of India, has announced that the Trade Treaty between South Africa and India is to be revoked. The British Government last year bought gold from South Africa and sold it to India at a profit which it shared with South Africa. The British Government may do the same with any other commodity imported from South Africa. The denunciation of the Trade Treaty, Mr. Khare thought, will have a psychological effect but prejudice has no psychological basis. The Government of India can not apply the only means which would impress General Smuts—armed force. General Smuts fought the British but, when he was defeated, he joined them and became the worst Imperialist in the Commonwealth. That is his mentality. He is unlikely to appreciate Non-violence as a political method, though as a philosopher he may sing its praise. We doubt if he does this even. The only thing Indian leaders could have done, was to tell Great Britain that India cannot be within the Commonwealth if the colour bar was not given up by South Africa and the other Dominions. Even that might not have induced them to give up their colour prejudices. But that is no good now as our leaders in their wisdom have declared that India must sever her connection with the Commonwealth.

Food and Politics:—On Wednesday night the All India Radio announced that the Congress Working Committee which is in session in Bombay, had decided not to send its representatives to the Committee which Lord Wavell proposed to appoint to

deal with the Food situation. This was repeated with some amplification as to the reasons for the decision in the British broadcast of news which followed. It has since stated that the Working Committee has appointed a Sub-Committee to draft a resolution on the subject. This resolution which was issued on Friday, is before us as we write. But it would seem that the Working Committee does not wholly approve of the exclusion of political considerations in dealing with the Food question, which the Viceroy invited and which Gandhiji and Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, President of the Congress, endorsed. The Congress Working Committee evidently feels some difficulty in divorcing politics from its approach to the Food question. This is intelligible. At bottom politics is the problem of providing the population with adequate and nutritious food for body and soul and if it is excluded in solving it, it ceases to have any place whatever as a sphere of useful activity. The Food situation is essentially a part of the generally unsatisfactory economic and moral situation following the War for which India was not responsible. The British Government alone is responsible for the War, which, Mr. Winston Churchill in his Fulton speech declared, was avoidable and should have been avoided, and that Government should pull its own chestnuts out of the fire. If it cannot do so, it means that it has ceased to function as a Government in India. It should stand aside, and leave the country to manage its affairs as best as it can. The British Government has been in the habit too long of creating situations in India and calling on Indian leaders to clear up the mess which it has made, in a spirit of self-absolution. The Congress President is too much of a novice in British Indian politics to realise the implications of, for instance, his denunciation of the act of a few students throwing stones at the Governor's car in Lahore recently, as having done irreparable harm to the country's cause! Even as regards the case of the Delhi disturbances on Victory Celebration day, if he felt called upon to express his views on it, he would have pointed out that the Celebration itself was a provocation at a time when the country was facing a dire famine and sending round emissaries to beg the world for alms to save her people from death by starvation. Even otherwise, it is stupid to celebrate a Victory when the third War is round the corner.

Pay of Primary School Teachers:—The strike of postal employees which had been announced to begin on March 11, has been called off as the Government of India had conceded some of their demands and

appointed an Arbitrator, Mr. Justice Rajyadyaksha, of the Bombay High Court, to go into the others and make his recommendations. The threat of a strike on the part of employees of the Conservancy department will compel instant action. But the scandal of the lot of teachers in Primary schools does not impinge physically on the authorities, and these members of a liberal profession have been obliged to go on strike to make the authorities realise that they have any grievance at all. Yet the whole edifice of education rests on the work of these teachers. A minimum pay, Rs. 50 a month, will be just sufficient to enable primary teachers in Bombay, most of whom are men with families, to make both ends meet. The excess expenditure involved in raising their pay, must be treated as urgent as war expenditure. The many schemes of post-war rehabilitation will prove utterly futile if they were not sustained by a general diffusion of education at all stages, and especially at the elementary stage which is the foundation. Mr. B. G. Kher, speaking at Surat some days ago, said that the next Congress Government will revolutionise education. Raising salaries of primary teachers may not be anything revolutionary. But we are sure that measures adopted by the present Government to remove the scandal of the miserable lot of teachers in elementary schools, will accord with the policy and programme of the next Congress Government of Bombay.

Muslim League Inconsistency:—Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary of the Muslim League, declared when the utter rout of his party in the North West Frontier province and Assam elections became known, that the Muslim League was not after ministry-making. Yet when the Governor of Punjab calls upon the leader of the Coalition Party consisting of Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus to form a Ministry, the Nawabzada tears his hair and beats his breast at the inequity of His Excellency adopting the only course open to him as responsible for the well being of all classes of the Punjab population. If the Muslim League had been able to get Hindu and Sikh members to join it on just sufficient numbers to outweigh the Coalition opposition, the Governor would have naturally asked the League Leaders to form a Ministry. But this the League was unable to get. Not only Sikhs and Hindus but even quite an appreciable section of Muslims have no confidence in the persons and policies of the League. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's reply to the Muslim League protests, is weak and apologetic. The right answer is that the Congress represents the nation and not any particular community and in forming the coalition it has merely given effect to its declared policy. The coalition has a working majority in the Legislature and it was its duty to take office, refusal to do which would mean political cowardice. Instead, the Maulana admits that in a Muslim majority province the Muslim League is entitled to form a Government and implies that he is negotiating for the League to join the Ministry. If a Muslim can without constitutional or other impropriety be the head of the Congress which has an overwhelming majority of non-Muslim members, why is it improper for a Coalition of minorities and Muslims who do not want Pakistan in the Punjab, when they have a working majority in the Legislature, to assume responsibility for the Government of the province?

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BOMBAY, March 16, 1946.

The Hindu Mahasabha and the Elections.

Candidates put forward by the Hindu Mahasabha in the elections to the Indian Legislative Assembly, were defeated by large majorities by Congress nominees and, in a few cases, Independents. In several cases the Mahasabha candidates did not get even the minimum proportion of votes necessary to save the deposit which every candidate is required to make at nomination. Dr. Shyamprasad Mukherji, until lately President of the Hindu Mahasabha, has been elected without contest for the Calcutta University constituency. But Dr. Mukherji has many claims to public recognition other than his Presidentship of the Hindu Mahasabha and it would have been a grave scandal if a man of his many-sided eminence and dauntless public spirit had been denied, when he sought it, a platform in any sphere of Indian public life. There are few men of our day who enjoy the confidence of the people of every part of the country to the same degree as Dr. Shyamprasad Mukherjee. It is well-known besides, that his views differ widely from those of Mr. V. D. Savarkar and others of the Mahasabha and that he is not in sympathy with the narrow sentiments which have led them to attack the National Congress and its leaders. His position in politics is largely that of the Congress except that he does not, like some leading Congressmen, think it necessarily right deliberately to sacrifice Hindu interests in hopes—vain as they are bound and have proved to be—of allaying fears and suspicions, often feigned, of other sections of the population. One who agrees to injustice for fear that he may be accused of being partial to his own section, is guilty of moral cowardice by whatever high-sounding formula he may try to conceal the fact. That Dr. Mukherjee has the highest form of moral courage, is patent from the fact that he has not, to win the favour of Congress leaders, refrained from protesting against deliberate attempts to minimise the legitimate interests of Hindus in endeavours to patch up artificial unity devoid of equality. Dr. Mukherjee's uncontested election by the Calcutta University, does not, therefore mean a victory for the Hindu Mahasabha. It is a high tribute to his personal and public eminence.

Neither does the rout of the Hindu Mahasabha candidates at the elections, mean that Hinduism has lost ground among Hindus. At no time was Hindu interest in religion so intense, intelligent and widespread as it is now. In the last one hundred and fifty years synchronising with the British regime, Hinduism has shed many of the protective coverings which it had wrapped round itself during the previous centuries. As a result, the Hinduism of today is free from most

of the encumbrances which hampered its freedom. At all time, two phases were distinguishable in Hinduism—the Varnashrama or social phase, which varied and was variable from time to time, and the *sanatana* or eternal verities. The use of the word *Sanatana dharma* for orthodox Hinduism is a palpable misnomer. The *Varnashrama* aspect, consisting of caste and sex differentiation, has largely waned. The *sanatana* aspect, the universal aspect, of Hinduism has steadily pushed its way to the front. The latter-day leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha represented neither the Varnashrama nor the *sanatana dharma*. They were Hindus merely in opposition to Muslims. They professed to draw their inspiration from Maharatta history. But to the great founder of the Maharatta Empire Hinduism or *Hindutva* meant protection of all religious communities, antagonism to none. This is the ancient Hindu tradition and Shivaji was its faithful exponent. Hindus today have no fear that Hinduism may be lost or destroyed at the polls. They have sufficient political insight to perceive that a constitution which does not honestly and accurately reflect the forces at work in the country, will die of insanitation. It will have no moral authority and, when a thing ceases to have moral authority, it will soon cease to have enough physical force to command obedience. This we see all round us today. Hinduism today seeks world contacts. The Indian constitutional question is in competent hands. The minds which are guiding the course of the evolution of Hindu thought and culture, are content to leave it to them. They do not want any organization to devote itself specifically to the safeguarding or promotion of Hindu interests which, as they conceive it, are world-wide. This is the significance of the collapse at the elections of the candidates put up by the Hindu Mahasabha.

A Bandra Diary.

The Ramakrishna-Vivekanand Math represents a radical departure from tradition in more ways than one. In the orthodox tradition one is eligible for the *sanyas*, the fourth stage in life, after fulfilling one's functions in the three previous, the *brahmachari* or student, the *grihastha*, householder and the *vanaprastha*, the hermit. This means the average age at which a man entered this stage, was about seventy! Three score years and ten is the span of life allotted to men generally, according to the Hebrew Psalmist. But the ancient Hindu books always speak of one hundred autumns as the length of man's normal life. So the period of *sanyas* may be the same as the other three periods, that is, about twenty-five or thirty years. The *sanyasi's* function was to be constantly moving from place to place imparting moral and religious instruction to the people. In the Ramakrishna order, men adopt the

fourth ashram skipping the second and third stages. There is, of course, the illustrious precedent of Sankaracharya, but his was always regarded as an exceptional case. Moreover, his not having passed through the householder stage, was urged as disqualifying him for the role of a teacher of philosophy and he is traditionally reported to have entered and dwelt in the body of a householder for a time to supply this omission and gain the experience of a householder's life. In another respect, too, the Ramakrishna order seems to have departed from the traditional practice. Sanyasis, when they die are buried, not cremated. But I find from a casual statement in the talks with Swamy Shivanand in the *Prabuddha Bharat* for March, that Sanyasis of the Ramkrishna order are cremated. "Shortly before the cremation of Swami Sardananda's body," runs the sentence, "Mahapurushji once softly said.....".

* * *

When Subhas Chandra Bose disappeared mysteriously from home in Calcutta on January 15, 1941, speculation became rife as to how he did so. It was surmised that he had been taken off in a German or Japanese aeroplane, that he had gone to the Himalayas to spend the rest of his life in meditation in the sadhu's garb, that he had become invisible by power of yoga which he was alleged to have been practising for several months past in the strict seclusion of his room. But none of these conjectures was correct. The *Hindustan Times* (Delhi) has published the English translation of a diary kept in Urdu by Mr. Uttam Chand, a native of the Frontier province, who kept a shop in Kabul. He became Subhas Bose's host in Kabul when the latter, found living in serais, led to suspicion and blackmail by the Kabul Police. Mr. Uttam Chand quotes Subhas Chandra Bose's own words regarding the manner of his escape from Calcutta to Kabul. He entrained at a wayside station near Calcutta in the disguise of a Maulvi. He had grown a respectable beard which helped him in his new role. In the Frontier Province he changed into Pathan dress in which he reached Kabul where he stayed for a time in a serai. But here he was pestered by the Kabul Police. His companion Rahimat Khan then discovered that a man from his village had a shop in Kabul. He cautiously sounded him about his giving asylum to Subhas Bose. This was Uttam Chand who had read of the Indian leader's disappearance from Calcutta. He after some hesitation agreed and Bose and Rahimat were secretly brought and kept in Uttam Chand's house. Mrs. Uttam Chand was not at first informed of the identity of her guests. She strongly protested against having two Mohamedan guests. Uttam Chand had to tell her that they were having as guest the great Indian, Subhas Bose. This had a magical effect. She exclaimed it was an honour to have him in the house and did everything to make

his stay comfortable and secret. On reading this a very similar instance came to my mind. When Arabindo Ghose had not decided about his destination, he went to Chandernagore. He did not know Motilal Roy. Roy heard casually from a friend that Arabindo Ghose was expected at night. In his enthusiasm, he left at once for the river-side and the two men who accompanied Ghose left him in Roy's charge. Roy took Ghose to his place and hid him in a room where furniture was stored. Mrs Roy found when she went on her daily round in the house, a stranger in this room and charged her husband with concealing something from her of a suspicious nature. When Roy told her of the stranger's identity and that he was a leader of the swadeshi movement of the anti-partition days and that he had to remain in hiding, she became enthusiastic and did everything to help the guest. This is described in Motilal Roy's "My Wife's Partner" which was reviewed in a recent issue of "The Reformer."

I note this parallel as it reveals how the women of India are instinctively fervent in their zeal for national freedom. Here we have two typical Indian women.....not educated in any English.....one a Punjabee, the other a Bengalee, gladly taking grave risks to befriend revolutionary leaders.

It may be mentioned that Bose and Rahmat Khan thought that Pushto was the mother-tongue of the Afghan but found that Persian was the mother-tongue, not Pushto.

RECLUSE.

World Journalism for the Common People.

(By F. A. BLOSSOM)

In an era when news is coloured, slanted, twisted, and distorted in every direction except towards truth, not merely in editorial but also in news columns, it is refreshing to find an honest and able news commentator who interprets current events for the man in the street, solely with the welfare of humanity in mind.

Scott Nearing is such a commentator, but he is more than that—he is one of the great teachers of our time and he has paid dearly for his intellectual integrity and his loyalty to truth.

Although holding a Doctorate of Philosophy from the University of Pennsylvania and gifted with singular ability as a teacher of economics and sociology, he was dismissed from the teaching staff of two universities, banned from the conventional lecture platform because of his liberal and pacifist views. Even his books and articles were excluded from customary channels of publications.

Faced with the problem of keeping alive while continuing to follow his chosen calling as an educator in the field of economics and sociology he acquired a small farm in Vermont, U. S. A., and, by ten years of hard work, assured himself the material basis of a frugal existence, at the same time making several trips abroad to study actual conditions in Russia, Spain, Germany and elsewhere and lecturing whenever occasion offered, with or without compensation, before any groups, large or small, that wished to hear what he had to say.

In this manner, Dr. Nearing slowly gained a following among earnest and studious-minded persons interested in social problems. In six cities from Chicago to Boston, groups developed which provided audiences of 100 to 500 for annual lecture courses on social questions. In addition, this tireless itinerant educator gave innumerable talks before occasional gatherings in cities, towns and hamlets from coast to coast.

In May, 1944, the lecture group in Washington, D. C.—with the active cooperation of those in Boston, New York, Buffalo, Detroit, Cleveland and Los Angeles...launched an undertaking which has provided Dr. Nearing with a continuing audience of several thousand persons through the publication every month of a 3,000 to 4,500 word commentary on current events more especially in the international field and bearing on the present efforts of mankind to organize the world on a basis which shall put an end to war.

This publication, under the title of "World Events" is issued from 125 Fifth Street, N. E., Washington 2, DC. U. S. A. It is a strictly non-profit undertaking: Dr. Nearing refuses any remuneration for writing the letter and the committee which attends to printing and distributing them gives its services free. To cover the expense of printing, postage, etc. an annual subscription of \$2.00 is charged, with a special introductory offer for "doubting Thomases" of ten issues for \$1.00. A pamphlet containing four articles by Dr. Nearing on "War and Peace" is furnished free for the asking.

In the year and a half that this unique work has been going on, well over 100,000 copies of "World Events" have been distributed and a subscription list of several thousand names has been built up. In addition, the attendance at Dr. Nearing's lectures has increased 50% and new annual lecture groups have been formed in Philadelphia, Cleveland and Rochester.

A similarly fortunate outlet for his teaching has recently come to Dr. Nearing in the field of book publication. Formerly on the favoured list of the Macmillan Company, who sponsored a large number of his sociological writings, he was later blacklisted because of his too forthright telling of unpleasant

truths about the present economic and social system. For 12 years he was unable to find a publisher who would accept his manuscripts.

In the fall of 1944 a fortunate circumstance brought him in touch with the Island Press, a cooperative publishing house willing to print the truth, no matter whose ox is gored. An immediate result was the issuing, within less than one year, of four books of highest quality, the fruit of twelve years of study and writing; *United World: Democracy is not Enough*; *The Soviet Union as a World Power*; and *The Tragedy of Empire*.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARYA

(By SIR ALLADI KRISHNASWAMI IYER)

Though I am loath to enter into the arena of controversial politics, my close association with Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar for over thirty years compels me to write a few lines on his decision to keep out of the present election.

From the state of his health at present, I do not grudge him his longing for peace or to be free from the bustle and turmoil of acrimonious political controversy, at least for a time. Though seemingly cold and purely intellectual in his cast, he is highly sensitive to unjustifiable aspersions which do not take into account the deep springs which form the foundation of his public life and character.

Though, at first, an ardent protagonist of the constructive programme and of the boycott of the Legislatures so long as there was no devolution of power, he was one of those mainly responsible for the Congress shouldering the responsibility of Government in the year 1937. It is acknowledged on all hands, British and Indian alike, that by far his was the most successful of the Congress Ministries in the whole of India. It is hardly realised that, within a span of two years during which the Congress Government was working in this province, he tried to put through every one of the major reforms to which the Congress was pledged. At that time the complaint was not that the Government was slow and inactive but that it went too fast. It is only the Government of which Mr. Rajagopalachariar was the head, that was able to place on the statute-book within a short span of two years measures relating to a good number of items in the programme to which the Congress was committed. It is doubtful whether any other Congress Ministry in the rest of India could claim the credit which the Congress Ministry in Madras was entitled to.

There have been criticisms in regard to the attitude adopted by the Congress Government in regard to the measures adopted for the maintenance of public

order and for the preservation of friendly relations with the neighbouring States during the time the Congress Government was in power. I am also aware of a feeling prevalent amongst some of my Andhra friends that Mr. Rajagopalachariar was opposed to legitimate Andhra claims and aspirations. But I trust they will forgive me if I say that there is no justification for such a feeling with some knowledge of the inner counsels and the inside working of the Congress regime in Madras. It is untrue to say that Mr. Rajagopalachariar was against the formation of an Andhra province or was opposed to the promotion of schemes for the industrial and agricultural betterment or the irrigational expansion in Andhra Dēsa. He, more than any other, was responsible for the settlement of the long-standing dispute with Hyderabad which was an essential prerequisite for pushing through the Tungbhadra project. The testimony of the eminent Special Engineer then deputed by the Nazim's Government was that a problem which had challenged solution for a long time had been tackled by Mr. Rajagopalachariar and his Cabinet with remarkable success. I can very well recall the Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari telling me after a Conference summoned at the instance of Mr. Rajagopalachariar that there can be no better bargainer for the presidency than C. R.

Even the worst critics of Mr. Rajagopalachariar will have to bear testimony to the clean and incorruptible character of his administration. Judged from ordinary standards, his friends who looked for favours to him might have something to complain against in that he did not yield to the normal human weakness of succumbing to the importunities of friends and partymen in the arduous task of administering the affairs of the province.

It is unnecessary to dilate upon his resourcefulness in debate and the remarkable skill which he displayed in the proceedings of Select Committees. My experienced and talented friend, Mr. R. V. Krishna Aiyer, for a long time Legislative Secretary, would bear testimony to the fact that his work as Legislative Secretary was very much lightened during the Select Committee meetings and in the general meetings of the Legislature by the skill with which he handled the legislative machinery. It is a great source of pleasure to me that I was of some little help to him in the various legislative measures which he and the Government of which he was the head were responsible for. Often-times, he would take a hint over the 'phone on a knotty constitutional or legal point and he would give life and shape to any point or solution suggested.

After the Congress Ministries had laid down their office in the different provinces in India, and the events that happened in 1942, he took up a line different from that of some of his trusted old colleagues including Mahatmaji on certain emergent issues. It will not be gainsaid that it requires a greater courage sometimes

to differ from one's old and tried friends and colleagues than to sail with the current and to fall in with the majority. Even on such an issue as Pakistan C. R. has been misunderstood. Whether his proposals are sound and acceptable to the nation or not, or whether in the face of the intransigent attitude of Mr. Jinnah, Pakistan can be a wise or feasible solution for the political emancipation of India, there can be no doubt that even in regard to that Mr. Rajagopalachariar's attitude was dictated by the highest patriotic and political considerations to solve the Indian political tangle.

The best vindication of the position he took up is the line taken by no less a person than Mahatma Gandhi in his attempt to enter into some kind of settlement with Mr. Jinnah.

Under the changed political conditions, he came back to the Congress fold, but it would be mean to attribute to him that his conduct was dictated by a desire for grasping power. His attitude at the Simla Conference that the people's representatives should return to power in the provinces and assume responsibility at the Centre and the keen desire which he has evinced throughout of an Indo-British settlement and the installation of a National Government, belie any such charge.

He is one of the few outstanding men whom India has produced or the politics of this country has brought to the fore in recent years. In him is a combination of virtues and qualities rarely found together—a highly intellectual grasp with a practical wisdom and sagacity, a power to arrive at quick conclusions, a facility to express himself in unadorned short, crisp and simple language, an unrivalled power of debate, an apparently cynical manner behind a deep and subdued emotional nature. At this juncture when the country is confronted with serious food and other economic problems, when fateful decisions are awaiting solution in Indo-British relations, when the country is, as I hope, on the eve of great constitutional changes, his presence as a member of the Government would have been an incalculable advantage.

Swatantra, Madras.

THE TRAGEDY OF THE WAC (I)

The axe of retrenchment is steadily picking up speed, and probably by March of this year, thousands of young girls and women from the WAC (I) and other allied organisations will become idle.

Recently the Indian Women's Conference held at Hyderabad (Sind) vociferously fought for the rights of women and claimed equal opportunities for them.

They paid little attention to the problem of demobilisation while discussing the formation of the WAC (I) organisation.

Though private organisations may not be able to render appreciable help without State assistance to rehabilitate the millions of men to be demobilised and retrenched, these organisations can definitely help the demobilised women, who will be limited in number.

These educated young girls left their homes and went to far-off places to grasp the opportunities offered by the War, after leaping many hurdles of custom and society. In their enterprise they had to bear many sly and contemptuous remarks from their kith and kin, in addition to sarcastic comments from the public in general.

Barring a few, they learned discipline and showed such great courage that all doubts of loose living were dispelled. They have proved that, if opportunities be offered to women, they can be as successful as men, whatever occupation they may choose.

NO IDLE TALK

These are the true veterans. They shouldered and faced many difficulties and have a vast and varied experience of work and life to their credit. Before entering the service, as is so common with young educated Indian girls, they were mere dolls with puffed white faces and rosy cheeks, lips thickly coated with lipstick and attired in glamorous silken clothes. Idle talk used to be their ideal.

Now, all those habits are dreams. They are accustomed to khaki and can work from morning till evening untiringly. With a new outlook on life they can be prepared to play their part for the common good of Society, and be an example to the present and future generations.

If the leaders of the Conference really wanted new opportunities for women, rather than to let them merely follow the century-old rule of becoming nurses or clerks (and by the way, a lesson should be learned from the fate of male clerks), then they should ensure that the spirit of work created by the war among these girls does not die out. This is the golden opportunity to translate words into deeds. The present should be considered to be the transitional period, and it can be made to pass smoothly by wise and farsighted action.

There are many forces tending to mislead and misguide these young girls. Unfortunately some of the aristocratic and "enlightened" women have started to denounce publicly the life of an Indian housewife. To them, it is a long trial of miserable and menial work.

from morning till late at night, without any holiday. They delightfully scorn it as unremunerative drudgery. Romance is their creed, and artificial beauty and make-up their ideal.

CAREERS

Such gospels are very fascinating, and may attract the unfortunate girl who has been demobilised. Can they, then, be expected to share the responsibilities of an Eastern housewife who is the torch-bearer for the rest of the world? Never.

Failure to transform their energies into useful occupations will amount to a great tragedy for the W A C (I) in particular and the educated Indian girl in general.

If they are given a proper lead, financial help and training in different vocations, they can be enabled to establish self-supporting businesses. There are many of these vocations, but the following few have great scope, require less financial help, and the training can be completed within a short time; commence with these,

(1) Tailoring and cutting, (2) Drawing and tracing, (3) Cloth and card board toy-making. (4) Painting and letter-writing, and (5) Armature winding.

Is it too much to hope that members of the Indian Women's Conference who are the life and spirit of the different branches of Indian Women's Leagues all over the country will give up their possessions and seek the co-operation of other philanthropic societies, such as Arya Samaj and the Y.W.C.A. and organise properly to help the W.A.C. (I) to serve the country?

Indian Womens's Magazine

India's Man Power

(By P. S. NAIDU *Published by The Oriental Publishing Co., Bombay. Price Rs. 2/-.*)

Mr. P. S. Naidu is the Reader in Education at the University of Allahabad, and he is doing a lot of thinking on problems that are so ceaselessly considered in India and outside. This is an age of planning. The war has just ended officially, and not actually; for there is still enough unrest despite this terrific planning, all the world over. Why unrest, is the question that he seems to answer in this book entitled "Utilisation of India's Man Power".

The book is divided into two parts. The first part contains a philosopher's analysis of all manner of planning that is done in the world. His main idea is that in almost all countries people are engaged in work, without consideration for their aptitude. It is true that our natural inclinations cannot be crushed; also if we want to report a near approach to success and prosperity in the world our natural inclinations have to be sublimated. There should be work for man: it is true. Work is alone noble, and blessed is he who has found work. But this work must be according to one's tastes and inclinations. If such a consummation is possible, there is no doubt that in near future we will enjoy life fully.

In the second part Mr. Naidu has tried to present a plan for India's progress. Here, too, he emphasises the need for a psychological basis for the plan. This forces one to think that all manner of progress is possible if we turn to education psychology. There is enough tyranny in the world: there is no rest and there is sufficient mal-adjustment. This has to go, and this will go if educationists combine and try to foster cultural values. Quite reasonably some time ago Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru remarked that the great intellectuals should come forward with their plans and solutions for the present ills. Not politicians but intellectuals can give peace to the war-weary humanity.

As one reads this book one may remark that Mr. Naidu has found the present planning as a suitable peg to hang on his consciousness of the urgent need for psychological knowledge, preceding real planning. One may say there is a good deal of exaggeration but the exaggeration is with a point. One thing is certain: we must be psychologically aware. Need I add that the language is definitely an instrument that communicates Mr. Naidu's thoughts? I have no hesitation in recommending this book as of utmost urgent importance in these days when planning is exclusively done by politicians and economists.

B. S. Mathur.

Citizenship for the Indian Adolescent:

By KALI DAS KAPUR, M.A., L.T; *Published by T.C.E. Journals & Publications Ltd., Lucknow*

Price Re. 1/-

Mr. Kali Das Kapur is an eminent educationist of sufficient standing and scholarship in the U. P. He is connected with *Education* as its chief Editor, and he

has written a number of books dealing with education. I may refer to his book entitled "Towards A Better Order". That is a book which is instinct with experience and soundness. Rightly the author thinks that there can be a better order if we resort to education. The great companion of education is peace and prosperity. If we want to go beyond the stage of the brutes it is essential for us to turn to education which will be for right culture and understanding.

In his book entitled "Citizenship," he has tried to educate the adolescents in the art of citizenship. Truly citizenship is an art, and if we are able to educate ourselves as right citizens of the world we have immediately banished all manner of sufferings born of conflicts and international political bickerings. These are his words. "We have little of patriotism. We have to be more patriotic, but we have to warn ourselves against that brand of patriotism which has brought human civilisation to the verge of destruction. This brand of patriotism, named Nationalism by Rabindranath Tagore, has been nurtured by Nation-States to protect them from some of the consequences of the Industrial Revolution. This species of patriotism lives on the exploitation of weaker peoples." Certainly these words are full of meaning and significance. One may say these are not new ideas? But who can question the soundness of these ideas. Again I think these words need repetition at this stage of human civilisation when we are so constantly busy in wars and exploitation. There is no harm in repeating if repetition can do some good. Mr. Kali Das Kapur has done a great thing in writing this book as this book is going to be introduced to the adolescents. All nations spring from the adolescents, and if we are able to control our adolescents we will be soon creating a nation, keen on the establishment of peace and harmony in the world.

In the pages of this book we have book knowledge combined with practical experience. It is just the book needed so urgently for the adolescents. I have no hesitation in recommending this book to all who are keen on the country's march from poverty to power and plenty. Apart from matter (of which there is no paucity) the manner or the style of the book is an additional recommendation. Clarity and vividness combined with vision are enough charms for a book meant for the adolescents.

B. S. Mathur

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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 Russian Bogey Again:—For over a century the fear of Russian invasion dominated the Defence policy of the Government of India. It was, it now seems, only temporarily absent after the Russian Revolution. The Soviet Government had renounced all territorial concessions and was engrossed in consolidating its own position in Russia and in Europe. The second World War has evidently stimulated its latent urge for expansion. Russia does not want territory for an overflow population. It has ample space for that purpose within its own borders. Its great need has been access to the sea during the winter months when her chief Ports are ice-bound. The Persian Gulf is the most suitable and the nearest for the purpose; the easiest way to the Gulf lies through Persia. It has also need of the oil of Persia as much as Britain and the United States. For both purposes a government in Persia friendly disposed to the Soviet ideology would be of great advantage. Russia has declared that she is not actuated by hostility to the Iranian people. She is intent only on thwarting British and American aims in Persia. The Iranian Government does not want to offend either its Anglo-American friends or her Russian neighbour. The dispute was taken up for consideration at the first session of the Security Council in London. It was decided that Russia and Persia should settle it among themselves. The Iranian Prime Minister visited Moscow and was well received. It was confidently expected that a settlement would be reached. But the Iranian Premier could not obtain what he wanted—the immediate withdrawal of Russian troops from his country. He was pressed by the Americans to bring the matter again before the Security Council. Meanwhile Mr. Winston Churchill made his famous Fulton speech. The Soviet Government has warned the Persian Government that it would regard as unfriendly an application to the Security Council. The next session is to begin on Monday, March, 25. The Soviet may not send its representative and may ignore any *ex parte* decision by the Council. It is as well that this deadlock has developed on the threshold of the International Organization. If it had been postponed much time and money would have been uselessly spent. It may now have to be wound up.

Sind Political Revelations:—The political history of Sind since it was created a separate province by the Government of India Act of 1935, has been singularly

full of vicissitudes, most of them unhappy. Its first Government was a non-communal one. Allah Baksh was a liberal-minded Premier. He was dismissed by the Governor for a flimsy reason. His colleague, Sir Ghulam Hussein Hidayatulla, succeeded him as head of a Muslim League Ministry. During the War-famine, Sind made large profits as a surplus province and paid off her debt to the Government of India on account of the Sind barrage. Sir Ghulam Hussein's administration was greatly hampered by outbreaks of violence on the part of Hurs to put down which the Government of India's intervention became necessary. The Provincial elections gave the League party a majority in the Legislative Assembly but not an absolute majority. The Congress with the Syed group which had seceded from the League and the Moula Baksh group of Nationalist Muslims, had an equal number of members returned. Three European members thus became the arbiters of the Sind Assembly. The Congress had by far the largest number of members in the Coalition, but Mr. G. M. Syed was adopted as leader of the Coalition. At the opening of the new Assembly session, the Coalition opposition moved a resolution expressing want of confidence in the Home Minister, the main item in which was that he commuted the sentence passed by a District Court and confirmed by the High Court of Sind on a young man found guilty of murder without any extenuating circumstance. The motion was discussed for three days and was rejected by a majority of one. On a cut motion on the Budget also the European group of three saved Government from defeat by a majority of two. In the course of debate, Mr. M. H. Gazdar, acting President of the Sind Branch of the Muslim League, gave an account of negotiations with the President of the Congress, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, for the formation of a League-Congress Ministry, which cannot but cause disquiet in the minds of those who have been led to believe that there is to be no attempt at compromise between Congress and the League so long as the latter sticks to the Pakistan issue. From Mr. Gazdar's revelations it would appear that the Congress President was prepared, in deference to the League's claim that it alone represents Muslims, to agree to drop Mr. Syed and Moula Baksh who had volunteered to be dropped, and to join a Congress-Muslim League Coalition. Mr. Jinnah vetoed this amiable project and the country has once again reason to be thankful to him.

Madras Justice Party:—When at the last election for Madras City in the Indian Legislative Assembly, Mr. P. Balasubrahmaniamudaliar, editor of the weekly *Sunday Observer*, was defeated by the Congress candidate, Mrs. Ammu Swaminathan, by some five thousand votes, he was moved to advise the winding-up of the Justice Party, also known as the South Indian Liberal Federation. The Party was not wound up formally but effaced itself at the Provincial General Elections and did not put up a single candidate for any constituency in the whole Presidency. This was understood by many inside and outside Madras, to signify that Mr. Balasubrahmaniam's advice was given effect to in practice and that the Madras Justice Party had ceased to exist. It was, therefore, with interest that we read Sir P. T. Rajan's speech at a party meeting explaining that not contesting the election did not mean that the Party no longer existed. He said that the Party did not put up candidates because they had no chance of success anywhere and because the Simla conference showed that the British Government wanted to hand over power only to the Congress. As a consequence "Congressmen who did not take part in public life came out" and loudly proclaimed their loyalty to the movement. Sir P. T. Rajan mentioned that Congress leaders had then made out a list, "a black list of men who helped the Government in these difficult days of War and of those officially who helped to maintain law and order, with a view to arraigning all of them before a special tribunal and deal with them, even as the Allies have dealt with those supposed to be responsible for the war in Germany and Japan." We have seen the preparation of such a list attributed to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru but have not thought it worth while to verify it. The gist of Sir P. T. Rajan's address was that they would wait till the Congress was planted in the saddle and then adopt measures necessary to seize the reins from Congress hands, presumably using methods which they have learnt from Congress practice.

Indian Influence on Church Ceremonial:—Professor Radha Kumud Mukherji contributes to the January-March number of the quarterly journal, "India and World Affairs", an article on Indian Culture Abroad. He refers in it to the influence of the Buddhist system on early Christianity such as the use of the rosary, worship of relics, extravagant forms of penance and so forth. Even in the customs prevalent in the Roman Catholic Church we find practices peculiar to Hinduism, for example, prostration before the Deity and religious teachers and elders. The Catholic *Examiner* gives an account of the ceremonial

presentation of Red Hats to newly created Cardinals by His Holiness the Pope. After the Pope had withdrawn, the newly created Cardinals prostrated themselves before the Altar of the Chair at the end of the Basilica. Other quaint ceremonies are the new Cardinals kiss the foot of the Pope; after bestowing the Hat, His Holiness closes and opens the mouths of the new Cardinals saying, "I close your mouth, I open your mouth" there, by indicating the Pope's authority to order silence or give them permission to take part in deliberations. A more impressive way of depriving a man of freedom of speech and thought, it is difficult to imagine. But every detail of the ceremonial of the Catholic Church has been thought out by generations of priests versed in human psychology.

The Bishop's Omission:—The Archbishop of Canterbury and nine Anglican Bishops have issued a call for prayer by British Christians for the success of the Cabinet delegation. They have included three Indian names in the list of personages for whose guidance Divine aid is to be invoked. They are Gandhiji, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Jinnah. The omission of the name of the Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, cannot be explained as wholly accidental. Nor could it have been the episcopal idea that as a Islamic divine the Maulana did not stand in need of Christian prayers. Nonetheless the omission is significant as expressive of the Bishop's estimate of the position of the Maulana as head of the Indian National Congress. Perhaps the Bishops have been already approached to issue a revised version of their call including the Maulana. A call to prayer for rain would have been more appreciated at this juncture.

Prospective Premiers:—In the list of persons officially invited to meet the Cabinet Delegation early next month in New Delhi, there is a curiously worded category, "prospective Premiers." At the most this can only mean politicians who are designed by party leaders for Premiership in the several provinces. In some provinces, for instance in Madras, nobody has yet been designated for premiership. As matters stand, even if any one is designated, it can only be tentatively. In Bengal the elections have just begun and it is not unlikely that there will have to be a composite cabinet as in the Punjab, and the Premier may not be the leader of the largest party. Instead of indulging in speculative persons, it would be better to invite ex-Premiers about whom there is no uncertainty. This will enable the Cabinet Delegation to have the benefit of the views among others of Mr. C. Rajagopacharya which notwithstanding aberrations on Pakistan, will be of value in formulating proposals.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, March 23, 1946.

SOVIET RUSSIA.

When Mr. Winston Churchill landed in the United States some months ago for his vacation, newspapermen tried to get him to give his views of the Labour Government which succeeded his. He declined saying that it was not his practice to criticize the Government of his country when he was in another country. Evidently, he does not mind embarrassing the government of his country by speeches in another country. That he has embarrassed the Attlee Government, and embarrassed it greatly, by his address at a scholastic function in the United States, is but too evident from the resolution condemning the speech which several members of Parliament intended to move. The Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, while declining to express approval or disapproval of Mr. Churchill's speech, said that it was a speech by a private person and has no official significance. This view cannot be expected to commend itself to the public. Mr. Churchill was Prime Minister during the war and has all the facts about British relations with Russia, his full, if not exclusive, possession. Mr. Attlee was Deputy Prime Minister but it does not appear that Mr. Churchill told him more than was necessary in their routine official intercourse. Anyhow, the official Russian Press has not shown a disposition to regard Mr. Churchill's pointed allusion to Russia as a menace to world peace and his plea for an Anglo-American military convention as the sole means of meeting it, as the irresponsible chatter of a politician at a loose end. The Soviet Government may take no official notice of the provocative speech but that it will influence profoundly its policy. Was it mere coincidence that President Kalinin on the eve of Mr. Churchill's speech, contributed to a Soviet journal an article which word for word anticipated and answered the latter's points against Soviet Russia? Or was it a fresh example of the perfection of Soviet Information Service operating in the United States as, indeed, it does all over the world? Mr. Churchill expressed his warm admiration and regard for the valiant Russian people. At the Mansion House dinner in November 1943, Mr. Churchill the Prime Minister said, "There is nothing in the whole world, nor could there have been created for several years, any military organization which could ever have given the blows which Russia has given, or survived the losses which Russia has borne." This is quoted in the Preface to Dyson Carter's "Russia's Secret Weapon" (Avanti Prakasham,

Bombay, Price Rs. 2/-) to which the Dean of Canterbury has contributed a foreword. In this little book, Mr. Carter lets the world into the secret of the force which has created not only the wonderful Red Army but the social, economic and spiritual system of which the Red Army is but one expression. That power or force is Soviet Science. It is, writes Dyson Carter,

Not the science of professors, engineers, Einstein's universities Houses of Magic, or anything beyond the understanding of ordinary people. Soviet Science is a new kind of Science. It is science understood by the people. Science used by the people. Science is a living force, marching with the people, in peacetime and in war, science as it was dreamed of by the greatest scientific geniuses of all ages.....it is Science, the mighty weapon forged by the mind of man, given into the hands of all men, women and children, the weapon that will vanquish every enemy and every obstacle standing in the way of man's victory march towards the glorious future awaiting the human race!

There is no phase of life in the Soviet Union that is not guided by this new kind of science.....Soviet Science. Everything that is puzzling, astonishing, admirable or disliked about the Soviet Union becomes perfectly clear and understandable when explained by means of the secret weapon.

The Dean of Canterbury in his Foreword says that Soviet Science is a secret weapon not because the Soviet liked it but because the rest of the world has been wilfully blind to what has been happening throughout the sixth of the world over which the Soviet system prevails. Dyson Carter illustrates this thesis by reference to the application of Soviet Science to different spheres of State—social as well as of material existence. The moral life has apparently no place in the scheme of Soviet scientific system. The experimental method unreservedly and ruthlessly applied all round, seems to be an adequate definition of Soviet Science. Nazi Science was not very different from Soviet Science. That accounts for the fact which Mr. Churchill lamented, that the countries of Eastern and Southern Europe liberated from the German yoke are now in the sphere of Soviet influence. Greece which he praised as the exception, has since belied his belief that Anglo-American influence was permanently established in her soil.

The human or (inhuman) obverse of the Soviet medal is brought out in "The Depths of Soviet Russia" by "A Young Woman Adventurer" (The Indo-Polish Library, price Rs 1/12). The author describes herself as "a Polish secondary school teacher" who for the crime "of wishing to join her parents in their home at Wilna was arrested while

attempting to cross the border set up by the Soviet authorities, suffered two years imprisonment, deportation, and forced labour in Siberia." She writes that she was not alone in her harsh experience, and that many hundreds of thousands shared her suffering and were still undergoing it and are starving and dying broken-hearted and in exile. In the prisons and detention camps, political prisoners were treated worse than criminal convicts.

The convict women look with contempt on the political prisoners. They are perfectly aware that even the worst criminal is better treated and has more rights than a political prisoner. I heard one of them say with great indignation to the superintendent, "Why do you treat me so badly? I am not a political prisoner." Again I heard in the smoking cellar the following conversation: "Serve them right." "What are you in prison for?" "I? Nothing, I just killed two people, but I never rose against Communism." What else can be expected in a country where a woman gets three years for burning her child alive and ten for having once been the wife of a political prisoner?

Similar complaints have been made in India and there is little in this book which cannot be matched from Indian experience. We have read works giving more terrible accounts of the scientific Soviet way of dealing with political dissenters. The latest discoveries of experimental psychology would seem to have been applied to the invention of methods of mental torture. This book, as well as others, however, relate experiences before the second World War and it is probable that the Soviet authorities feel now sufficiently confident of the stability of system to dispense with the worst forms of oppression which disfigured their earlier record.

"Soviet Attitude Towards China. Pacts and Facts" by Stanley Powell (Vora & Co. price Rs. 3/-) is a study of Russian expansion in Eastern Asia from the seventeenth century. According to most recent reports, Russia is actively seeking expansion in Western Asia also, through Persia. She is also doing the same in Europe. The Revolution whatever else it might have done, has not deflected Russia from her centuries old policy of expansion on all sides. Soviet Russia with the advantages of science is pursuing the identical policy of the Zsars who had few advantages. It almost seems that Russian expansion is a movement arising out of national forces independent of the ambition of statesmen. Powell, like Mr. Churchill, believes in Anglo-American cooperation as the only means of staying the Russian avalanche. He writes:—

The only proper solution would be to put a stop to the aggressive expansion of the Soviets in Asia as well as in Europe and to compel them to pay heed to international law and principles of democracy, as expressed in the "Atlantic Charter" and in the "Four Freedoms"—principles which should become the "constitutional" foundation of the future Union of Nations the latter having the duty of applying immediately the necessary sanctions against any act or even attempt at violation.

With the enormous military, industrial and financial power at their disposal the Anglo-Saxon Powers can still assure complete victory of democracy now.

The United States is no longer an "Anglo-Saxon" power, and in fact the description is resented in that country. Great Britain still is, but single-handed she could not cope with Germany or Japan. Still less can she do so with Soviet Russia. Her greatest asset, India, is going out of her hands. The condition which, with the insight of the historian, Seeley foresaw as the signal for the dissolution of the British Indian Empire, has appeared on the horizon. India feels that it is shameful to obey the foreigner. However much may be the differences between the Congress and Muslim League, they are both cooperating in obstructing Government business in the Indian Legislature. Russia and the United States have one advantage denied to Britain: their territories form a single contiguous area. Russian expansion too is in contiguous areas. Russia has another advantage over both Britain and the United States, which it is vain to overlook. She is not steeped in colour prejudice. She can not have it for the simple reason that she is herself more than half Asiatic. Anglo-Saxon domination, on the other hand, is built upon colour prejudice. The term itself shows that. Therefore, the real conflict is now between the United States and Soviet Russia. Britain recognises this and is nowadays assiduously playing second fiddle to America. What Churchill put in words in his lecture is felt perhaps by most Englishmen.

MR. ATTLEE ON THE CABINET DEPUTATION.

On the eve of departure of the deputation of three Cabinet Members to India, on the mission to find a satisfactory solution of the problem of India-British political relations, the House of Commons was afforded an opportunity of expressing its views on the policy of the British Government to implement which the delegation is being sent and on the idea and personnel of delegation itself. The principal speech on the debate was that of Mr. Attlee. The Prime Minister's speech marks him out as a parliamentarian of great ability.

The speeches which followed were on the whole appreciative and clearly showed that there was no wish on any side of the House to hamper Government in carrying out their policy. The points in the Prime Minister's speech that have created most interest in India are: First, that India must herself choose whether she would remain within the British Commonwealth or would prefer to grow out of it; and secondly, the assurance that a minority will not be allowed to veto a decision acceptable to the majority. Mr. Attlee admitted that all parties in India, whatever their differences, wanted independence. This point is not likely to occupy the time of the Cabinet deputation for long. The advantages of Dominion Status today are less than they were six years ago. India is now a creditor country. She cannot look to London for loans. As for Defence, in the last war, the United States and Russia had a large part in overthrowing the Axis Powers. India, too, had to make large contributions in men and material. There is reason, in the present international conditions, to fear that the next war is not far off, and India would not like to be dragged into it as in the last without an opportunity of judging on the merits whether she can or would involve herself in recurring hostilities with any Power with which British interest or sentiment may chance to collide. There is no sense in India being a member of a Commonwealth which is the great stronghold of the colour bar. There is the glaring etymological solecism of India with many times the population of the rest of the Commonwealth, with no affinity of race or creed, being a Dominion. There is also a serious psychological difficulty. It will require a generation of separation before Englishmen coming to India will be able to regard the Indian as a free citizen like themselves, and for the average Indian to regard himself as in no way inferior to the White Man. It is not generally realised that the present relations between the two countries hinder mutual respect and understanding between Indians and Englishmen who have much to learn from each other. Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar concludes his admirable book "Indian Constitutional Reforms" with the observation that the cultural relation which has been established between British and India will survive political separation between the two peoples. He wrote:

"The cultural hold that England has and will maintain over India and the tie of gratitude will prove a better cement of empire than the control which is maintained by forces of arms."

The relation which Sir Sivaswami contemplated for India was that of a Dominion in the British Commonwealth but his words apply with equal, if not greater, force to Independent India.

The observation in Mr. Attlee's speech about a minority not being allowed to override the majority, has been received rather coldly by the Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, and has provoked an angry outburst from Mr. Jinnah, President

of the Muslim League. The Maulana has been harping vaguely on "self-determination" and is probably puzzled as to the bearing of Mr. Attlee's words on his pet principle. Let us quote Mr. Attlee's sentences on the crucial point: "We are mindful of the rights of the minorities and the minorities should be able to live free from fear. On the other hand, we cannot allow a minority to place their veto on the advance of a majority." Mr. Attlee said just a few sentences earlier: "We have united India and given her that sense of nationality which she largely lacked in the previous centuries and she has learnt from us the principles of democracy and justice." Together, these observations leave no scope for "self-determination" much less for Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah, however, does not attack the Premier. He tacitly accepts Mr. Attlee's position but tries to contract Indian Muslims out of them by claiming that they are a nation not a minority. He claims that 100 million people cannot be a minority. In themselves, they may be a majority. But in relation to 300 millions 100 millions are a minority. It is a question not of opinion but of arithmetic. Mr. Jinnah's attack is ferocious not on Mr. Attlee but on the Congress. In his wrath, he is incoherent. He talks of Congress trying to bribe and browbeat the British Government by offers of trade and threats of its loss; of its efforts to crush the Muslims of India by hindering the formation of a League government in the Muslim majority provinces: He not long ago pointed out that the Congress creed of non-violence went a long way towards advancing the propaganda for Pakistan. Sardar Vallabhbhai's remark that Pakistan would mean civil war came as a shock to many Muslim Leaguers. "What about the Congress creed of non-violence", they exclaimed. Mr. Jinnah has used the threat several times before but he now makes out that Sardar was the first to use it. Mr. Jinnah also makes the extraordinary statement that Hindus are beginning to appreciate the Pakistan proposal. Mr. Jinnah must have secret sources of information about what is passing in the Hindu mind. There is not a single piece of evidence to support Mr. Jinnah's opinion. The men who talked of compromise on Pakistan, have dropped out of politics. Does that show that Hindus are veering round in favour of Pakistan?

THE CONGRESS AND THE COMMUNISTS.

The recent and current elections for the Indian and Provincial Legislative Assemblies have many important lessons. With the lesson to be drawn from the rout of the Hindu Mahasabha candidates, we dealt last week. Much deeper significance attaches to the wholly or practically unopposed returns of Congress and Muslim League candidates in a large number of General and Muslim constituencies. They clearly mean that in India the two of more parties system familiar to British and American parliamentarians, which is sometimes spoken of as essential to democracy, does not find congenial soil. Every

party claims to represent and insists on being accepted as representing a whole community. The Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Akali Sikhs, all resent not being taken to represent all Muslims, all Hindus, and all Sikhs. The Congress less blatantly but none the less as firmly claims to know and reflect the Indian mass-mind. Whatever the constitutional forms they may favour for the country, they are all without exception political monists so far as their parties are concerned. The Congress, though it claims to represent the whole country, has of late taken to exclude some sections on account of economic creeds. What its quarrel is with the Communists, is far from clear. But the recent violent denunciations of Communists by some Congress leaders who not long ago were ardent admirers and exponents of Bolshevism, is not explained as being due to the pressure of capitalists. Stalin, after consolidating the Soviet regime, is now resuming under another name the Trotskyan policy of World Revolution. The Soviet Dictator has denounced more than once Gandhiji's ideology and quite recently the Soviet Press denounced Subhas Chandra Bose as a fraud. These sufficiently explain Congress revulsion from Indian Communists. Nevertheless, as an All India body Congress should have its doors wide open for all creeds, religions, economic and political. It takes all sorts of people to make a nation and a body which is truly national, should not exclude any group. There are in all groups earnest men and women who have made sacrifices for the cause they believe in, and their services should not be refused in national organisation.

The Communists on their part have a corresponding duty. Leading members of the Congress party have at various times declared their approval of Communist ideology while disapproving the violence which accompanied the Russian revolution. They seem to hold that the Revolution might have been accomplished without violence and even on occasion gone so far as to suggest that they would favour a non-violent revolution on Soviet lines in India. Here is a strong foundation for agreement and until 1942 the Congress and the Communists had no points of serious difference. The differences would appear to have arisen with the British-Russian alliance on the invasion of Russia by Germany, Indian Communists then moving to the Government side while the Congress was proscribed and its leaders interned. The present hostility between the two groups therefore, is not one of ideology but tactics. The Communists, their attitude showed, were less interested in India's unity than in loyalty to Soviet Russia. If that is still their policy, they should now turn back to their pre-war attitude since Anglo-Russian relations have again become severely strained. That apart, the Communist principles of Karl Marx, to which apparently Indian Communists still cling, have been greatly modified in their application to the Soviet State, and the modifications are nearly all in the direction of

narrowing the gulf between Bolshevism and the bourgeois system. This was felt necessary in order to adapt the new ideal to the tradition and genius of the Russian People. So far as we are aware, Indian Communists have not realised the need for adapting their doctrines derived from Marx to the temper and tradition of the Indian people. Trotsky in his History of the Revolution has clearly pointed out the difference between Russia and India as fields for revolutionary ideas. Russia was unsettled owing to her position between Asia and Europe with conflicting influences. "The ancient civilisations of Egypt, India and China," he writes, "had a character self-sufficient enough, and they had time enough at their disposal, to bring their social relations, in spite of low productive powers, almost to the same detailed completion to which their craftsmen brought the products of their craft."

Karl Marx's attack was against the use of wealth to dominate the people. It was not against the use of wealth to serve the people, which, despite aberrations, is still the dominating principle of the Indian social economic system. The possession of wealth is not in itself anti-social. Both in the Hindu and Muslim systems, money power was effectually canalised into social service, and moral power left unchallenged as supreme human destinies. A stable system, economic, political or social, can be built up only on the deep-rooted beliefs of the people. Whatever is good in Communism has been incorporated into the Indian system for a long time. What is foreign in it, is repugnant to Indian sentiment. The Parliamentary system is also an exotic but for over a hundred years Indians have studied and are familiar with its strong and weak points. Its strong point is that it furnishes a bloodless alternative to the method of revolution. Its weak point is that it operates in a clumsy way by dilatory methods involving the distraction of the people's mind from their urgent domestic and social problems. The Parliamentary system does not at any point antagonise so sharply as Communism with Indian political ideas. An individual or group which differs on great matters from their fellows, should strive its utmost to conform with them in as many other matters as possible, if the object is, as it should be, to persuade not to coerce, out of wrong ideas.

CONGRESS PRESIDENT AND HIS CABINET

Sir—Your editorial remark in the *Reformer* of March 9, that Mr. Subhas Bose, who presided at the Tripura 'conference', was overruled and that a Working Committee was elected which was hostile to him though he maintained that it was the right of the President to select the members of the Working Committee, requires, I am afraid, due verification. The contemporary reports of the incidents which preceded Mr. Bose's resignation of the Congress Presidency soon after the Tripura Congress and the

next A. I. C. C. meeting held by him at Calcutta have left a different picture of the relevant facts on the minds of at least some of the general public. Till I read your editorial I, for one, sincerely believed, that Mr. Bose did not have to assert and maintain his right to nominate his cabinet as it was never disputed. The old cabinet of the previous year resigned as they were bound to do and none of them agreed to his renomination. Mr. Bose was given a free hand to choose his own men but he resigned instead.

K. RAMAMURTI.

[Mr. Ramamurti's version is not inconsistent with the statement in the *Reformer*. Though the President's right was not challenged formally he was practically rendered impotent to exercise it.—Editor.]

A BANDRA DIARY.

The three members of the Cabinet entrusted with the mission of devising means of transferring political power to Indians, left Britain on Tuesday. They are due to reach New Delhi on Sunday. While nothing should be done to hamper their efforts, it is equally desirable that undue fuss about creating or maintaining a calm atmosphere should not be made. India is a vast country passing just now through a series of physical and emotional strains caused not by any action of her own but largely by extraneous conditions beyond her control. Some little exuberance in the circumstances is not only not harmful but may be actually beneficial as an outlet for pent-up feelings. The three Cabinet Ministers are experienced men and are not likely to have their equilibrium disturbed by a few demonstrations friendly or hostile. Incessant harping on non-violence is itself a stimulus to violence as illustrated by over quarter of a century of propaganda. The reaction against the morbid emphasis on a single quality which has no value in itself and derives all its value from its opposite, is finding expression through women who are closer to Nature and therefore to reality. They know, as men do not, that the pangs of childbirth are the ordained way to the beatitude of motherhood. Pleasure is nothing but relief from pain. If there is no pain there can be no pleasure. It is amusing to read Mr. Pyarilal arguing in the *Harijan* that the fate of Germany and Japan is proof of the futility of violence. As if these two countries have been conquered by non-violent methods. If anything, it is proof that violence can be overthrown only by more and worse violence. Nobody wants violence for its own sake. It is useful only as a means of meeting violence. The mere show of superior force may often be the most effective way of averting violence. Let us then cease thinking or talking of politics as if it was a choice between violence and non-violence. No self-governing country has found it possible even as regards its internal administration to dispense with a medium of force. Ram Rajya was no exception.

And why raid at those who went underground while their leaders were lodged in prisons and detention camps where their needs were supplied and their health looked after? The lot of the underground was much harder. They had to be constantly changing their hiding places, were not sure of the next meal, and were like hunted animals. The Irishman who rules his country today, had to go through the same experience. In Europe the underground are honoured and several of them to-day sit in seats of authority while the Nazis who worked above ground are being tried and shot or hanged by the dozen. Is it the idea that methods normal and honourable in all other men are sub-normal and disgraceful in Indians? It was an ancient man of God who told his people, "Be not

righteous overmuch," adding immediately "Be not overmuch wicked". When people act on a generous impulse if it is not for us, who are forever calculating consequences, to pass judgment on their conduct.

I am told that the change of heart in the British Government is due to the influence of gospel of non-violence. I can not say that it is not. But many other causes have also been in operation. But has there been really a change of heart? British Governments have always averred that they are actuated wholly by motives having for their object the good of India. Apparently, the Attlee Government realises that the methods pursued so far require to be revised in the light of present day world conditions.

Recluse.

THE RISE AND GROWTH OF THE KHALSA

Historically speaking, the short period of 239 years covering the lives and work of the ten Sikh Gurus is full of thrills, romance, heroism and epic events that have few parallels in the religious annals of the world. Nanak, the founder of the Church, was born in 1469 in the midst of religious persecution and political confusion. Like most religious teachers who have left their mark in the world, he early showed signs of a contemplative turn of mind. His father—a petty official in the service of the ruling Nawab—to check the boy's waywardness thought of putting him to business. He sent him to a neighbouring village to buy a few simple articles for his small shop. He instructed him to make "good bargains" (Khara Sanda). On the way Nanak met some famishing Sadhus, and spent his little capital in feeding them, thinking that that was the best "bargain" he could make.

It is significant that, when towards the close of his long life, he selected, as his spiritual successor, a simple man called Lenna. Lenna became the second Guru under the name of *Angad*. The name adopted by Bhai Lenna illustrates a cardinal principle in the Sikh faith which has kept the believers together as a single compact body. Guru Nanak had reappeared on the earth, so they believe, in the person of *Angad*. He was "a limb of Guru Nanak's body, a ray of his light and a breath of his spirit." In the same way, it is recorded of the third Guru that the "wise being, Guru Nanak, had descended in the form of Amardas". And similarly, the fourth Guru was told, "thou, Ramdas, art Nanak, thou art Lenna and thou art Amar Das". And so on with all the rest of the line till we come to the tenth Guru who himself put an end to the apostolic succession and constituted the *Sangat* (Congregation or Assembly) with holy Book as their spiritual guide.

Nanak stands at one end of the line of the Gurus. He witnessed the establishment of the Moghul Empire in India. He was more than once invited by the Emperor Babar and numerous stories are current of religious discussions between the Emperor and the "God-intoxicated faqir." The last Guru, Govind Singh, on the other hand, materially helped to pull down the grand edifice of the Moghul Empire that had been built up during the previous 172 years. The story is not only thrilling and full of interest in more ways than one but it is also a warning and a lesson to all Empire builders. That the simple, peace-loving flock of Guru Nanak should have been converted within less than two hundred years into a militant community powerful enough to become a menace to the grand empire of the Moghuls was a miracle indeed.

The history of the rise and growth of Sikhism from Nanak to Govind Singh easily divides itself into two parts. The first part ends with the closing years of the fifth Guru, Arjun Dev: Guru Nanak, as we have seen, was

treated with great respect as a simple faqir both by Hindus and Muslims. Like the other teachers of protestant Hinduism, Kabir, Chaitanya, Tukaram and others of the time, in Nanak's simple faith all distinctions of caste, creed, custom and tradition were abolished.

Guru Nanak travelled over the whole of India. He generally stopped for a long time in all the places he visited and at each place, a Gurdwara sprang up. A Sangat, (congregation) was formed with a *Bhai* (meaning a brother) as its leader and guide. The Bhai took charge of the congregation and the Gurdwara, wherever there was one, and kept the Sangat together. There are thousands of Gurdwaras spread all over the country.

The third Guru, Amardas, acquired the site where the most sacred Gurdwara of the community now stands. The fourth Guru Ramdas not only conceived the plan of digging the *Sarovar* (Tank) but actually began the work of excavation, though it was in the time of the fifth Guru, Arjun Dev, that it was completed (1588). The Guru was then 25 years of age. The *Hari Mandir* (now known as the Golden Temple) standing in the centre of the tank was built by Arjun Dev in 1589. It is important to record here that the first stone in the foundation of the Hari Mandir was laid by a Muslim Saint of the name of Miar Mir.

Arjun collected the songs of all the Gurus, including his own, in book form. This is the *Granth Sahib*' the Holy Book of the Sikhs. Into this book were also incorporated the songs of the subsequent Gurus and some of the Hindu Saints. A remarkable feature of the *Granth Sahib* is that it contains many songs of Muslim Saints which are given the same rank as those of the Gurus. With the exception of the *Sloka Sangran* of the Brahmo and the *Prathana Samaj* of modern times. I do not know of a similar instance of religious toleration as the one I have just mentioned.

It was Guru Arjun Dev, again, to whom we owe the simplified Gurmukhi character in which the songs are transcribed.

Guru Arjun Dev's military life was a decisive turning point in Sikh history. Indeed, it will be no exaggeration to say that it forms a notable landmark in the whole history of India. During the last 150 years of the Gurus' period, the Sikhs rose, as a deeply religious community, intensely devoted to their faith and at peace with everybody around them. But from the close of Arjun Dev's ministry elements of religious fanaticism and intolerance began to assert themselves in the Moghul administration which eventually led to its downfall and dissolution. The growing strength of the Gurus alarmed Moghul Governors. The fifth Guru was persecuted and became a martyr to his faith. It was the beginning of a long period of persecution of Sikhs.

Guru Govind Singh's father, Tegh Bahadur, (the Ninth Guru) was persecuted and preferred martyrdom to the surrender of his faith. His grandfather spent twelve years as a prisoner in the fort of Gwalior and he himself was brought up in the midst of imminent danger to his life.

He was born at Patna where his mother had been removed for reasons of greater safety. At the age of ten he returned with his mother to his native village, Anandpur.

He must have been assailed, again and again, by a feeling of deep regret and disappointment that, despite his fairly large and devoted following, he dare not make an appearance near the chief temple of his faith. (It is really a lamentable circumstance that, up to the last day of his life, Guru Govind Singh

could not have a *darshan* of the Hari Mandir at Amritsar which was in possession of a fanatic Muslim Governor).

After the execution of Tegh Bahadur, the whole movement was under a cloud. The painful scenes and conditions in which he found himself, the martyrdom of his father, the 12 years of imprisonment of his grandfather at Gwalior and the death by torture of his great-grandfather made a deep impression upon his sensitive mind. He was driven to the conclusion that circumstances had arisen that made it fair and legitimate for him to have recourse to the sword. In his *saffernaman*, he himself says: (*Chu Kar As Hama nilte dar gus halal asht, burdan ba Shamshir dast*) "When all other means fail, it is legitimate to draw the sword."

Govind Rai desired to rise to the fullest height of the unique task to which he felt himself called, for the protection of his faith and his flock. For thus alone could he justify his claim to the spiritual leadership of the new young community. He was often heard to say:—(Chiryān Koion baj Marawan tan main Govind nam Kahawan) "I will make my sparrows kill hawks: then alone will I deserve the name I bear".

I can only refer in the briefest terms to the epic of the birth of the Khalsa. The transformation that took place at Anandpur on the Baisakhi day (Hindu New Year day) 1699, has played a great part in Indian history and is yet destined, I firmly believe, to play a no mean part in the future.

As usual the Sikhs had gathered together on the Baisakhi day of 1699 on the mound at Anandpur. This time the Guru had sent round an emergency call to the faithful. The slopes of the whole large mound were crowded with the Sangat, both men and women, while the Guru himself occupied an open cloth enclosure erected on the top of it.

As moments passed the Sangat (assembly) was becoming impatient when the Guru at last emerged from the cloth enclosure, holding a *naked sword* in his hand. Silence fell upon the assembled hordes. What did it portend? They were not kept long in suspense for a reply. "The times are at hand," said the Guru. "The safety of the Panth (the community) demands a unique sacrifice." Deep silence. Has the Guru gone mad? Asked some. But presently, one man rose up and slowly made his way up through the crowds of the worshippers. When he approached the Guru and offered himself to him, the Guru caught hold of his arm and led him inside the cloth enclosure. The crowds all round saw the naked sword of the Guru rise in the air and then descend with a sharp stroke. At the same time those that were seated not far from the enclosure could also hear a sound as if a head had been severed from the body. All doubts were soon set at rest. For the Guru himself rushed out of the tent with his sword still dripping with blood. This was not all. Horror of horrors, he demanded another sacrifice. It is said, some persons pushed to his house and requested his wife to intercede on their behalf. But she dared not intervene, she said. However, such was the devotion of the faithful to the Guru, that after a little hesitation a second man came forward and a third, and a fourth and a fifth! There was now a pause. After five men had been selected one after the other for sacrifice for the sake of the Panth, as they had believed, the Guru came out of the tent. The threatening sword had stood the severest test to which the Guru wanted to put his flock. Each time his sharply descending sword had severed a goat's head and not the men's. The five men were too precious to the Panth.

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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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THE CABINET DEPUTATION AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE.

The British Cabinet Deputation consisting of Lord Pethick Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. A. V. Alexander, arrived in New Delhi on Sunday noon and met a Press Conference on Monday evening. At the Conference Lord Pethick-Lawrence made a statement explaining in general terms the objects of the Mission and outlining the Mission's programme up to the middle of April. The elections will be practically over in a week's time and the Mission during the week will meet the Executive Council of the Viceroy, Governors of Provinces and have preliminary consultations with the Viceroy with whom they are putting up. After that they would have interviews with Prime Ministers, present and prospective, Leaders of the opposition in the Central and Provincial Legislatures and also with party leaders, Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah. Lord Pethick-Lawrence sought the cooperation of the Press in making the work of the Delegation a success. The statement was excellent in tone and form; the Conference should have ended with it. The Conference was an occasion for the Cabinet delegation to get to know personally the representatives of the Press. It was a mistake—a generous one—for Lord Pethick Lawrence to have undertaken to answer questions. The delegation has come out just to find answers to the questions which were agitating Indian as well as British minds. To some extent, it was taking unfair advantage of the goodwill of the Delegation when the Conference was arranged without scarcely

time for the members to shake off the fatigue of the long journey, particularly Lord Pethick Lawrence who at his age has undertaken this arduous task from his genuine desire to help in the solution of the Indo-British dead-lock. Lord Pethick-Lawrence could have without offending any reasonable journalist excused himself and the deputation from expressing opinions on subjects on which they have come to form considered opinions after acquainting themselves with the points of view of all groups and sections of the Indian people.

This is not to say that the answers which he gave to the more important questions put to him, could have been better in tone and substance. To the query, Whether the Deputation regarded the Muslims as a minority or a nation, Lord Pethick Lawrence gave the only apt answer, that they were regarded as one of the great Indian communities. We daresay that Lord Pethick Lawrence and his colleagues judge the importance of the community by its numerical strength. In India for centuries every community, irrespective of its number, has been treated as the equal of every other community. The Bene-Israel, the small ancient Jewish community, presented an address to Lord Pethick-Lawrence's predecessor at the India Office, Mr. Edwin Montague when he came to India on a like mission a quarter of a century ago, expressing their high appreciation of their reception and treatment by the Indian people and stating that they did not stand in need of any special safeguard of their interests. The Parsis are a great community though their number scarcely exceeds a hundred thousand. Just as in international law there is no distinction between large and small nations, so in the Indian comity there is none between the several religious communities. It has to be said to India's pride that they sought and found asylum on her soil alone among the countries of the world. It will be poor appreciation of this ancient spirit of the Indian people, if they were to be subjected to disabilities in the supposed interests of minorities who have always been treated not only with toleration but with honour in India. This great Indian

tradition was, with a few exceptions, adopted and followed by the best Muslim rulers and, indeed, before the advent and for long after the advent of the British, a process of fusion between Hindu and Muslim was in progress. The Sapru Committee Report issued a few months ago has an illuminating chapter on this subject, which doubtless Lord Pethick Lawrence and his colleagues have already perused.

Lord Pethick Lawrence remarked that the provincial elections have shown that the National Congress and the Muslim League are the two leading parties in the country. But the Muslim League is not a political party in the sense that the Congress is. The League is a communal organisation for the purpose of arresting what its leaders believe to be the disintegration of the community. It had to contend with no rival groups. Even Nationalist Muslims are largely in sympathy with its main object. They differ only as regards method, especially the method of partitioning the country. Even here the views of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and some other prominent leaders are not easily distinguishable from the demand for Pakistan. On the other hand, the elections have conclusively demonstrated that the National Congress represents a genuine national aspiration. The Justice Party which governed Madras for sixteen years of the diarchic dispensation, did not put up a single candidate to contest any seat in the whole Presidency. The Hindu Mahasabha put up a few candidates but the great majority of them were not only defeated but lost their deposits. The Scheduled Caste Constituencies have not returned a non-Congressman in Bombay province which Dr. Ambedkar declared was their particular stronghold. But for the communal Muslim electorates, there can be no doubt that Muslims too would have successfully contested many seats all over the country. It is quite clear then that the communal electorates are the greatest barrier to Indian unity. The Cabinet delegation should concentrate its energies and influence on removing this barrier. If it does not attempt this or fails in its attempt, it will indeed be the failure of the Mission. Independence will assume a very beneficial complexion if this evil legacy is not left behind. Then we will be able, Indians and British alike, to think of India as we had done all along until in an evil hour Lord Minto hit upon the communal method as a way out of the difficulties which he encountered as the consequence of the Bengal Partition. A Partition of India in a nation-wide scale, will start an agitation before which the Bengal Partition agitation was child's play.

Twenty years of Non-Violence:—Our suggestion in last week's *Reformer* that a quarter of a century's propaganda in favour of non-violence has only resulted in increasing the forces of violence, has found confirmation from an unexpected quarter. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel whose clean-cut pronouncements are in refreshing contrast to the ventriloquism of some other leaders, in a statement issued last week-end exhorts the British Government to come to a settlement with India in the lifetime of Gandhiji. Said the Sardar, "If the transfer of power takes place during his lifetime, he will lay the foundations of cordial relations between Britain and India as two equal partners to an alliance. If Britain misses this opportunity, nobody can guarantee the same for the reason that the Indian youth is impatient. You can see it. You have seen signs of impatience of young India." So, after all, the impatience of Indian youth is handy as an argument for pressing Britain to come to a settlement in Gandhiji's lifetime! The Sardar need have no misgivings. Britain is as anxious to transfer as the Congress is to get the dead sea apple. In the course of the same statement, the Sardar, observed, "Though we shall still continue to emphasise the need for non-violence, we shall have in a short time to build up our own army, navy and air force." The quotations are taken from the report in the *Times of India*. The Sardar's words should remove any misgivings that may have been created by the frequent professions by some less clear thinking leaders. Trust in God and keep your powder dry, was Oliver Cromwell's advice to his Puritans. "Proclaim non-violence but keep a force sufficient for your purpose," is the advice of the Sardar. It is eminently sane.

Notice to Correspondent:— "A Christian Lover of Hinduism" who has sent us a communication on the Kurseong Mission College, is requested to send his name and address for the Editor's information.

THE AMERICAN RELIGIOUS PRESS AND THE ATOMIC BOMB

(By HENSLEY C. WOODBRIDGE.)

The United States, though it may pride itself on its advanced economic and certainly materialistic philosophy and civilization, does have to meet certain fundamental issues and how this nation meets them will have great influence on the rest of the world. We, in the United States, are faced with the problems of peace-time conscription, improved public health facilities and housing, federal aid to

education, the treatment of our racial, national and religious minorities, full and fair employment of all of our citizens, enlarged social security, an ever-changing foreign policy, and a multitude of other important problems such as American imperialism in regard to Puerto Rico and other possessions and territories that do not yet possess full self-government at least as advanced as that of our continental states. Here are too events in Canada and the Latin-American countries.

Much has been said and written in both the religious and secular press of the United States concerning the use of the atomic bomb and now the American Congress and press are debating the momentous issue of and who is to control this powerful man-made instrument of destruction, an instrument that may truly make modern man obsolete (a phrase borrowed from a powerful article published in the *Saturday Review of Literature* and recently enlarged into the form of a small book). Before we can absolutely comprehend clearly the various arguments now being debated, let us take a rapid glance at the reactions of of the religious press to the bomb's use at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. For in the religious press of the United States as in the religious press of the world, we find the bomb's use universally condemned; we find voiced the desire that this nation cease manufacturing the bomb and that the so-called atomic secrets be controlled by the United Nations and not merely by the United States, Great Britain and Canada.

The paragraphs that follow are selections from articles and editorials that have appeared in what may be considered as the outstanding Catholic and Protestant publications of this country. As representative of the Catholic press, the *Catholic World*, the *Sign*, both monthlies, and the *Commonweal*, the outstanding American liberal weekly edited by Roman Catholic laymen, have been chosen. The *Christian Century*, the outstanding non-denominational weekly, and two denominational monthlies have been chosen to interpret the Protestant views of the subject under discussion. It is worth noting that the Federal Council of Churches and the members of the Catholic hierarchy have condemned the bomb's use in various statements given to the press and in other declarations.

The opinion of the Roman Catholic publications are important for the Roman Catholic Church is the largest single religious organization existing in the country and its influence on American morals, education, politics, foreign policy and every phase of American life cannot be neglected for it is the spokesman for 25,000,000 Catholics, who more than any other religious group act as a united mass.

The editor of the *Catholic World* (September 1945) attacks the bomb's use by a discussion of the moral and ethical principles involved and in this the religious press has greatly differed from our secular press that attacked the problem primarily from the viewpoint of its political and military aspects. Let us glance at a few sample quotations from this editorial:

"We the people of the United States of America and perhaps with us the people of Britain, have struck the most powerful blow ever delivered against Christian civilization and the moral law. I would call it a crime were it not that the word 'crime' implies sin and sin requires consciousness of guilt. Even more deplorable than the act itself is the fact that those who prepared the bombing, those who carried it out, and the whole nation or two nations which welcomed the news of it, seem to have had neither doubt nor scruple about its morality. It is pathetic and tragic to the last degree that whole peoples whose civilization is called Christian.....had to all appearances no doubt that what was done was permissible and laudable".

He next gives it as his personal opinion that "I here and now declare that I think the use of the atomic bomb, in the circumstance, was atrocious and abominable; and that civilized peoples should reprobate and anathematize this horrible deed... ..But let this opinion be recorded: the action taken by the United States government was in defiance of every conviction upon which our civilization is based".

The excuse that the bomb's use hastened the end of the Japanese resistance he calls both "spurious" and "unethical" for "the end does not justify the means. It is not permissible to do evil that good may come".

The Sign; National Catholic Magazine, has had several editorials on this subject. We quote here portions from an editorial from *American Moral Standards* (October 1945): America, at least presumably, is a Christian nation. In her internal affairs, in her relations, in war and in peace, America has in all her history claimed to base her actions on the code of Christian morality. Nor has America been slow to censure and to lecture other nations when their acts have deviated from that honour and decency the norms of morality demand from a sovereign power...

Now that this most debasing of wars is over, we Americans can well look to ourselves, at our record and stop preaching morality to others until we have removed the mote from our own eyes. Before the world we stand as moral hypocrites, proclaiming Christian Principles of morality and acting on them only when it suits our purpose. Our policy in war and now in peace is based on the notion that right is right and wrong is wrong depending on who does it... When American prisoners of war were maltreated and shot, that was wrong. But it was quite all right for Americans

to blast to Kingdom Come the civilian inhabitants of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. We even sought to justify it.

To the ignominy of the atomic bomb, civilization's greatest shame, has America been brought by the notion that what is done in the name of democracy must therefore be right, that democracy can do no wrong. Americans will not write all the history books of the world. Before the bar of future generations America will stand as the nation that vaporized the last shred of humanity from warfare when she annihilated without warning masses of unarmed citizenry.

What solutions are put forth by this section of American press? The *Commonweal*, one of America's truly great weeklies, Catholic as well as liberal, and such a combination is difficult to find especially in regard to certain thorny political problems, has constantly declared as it did in its editorial of Oct. 26: "What course then, would seem to make the prospect for humanity least terrifying? Willingness on America's part to share her knowledge with a responsible international authority would be the first step. That would curb to some extent the frantic attempts of the Soviets and others to develop for their own use, or threatened use, a comparable weapon. It would make for far deeper international confidence—International control will be difficult but the alternative is all too plain." And again on Nov. 23, we find these words so filled with truth: "There is a defense against the atomic bomb. It is simple. It consists of creating a world power, a world state; a world law-giving body with the bureaucracy and police force to make it function, which could genuinely legislate regarding matters of this sort—Its existence could readily mark the beginning of humanity's best flowering and fruitfulness."

Noting that the *Christian Science Monitor* had reported that Dr. Irving Langmuir declared that the United States is spending \$500,000,000 a year on atomic projects at the rate of \$1,000,000 per bomb, the *Commonweal* editorial of Jan. 4 stated: "If this is so, then there are not just the past and the future; the government of the United States, is actively engaged, now, in linking the horror of the past to an inevitably horrible future."

The principal journals of the Protestant denominations have spoken out with the same virulence against the atomic bomb. In an editorial entitled "Paralyzing Fear," the *Chronicle*, Protestant Episcopal (Nov. 1945) stated: "The choice seems to be between life and death. Nations and their leaders are confronted with an imperative peace of proportions far beyond those of any previous time in the history of man. Nor yet has any plan been offered or accepted that guarantees civilized safety for the future. As yet we

have no solution. But this need is as certain as night follows day, that unless men set their affairs in order, unless nations base their mutual relations upon a one world of righteousness and truth, the future of our world is dark indeed."

One of the publications of the Unitarian Church, the *Christian Register* (Sept. 1945) comments as follows: "The atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and thereby forced the most complacent man alive to think twice about his own existence and the continuance of his civilization—It is possible that atomic energy compressed into bombs can terrify men into ways of peace for some years to come, but only an incredible and intensified effort to plan and control our collective life here in America and throughout the world can save us from a war of atomic weapons within the life-time of this present generation—private greed, imperialist ambition and the uranium bomb can end every dream of freedom Thomas Jefferson ever held, and for the simple reason that this unholy trinity can end all human life."

The *Christian Century*, an undenominational Protestant weekly, outspoken against imperialism of any sort and which editorially before America's entrance into the war followed an almost absolutely pacifist line of thought, has like the other religious journals of America fought a brave fight for what it considers to be right. It has opposed the May-Johnson Bill, which would have given the Army and navy absolute control over atomic energy and research and has thrown its weight solidly behind the McMahon Bill that would leave such control for the domestic uses of atomic energy in the hands of a civilian commission. It is unfortunately true that at the moment regardless of the views of President Truman it seems that the armed forces may be given the greatest voice in the matter, though, at present, the last word may not be said for some time.

It is for the immediate world outlawry of atomic weapons, feeling that "the first step is an immediate halt to the further manufacture of bombs."

The *Century* and even it may be said the majority of secular newspapers and magazines is unalterably opposed to the Navy's experiment in the Pacific with the atomic bomb to test its effects on warships. On Feb. 6, it editorially declared: "The mobilization of this fantastic armada is more than a scientific experiment to test the effect of atomic explosives on naval armor. It is the most colossal single act of inexcusable waste ever conceived in the minds of presumably sane men—the sinking of these ships

in this manner constitutes a gesture of militaristic menace which brings into question every peaceful pretention made by the American government."

President Truman in a notable speech delivered recently before the Federal Council of Churches has appealed to America's religious bodies to help the nation solve the multitude of problems that face the United States. More and more the individuals who make up and form the American democracy are becoming aware of the vast explosive instrument that lies within the hands of their government. It is to be sincerely hoped that world opinion and the UNO will force the United States and any other nations that develop in the future atomic energy to place itself entirely at the disposition and control of the world organization now in the process of being established. Only by so doing can it remove the vast suspicions now raised against it and act in a spirit of justice, fairness and international amity.

CO-PROSPERITY

(By B. S. MATHUR)

Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the British Board of Trade, in a foreword to a special Indo-British Economic Relations Supplement, just published by "COMMERCE," a financial weekly of Bombay, writes, "The standards of living of India's vast population must be raised as quickly as possible. Indians have already taken the initiative by planning a great programme of industrial development. The speed with which that programme can be implemented must depend on the co-operation of other nations. We for our part are willing and anxious to co-operate." These are wise words, based on the rock of experience and centuries of advance made by the progressive countries of the world. Certainly vital co-operation is the thing. Days of isolation and self-sufficiency are gone. Both in war and in peace world-wide co-operation is of the essence towards successful handling of various problems.

It is an irony that war has ended, and yet real peace has not come. In other words we have to try and try with all our might and resources, both material and ethical, to banish wars in future. That an enduring peace may become a certainty, we will have to give up our old ideas, forced on us by our moral and spiritual backwardness. It is true that the invention of the atomic bomb has cut down the course of war, but it is also equally true that real peace will have to emerge after we have registered a real up-hill journey in spiritualism.

What this spiritual up-hill journey will be like may be clear to us from the following quotation from Dr. Nicholas Roerich: "To uplift is a noble action.

In uplifting we unavoidably uplift ourselves, because in creating the energy upward-everything from beginning to end, moves in this direction. With this upliftment comes also the quality of tolerance, so much needed. If we introduce tolerance only conveniently and superficially, nothing but hypocrisy can be created. Only through noble upliftment of the spirit, through incessantly realized labour comes this wonderful guest tolerance. Precisely, this quality when introduced naturally, creates the smile of wisdom."

Here the emphasis is on tolerance: it means toleration of other views. Indeed, in the world our contact is with people who are interested in many things. All cannot be identical in their interest. Each one of us has to develop his own personality, and in ordinary fashion, if care is not taken, we will come in clash with others. This has to be stopped if we do not want to inherit endless conflicts and brickerings. So there is wisdom in toleration. Also we can acquire wisdom by tolerance. Tolerance will give us an opportunity to be acquainted with other views, and that will undoubtedly advance our knowledge. Thus tolerance will lead to two things. In the first place, there will be little or no occasion for conflicts. The ground will be prepared for concord and harmony, so necessary in a vital way for our uplift. Secondly, we will possess more and more knowledge.

Sir Stafford Cripps writes; "Britain needs an expanding world economy for her own prosperity as well as that of others, and in co-operation with other nations, will take every possible step to achieve it." Remember it was Mr. Winston Churchill who in 1935 remarked that two out of every ten Englishmen depended on India for their food. England cannot think in terms of leaving India. To her it is a question of life and death. There is India trying to get out of the clutches. What is the way out? Beyond a doubt no intellectual can think of complete isolation in these days of internationalism and interdependence. Immediately the solution emerges. There must be co-prosperity. The measure of prosperity in the world must be in abundance, and it must be shared by all equally.

If there is an emphasis on "equality" it does not mean that there is going to be no room for individual adventure and progress. Definitely all must be allowed to grow according to their ability and capacity. So what is urgently and vitally needed is an atmosphere of equal opportunities for all nations. I have jumped from individuals to countries because we are discussing our problem of co-prosperity of the nations of the world. The aim is at internationalism. This is not merely a fad. This idea of internationalism is based on a divine truth. There are people who suggest that spiritualism has no room for exploitation in politics. I have used the word "exploitation" with a purpose. It has been used because a large number of unthinking people of the world that is so continuously dominated by politics and economics of selfishness think that

religion is nothing but a safe thing to exploit in times of need and danger. That idea is a fiction. Religion by itself is a divine thing, a thing of value and help in matters concerning our life on earth. But what is that divine idea, on which internationalism is based? Our religious books say that in the beginning of things there was nothing but God, and in the course of time He felt tired of loneliness, and this world is the outcome of the desire on the part of the ONE to express Himself in the Many. It means that all of us have a "Divine" spark, and as such we all are equal. Throughout the world, from pole to pole there is one race the human race, one blood the human blood. If that realisation is possible immediately our brickerings will end, and we will end as staunch believers in co-prosperity.

Just when the San Francisco Conference was going to be held, Mahatma Gandhi wrote: "An indispensable preliminary to peace is the complete freedom of India from all foreign control, not only because it is a big, classic example of imperialist domination, but because it is a big, ancient country which has fought for its freedom since 1920 deliberately by truth and non-violence as its only weapon." In these words Mahatmaji has indicated his real understanding of the problem, the problem of peace that has thus far remained unsolved. Plainly, there cannot be freedom and peace all over the world if there is exploitation in any part of the world. We have to think in terms of free nations of the world. Exploitation and domination of one nation over other cannot be the creed of nations, keen on international peace and security. Blessings of peace and victory must be equally shared by all, great or small nations, whether victorious or vanquished. If peace is to follow immediately we have to think of benefits of war, shared equally by all. Co-prosperity must be our ideal. But this ideal must be soon worked out; it must be soon given a practical shape. One may state: there can be no peace in the world if some nations remain in bondage; also there can be no peace if some nations remain backward and poverty-stricken. Co-prosperity is our ideal: it is not a mad man's dream.

As I conclude I will like to refer to some words spoken by Sir S. S. Bhatnagar, some time ago, in Cawnpore, regarding the policy of the Americans in dealing with the Chinese. According to him, the Americans favoured the idea of China's progress in civilisation. The Americans are keen on granting scholarships to the Chinese students to do research work in America. What is the idea behind this generosity on the part of the Americans to the Chinese? The Americans are business-minded, and as a result of new civilisation in China, encouraged by the Chinese students, reading and studying in America, there would be greater demand for American goods in China. All this comes to co-prosperity. The Americans want that China must progress because on her progress depends the progress of America.

Ultimately, the stress has to be placed on co-prosperity. A rising country must have a world market for its goods. In the words of Sir Stafford Cripps, "The economy of many countries depends very largely upon the ability of Britain to continue to purchase their produce and goods. Equally Britain needs an outlet for her manufactures."

In an atmosphere of "give and take," of mutual help of friendly competition and of international goodwill there can be seeds of a lasting and vital peace, based on international prosperity and security.

AN OLD LEAGUE FAN LOOKS AT UNO

(By MAURICE CRANSTON)

Between Anglican Church House and Methodist Central Hall pass the statesmen of 51 nations, talking of the League and UNO. Inside, they discuss the atom, and Persia, and Mandates, but in the lobbies and the streets of the Westminster, the perpetual theme is the old League of Nations and the new United Nations, how like they are, and how different. To the older hands at this international game, the likeness seems particularly marked. Byrnes' eloquence conjures up the ghost of Briand's; the Charter prompts memories of the Covenant; at Westminster, as at Geneva, delegates dedicate themselves to unity at one session, and quarrel like cats at the next.

At lunch the other day, an American delegate, Arthur Sweetser, who was for twelve years on the League Secretariat, said to me: "It's the League all over again. More 'realist,' I suppose, but then, without the spirit and zeal and the sense of the high purpose."

This is the point of difference I feel most strongly. American readers may not easily understand it; for, cut off from the League, they have not known how great a spell it had over the minds of common people in Europe. A tremendous will to peace was canalized towards Geneva. I was being educated, and my mind formed, when the prestige of the League stood highest. I cannot easily plight my troth to a new love. I recognize that UNO must be made to work, that sooner or later it must fire my imagination as the League did but so far it hasn't. This is true of many, many people. There is talk of "cynicism" towards UNO. I do not think this is the word; rather the reluctance of a deceived lover to have his love betrayed again.

This is not to say that UNO may not do a lot of useful work. Britain can fairly claim credit for being the first country to give UNO a nourishing diet. UNRRA and the resettlement of refugees, for its first economic and

social agencies; the first territories for its Trusteeship Council. Britain also is urging the early establishment of the Military Staff Committee, which, it is hoped, will put some reality into the work of the Security Council. Mr. Bevin may be a little optimistic in suggesting that all this new international activity is already creating in the functional department of the coming World State, but nobody can say the Labor Government is not wholehearted and practical in its efforts to give UNO a chance.

What of America? Mr. Byrnes has convinced the world that the U. S. will not this time withdraw from her responsibilities. But when I heard him say that UNO did not impinge on the separate interests of member states, I was disappointed. Does anyone believe we can have a world unity unless sovereign states are willing to sacrifice some of their interests? The trouble is, of course that while the U. S. and Great Britain might sacrifice some sovereignty to a body consisting of themselves and other advanced democracies, they would not put themselves under the authority of the Russians or the Chinese.

Russia is the big problem here. Rightly or wrongly, the Soviets are bitterly suspicious. What price America and Britain are paying for their atom secrecy! With the Persian protest before the Security Council, Russia's affection for UNO is not likely to increase. If only UNO had a few men like Campbell Bannerman, George Lansbury or Franklin Roosevelt in its ranks, some real work of reconciliation might be done. As it is, years of patient waiting must pass before we enjoy the full fellowship of the Soviet Union in our international parliament.

* * *

The United Nations Association, born of the defunct League of Nations Union, entertained UNO delegates at a military rally, with pipers and buglers and a Field Marshall as star speaker! This wouldn't have happened at a LNU rally 25 years ago. The accent then was on disarmament. Today the great boast of the UNO is that it has "teeth." Will it learn in time that it cannot live by strength alone? However foolishly anti-militarist the LNU, the UNO could do with some of its moral fervour.

JINNAH'S INTRANSIGENCE.

Sir, Apropos. the apostle of Pakistan's broadside attack on the British Government and the Indian National Congress and its leaders on the eve of the British Cabinet Mission's arrival in India to implement the transfer of Power to Indian hands on the

basis of the unequivocal declaration made by the British Premier, Mr. Attlee, does not come as a surprise to many of us. Stung to the quick by the crucial statement in the speech of Mr. Attlee, outlining the work of the Cabinet Mission that while "we are mindful of the rights of the minorities, and the minorities should be able to live free from fear. On the other hand, we cannot allow a minority to place their veto on to advance of a majority," Mr. Jinnah charges like mad bull, now at the British Government, now at the Congress and anon at the leaders of the Congress. Even Gandhiji has not been spared the venom of his spleen.

His tirade against all those who do not subscribe to the suicidal and disastrous division of India, and the cheap jibes he indulges in describing the Nationalist Muslims does little credit to him, and is unbecoming of a responsible leader of the position of Jinnah. By sheer force of invective, loose libels and deliberate misrepresentation of the policy of his opponents does Mr. Jinnah hope to convert them to his way of thinking? Or does he hope to succeed by sheer bluff, bullying and blustering? It is high time that Jinnah learns that abuse is not argument, nor threats logic.

Does this not betray the inherent weakness of his Pakistan demand? For they say, that when you do not have a good case, you start abusing your opponent, and that is what Jinnah does. The lesson of history has been completely forgotten by him. The days of appeasement are over. Mr. Jinnah cannot go on fooling all people for all time. Having lived in the anticipation that the British Government will not let him down, he has been sadly disillusioned at last. Place not your trust in princes is a counsel of perfection. On the one hand, Jinnah is offering threats, and on the other bribes. Even a child can understand that by these means and devices, he cannot hope to convince any body. Even a child will not be beguiled.

If by playing on the religious sentiments of the Muslims of India, Jinnah hopes to achieve Pakistan, he is much mistaken. Was it not the same Jinnah who said "every man and woman of the Muslim world will die before Jewry enters Jerusalem". And yet Jerusalem has been seized by non-Muslims long ago. When the same Jinnah stood aloof, it was for the same cause that the Muslims of India fought along-side with their Hindu brethren in 1920 under the banner of the Khilafat. It is significant to note that most of the members Muslim League of the present day showed white feathers. What a strange irony! It was for the freedom of India that Hindus and Muslims fought shoul-

der to shoulder in the present day in the immortal Indian National Army. It was not for the establishment of any "Stans" that they shed their blood but for Hindustan; Jinnah can afford to forget the lessons of History, and by quibbling try to make out a case.

Argument is exhausted, reason is fatigued, and yet Jinnah's intransigence is unyielding. Jinnah has made up his mind not to co-operate with the Cabinet Mission, if it comes with the idea of setting up a single constitution-making body. It looks as if the Mission which has an enthusiastic reception from almost all quarters of the globe will have to by-pass him, if they mean business.

'NAMRAD.

HINDU MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

— Sir, May I take this opportunity of making a few observations in connection with the article on "That Vexed Question of Divorce" by Mr. Rammurti, in your issue dated 9th of March, 1946?

Mr. Rammurti disagrees with Justice Blagden's view that incalculable harm might be done to the lives of innocent Hindu wives by encouraging their husbands to adopt Islam in order to get rid of them and contract a new marriage. Not only that, but he seems to doubt the bona fides any sympathy of Justice Blagden for innocent Hindu wives, and blames him for refusing to recognise the equity and justice of the plaintiff wife's case, and thus blocking the way of a distressed Hindu wife to Islamic path of safety and driving her to seek relief in kerseene stones and walls and tanks.

As regards the first point, let me suggest that Mr. Rammurti has not properly understood the implications of Justice Blagden's statement. True it is that, unlike a Christian or a Parsee husband, a Hindu husband need not convert himself to get a divorce from an unwanted and unloved wife, as he is already permitted to marry more than one wife under the Hindu law; and to that extent, a Hindu wife would not be in a worse position if judicial sanction were given to a dissolution of marriage as a result of conversion. But there is another sinister implication which Mr. Rammurti has lost sight of. A Hindu husband, by mere conversion, can defeat the right of maintenance of his wife, if the conversion was accepted as a ground from marital ties and obligations. A Hindu wife would be virtually thrown on the streets for no fault of her own. A rich Hindu husband, who wanted to remarry and yet evade his responsibility to his former wife might just convert himself; and if he so intends, can again reconvert himself after he secures divorce from his former wife). Secondly, it would encourage seduction and conversion by enabling the converted Hindu wives to desert their husbands for ever, and get their marriages dissolved, even though the husband might not be in any fault. Thirdly, of late it has become a fashion among educated

women to marry persons who are already married (unfortunately to illiterate wives) and have children as well. It is a common psychological fact that no educated person likes to be pointed at or known as polygamous if he can help it. So naturally he would convert and reconvert himself before he would marry another woman. The woman he is going to remarry herself would insist on his doing so. In our modern society, when continued contact and intellectual friendship between educated men and women has become quite common, and the taboo of sex is to a great extent being relaxed, it will not be too much to expect such young persons to take advantage of conversion (and subsequent reconversion) in order to escape from their former marriage.

As regards the second point, it is difficult to see how the plaintiff-wife had more equity and justice on her side than the defendant-husband. It was not alleged or proved that the plaintiff's husband was guilty of adultery, cruelty, intemperance, or any other recognised ground entitling divorce. A right to divorce belongs to that married partner who has suffered or been put in an invidious position as a result of the mis-deed or mis-conduct of the other partner. Here it is not clear what misdeed the plaintiff's husband has committed. Moreover, the plaintiff's story of a dream leading to her conversion appears so flimsy and of a make-shift nature as hardly to need any comment. Surely conversion, if genuine, should have a sounder basis than a mere dream. And to sum up, if Mr. Rammurti's equity be accepted, a guilty partner can nullify the effect of his own mis-conduct by just converting himself and thus getting rid of the innocent spouse. It would be a premium on vice. The aim and end of law is to help not the wrong-doer but the aggrieved person. There can be no law, or justice or equity, which has the effect of doing otherwise.

Mr. Rammurti might advantageously read Section 4 of the Dissolution of Muslim Marriage Act, 1939, which lays down that mere renunciation of religion or conversion of a married person celebrated according to Muslim rites, does not justify divorce. Mr. Rammurti have Islam giving safety to converted distressed women of other faiths, while denying the same to distressed Muslim women who may convert themselves to other faiths! Surely, equity and justice are something better than this.

This writer should not be understood in any way as being opposed to the rights and necessity of Hindu wives to free themselves from their marriage ties when the same become intolerable and inequitable. He sincerely believes that the lot of Hindu women can never be bettered till the principles of monogamy with liberty of divorce under certain circumstances, and the right of inheritance of women are embodied in a revised Hindu law. But conversion is not the right way. It is a double-edged weapon; and likely to lead to fraud and abuse. Innocent men and women are likely to suffer more than benefit by it. Justice Blagden has done a great service to innocent wives and husbands by dissenting from adverse judgments of single judges of Calcutta High Court (with one exception), which were a source of dissatisfaction in legal circles.

HEMENDRA K. SHAH.

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

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NOTES

The New Bombay Ministry:—On Wednesday the regime of the Governor with Advisers, ended in Bombay. The second Kher Cabinet was sworn into office. It has the goodwill of the people of the province in abundant measure, including a large section of Muslims who adhere to the League. This is no Coalition Ministry but one entirely reflecting the Congress mind at its best. The new Ministry is a social progress ministry. The Prime Minister himself is an assiduous social worker. His work for the tanners and Mahars in Salsette, has been both practical and educative. His work among the Adivasis or aboriginal tribes, was described by an accomplished writer in a series of articles published in the *Reformer* some months ago. He has in his social work a valuable coadjutor in Mr. Vaikunth L. Mehta who is perhaps the leading authority on the Cooperative movement at the present time. The inclusion of his name in the Cabinet as Finance Minister is a tribute to his ability and character as much as to the discernment of the Prime Minister. Mr. Kher has announced that Prohibition will be the main feature of his programme. In this, he has a valuable colleague in Dr. M. D. Gilder who resumes the Public Health portfolio which he held in the first Congress Ministry. If Prohibition cannot be introduced for the whole province at once for administrative reasons, it had better begin with the districts where it is most urgently needed as a measure of relief. The Prime Minister has indicated the question of relief to primary school teachers as one which will receive the prompt attention of his Government. "Open a school and close a

prison" was a slogan inspired by the writings of Charles Dickens and others in the middle of the last century, but it has not lost its force. Schoolmasters should not be paid less wages than a cook or a hamal. Even from a purely economic point of view, the improvement of the lot of the teachers is important. The grouping of portfolios is apparently not intended to be permanent. It is in some respects incongruous. The most glaring instance is the combination of the Revenue and Home portfolios in one Minister. This is open to nearly all the objections urged against the combination of executive and judicial functions. Revenue is half of Finance and should be included in it. The Home Department is sufficiently serious in itself and needs a strong Minister to administer it without excessive strain on himself or the Police who are his principal instruments.

Mr. Kher's Broadcast:—On assuming office, Mr. Kher broadcast from the Bombay radio station a short speech which touched a very high level of statesmanship infused by a deep spiritual motive. The keynote of the speech was service—just, impartial to all, irrespective of caste, creed or colour. Ministers are servants of the people. They will be accessible to the people at all times and all matters where they can help. In the spirit of the Son of Man they had come not to be ministered unto but to minister. Mr. Kher briefly indicated the main subjects which would receive his Government's immediate attention. They, nearly all of them, had the amelioration of the economic and social condition of the people. The speech was a fine one, finely pronounced, and will go a great way towards inspiring public confidence in Congress ideology not only in Bombay but all over India and abroad. Mr. Kher, unlike the great majority of Indians of this generations, is a student of the Bible as well.

Sardar's Directives:—While the future constitution of India contemplated in Congress resolutions is a Federation with minimum powers strictly defined at the centre

and the rest and residual powers in the provinces and States constituting the Federation, the constitution indicated by Congress practice is a highly centralised one with the President and Parliamentary Board exercising almost dictatorial powers over the whole country. This is further accentuated by a new development during the last few days. This is what are called directives. They are issued by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel as Chairman of the Parliamentary Board. They lay down the main lines on which Congress Governments formed and to be formed in the provinces should take action. They are all very sound and unexceptionable. They are all wisely conceived in the best interests of the country. The point which we wish to stress, however, is that they resemble the directives of General MacArthur to the Japanese Imperial Government and are without roots in any constitutional theory. We note this not by way of criticism but as pointing to a tendency of Indian politics developing under the influence of conditions at the present day. Whatever the form of the constitution which may be adopted, in practice it will be worked by means of Directives issued by one or more men outside the cabinet responsible to the Legislature.

Congress-League Ministries:—Maulana Kalam Azad, President of the Indian National Congress, has been making overtures to the Muslim League leaders in various provinces to join the Congress and form Coalition Ministries. The offer was rejected outright in Assam at the instance of Mr. Jinnah. It was rejected also in Sind where the Congress was invited by Sir Ghulam Hussein Hidayatullah to designate two Hindus for his Cabinet. In the Punjab, the Congress leader, Mr. Bheemsen Sachar, has offered to drop his Prime Minister, Sir Khizr Hayat Khan, if the Muslim League would agree to a Coalition since the Leaguers refuse to sit at the same table with non-League Muslims. But the most extraordinary offer is that made by Mr. Govind Vallabh Pant at the instance of the Maulana to take two Muslim Leaguers in his Cabinet. In the United Provinces, the Muslims are a minority, though a well-placed and influential minority, and none of the reasons which might have prompted a similar invitation in Sind and the Punjab are present. The Congress is pledged up to the hilt to oppose Pakistan, while the League is equally committed to strive for it. The Congress is also pledged to have communal electorates abolished as soon as possible while the League clings to them as for dear life. What common ground is there for the Congress and the League to meet on and cooperate for the good of the country? A

Coalition between the two would be a cat and dog coalition perpetually wrangling to get round each other. These overtures whether made by Congress or League, are giving rise to misgivings.

Tamil Nad Congress Affairs:—Congress economy in Tamil Nad has been thrown into confusion by incidents which followed Gandhiji's highly successful visit to that part of the country. In answering a questioner at Bezwada who insinuated that Gandhiji's visit to the South had an ulterior object, namely, that of reinstating Mr. Rajagopalachari on the Madras gadi, Gandhiji, denying the soft impeachment, spoke of Rajagopalachari in such superlative terms that the object of them felt obliged to ask permission to retire from politics. The most venomous criticism does less harm to a politician than fulsome eulogy. The former creates sympathy for him by rousing the chivalrous instincts of a large part of the public which likes to see fair play. Exaggerated praise on the other hand has the same effect on such people as an excess of sugar in sweets. Not content with that, he accused the persons carrying on Congress work without Rajagopalachari with being a clique. Kamaraj Nadar, the president of the Tamil Nad Committee, promptly resigned. Gandhiji declined to withdraw the word but gave several reasons to show that he did not mean it in an opprobrious sense. Nadar would seem to have been satisfied. Though we have not seen a formal withdrawal of his resignation, he is functioning as President of the Committee as if nothing had happened. But who is the prospective Prime Minister invited to the Cabinet Ministers' Conference in New Delhi next week? Mr. Rajagopalachari had in his letter to Gandhiji recommended that Mr. Sambamurti, ex-President of the Madras Legislative Assembly, should be nominated for the University seat in his place. The Parliamentary Board nominated Mr. K. Bashyam instead. The Congress Parliamentary Board, by way, perhaps, of ensuring that an unlettered peasant does not seek the position of Premier of a province, has assigned to prospective Prime Ministers the University constituency. It may have been inferred from this that the Parliamentary Board intended Mr. Bashyam to be the next Madras Premier. The acting Governor, however, had invited Mr. Prakasam who was passed over for the Premiership in favour of Rajagopalachari in the last Congress Government in that province.

Dr. Ambedkar's Growl:—Some days ago when the Congress candidate secured a majority in the primary elections to nominate candidates from the scheduled castes to stand

for general electorates, Dr. Ambedkar was reported to have declared that, if his men fared badly in Bombay province which was his stronghold, he would take off his cap and surrender to the Congress. The result of the Bombay elections has been published. Not a single Ambedkar man has been returned. All the seats reserved for the Scheduled Castes have been captured by Congress nominees. But Dr. Ambedkar does not carry out his undertaking. He denounces the election as humbug since his nominees who fared well at the primaries, have fared miserably at the general elections. He forgets that the Congress nominees who have been elected, also stood and were elected at the primary elections and that they are as much representatives of the Scheduled Castes as Ambedkarities. He wants the Scheduled Castes to have separate electorates like the Muslims. But the result of the elections prove, if they prove anything, that Ambedkar and followers do not command the confidence of the electorates. Let it be remembered that the scheme of double election for the Scheduled Castes was approved and endorsed by Dr. Ambedkar in what is known as the Yeravda Pact. Dr. Ambedkar's partisans have fared even worse than the Communists and the Hindu Mahasabha candidates. Dr. Ambedkar should carry out his promise and lend the full strength of his ability and intelligence to strengthening not disrupting Indian Society.

Back to Mohenjo-Daro:—We should perhaps hark to ancient Indus Valley civilization to find a parallel to the latest development in Sind's political evolution. A press message dated Karachi, March 25, stated that the Hidayatullah Ministry was defeated by 30 to 29 votes in the Sind Legislative Assembly that day. Mr. Bundehali Khan Talpur (Muslim League) voted with the Opposition. In a statement subsequently issued by him, Mir Bundehali Khan declared that it had become very hard and revolting to his conscience to continue to be member of the Government party which he accused of having done many unseemly things. The Opposition met at once and elected him its leader in the Assembly. The same day, it was announced that he had been sworn in as fifth Minister in the Ghulam Hussein Cabinet and had returned to his first allegiance. That the Coalition opposition had been befooled, whether intentionally or not, is of little consequence.

Death Duties:—The Finance Member, Sir A. Rowlands, has introduced in the Legislative Assembly a Bill to sanction the levy of Death Duties. The present Bill does not go into details, of the size of estates and

the rates of duty. It merely provided the framework and leaves these details for subsequent legislation. The duty will be levied by Central Government and the proceeds distributed among provinces. The distinction between Death Duties and Succession duties, is, it is explained, that while the former are levied on the whole of dead man's estate, the latter are levied on the share which each of the heirs or survivors or legatees get. Obviously, the Death Duties will be levied along with the Succession duties, and the estate will be subject to double taxation. The Indian bureaucracy while diehard in politics, has always been radical in taxation. If the Hindu follows strictly the Shastras and dispossesses himself of all his property in his life-time, the Death Duties will leave his property when he dies unaffected. For the present, however, we do not go into the merits of Death Duties. What we would suggest is that a measure of this kind affecting the foundations of family life, should be left over to be dealt with by a Government which is closer to social conditions than the present. Property in India is almost inexorably interwoven with the family, social and religious system and should not be subjected to hasty handling by an authority which has no foothold in that system. A representative protested against the bill on the ground that Islam does not allow the State to touch a dead Muslim's property. In the new Malayan Constitution, the subject would perhaps be dealt with by the council of Muslim chiefs which is to deal with matters relating to the Mahomedan religion.

The Salt Tax:—The Finance Member of the Government of India gave a curious reason for not including among the remissions which he announced, a reduction of the duty on salt. It was not that he could not reduce the duty on financial grounds but that he did not wish to embarrass his successor. We have never known a Chancellor of Exchequer justify failure to give relief, which he could do, to the people on such a ground. Sir A. Rowlands as Finance Member had to do his best for the relief of the people. The salt tax is one of the most inequitable taxes in the world. It is many times the cost of production. It is levied on a bare necessity of life. Sir A. Rowlands was thinking more of his personal reputation with his successors than of the well-being of the people whose affairs he has to administer. With the sales tax everywhere, the burden of the salt duty on poor families will be aggravated. This is the sole consideration which should have prevailed with a Finance Minister. Sir A. Rowlands should know that the remission of the salt duty is a prominent part of national finance.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, April 6, 1946.

CABINET DELEGATION AT WORK

The Cabinet delegation has been at work for a fortnight. The first week was devoted to meeting members of the Government of India and Governors of provinces. It is not easy to imagine how a discussion could be carried on without something to discuss. The question whether India should be granted Dominion status or Independence is not one for the Governors of provinces or even members of the Government of India to advise on. In fact, that question must be taken as settled in favour of Independence. Mr. Jinnah has recently thrown out the suggestion that Pakistan may wish to be in the British Commonwealth. This is totally against the trend of the speeches and resolutions of the League leaders and it has not found support from any other Leaguer. There remain, therefore, two matters for discussion, the composition of an interim central Government, if there is to be one, and of the constitution making body. Both the Muslim League and the Congress have declared against an interim central government at this stage. The War is officially over and they wish to go on at once to constitution making. But provincial cabinets have been and are being formed, and without radical change the present government at the centre has no point of contact with them. Both Congress and the League may, therefore, be assumed to have waived their objection to an interim Government at the centre. Here, again, provincial Governors can give no useful advice. They were probably called to be informed of the intention of His Majesty's Government so that they may take steps necessary to avoid hitches in the transition from dependence to independence. The Cabinet Delegation may have also explained to them the circumstances in home and international conditions which have decided His Majesty's Government to come to a settlement as rapidly as possible.

The second stage and the second week started with an interview with Dr Khan Saheb, the Premier of the North-Western Frontier Province. This is of good augury. Dr. Khan Saheb is not an artful politician. He speaks out his mind freely and has definite views. He and his brother, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, have the complete confidence of the Frontier people both in the Province and beyond. They can manage the tribal question quite competently if they are given a free hand untrammelled by the fear that British prestige would suffer if an Indian Government found

a simpler and more effective way of ensuring security on the Frontier than a Government of British personnel. Dr. Khan Saheb, while absolutely loyal to the Congress, has always retained much initiative in his own province and the Congress High Command has wisely contented itself with a minimum of interference in Frontier affairs. Dr. Khan Saheb told Press representatives that he was for the solidarity not only of India but of the whole world. The Frontier people are the most truly Islamic people in India, and they have definitely declared themselves in favour of India as one country. Nevertheless, Mr. Jinnah insists on including them in Pakistan against which they have definitely pronounced. Without the Frontier province and the Punjab which the Sikhs claim as their homeland and Assam under a Congress Ministry, three-fourths of Pakistan should be considered to have already elected out of the scheme. From the returns of the elections which are nearly complete it looks as if in Bengal also the League Ministry without the support of the other parties, will be difficult to form and impossible to function for more than a single session. A Muslim League member speaking in the Legislative Assembly exclaimed, "Give the country back to those from you took it." Promptly came the answer from a Sikh and a Mahratta member, "I fully agree." The British took the Punjab from the Sikhs and the greater part of the rest of India from the Mahrattas. The Moghul Empire had collapsed.

Press Conferences are an innovation imported from the United States and not the most useful. President Franklin Roosevelt invented them as a means of ventilating his views without committing himself to any. The American system does not admit of Cabinet Ministers sitting in Congress and answering questions. Presidential messages are only for important matters. The American system has been described as a four year dictatorship tempered by leaking articles. Contact with the Press is thus of vital importance to the administration. Its adoption in India is not dictated by any such necessity. But so long as Press Conferences are held and questions allowed without any sort of control as would exist in the Legislature, the Press must comment on statements made at the conference and its comments may not necessarily be helpful to the Cabinet delegation. On the other hand, press comments may be utilised by the Delegation as representing a wider sphere of opinion than that which Party leaders and Ministers represent. In the present state of confusion it will be unsafe to accept the views of political party leaders as a complete and

mature exposition of informed opinion on constitutional matters. Sir Stafford Cripps indicated that any undertaking that might have been given five years ago, may have to be modified in the light of events during that period. This is quite right, particularly if the undertaking reverses a greater and more authoritative undertaking given as the basis of British rule in India. A solemn promise in a Royal Proclamation that none shall be favoured on account of creed or colour, is not abrogated by what a viceroy might have said to any particular group. Sir Stafford also suggested that, if no settlement was possible for the Cabinet Delegation, the Indian question might be referred to international arbitration. When international relations between the Big Powers are in their present chaotic state, we are surprised that Sir Stafford should think of international arbitration as likely to yield any useful result. The tossing-up of a coin will be a more satisfactory way of reaching a decision, if anybody is willing to accept it.

When the Pilgrim Fathers found that they could not live with their conforming countrymen, they did not demand a partition of Britain with the counties in which they were most numerous made into an independent State. On the contrary, even in New England they acknowledged allegiance to the British sovereign and only separated on a political aim. The precedent stands good for seceders for all time.

WELL-MEANT BUT III-CONCEIVED

Gandhiji up till now, whenever he went outside his Wardha quarters, usually stayed in well-situated and roomy houses of wealthy friends. For many years the late Mr. Revashankar's house in Laburnum Road served this purpose. Of late years, Birla House on Malabar Hill, has been his place of residence whenever he visited Bombay. It is a large house, situated in a healthy locality, which could without inconvenience to the host accommodate Gandhiji and his entourage, besides providing room for prayer meetings and sessions of the numerous committees with which Gandhiji is associated formally and informally. Not only Gandhiji, but Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya made it temporary home. Birla House is also able to provide hospitality on a larger scale than most Congress families. Conveyances too are at the disposal of the honoured guests. No sensible person thought that the Birlas had any idea of placing Gandhiji under political or other obligations to themselves by welcoming him to their homes, nor that Gandhiji would feel himself under any obligation to them. This time when he had to break his journey from Poona

to Delhi for a few hours, he decided to stay in a hut in the quarters where the Municipal sweepers, *bhangis*, dwell. No doubt, he meant to set an example for his Hindu friends to associate on terms of complete social equality with the depressed classes. Unfortunately, the *bhangis* did not appreciate his goodwill. How far political antipathy entered into their anti-Gandhiji demonstrations, it is difficult to judge. But even without any political bias, the scheduled castes, numbering several hundreds, are very jealously exclusive each in relation to the others. The Mahars will not tolerate a *bhangi* in their settlement nor the *bhangis* mahara. It is the peculiarity of the Caste system that each caste regards itself as pre-eminent and likes to keep to itself. Gandhiji with his miscellaneous entourage will have seriously embarrassed the *bhangi* colony. It is extremely doubtful if by his residence among them he could have produced any greater improvement than by his propaganda through the Sevak Sangh and his weekly, the *Harijan*. The best way of helping them or any other group or individual is to help them to help themselves. Gandhiji's idea that all the scheduled castes live in squalor is not right. Many Mahar houses, for instance, are kept more clean and tidy than many houses of caste Hindus in the same and even better economic position. In any case, it is little that he can do by his personal presence, and he cannot be present everywhere where there is dirt and depression.

A BANDRA DIARY

Lord Pethick Lawrence in reply to a question at his first press Conference described Muslims as a great community, declining to call them either a minority or a nation. This term, "community", is adopted in the census summary for 1941, in place of religion in the previous report. The reason given is the need for avoiding the controversy as to whether the scheduled castes, forest tribes and aboriginals belong or not to the Hindu fold. There are communities whose religious beliefs partake of both Hinduism and Islam, and the Census Report has avoided trying to do so by the same expedient.

Another point of importance in this context is that the proportion of Indian Muslims who speak the provincial vernaculars as their mother tongues is about five times as more than those who speak Urdu, claimed to be the Muslim national language, and Urdu itself is an Indian dialect with Arabian and Persian additions to its vocabulary.

Lord Pethick Lawrence said that his delegation came with the sole intention of playing

their full part as representing His Majesty's Government in helping Indians to achieve their independence. "Beyond this," he added, "we have open minds and are not committed to any particular views. But that does not mean that we come with a hesitant or indecisive frame of mind." I for one absolutely believe in the sincerity and good faith of the delegation. None of them belongs to the category of hack politicians which Democracy needs and breeds, among many things which are beneficial and favourable to human progress. They are idealists each in own way and are not blind votaries of their national creed of buying and selling as the supreme end of national life. Therefore, I have not the slightest doubt of their earnest and sincere goodwill to India and their desire to help her to find her own soul which, and not forms of Government, is the deep spiritual significance of human and national freedom. When Lord Pethick Lawrence spoke of an open mind he surely did not mean an empty mind. He and his colleagues as students of political history and science have surely a clear idea in their minds of what would be the ideal Governments for India with her traditions and her culture as well as her history and that of her composite population, not omitting more recent developments within and without the country itself. An Indian historian of ancient India, writing thirty years ago, stated, from his study of the subject the conclusion that India had the maximum security from foreign aggression and prosperity in the country itself when she had a strong central government and that the search for such a Government which would adequately provide for the satisfaction of provincial aspirations has been the purpose of India's history for ages. If the delegation consider this right diagnosis, the question is how and by what means they could help India in achieving her goal. No interim or tentative step which would impede the progress towards this goal should be adopted. Whatever can be done to remove obstacles on the way to it, should be done. The communal principle introduced forty years ago is the first obstacle and it was deliberately introduced as an obstacle. Successive British statesmen, Montagu, Simon, have deplored it but have left it untouched. And that is why their reforms have but aggravated the political situation. So long as British rulers regard the people of India as individual citizens entitled to equal rights and subject to equal obligations, there was no desire on the part of Indian leaders for severance of the British connection. Their one desire then was to strengthen that connection. If the Delegation and the Government of which it is part has the strength and the courage and

the wisdom to undo this disastrous mistake, they may be assured, whatever the immediate difficulties, of being able to find a solution of the British Indian problem which will conserve the goodwill created by a century and a half of conscientious administration.

Recluse.

FACTS FOR MR. JINNAH

We print on another page an earnest appeal which the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Ogden of the American Presbyterian Mission, Kasganj, in the United Provinces, have addressed to Mr. Jinnah. They cite the example of their own country, the United States, as one which India may follow in order to attain national unity. We appreciate their goodwill. As a matter of fact the conditions of the Indian problem are infinitely less complex than those which by a resolute policy pursued for even generations, have been overcome in the United States. The different States comprising the U.S.A. were founded at about the same time as separate units. India, on the other hand, has been inhabited by the same people for centuries. In the last few centuries a part of the population became converts to Islam but continued to dwell in the same land side by side with their Hindu kinsfolk. Right up to five years ago, it never occurred to anybody, Muslim or Hindu, that Muslims were a separate nation with separate social and cultural systems entitled to erect themselves into an independent State. That Mr. Jinnah's assertions in these respects are totally unfounded, is easily shown. Sir Walter Lawrence who served for many years in all parts of Northern India in his "The India We Served" (published in 1928) observes,

"I speak of Hinduism, because in the Punjab and in Kashmir as Settlement Officer the only Muslims I saw were converts from Hinduism. Theirs was a tepid form of Islam."

"When I was in Kashmir an Arab preacher visited me. His object was to put life into the languid observances of the Moslems of the Valley. I introduced him to the leading men of the country, but, after a long tour through the villages, he returned, baffled and dejected. He told me that he had found no true believers in their hearts the Kashmiris of the Valley were as Hindu as were the Brahmans of the Capital."

"I had already seen the real believers on the Frontier and knew the splendid spirit of the fine fighting men who are grouped as "Punjabi Mahomedans", I realise that with them Islam is a great and living force, but, in writing of India it is well to remember that

Hinduism is the indigenous, I might almost say the national, religion. It controls 216 millions, while Islam holds 68 millions of the people."

Again he writes. "I know intimately two large communities converted from Hinduism to Islam, and I am certain that most of these could be whistled back into the fold."

Sir Walter Lawrence was an administrator and he expressly disclaims any right to adjudge between the religious communities. Dr. Murray T. Titus was a Doctor of Divinity and a Christian Missionary. His book "Indian Islam" in the Religious Quest of India Series (Oxford University Press, 1930) is a valuable source book for students of Hindu-Muslim reactions on the social and religious life of India. The following is taken from it:—

"In a land like India, where the majority of the Muslim population has been recruited from Hindu caste and outcaste groups by mass conversion, whether from fear of military power, or to attain some desirable object, or because of persuasion, complete Islamization of the converts has not been accomplished. There are great sections of the Muslim community, here and there, which reveal their Hindu origin in religious and social life almost at every turn constituting a curious mixture of the old and the new. There is little wonder that this should be so. The Muslim armies moved over the country in wave after wave for centuries, from Peshawar to Dacca and beyond, and from the Himalayas to the southern end of the peninsula. It often happened that hastily converted peoples were left behind after the army moved on. These had been given but scant instruction in the new faith and were left to remember and practise what they could. The pressure of the old idolatrous surroundings upon them was great. Not only their neighbours, but many of their relatives in other places were still Hindu. Little wonder that the worship of the village godlings went on as before, that animistic beliefs continued, that Brahman priests were still employed, and Hindu festivals observed. The wonder is, not that these hereditary customs and beliefs were adhered to, but that any belief in Islam remained at all."

The passage is long and its pro-Muslim bias is clear, but it disposes of Mr. Jinnah's claim that Indian Muslims are totally different in race and social and religious outlook from Hindus.

AMERICAN MISSIONARIES' APPEAL TO MR. JINNAH

To Mr. Jinnah:-

You may be surprised to be addressed by unknown American friends but our residence in India since 1916 has given us a measure of identity with you of this land. We have tried sincerely to serve the best interests of India. Our five children born here, are known among our friends in the States as American Indians.

The parallel between this present situation here and a similar situation in the United States of America is striking. There were the cavaliers of Virginia large landowners, largely Roman Catholic in tradition and cultural background. In new England, a Protestant heritage made the Puritan settlers not merely suspicious of but actually hostile to their 'Popish' neighbours of the South. Burghers of new York (New Amsterdam) cared less about religion than commerce. Fortunately the Friends (Quakers) had come to Pennsylvania where the rule of brotherly kindness held for at least the foundation of early history of that State.

These divisive elements came together, after the war of 1776, in which not all had joined, but far-sighted leadership worked, prayed and never admitted defeat, in the effort to weld one people out of many.

This effort had to be carried on unrelentingly for a hundred years. We find Daniel Webster, about 1830, speaking on this subject in Congress at Washington. When certain Southern States maintained their right to secede because of resentment of Federal legislation, he said, "Unity and liberty are one and inseparable, now and forever."

Here were representatives of separate nations, blood, culture, brought together by geographical position. Under Providence the untiring work of leaders such as Washington, Jefferson and Webster, united these different peoples into a nation. Comparing conditions with those in Europe today, can we not be glad that these leaders had such far-seeing wisdom?

The suspicion and dislike in the Puritan settler for his Popish neighbours is not so very different from the attitude of Moslems towards Hindus and Hindus toward Moslems, not to mention the many other groups in India.

Is it not well to learn a lesson for India and the world, from this? The diverse cultural steams are capable, under God, of being welded together under patient, wise leadership. We long to see the day when, guided by their fathers (India's present-day leaders of all groups) the 'first' men of all communities and religions through love, patience and understanding, may find it their pride to be *Indians* first and religionists second, partners in international brotherhood, working for world peace. We feel sure that if men like yourself will begin to sound forth this message, 'India can remain and shall remain one and indivi-

sible. We can and must work for a strong, united India, that soon men everywhere in India will accept that glad message. And the leaders who have the wisdom and courage to talk in that statesmanlike way will live far down the centuries.

We pray for you and for all others whose word is potent here today, the prayer, "Almighty God, who have called the nations to thy service, we pray Thee to bless all who speak where many listen, and write what many read; teach them that they may teach us, inspire them that they may inspire us, and grant that, thinking little of profit and fame, they may do their part to make the heart of this people wise, its mind sound, and its will righteous, to the honour of Thy Holy Name"

Yours hopefully,

A. P. Mission,
Kasganj, U. P.
March 24, '46.

G. G. & M. OGDEN.

PAKISTAN THE ROOT CAUSE

Sir,

Some of our political leaders, especially the Hindus seem to be very much perturbed at Mr. Jinnah's scheme of dividing this country into Hindu India and Moslim India. They consider it a great calamity. But they do not see that there already exists a partial separation between the Hindus and the Moslems and they never object to it. A Hindu's social life is quite separate from that of a Moslem, although they have been living here together for centuries, fighting, quarrelling and intriguing against each other. Since the first invasion of India by the Arabs, Moslems and Hindus have never enjoyed each other's confidence for any considerably long period. A Hindu regards this social separation, not from Moslems only but from other Hindu castes also, as a blessing, for the purity of his religion. If, therefore, on a fair trial it has been found that Hindus and Moslems can not live happily together as parts of one Indian nation, let them separate. We wish to see them joined; not only in political life but in social life also, as limbs of a well-formed body, in such a body the members assist each other, they are nourished by the same food: if one member rejoices all rejoice with him. But we do not wish to see the two communities united like those wretched twine from Siam, by an unnatural ligament which and each the constant plague to the other, more helpless than others because they had twice as many hands, slower than others because they had twice as many legs, not feeling each other's pleasures, not supported by each other's infirmities and doomed to perish miserably by each other's dissolution.

The real cause of the Pakistan scheme and the communal animosity is this that the Hindus have neither ceased to hate Moslems nor they could absorb those of them who wished to come back to their ancestral religion. Even the Arya Samajists who proclaim to reconvert Moslems, do not interdine and intermarry with them on account of their caste restrictions. In such a

case it is but natural for Moslems to distrust the major community. They feel that as long as they are in a minority they cannot expect a treatment of equality and fraternity from the Hindus who, on account of their caste system, are not prepared to give equal social rights to even their low caste coreligionist. The idea of high and low by birth has paralysed the Hindu society to such an extent that they have now even ceased to feel its pinch. A Hindu barber, or carpenter or weaver takes it for granted that God has made him lower than a Brahman or Kshatrya. He never claims equality. His selfrespect has been killed by the caste system and he suffers disgrace without any resentment. But according to Islam all believers are brothers. So a Moslem can not tolerate such a treatment. Hindus who are accustomed to treat each other unequally on the basis of birth, cannot understand the feeling of the Moslems. Processions of cows for slaughter, resentment against playing of band and burning of Holi near mosques, opposition of Hindi and Bande Mataram and all such things are excuses to give vent the deep sea'ed rancour. When two groups of people living in a country do not interdine and intermarry, an inferiority complex develops in them, and they cease to live amicably. Our leaders lay great stress on the Hindu-Moslem unity in the political sphere only. They do not care for their social unity. But political unity can not precede social unity. Hindus hesitate to interdine and intermarry with Moslems, because they are afraid of being converted to Islam. In Ceylon, China, Japan and England two brothers, one professing Buddhism and the other Christianity or Islam, can live together in one house. They interdine and intermarry. Christians of England did not socially boycott Lord Hedley for his conversion to Islam. Religion is one's personal thing. If a non-believer in God, an idol worshipper, a devotee of Shiva and that of shakti are all Hindus, who can interdine and intermarry, why cannot a devotee of Mohammad remain within Hindu fold? Why should he be boycotted? If Hindu religion and cultures are really better than those of Islam, Moslems of India who are our flesh and bones, would accept them most gladly of their own accord. Hindus should not hesitate to take the good points of Islam, such as social equality and fraternity, for after all religion is for people and not people for religion. But Hindus can not do so as long as they stick to the caste system. So, if we want to save India from partition, we should annihilate the caste system. When the major community is once purged of this obnoxious system of caste, there will be social peace and unity in India, and then political unity will soon be achieved. To denounce the distinction of "Hindu water" and "Moslem water," on railway stations without uprooting its root cause, the cast system, is useless. The communal question of India can never be satisfactorily solved unless the caste system is totally abolished.

SANTARAM

Jat Pat Torak Mandal, Lahore.

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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

Caste and Pakistan:—We published in last week's *Reformer* two letters. One was addressed to Mr. Jinnah by an American missionary and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Ogden, appealing to him to work for the Unity of India as American statesmen have been doing to make one nation of the diverse elements of the population drawn from all the nationalities of Europe divided by race, language and history. The other was from Mr. Sant Ram of Lahore who for many years has been carrying on propaganda for the abolition of caste among Hindus through the Jat Pat Torak Mandal (Society for the abolition of caste) of which he has all along been Secretary and active member. While Mr. Ogden appeals to Mr. Jinnah to work for Indian Unity, Mr. Sant Ram maintains that Mr. Jinnah's movement for Pakistan is justified by the Caste system of the Hindus and implies that the abolition of caste among Hindus would automatically lead to the abandonment of the demand for Pakistan. The radical reform of Caste as it has come to be, has been going on for many years due to the efforts of reformers like Mr. Sant Ram, of English education, of the growth of nationalism and chiefly owing to the system having ceased to serve its original purpose. Surely, Caste as it is observed today except among very conservative people is a thin shadow of what it was when Mr. Sant Ram founded his excellent Society. If Caste is the actuating cause of the demand for Pakistan, it is strange that the demand should come when Caste is on its last legs. It is also strange that it should come when caste among Muslims exists and no effort whatever is being made to get rid of it. In the last Sunday issue of the *Bombay Chronicle*, Pearl Buck writes of the existence of caste in the United States. Britain has been sometimes spoken

of as being more caste-ridden than India. The famous sociologist, Professor Patrick Geddes, indeed, held that caste was present in all organised societies in some form or other and that, corresponding to the four main Hindu castes, they had in England, the culture caste of the Universities, the courage caste of the Public Schools, the business caste of City men and working caste of factory labourers. An enthusiast for caste reform it is but natural that Mr. Sant Ram should press into service the demand for Pakistan as an argument for abolition of Caste, but we cannot help thinking with great sympathy for his object, that it is far-fetched. On the other hand, the operation of fissiparous forces in our midst, is the very reason why the political constitution should be framed so as to counteract these tendencies. Pakistan must be resisted because it adds to and aggravates them. So should the narrow provincialisms for the same reason. India one and indivisible is the vision which, held steadily before our minds, will most effectively counteract the divisive forces and help India to realise her world destiny.

Pakistan in Flames:—While three senior British Cabinet Ministers, the Viceroy of India, Gandhiji and other Congress leaders, Mr. Jinnah and his colleagues of the Muslim League, Master Tara Singh and other Akali Sikh leaders, and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru with his non-Party colleagues are gravely discussing Pakistan and the future of India, students of Aligarh University have, without intending it in the least, decided its fate. The flames which destroyed the Aligarh grain market on March 30, reduced Pakistan to ashes, at the same time. Mr. Jinnah has condemned the action of the students, but his condemnation comes too late to retrieve the disaster to his cherished scheme. The facts briefly are that some students of the Aligarh University went to the market and wanted to buy some cloth. But they had no ration cards, and the shop-keeper refused to sell without them. Thereupon some hundreds of University students—not ignorant hoodligans—invaded the market and deliberately set fire to it. Some human beings and animals were

burnt besides property estimated at Rs. 15 lakhs being destroyed in the fire. If the students wished to sabotage Pakistan at this critical moment, they could not have hit upon a more effective step. Even the most confirmed believers in Pakistan could not but hesitate and pause at this foretaste of what may happen even at the hands of University trained men. The convention of Muslim League members passed resolutions about Palestine, Indonesia, and South Africa but ignored the Aligarh market conflagration. Some of the speeches at the convention, indeed, were such as to throw the affair into the shade.

The Sikh Position:—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, by his ill-considered attack on Master Tara Singh, has provoked the Akali leader to a violent tirade against the Congress. The Akalis, it may be explained, constitute the militant wing of the Sikh community. Some twenty years ago they adopted satyagraha tactics to get the Udasis, the traditional keepers of the *Gurudwaras*, ousted from the shrines and on Gandhiji's intervention, according to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, established a central body to manage their affairs. The Akalis, therefore, are not unfriendly to the Congress. Their position is—and it is one which we fully appreciate—that Congress leaders by their speeches and actions have shown a disposition to come to terms with the Muslim League on a basis involving the partition of the country. The Sikhs are dead opposed to partition. But, if the Congress should compromise on the issue, as many others besides the Sikhs feared it might, then the Akalis would demand that a third separate Sikh State should be created. Some claim the whole of the Punjab, for that State, others those areas where Sikhs predominate. Mr. Jinnah has indicated that he is agreeable to the idea and has requested Master Tara Singh to detail the area which should be made Sikhistan. If the claim for the whole of the Punjab is pressed or even if only the predominating Sikh areas are conceded, the backbone of Pakistan would be broken. The Pandit himself seems to favour the constitution of predominantly Muslim areas into autonomous units, and there is no reason why he should fall foul of Master Tara Singh for suggesting what, after all, is the corollary to his own proposition. Pandit Nehru's views on Pakistan have taken time to declare themselves and Master Tara Singh may be excused for not fully appreciating the Pandit's more recent pronouncements on the subject. Sikhs were alarmed at Mr. Rajagopalachari's overtures to Mr. Jinnah, which were first repudiated, subsequently endorsed by Gandhiji. The parity formula offered at the Simla Conference and the repeated insistence of the Congress

President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, on "self-determination", were legitimate reasons for Sikh apprehensions about the Congress attitude to Pakistan.

International Arbitration Unsuitable:—The idea of settling the Indian question by international arbitration was suggested by Sir Stafford Cripps some days ago. It has since been reinforced by Mr. N. M. Joshi and, apparently, by Gandhiji also. We cannot think of a less satisfactory way of settling the question. At the present time, there are five big "Powers" of whom all other nations are retainers. The big five are divided into two groups—Britain and the United States, on one side, and Soviet Russia on the other. France and China will join one or the other. The United States has no fixed principles in dealing with Asiatic nations. Besides, in virtue of the attitude of the Americans to their Negro fellow citizen, the States attitude is likely to approximate to that of the South African Union. France with her own Asiatics to control cannot afford to take a high ground in respect of the British in India. On the contrary, France is interested in the continuance of another European Power in Asia to keep her incourtenance. As regards the Hindu-Muslim dispute, they are all likely to favour the line of least resistance and say, with Bernard Shaw, give Pakistan ten years to realise that she cannot live apart from Hindustan. Ulster which the eminent Irish author cites as a parallel, has not yet seen the folly of living separated from Eire. He himself prefers to remain in London for all his pride as an Irishman.

Congress and Non-Violence:—That the Congress after over quarter of a century of profession of non-violence as a creed should have to affirm that its members were not guilty of murder, is indeed a bit rough. Yet this is what the new Bihar (Congress) Government have felt it necessary to do. The press communique on the subject is not as full and clear as it should be. It admits that Congress workers went to address a meeting at Tapkarh. It says that they were attacked by Adivasis. It does not say why. It admits five dead bodies of Adivasis were found near the Bazaar a considerable time after the men had dispersed. Which men, adivasis or Congress workers? The dead bodies were found in a neighbouring jungle "and the question how these (five) men met their death is still under Police investigation." Mr. Suhrawardy was evidently in a hurry to anticipate the results of the investigation but the Bihar Government would seem to have been the same in denying his allegation. This is not the first or the only allegation of Congressmen using violence, made of late.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, April 13, 1946.

THE CENTRAL ISSUE

The Muslim League does not want a Central Government. It wants Pakistan as a separate State. All other Indian parties and communities are agreed that there should be a Central Government. The National Congress until about a fortnight ago was committed by its resolutions to the reservation of the maximum of functions and powers, including residual powers, to the Provinces and States of the Indian Federation, the Centre being given only minimum powers strictly defined. Within the last few days, a welcome change has come over the Congress attitude. Sardar Vallabhbhai has declared unequivocally for a strong Central Government. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has also spoken in favour of it but he has qualified his opinion by reference to "areas" which are to be allowed to choose whether they will accept or reject the Centre. The Indian Christians, the Anglo-Indians and Europeans who met the British Cabinet Delegation on Wednesday have all testified in favour of a Central Government. So also earlier this week Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, and Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan of Jaipur, on behalf of the influential groups of States which they represented before the Cabinet Delegation. Sir Maharaj Singh who headed the Indian Christian Delegation, however, qualified his plea. "In order to meet the claims of the Muslim community," he said, "large powers should be vested in the provinces." This was not strictly relevant to the role of representation of the Indian Christian Community. It was, indeed, going a bit out of his way. We are not sure whether this is Sir Maharaj Singh's personal view or that of the Indian Christian Community as a whole. It is in the interests of minorities, and particularly of the Indian Christians, that there should be a strong Central Government. Sir Maharaj Singh's solicitude for Muslim sentiment is not likely to be appreciated by the Muslim League which is dead opposed to a Central Government in any shape or form.

It is a common fallacy that a strong Central Government spells weakness for the provincial Governments. On the contrary, a strong central Government is essential precisely as a support to the provinces and minorities. No province can stand against a combination of two or more provinces without the protection of a Centre which is stronger than every conceivable combination. That provinces may combine to force a policy on

another province which it may not like in its own interests, is not inconceivable. It is not necessary to elaborate this point further except to point out that all provinces which will have to be reconstituted on a linguistic basis, will not be equal in size, population and possession of natural resources. We suggest in passing, that all the units of the Federation may be designated "States". Some States of the Union will have hereditary rulers, others elected governors. These latter should be known as Maharajas. This will pave the way to the assimilation of the two groups by a gradual and natural process. The Central Government will have to be constituted not only with a view to the elective States but also to the hereditary States in different permutations and combinations. This is not all. The individual units will not singly or in combinations with others be able to cope with an all India movement which is sure to rise in place of the Congress when the latter becomes the Government, and to use all the weapons of satyagraha, civil disobedience and passive resistance which Congress has matured during its career as opposition. It is perhaps these possibilities which, with the approach of the day of fruition of their long years of struggle, have effected their sudden conversion to the idea of a strong Central Government for which the *Reformer* has for years been pleading.

MR. JINNAH AT THE CONVENTION

The increasing vehemence of Mr. Jinnah's protests that unless Pakistan is handed to him by the Viceroy and the Cabinet delegation, he and his League will resist any interim Government by "every possible means", is obviously intended more to strengthen the weakening morale of his friends than to intimidate non-Muslim Leaguers. The cause of Indian Unity is so inherently strong in itself, that no bluster is needed to ensure its acceptance. We gave last week some facts for Mr. Jinnah to ponder when he is tempted to repent his assertions about the racial, social and cultural differences among Indian communities. There are many more of them which are readily available. Mr. Jinnah's facts should not be accepted without verification. Not that he is capable of deliberate untruthfulness, but he is not sufficiently in touch with the life of the community which he leads with such distinction. Two instances occur at the moment. When the Age of Consent Committee reported that child marriage prevailed among Muslims, he expressed surprise as he had all along believed that child marriage was a monopoly of the Hindus. The other instance is even more piquant. In the course of a debate in the Legislative Assembly on the Sarda Bill to fix the minimum marriage-

able age for girls and boys, a Muslim speaker in opposition spoke in terms appropriate to a sacramental marriage. Mr. Jinnah intervened with the remark that he had always thought that marriage among Muslims was a civil contract. So it is in law, but the regular sentiment among Muslims as among Hindus is that there are obligations entailed in marriage outside the limits of the law and impinging on the sphere of religion. We have suggested before and we suggest again a purely fact finding commission to test Mr. Jinnah's oft-repeated pragmatism about the complete divergence between Hindu and Indian Muslim in all matters. We do not make the suggestion as a preliminary to the decision about Pakistan. Indian Muslims, whether they follow the same way of life or not, are an integral section of the Indian population with a definite value, moral and material, to the well-being of the whole country. India cannot do without her Muslim children. Indian statesman should see that the Muslims and every other section feel safe and happy, irrespective of their numbers. Mr. Jinnah said the other day apropos of the objection to Calcutta being included in Pakistan, that he did not care to count heads. He is quite right. Only to be consistent, he should not keep harping on 100 million Muslims, even if that figure be somewhat over-stated. One thing more Mr. Jinnah should not think that the Muslim Leaguers are the only ones who will resort to fighting, because of the Congress creed of non-violence. Taken together with the clarifications by Gandhiji on several occasions, the creed only means that Violence should not be resorted to while the other means are being tried: Negotiation, concession, division, and force. The Congress having failed in the first two, is now trying the third. If that too fails, the Congress will be the first to break its staff on the back of the aggressor.

INDIA AND IRAN

We deprecate the tendency rather prominent of late for international questions to be viewed as suitable material for conciliating communal differences. India has at present no international status. In international disputes the official attitude which alone matters, is the reflection of the attitude of the British Government. India has a right to protest against the treatment of Indian nationals wherever they may be. But where there are no Indian nationals involved, India, until she has a recognised international status, would do well to abstain from intervention which can only be academic and in most respects futile. On the Palestine dispute, an important general principle is involved which may have repercussions in

India if not rightly decided, and the Indian Press and public are, therefore, entitled to form and voice their protest against an ancient civilisation being submerged in a flood of materialist exploitation masquerading under the name of Zionism. In the Persian dispute no such principle is involved. The dispute is really not between Iran and Russia but between the three Big Powers. The one strong man, Reza Pehlavi, who reformed the Government and promoted the moral and material progress of the country, was dethroned and sent an exile to Mauritius where he died. Iran has since been the helpless victim of war exploitation by the Allies. Whatever may be the intentions of the Russians, it is true that on the morrow of the Revolution they tore up all the concessions which the Tsars had extorted from Turkey and Persia, and actively helped the two countries to free themselves from political and economic domination. When Russia was invaded by Germany, Turkey, unmindful of her obligations to Soviet Russia, sat firmly on the fence until almost the very end of the War. The Russians allege that the condition on which they waived the concessions, was that Persia should give no concessions to any other Power and they also allege that Persia had not kept this promise. Having studied the question at some length, we are unable to judge of its merits. Mr. Masani's asseveration that there was grave concern in India at the attitude of the Russians in Persia does not accord with our impression whatever it is worth. What is more the Persian Government itself takes a hopeful view of the situation. The Persian Ambassador in Washington was evidently hustled into submitting an urgent application for the Russo-Persian dispute to be put on the agenda of the second session of the Security Council. His action has been repudiated by the Persian Prime Minister as unauthorised and the dispute has been settled. Persia's position is precisely that of Afghanistan in the seventies of the last century which the then Viceroy of India, Lytton, likened to that of an earthen pipkin between two iron pots. There are three instead of two iron pots now, or two on one side and the third on the other. India will be wise to conserve her influence among nations until such time when she is able effectively to exercise it as an independent world entity.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE FORTUITOUS

The *Indian Review* is publishing a series of articles by Indians on books which influenced them. In the March number of the *Review* Mr. Justice Chagla, in the course of his article, makes a brief reference to his early apprentice days and later break with Mr. Jinnah on political differences. He writes:

"When I returned to India, I thought I had got my chance. I was fortunate enough to get into Jinnah's Chambers who was the acknowledged leader of the Bar at the time. But it was more his politics than his brilliant advocacy that attracted me to him. I had come in contact with him before I went to England. I had read the small book of his collected speeches and also the brilliant foreword by Sirojini Naidu in which she hailed him as the apostle of Hindu-Muslim Unity. This little book laid the foundation of my political faith to which I have remained faithful and to which I have given my unswerving allegiance through good and bad times. While Jinnah espoused the Nationalist cause I worked with him in my humble way on the platform of the Muslim League. Then black clouds came over the horizon and Jinnah and I parted company. And with a wrench of the heart which I still feel, I said good-bye to politics and took up my present position and so I learnt a big lesson which was further reinforced by the book to which I shall presently refer, that it is the contingent or the fortuitous that plays the decisive part in one's life."

The book referred to is Lord Haldane's Autobiography. Haldane was asked by a friend whether he would begin his life over again and his answer was an emphatic "No". Several accidents had contributed to make his life the success that it was and he feared they may not recur. Mr. Chagla quotes Haldane. "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." Dr. P. C. Ray by way of epilogue to his autobiography, "Life and Experiences of a Bengali Chemist," enlarges on the same theme, the part played by the fortuitous in our lives, with reference to his own career. Dr. Ray also quotes the passage from Haldane's Autobiography quoted by Mr. Chagla. He also quotes from J. S. Mill's Autobiography to the same effect. "Next to birth," wrote Mill, "the chief cause of success in life is accident and opportunity. In the situation of most people no degree of good conduct can be counted on for raising them in the World without the aid of fortunate accident." The special interest of Dr. Ray's autobiography is that he notes each "accident as it occurred as a turning point in his career." Nevertheless, he felt and hoped the readers of his book would feel that there was a connecting link pervading his life-work, that his activities were but a part in a comprehensive piece and that he had not lived an aimless life. This, doubtless, is the right view of life's vicissitudes. "Doubtless", says

Bergson, "we think with only a small part of our past but it is with our entire past, including the original bent of our soul, that we desire, will and act". What seems "accidental" to our thinking part of our past, is not "accidental" but the outcome of the impulse of our entire past.

Mr. Chagla's words suggest that his political difference with Mr. Jinnah led to his occupying his present position, a Judge of the Bombay High Court. One might as well say that urge to his present position led to his break with Mr. Jinnah. A prior incident is often but the step necessary to a subsequent incident which may be said to be its effective cause. When one's entire past points to a goal, one's "immediate past" prepares the way to it. Haldane loved. Had the girl agreed to marry him, he might not have become the great lawyer, War Minister, Philosopher he did. Her refusal, therefore, but set him on the high road to his great destiny. It is difficult for the average man to be at ease in a world of accidents. He needs a philosophy which integrates life and saves him from being a sport of chance.

It is, no doubt, flattering to our self esteem to think that whatever of success we attain is entirely due to our own virtues and merits, while failures are due to a malignant exterior agency. But a little observation will show that both in success and failure we have to reckon with a factor which does not enter into our conscious activity. "There's a divinity which shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will," is Shakespeare's way of indicating its presence. "There is something which is not us that makes for righteousness", is Mathew Arnold's. The detachment in which Haldane finds sole security is, inculcated over again in the Bhagavad Gita as the attribute of the harmonised. By attaining detachment from the rewards of action, a man becomes immune to the dualism of heat and cold, pain and pleasure, honour and dishonour. Vicissitudes of fortune leave him unaffected.

TRUTH OR NON-LYING

Sir, Gandhiji has made Truth and Non-Violence as the twin stars of his political firmament. Would not Non-lying be a more precise term for what he means by Truth? Truth in the sense of the Absolute, has baffled humanity. It has as yet had only glimpses and these, too, of phases of Truth and not of the whole Truth. As for relative truth, it is within everyday experience of all that true men with absolute honesty can interpret the same phenomenon in different ways according to their mental bias and the angle at which they are. What is within the competence of

every man is that he should not lie, that is, say or suggest something contrary to what he knows it to be. An Indian friend who was a pioneer in the Indian national regeneration movements, and was known to his friends as an utterly and most truthful man, once remarked that he had made it a rule in life to utter as few lies as he can help doing. Non-lying, he realised, is the utmost possible to the human being with the most conscientious care to attain in the pursuit of truth. The form of oath administered to witnesses in Court is responsible for the vexatious cross-examination which anyone who has the misfortune to be called as a witness is subjected to by Counsel who forget that their duty is to assist the Judge in the administration of Justice in their anxiety to secure a favourable verdict for their client from the jury.

Critic

SELF-DETERMINATION

Sir, I am afraid that you have not correctly interpreted Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's idea of self-determination. He has repeatedly explained that it means that no one, individual or group, should be compelled to live under conditions which are repugnant to him or it. So far from his favouring the partition of the country, which the Maulana has declared he does not favour, it clearly means, to my mind, that those who are dissatisfied may leave India and go elsewhere where conditions are more congenial to them.

Scrutator.

A Correction:—In the article "Mr. Attlee on the Cabinet Deputation" in the *Reformer* of March 23, read "We" instead of "He" in the sentence, "He not long ago pointed out that the Congress creed of non-violence went a long way towards advancing the propaganda for Pakistan."

DR. DESHMUKH'S BILL

(By K. NATARAJAN.)

The Indian Legislative Assembly passed last week the "Hindu Women's Rights Bill" introduced by P. G. V. Deshmukh of Bombay. The Bill seeks to give a married Hindu woman the right to separate residence and maintenance if her husband is suffering from any loathsome disease not contracted from her, if he is guilty of such cruelty towards her as to render it unsafe or undesirable for her to live with him, if he is guilty of desertion, if he marries again, if he ceases to be a Hindu by conversion to another religion, if he keeps a concubine in the house or habitually resides with a concubine and for any other justifiable cause.

This is the summary of the object of the Bill as supplied by a Press Agency. The Hindu Mahasabha held demonstrations against the Bill, and the venerable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya issued a mandate to the Hindu members of the Assembly to reject the Bill. They nevertheless passed it. The Muslim members abstained from voting. Dr. Deshmukh in moving the adoption of his Bill referred to the criticism that the Bill would break up the Hindu family. He claimed, on the contrary, that it would consolidate the Hindu family. He paid a tribute to the part played by Hindu Women in building up the Congress and said that his Bill sought to reward them for the contribution they had made for the social and political progress of the country. I agree with Dr. Deshmukh that his Bill will not break up the Hindu family or social system. There are much more powerful forces which have been operating advantageously to the system. Its power of resilience is great and it is sure to emerge strengthened and invigorated out of these shocks and as a result of them. Dr. Deshmukh's Bill by their side is a mere fleabite. It will certainly not break up the Hindu system, neither will it consolidate it. I think it will have no effect at all. It will remain a dead letter.

The Hindu family and social system needs overhauling like the family and social system all the world over. It is being overhauled for the last one hundred years. In the last thirty years it has changed beyond recognition. In the process, legislation has not been of much help. It cannot be of much help. Education of the public has been the great factor. The Hindu Code drafted by the Rau Committee is a comprehensive measure to consolidate the gains so far achieved by the advance of Hindu opinion on social matters. I agree with the suggestion that we should concentrate all our strength to get the Code adopted. Dr. Deshmukh's object in getting through his Bill ahead of the Code, is perfectly laudable. He has been touched by some cases of hardship which have come to his notice and he is anxious to prevent their recurrence in other cases. But in social diseases even more than in bodily diseases, treatment of symptoms is of little efficacy. The Hindu Code will go to the root of the social diseases. Dr. Deshmukh can at best suppress the symptoms. A very eminent Hindu lawyer happened to be with me when the press report of the discussion of the Bill in the Assembly came. I asked him if he were called upon to deal with a case arising out of the Bill, how he would interpret some of the clauses. He said he should see the Bill but, if it was correctly summarised in the Press Report, he would not, he said, enjoy having to apply it. The Bill, like some other Deshmukh's Bill, is badly drafted.

Apart from drafting, I am at a loss to understand the equity of some of the provisions. Take the first one. A wife will be entitled to claim separate residence and maintenance if her husband is suffering from venereal disease not contracted from her. If

contracted from her, presumably she will be entitled to dwell in the same house as her husband. Is it fair to the man that he should be obliged to live with a woman who has infected him with disease? Should it not be provided that a husband will be entitled to live apart from a wife who has contracted the disease? That raises the question, are all people who contract the disease guilty of misconduct? In other words, can the disease in no case be contracted by innocent people? On this point, I do not presume to set my lay opinion against Dr. Deshmukh's expert one! I quote from a medical work:

Non-sexual venereal infection is uncommon; but it can occur... An infected towel may give rise to gonorrhoeal ophthalmia in one who uses it and infected underclothing has caused gonorrhoea. Non-sexual syphilis may be acquired by kissing, by suckling a syphilitic baby, by an accoucher or surgeon in the course of his profession, by an infected razor or shaving brush at a barber's, by infected cigarettes or pipes, from public drinking fountains, from other drinking and eating utensils. A child may acquire syphilis and gonorrhoea from one or both of its parents. (Page 344. "Principles of Preventive Medicine" by Tanner Hewlett and A. T. Nankwell.)

The authors repeat that the non-sexual methods of infection (apart from natal and pre-natal infections) are rare. But they are possible. Dr. Deshmukh does not provide for them. He assumes that a husband or wife who is infected, who suffers from venereal diseases, in all cases acquired it by sexual irregularity. Obviously, the clause should be amended so as to exempt a husband and wife who themselves got the disease from non-sexual infection. In any case, a Court will have to decide from whom the infection was derived and from what cause. As regards cruelty, the remedy is not provision of separate residence but punishment of the party who is responsible for cruelty, whether husband or wife. It is idle to suppose that the wife cannot be cruel. In two, out of four cases it was the wife who was the guilty party. In the fourth there were extenuating circumstances, but on the whole I thought the wife was less forbearing than the husband. Of course, I include in the term "cruelty" not only physical cruelty which is the less cruelty but mental torture which is the worst cruelty. Dr. Deshmukh omits to provide for desertion by the wife. In every Hindu Women's Rescue Home, the number of wives who have deserted their husbands is proportionately larger than the number deserted by husbands. By making second marriages a ground for separate residence, the Bill countenances second marriage which many of us are trying to get punished as bigamy. The question of conversion to another religion is very important. Here, again the number of women who become converts to another religion as a ground for

divorce, has become a public scandal. The whole matter should be dealt with by special legislation. Dr. Deshmukh makes concubinage a ground for separate residence but he does not seem to regard habitual resort to brothels as an offence to a man's wedded wife.

Finally, in these days when it is impossible to get any residence, the problem of providing separate residences for unfortunate wives, will be no easy matter.

TURKEY'S POLICY IN THE EAST.

(By SHOUKAT USMANI)

The Turkey of Mustapha Kemal which sent Curzon to tears with the help of M. Chicherin at Genoa and Lausanne Conference in 1922, turned abruptly to the East, first favourably and then unfavourably. She raised trouble over Mosul Oil for at least half a decade after that. She kept up a united front with the Soviet and the oppressed countries of the East, with of course some hitches or breaches in the united front here and there. But in 1933 Turkey turned East for different purposes. Instead of following up an anti-Anglo-French Policy, she fell into the snare of imperialists who were itching for a long time to build a Cordon Sanitaire in the south of the U. S. S. R. ever since the successful termination of the November Revolution of 1917. The western bourgeoisie had already created the Western Cordon Sanitaire under the leadership of Poland, stretching from Finland in the north to Roumania in the south covering the entire Soviet borderline.

Sir Austen Chamberlain, arch-enemy of the U. S. S. R. and British Foreign Minister, tried his utmost to drag in Germany in the orbit of the Anglo-French bourgeois front and make it the spearhead of the Cordon Sanitaire.

Sir Austen Chamberlain got a rebuff at the hands of Herr Stresemann, his equivalent in the German Chancellery.

A sudden turn in Turkish policy, which, of course, was a slow imperceptible process, made it possible for Turkey to take up the leadership of the anti-Soviet front in the Cordon. The Southern Cordon Sanitaire, a dream of Chamberlain and Churchill, was realised after all. In 1934 Turkey entered into a pact of non-aggression with Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan.

Any jurist, any student of modern diplomacy knows very well that a pact with Iraq, a satellite of Britain, is a pact with Britain herself. Britain could not do better than make Iraq the pawn of her policy. A pact of aggression or non-aggression with a satellite State of British Imperialism would ultimately bring British forces in action as soon as that State is attacked. A pact of this nature these days is either a pact for aggression against each other or for a preparation of a war of aggression against any third State. The absolute meaning underlying the pacts is to lull one's adversary,

into a belief of positive safety and making it more complaisant. This is in simple language the nature of bilateral pacts.

To come to the Saadabad Pact of 1934 signed by Mr. Sarajoglu the Turkish Foreign Minister under the hegemony of Anglo-French imperialists, it was directed only against the Soviet Union. It was a violation, direct or by implication of the Soviet Afghan, Soviet Turkish and the Soviet Persian Pacts of 1921, February and March, and other treaties signed after that date onward.

The foreign policy of Mr. Sarajoglu was consistent, it was consistent and pro-British. The only thing in his anti-sovietism was that it was tainted with anti-Nazism so long as the Soviet had outwardly good relations with the Fascist and Nazi Powers. Her policy was different after Germany declared war against the Soviet Union (in 1941). Mr. Sarajoglu thwarted consistently all efforts at rapprochement with the Soviet Union. The mockery of the Mutual Assistance Pact which he signed with Britain and France in 1939, had a Clause 'that Turkey would enter into war with any Power fighting Britain and France in the Mediterranean except the Soviet Union.' These two powers were at war with a third Power in the Mediterranean not the Soviet and yet Turkey did not enter the war. It is apparent, therefore, that the clause had an inner meaning. It was to lull the Soviet into a belief of safety from her Turkish borders.

To give proof, if proof is required, of this, we refer here to the connivance of the Turkish Government at the passage of Anglo-French military Aviation over the Baku Oil-fields in 1939 and the free entry of the German and Italian Naval arms through the Bosphorus in later years. This passage through the Straits made it easy for Nazi Germany and her satellite States to achieve an easy drive over Crimea and exposed the ports of Novorissisk (which fell) and Batum (which was very near to be invaded). But for the strong positions of the Red Army, the whole of the Caucasus would have been run over by the Nazi cum-satellite forces. And then Turkey herself was rehearsing for the invasion of Caucasus if the Nazis had come within the Batum-to-Baku Perimeter. The Turkish ambitions regarding Batum and portion of Armenia including Kars and Ardhan are wellknown to students of political history. Of course they wrenched the latter two while Batum remained quite a hard nut.

A recent attempt at signing another pact with Iraq shows clearly that Turkey wants to play into the hands of the enemies of the Soviet. What is the meaning of a pact with Iraq? Any jurist can say that it is a pact with Britain in simple language. Turkey's position will always remain exposed to danger. After all, Soviet Russia is not so much afraid of a strong Turkey or a strong Iran as she is afraid of the interests which have always used the smaller States as pawns against her.

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INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, April 20, 1946.

THE AZAD COMPROMISE

At a press Conference on Monday, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad outlined a scheme which he claimed to have persuaded the Working Committee of the Congress to accept and which he said gave to Muslims all the advantages of Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan without its disadvantages. The chief disadvantages of the Jinnah scheme, according to the Maulana, was that overnight it would reduce the status of the Muslim minority in Hindustan to that of aliens. We do not think that there is force in this argument. Muslims in Bombay and Madras will continue to be Khojas, Bohras, Mappillas and Labbais unless they declare themselves nationals in Pakistan. The possibility of their being more completely assimilated to their Hindu environment cannot be lightly dismissed. The Maulana declared that he could not accept that position as he held that the whole of India was as much the patrimony of Muslims as of Hindus. The scheme which at his instance the Working Committee is said to have adopted, contemplated the grant of full autonomy to the provinces, and vesting residuary powers in them. "It also has provided two lists of Central subjects, one compulsory and the other optional, so that if any provincial unit so wants, it can administer all subjects itself except the minimum delegated to the centre." The Maulana did not disclose the contents of the two lists. But the compulsory list will necessarily include Defence and External Affairs, Tariffs and Imports and Exports, Currency, and Communications. Food and cloth have now become central subjects and may have to continue such for an indefinite period. The larger, especially the so-called heavy, industries, which draw raw material and labour from different provinces and States will require Central control and support. Under present-day conditions, however strictly limited by statute, the Central Government cannot avoid gathering the threads of power into its hands. The United States and Australia are conspicuous instances. In both countries, the federated units are legally the repository of all powers except those surrendered to the Centre in the federal constitution, but the States themselves have willingly acquiesced in the Centre exercising many of these powers for the general good. The optional list is an anachronism. The States cannot have the option, for instance, of issuing their own coinage or having their own different railway gauges. The Maulana said that the situation in India was such that all attempts to establish a centralised and unitary Govern-

ment were bound to fail. On the contrary, history shows that external security and internal prosperity have always been the concomitants of a strong centralised government in this country. When the Centre relaxed its control over the provinces, anarchy and chaos were invariably the result. The late Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla from his wide and varied experience of affairs held that a unitary government was the right solution for the Indian constitutional problem. Shortly before his death, he published his views on the subject in a pamphlet entitled, "A Constitution for Self-Governing India." The Cabinet Delegation should get a copy of it, if it has not already pursued it. Sir Ibrahim was not only a successful businessman but attained much distinction as municipal corporator, member of the Bombay Legislative and Executive Councils, and in the Indian Legislative Assembly as member and President. He was besides a conservative Muslim, by which we mean he strictly observed the tenets of his faith as to food and drink and in personal life. In his pamphlet he held up the Hindu joint family system as the best model for the Indian constitution.

The solution which is called for, is not only of communal differences, but also of territorial jealousies and disagreements. It is difficult to conceive how a united India can work smoothly and in the best interests of the country as a whole when divergent interests, both communal and territorial, are insistent in regard to their special interests. It appears to me that the only basis for a united India is to proceed to frame a constitution for India as one country. If this is conceded then there should be only one Legislature and uniform laws for the whole country. This would perhaps seem a novel suggestion having regard to the size of the country and the different classes and communities forming the Indian population, but it is my firm conviction that these territorial and communal differences will never disappear and a real national spirit will never arise unless the country is administered by one Indian Government with uniform laws for the whole country. A real national spirit will develop by the adoption of a constitution on some such lines as these. In considering this suggestion attention may be drawn to the British Constitution. Great Britain till recently consisted of four different countries—England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales. In spite of this fact and in spite of the inhabitants of each country claiming to be Englishmen, Scotsmen, Irishmen, there is one Parliament for all four countries and uniform laws enacted and applied by one Parliament. If it is possible for four countries to unite and have one Parliament and uniform laws, there does not seem to me to be any reason why India, which is admitted to be one country, should not have one Parliament and uniform laws.

Science has made great progress since provincial areas and Provincial Governments were established. Railways now run throughout the country. Telegraph wires have brought the distant parts of the country together. Telephones have added to ready communication. There is, therefore, no reason why separate provinces should be perpetuated and the spirit of separate existence continued when the whole aim of the politically minded people of India is directed towards the creation of a national spirit and national unity. The whole of India should be administered according to the laws of one Indian Parliament. The administration of British India should be carried out by a set of officials appointed by and responsible to the Indian Government. The administration of Indian India should be left to the Indian Princes, who will carry it out by means of officials appointed by and responsible to them. Once the idea is accepted and effect given to it the whole thing will work automatically and India will establish a record of a vast country with a huge population being so united as to have one Government with a united, happy and prosperous population lying with one another for the progress of their motherland. It will have the further advantage of eliminating separatist tendencies and conducing to the growth of the feeling that we are all Indians proud of our motherland.

If a constitution is adopted on some such lines as I have suggested it may be pointed out that there will be ample scope for honorary public service in Municipalities, District and Taluk Boards and Village Panchayats, etc., which provide the necessary training for self-government.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad has had no experience of public affairs. He is a theologian. His theological bias finds expression in his irrelevant comparison between Islam and Brahmanical ideas of purity and impurity. Muslims, we think, have their own ideas of what is pure and impure. The Mosaic law on which Islam is grounded, certainly had as much of ceremonial purity as orthodox Brahmanism. The Holy Koran abounds in injunctions of what should be done and should not be done. The Maulana himself considers the use of the English language in speech or writing as an impurity. His statements are translated into English by another Muslim with different ideas. The Maulana's excursion in theology is a pure "aside" which should not be allowed to prejudice judgment of his scheme.

The Cabinet Delegation will be taking a very inadequate and inferior view of its function, if it conceives it simply to be to provide a patch-work agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League and depart as soon as possible so as not to be within earshot of the turmoil that is sure to ensue.

They must put their conscience into their work. At the highest estimate, neither of these bodies represent more than a fraction of the population. Their plans or schemes are drawn up by a handful of persons. Both Congress and League are already finding their authority challenged. In some parts of Bombay city, Congress convened meetings recall scenes which used to disfigure public meetings convened by Liberals. Then, Congressmen were the obstructionists. Now Communists and Socialists have stepped into their shoes. The only right method of reaching a permanent solution of the Indian problem or any problem, is, like Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, to envisage it in its natural and historical setting and not rely too exclusively on current clamour.

PEACETIME CONSCRIPTION IN THE AMERICAS

One of the gravest problems facing the American people is that of peacetime conscription. Until the beginning of the second World War, like England, the armed forces of the United States were raised solely through voluntary enlistments. This explains why in July 1939 the armed forces of the United States, especially the army, was one of the smallest in the world; the army numbered but 174,000 men. Only after the fall of France in 1940 did Congress authorise an increase in the army to 375,000 men.

Historically, the Selective Training and Service Act, that barely passed the Senate at the time, was signed by President Roosevelt on September 16, 1940 and marks the first time in the history of the United States that citizens were called for military service in peacetime. Conscription, one authority has remarked, "was a revolutionary innovation in national policy." The use of conscription during the Civil War and in 1917 during World War I have been declared as war measures adopted to meet the emergencies that grew out of these wars. We may, therefore, remark that the United States has developed within the tradition that compulsory services of its citizens shall be invoked only in case of war.

The question that now faces the American public, is whether peacetime conscription shall be introduced in the United States. It shall be our purpose to consider some of the pros and cons on this matter. It must, however, be recognised that the return to power politics on the part of the Big Three, their refusal to allow the UNO to become the sole arbiter of their differences and their refusal at the moment to relinquish even an iota of sovereignty to really allow the UNO to function as a world government are factors that to some extent seems to be influencing certain sections of American opinion toward peacetime conscription. America, which during the late war was militarily one

of the world's most powerful nations. does not desire to reduce its armed forces to such a point that she will be in a military sense a second or third rate power, if we exclude the fact that at the moment the United States is the sole power actually manufacturing the deadly atomic bomb. This fact helps explain that while Americans may be critical of British imperialism in the Orient or of Russian relations in the Near East, especially in Iran and Turkey, American military leaders have openly often expressed the idea that the Pacific Islands seized from the Japanese during war by chiefly American military might should be annexed and used as American naval and air bases. It is true also that most of our civilian political commentators would prefer to see these bases internationalized by the UNO rather than completely controlled by the United States.

The 'New York Times,' one of the most conservative, though certainly the most outstanding newspaper in the country, carried several interesting items on the subject in its issue of March 19, 1946. In a Washington dispatch this newspaper reports that "it is declared that members of the House Military Affairs Committee credit the continuance for another six months of the Selective Service Act that expires on May 15, 1946. Fear of a possible conflict with Russia seems to prey on the minds of certain Congressmen who favour the continuation of the Selective Service Act into this period of peace. Representative Sikes made the following declaration on March 18; "Putting it all together, it is clear that Russia now has three times as we have; that in peacetime they plan an army four times as large as ours, and that they have a permanent conscription system." The argument is, therefore, used that to meet the "Russian menace or problem" the United States must continue its draft system so as to build up an armed force equal to that of Soviet Russia. It is further feared that a minimum army of 1,500,000 a figure set recently by Gen. Eisenhower, cannot be maintained without resort to conscription. The *Times* declared editorially in commenting on the proposed continuation of the Selective Service Act that it "has urged adoption of the Act" for "we must remain militarily strong for the foreseeable future. That is the best backing we can give the UNO. It is the only way in which we can make our voice effective for the settlements that will lead to a durable peace." The *Christian Science Monitor* commenting also on this proposed extension of the Selective Service Act finds that its continuance for six months "would give some assurance that the World War Two military structure will not completely fall apart while time and events serve to crystallize public thinking around some design for adequate replacement."

There can be little doubt at the moment that probably the majority of the American Congress will favour the continuation of the Selective Service Act and peacetime conscription—at least for the next six months. It also seems that a large portion of the

American press will favour such a move, refusing to believe that America should take the lead in disarming and believing that a militarily unprepared America can be of little service to itself and the world. Those who favour peacetime conscription base their arguments primarily on the present world situation and their desire to see the United States continue as a number one military power. However, America's opinion is in nowise completely agreed as to the wisdom of peacetime conscription.

The chief opposition to peacetime conscription arises from the labour unions, religious organizations, and certain organizations that are politically minded, that desire to give the UNO every chance to work before reverting back to a system of every nation for itself. It can, I believe, be said that the following quotations from *Peacetime Conscription No. 1* an article by Alexander John Alexander that recently appeared in the *Christian Century*, is an able exposition of the views of the majority of the Protestant churches: "Conscription is the poorest expression of national strength. It is not a source of national strength and power. Our national strength and world power lies not only in our magnificent natural and human resources but also in (1) a productive economy and (2) a vigorous moral sense and devotion to worthy ideals. Conscription will weaken rather than strengthen us in those two vital aspects." He finds "conscription is politically and militarily weakening. It will breed a false faith in a security which is not there. Conscription is not an answer to the atomic bomb and supersonic rockets, nor is it a sensible supplement. It is a blind, cowardly evasion of the problems posed by the new weapons of this war. Therein lies the urgency of the moment." Alexander declares that conscription "may well breed a stagnation in training; that in the foreseeable future it meets no military needs." "Against whom," he asks, "are we preparing to fight? Obviously, only Russia can be considered a 'threat' to our security and the way to make this phantom threat real is to make dark and veiled accusations and to stimulate an arms race: Conscription which meets no present military needs and is therefore an absurdity, might very well set us on the road to another war." It "is morally and spiritually weakening," for "the army breeds into men a kind of moral degeneration. A year's military training may weaken the nation by disillusioning its youth and devitalizing the national moral fibre in fostering a sense of irresponsibility and in muting social conscience. Conscription is not a realistic approach to the problems of our times. International amity, control and development of atomic energy, prevention of war, rehabilitation of the starving, these are the matters of moment."

The official attitude of the Catholic Church in regard to this subject is that the American government should take steps to "explore the possibility of having military conscription abolished in all countries, and, to

that end, might well consider how our control of economic assistance to other countries may be used to lend weight to our plea for such abolition." However, the Catholic hierarchy believes that, if it is found necessary to continue military training, conscription not be used until "voluntary enlistments" have failed to supply all the men needed, that "any period of enforced training should be integrated with normal school life; and the War and Navy Departments should work with recognized moral leadership to correct certain policies and attitudes which have wrought grave moral damage to great numbers of young people in the armed services during the past five years."

In summary, it seems almost certain that the military leaders of the United States will convince Congress and a great part of the nation as to the absolute advisability of continuing the Selective Service Act and for the next few months at least peacetime conscription will be practiced. What the future holds for us, none dare predict; conscription, however is definitely not in accordance with our democratic heritage of freedom. Perhaps, if developed under wise leadership, it may accomplish a few things that its sponsors claim for it; but these chances are slight and whatever measures are taken will be so fulfilled not to allow America to occupy a position of moral leadership in the world, but a leadership based solely on fear and military might.

HENSLEY C. WOODBRIDGE.

STATUTORY MARRIAGE AND ISLAMIC CONVERSION

(By KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI.)

It is highly problematical if, as has been suggested by Mr. H. K. Shah in the *Reformer* of 30th March, a Hindu husband who wants to discard his first wife to marry a second, and who can readily do so without any trouble under the present Hindu law, will ever be tempted to renounce the religion of his birth and proclaim himself a Moslem even temporarily in order to obtain a formal decree of divorce from a Court of law, whether his motive be the hope of evading his liability to give maintenance to the discarded wife or the vanity to pose as a monogamist in spite of his obvious polygamous action. It is equally problematical whether his new fiancée, however educated and modern, will ever impose upon him, as condition precedent to her favour, the unpleasant task of undergoing this costly, vexatious and spectacularly humiliating procedure that she may have the vainglory of posing as his only lawful wife thereafter. At any rate there has been no actual case of such conversion of a Hindu husband in any part of India as yet to enable us to scan his possible motives. But of one thing we may be quite sure. After the passing of the "Hindu Code" of the Rao Committee by our supreme Legislature with the princi-

ple of monogamy embodied in its marriage law, as we all wish and hope, such conversions will not be so extremely rare, unless of course in the meantime all the highest Courts of this country unanimously make up their mind to decide (as Justice Sir T. Sadasiva Aiyar of Madras did in 1914, though in a case in which the female convert had not complied with the essential pre-requisites prescribed by Islamic law itself) that the conversion made no difference and Hindu law alone must be applied to determine whether the previous Hindu marriage subsisted at the time of the second marriage, or better still (as Mr. Justice Edgeley of Calcutta held in 1941) that under no circumstances can the ancient obsolete Islamic law of the Baghdad Caliph and Emperor Aurangzeb on this point be allowed to operate in modern British India.

That the enactment of a monogamous marriage law for Hindus is certain to lead to such conversions, however few, is fairly indicated by an interesting case which recently came up before a Division Bench of the Madras High Court consisting of the Chief Justice and Lakshman Rao, J. (Vide the *Hindu* of Madras dated 8th March 1946 at Page 8.)

A Brahman named Vaidyanathan got his marriage with Andal, a non-Brahman lady, solemnized before a Marriage Registrar under the Special Marriage Act in July 1934 and a daughter was born to them. In 1944, however, the husband adopted Islam and became "Abdul Allam Vaidya", and called upon his Hindu wife to become a Moslem likewise, but she declined. He thereupon sued his wife in the Madras City Civil Court claiming under Mahammadan law the dissolution of their civil marriage. That Court, following its own precedent in the Princess Sita Devi's case and the Calcutta rulings which supported it, granted the decree as prayed for. But, unlike the usual run of male defendants under similar circumstances, the defeated wife in this case intrepidly took the matter in appeal to the High Court and got the decree quashed.

Their lordships held, it seems, that the marriage under dispute was not a marriage "in the Muhammadan sense" which alone could be dissolved in the manner desired by the Plaintiff and that, since, in this case, it was a statutory marriage, it could be dissolved only in accordance with the statute; that is, under the Indian Divorce Act which alone is applicable to such marriages under section 17 of the Special Marriage Act (III of 1972). This result is of course satisfactory in as much as it removes the temptation to try the Islamic method to circumvent the monogamous principle of a civil marriage under the Act.

Instances have not been wanting hitherto of Brahma husbands and others married under the Act, defying the statute and boldly marrying again, this time with Hindu religious rites. But in all such cases the husband invariably relies on the innate disin-

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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 S. Patkar.—Sir Sitaram Patkar whose death took place on April 22, was a quiet unpretentious worker in many fields of public life. As a Judge of the Bombay High Court, he kept up the tradition consecrated by the example of Telang, Badruddin Tyabji, Ranade, Chandavarkar and Lallubhai Shah, his Indian predecessors on the Bench, that Indians in high office should, without prejudice to their official duties, associate themselves with activities for the social and moral well-being of the people, and be available for consultation and guidance in many non-controversial phases of national progress. Owing to his shy and diffident temperament, he was not as prominently in the public eye as some of his prototypes, but nonetheless his conciliatory methods materially helped the maintenance of many important movements in harmonious cooperation. His contribution to the reform of Hindu Law was solid without being sensational. He took particular interest in the education of women and was closely associated with the Indian Women's University until his death. He was President of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association and drafted many of the admirable representations of that body on social legislation. Sir Sitaram's motto might have well been, "Hasten slowly." He enjoyed the respect and confidence of all who came in contact with him, and the sympathy of a large circle of friends will be with his family in their bereavement.

The Press and Political Parties.—The fact that the Provincial Ministries are left owing to the "sweeping victories" at the polls practically without "opposition" in the Legislature, entails on the Press an obligation which it had not sought. Party organs will, of course, support the Party Government but the independent Press, especially the periodical press, should evince extra vigilance in order to supply the lack of ballast in the Legislature.

In particular, care should be taken to resist the tendency to encroach on civil liberties in the name of national freedom. National freedom is the crown and consummation of civil freedom and encroachment on the latter is a sure means of undermining the former.

Congress and Communists.—A wise old friend, Dewan of an important State, wrote many years ago in the *Reformer* that, while there were different political systems, there was only one system of administration in which differences only relate to matters of detail. This remark is recalled by Mr. Jai Prakash Narain's denunciation of Indian Communists as fifth columnists. Mr. Narain himself is what is called "a Congress Socialist". His party was expelled from the Congress and was admitted only on Mr. Narain's public avowal of allegiance to the Congress and its determination not to push its propaganda so as to embarrass the main body. The terms "fifth-Columnist", "quisling," are very recent world additions to the vocabulary of vituperation and mean nothing more than that the person who uses them does not approve of and, indeed, dreads the views of those against whom it is used. A vendetta against any group always calls forth sympathetic interest in it among the large section of the public which cares more for justice and fairplay than party slogans. Experience is demonstrating that this section of the public though not vocal is the deciding factor in national affairs. Every individual, Communist, Socialist or Congressman, is entitled to the protection of the law and to its penalties when any offence is found against him by the regular process of judicial administration. The Tottenham report on the 1942 crimes argued, as Gandhiji does today, that the ultimate responsibility for them lay not with the actual perpetrators but with educated men operating from behind the scenes, whom he roughly identified with members of the Congress party. These have now been disowned by Gandhiji but some other leaders while not avowing responsibility have expressed appreciation of the actions of the actors in the disturbances. The attacks on Communists are producing their natural reaction. A good word for them often surprises one in quarters where it may be least expected. The Socialist is only a Communist lacking red cor-

puscles, observed a friend who is an individualist to the tips of his fingers—that is one who holds that the best way in which one can serve his fellows, is to try to line up to the highest as he sees it. The great evil of the time is, in his view, that vast mechanical power has been placed in the hands of men whose moral nature has remained in the primitive jungle stage. There can be no peace on earth without a higher moral type of individual and with such a type the world could be not only prosperous but also happy, even if atomic energy may not be made immediately available for industrial use.

Prohibition in Bombay:—The Prime Minister, Mr. Kher, recently stated that Government would proceed cautiously in regard to Prohibition, first digesting the lessons of its working during the last Congress regime. This is a wise decision. In nearly all social reforms—Prohibition is essentially a social reform—abiding results are achieved by the sure, though necessarily slow, process of education. On the last occasion, much of the opposition to Prohibition came from the misconceived fear that it would injure the economic position of a section of the population engaged in the manufacture and sale of liquor. An even greater difficulty was that import of foreign liquors was a Central subject outside the purview of the Provincial Government. The first step in Prohibition should be the prohibition of foreign imports and this would be easier when a National Government is at the Centre. And, we may add, no Government, national or other, can enforce Prohibition unless every member of it is a total abstainer himself. There will be no moral authority behind the policies of a Government whose individual members hold cocktail parties. The National Congress has not seen its way to adopt total abstinence as a condition of its membership and the time will be ripe for the national adoption of Prohibition when it is able to do so. There is one thing, however, which Government should do. In a report of a committee on the Depressed Classes on which Dr. Ambedkar was a member, it was stated that without Prohibition it was almost impossible to improve the condition of these classes. Government should adopt measures to restrict or even prevent the sale of liquor among these classes and in instruction about the evils of drinking liquor in all elementary schools. In this connection, the Finance Minister, Mr. Vaikunt Mehta, should consider the propriety of continuing a tax—the urban property tax—levied by the first Congress Government for the specific object of making up the loss of revenue from Excise and the additional cost of enforcing Prohibition, when Prohibition is not in force. This tax must go. It is levied only on Bombay and the suburbs where Prohi-

bition was in force. If additional revenue is needed for other purposes or for the general administration, it should be distributed equitably over the whole province.

Sweepers and Schoolmasters:—The Bombay Congress Government was confronted at the threshold of its career by two strikes: one of the sweepers in Bombay city, and the other of primary schoolmasters in the province. The sweepers' strike which commenced at about the same time as the disturbances which followed Gandhiji's short sojourn in a sweepers' colony, lasted about a week during which Bombay streets and roads overflowed with filth of every kind. The Municipal Corporation had lost control of its conservancy establishment and the Government had to intervene to bring the situation to an end. Gandhiji has decreed that sweepers should not go on strike but the fault here is that the discontent among sweepers was allowed to reach the striking-point without steps being taken to nip it in the bud. In the last resort, the military may have to be called, but to use armed forces as strike-breakers will embitter the relations between the Army and the civil population which is just now showing signs of improvement. In the case of the primary teachers' strike, the personal prestige of the Prime Minister who holds the portfolio of Education, was enough to induce the teachers to resume work. It is to be earnestly hoped that their position which is indeed very unsatisfactory, will be materially improved by Government without delay. Teachers have a social status, it is true, but this only entails an economic burden which the manual workers have not to bear. The consequences of the teachers abstaining from work do not come home to the public as promptly and concretely as a sweepers' strike, but they are more far-reaching and affect the life and character of the future generation and are thus a permanent handicap to national well-being. Since the above was written the Bombay Government has ordered the payment of "Dearness allowance" to the teachers retrospectively from 1944, and the period when they were on strike to be treated as a "vacation" in lieu of the Summer vacation. This is well but not enough. Prices are unlikely to go to the pre-war level in the near future, and as allowances do not count for pension, the allowance should be permanently added to teacher's salary. The other condition seems to savour of misplaced economy. The summer vacation owes its existence to climatic conditions which do not admit of efficient work either for students or teachers. Besides, the strike period was not exactly a time of rest and recuperation for the teachers. Government may well allow pay for the strike period, without trenching on the summer vacation.

owing to Gandhiji's programme or propaganda. Mr. Ramanathan takes the Gita to uphold the Caste system. As a matter of fact, it undermines it from below and batters it down from above, by throwing open the doors of salvation to all without distinction of caste or sex. Another notable feature of the *Gita* is its persistent declaration that all other dispensations and Prophets are valid for those who earnestly believe in them. Gautama Buddha whom Mr. Ramanathan holds quite rightly as one of the greatest men of all time, did not go so far as the Gita in his message and ministry. Buddha did not abolish or seek to abolish caste as a social institution. What he did was to admit to his Sangha men and women without reference to Caste. Nevertheless all the patriarchs beginning from Mahakashyapa to Asvagosha were Brahmins. Buddhadeva who carried the Buddhist Gospel to Japan and became the first Buddhist Bishop, was a Brahmin of Kanchi, the modern Conjeevaram. The Bhramnapada has a section in praise of the ideal Brahmin. Swami Vivekananda held that the qualities of the harmonised men described in the Gita related to the Sakyamuni. Gandhiji's interpretation of the Gita is peculiar to himself. To include the universal philosophy of the Gita with the Charkha and Khadi, as an item of a programme, is confusion of spiritual with material values.

WAS JUDAS A TRAITOR?

The name "Judas" has become synonymous with "traitor". Was Judas really a traitor? The Biblical accounts are not clear about what the treason was. In the St. John's Gospel version, Jesus himself declared his identity. In the other Gospels Jesus expressed surprise that his enemies should have sought for him, as if he were a thief, whereas they had seen him frequently preaching in the Temple. Judas in the role of traitor does not fit into the context. Nor does his hanging himself when the High Priest found Jesus guilty of blasphemy. A satisfactory explanation is that Judas did not expect any harm to come to Jesus by his kissing Jesus before those who came to capture him and that, when he found that he had done harm, he committed suicide.

The Rev. Stephen Raymond writing in the Catholic *Examiner* (March 23,) on "The Mystery of Judas," states and refutes this opinion thus:

Many writers, especially among non-Catholics, have tried to water down the crime of Judas. Their interpretation of it runs something like this. When Judas betrayed Christ he was still labouring under the error that the Messianic Kingdom which Christ had come to found was to be political, and accordingly his betrayal was designed more as a scheme for precipitating the arrival of the Kingdom by forcing Christ act than as an actual attack upon the life of Christ. This explains too, so they would maintain, the despair of Judas, for when he realized that Christ was not going to use the

power which He had, and that he had unwittingly sent Christ to His death, remorse of conscience seized him, and led him to suicide.

"H. R." which we take to be the Archbishop of Bombay in his article on the "Crime of Judas" in the *Examiner* of April 6, sheds more heat than light on this episode. Both writers find the motive for Judas' estrangement from Jesus in the incident when Mary the sister of Lazarus broke a box of perfume at Jesus' feet. Judas, according to one Gospel, but several who were present in another, exclaimed at the waste involved in Mary's action. Jesus defended Mary by saying that the poor were always with them but that he was there for the last time. For several days after this event, Judas continued to follow Jesus with the other disciples and was present at the last supper. In any case the ointment incident was too trivial for any sensible man to brood over.

In a remarkable work "Nazarene," by the well known Jewish author Shalom Asch, the whole story is narrated by two persons who were in previous births the Captain of the Roman guard in Jerusalem who supervised the proceedings leading up to Calvary, and Jokanan a disciple of Nicodemus, who was also an eye-witness to a large part of the tragic drama. The Jews had a doctrine of rebirth. According to the Jewish view, the author observes, "we make the transition from one birth to another under an Angel of Forgetfulness. Sometimes the Angel himself forgets to make us forget and then men remember their past lives". The two men in the story were instances. The book took fifteen years during many of which the author carried on research on the spot. It was written in Yiddish from which it was translated into English by Maurie Sammel. The Gospel narrative is substantially followed but from a different angle. We have a vivid background of the life and manners of ancient Judea. Judas Iscariot in this picture is not a traitor. He was a fervent believer in the Messiahship of Jesus and he had absolute faith in the power of Jesus to overcome any opposition. Jesus himself believed that he could call down legions to protect him, but tradition says that he refrained from doing so in order that his mission might be fulfilled. Judas did not know or, if he knew, he did not appreciate this reason. The High Priest made use of him without his knowing it. Judas, by the way, was the most educated of the Apostles and was a member of the group of which the great Rabbi, Nicodemus, was the head and centre. For sometime, Judas followed Barrabas who was called a robber by the Romans but was honoured as a patriot by his fellow Hebrews. Asch takes the view of the Gospel. Barrabas' popularity, he explains was due to the tendency of the masses to follow any one who promises them a little good in this world or the next.

The picture of Judea under the Romans bears a striking resemblance at many points to India under British rule a century ago.

INDIAN INDEPENDENCE AND CATHOLIC MISSIONS

Sir, During my stay in Darjeeling I had the rare opportunity of visiting one of the various Christian institutions of Roman Catholic Missionaries for the conversion of the "Infidel India," viz, St. Mary's College of Kurseong.

It is a huge building surrounded with gardens and play grounds where, I was told, candidates of every European nation prepare themselves to attack the uncouth and Infidel India (as they call her) from every corner, in order to instil in her soul their European Christianity.

What interested me most was a group of military officers who live in the College and, as they told me, teach the missionaries the use of arms. How they can reconcile this material and pugnacious job with their religious profession I can not see.

There are also many Indians, but these are decile instruments in the hands of their white masters. They are very timid creatures, ready rather to be converted than to convert others. Thank God, they have not lost their Indian features. I was insisently informed that the staff of the College was entirely European and that no Indian was allowed to teach in that College, as if Christianity, the founder of which was an Asiatic, gained special lustre when taught by an European. How strange that these white missionaries are not yet aware that they have lost all their respect and authority in India. In fact what respect can they have to teach others the religion of Jesus, a religion of compassion, love and non-violence, when these missionaries at home, indulge in hatred, brutal struggles and barbarous wars? There are some among them who have realized this fact, and to hide it call themselves "*friends of India*" but Indians who have come in contact with these missionaries, and know their dictatorial mentality, and how they despise and condemn whatever is Indian, can never reconcile their character with their sweet words.

I asked them what was their idea about the independence of India. They told me that they were against it, because it was highly detrimental to their work of conversion. I insisted that the Independence of India was already a fact. They told me, if it were unavoidable, they would prefer the division of India between the Hindus and Muslims, so that they could remain safe to work their conversion. It is a pity that our Indian Christians are subject to such foreigners, who have no sympathy for them, but use them for their own private intentions.

I was informed in Kurseong that these same missionaries are contemplating to open a similar College in Poona, with some Germans and Italians just released from the camp, to teach a fascist Christianity I suppose!

I hope, that such Colleges where no Indian is allowed to teach, will be considered suspect by the future government of free India, and ordered to be closed and that the government will make wise laws and regulations to supervise and control the activity of these missionaries whose only intention is to create discussions, and divisions wherever they go.

A Christian Lover of Hinduism.

THE WAY TO COMMUNAL HARMONY

Sir, I crave the indulgence of your esteemed journal for putting the following questionnaire before the thinkers, well-wishers and leaders of India-Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and Christian-with a view to find solution for the knotty problem of the country's independence, and shall feel obliged if they would kindly communicate their replies.

(1) Is, in your opinion, Hindu-Muslim harmony necessary for the peace and progress of India? If your answer is in the affirmative, what are the causes of the present discordance and what measure do you suggest for the achievement of communal harmony?

(2) When two groups of people residing in a country refuse to interdine and intermarry, an inferiority or superiority complex is bound to develop among them and they cease to live peacefully as equal brothers. Do you agree with this view?

(3) Is political unity in India possible without social unity?

(4) If the Hindu society be purged of the caste system, which forbids a Hindu to mix not only with non-Hindus, but even with Hindus of other than his or her own caste and is the root-cause of untouchability, do you think it would help in decreasing communal bitterness and bringing the two communities nearer to one another?

(5) When the politics of an English Mohamman or Chinese Muslim is not different from that of an English Christian or a Chinese Buddhist and he loves the same language and the same heroes as his non-Mohamman countrymen do, why do Indian Mohamman always prefer to have their different and separate politics although a large majority of them are convert from Hinduism?

(6) When an Englishman embraces Islam, he does not cease to be an Englishman and does not cut off his social relations from other Christian English man, why do Indian Mohamman act differently in this respect?

SANT RAM

President,

Jet Pat Torak Mandal,

Lahore.

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NOTES

The Palestine Report and India: From the summary of recommendations of the Anglo-American Commission on Palestine, it is plain that the Arabs have lost all along the line and that the Zionists, owing to their financial influence in Britain and the United States, backed by terrorist outrages with which the British mandatory has been unwilling or unable to deal effectively, have got all what they wanted. Contrary to the declaration of the British White Paper of 1939 that there would be no Jewish immigration after 1944, 100,000 Jews are to be admitted in the current year, and for subsequent years, the League of Nations Mandate postulating unrestricted Jewish immigration, is to be followed. Restrictions of sales and transfer of land which the British mandatory had found it necessary to impose in order to prevent the total expropriation of the Arabs, are to be abolished. In view of these crucial recommendations, the high professions of equality and equity are nauseating hypocrisy. The astonishing feature of this report is that the Arabs who have lived in Palestine for twelve centuries are placed on the same footing as the Jews who have lived out of Palestine about the same period, and who even after they were free to return to Palestine never thought of doing so until recently. Christians are gratuitously introduced in order, we suppose, to make out a case for the intervention of the United States.

Britain never claimed to be in Palestine to protect Christians after the break-up of the Ottoman Empire. The Arabs who were seduced from their allegiance to the Caliph by promise of independence supported by gross bribery by British agents, are now to be placed under the Trusteeship of the United Nations Organisation which is at present a most disunited body. In practice, this means that Soviet Russia on one side, with Britain and the United States on the other, are to intrigue against each other for the exploitation of both Arabs and Jews, according to exigencies from time to time. Nothing more unsatisfactory could have been recommended by men who, no doubt, think that they have done the best in the circumstances. The Zionist demand for Palestine as their National Home, is a close parallel to the Muslim League demand for Pakistan; and the recommendations of the Anglo-American Commission, therefore, are of concern to India. The Peel Commission which had recommended partition as the only solution to Jew-Arab problem in Palestine, went out of its way to suggest the same method may be a solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem in this country. That Hindus and Muslims have lived together in India for several centuries and that Hindus have never left the land of their fathers before the Muslims became an element of the Indian population, did not evidently strike the Commission as constituting a vast differ-

ence between the Indian and Palestinian positions. The Peel Commission was appointed by a Tory Government and the present Cabinet Mission by a Labour Government but their differences are internal and their outlook on foreign policy, is necessarily the same. India should be prepared for the worst, while hoping for the best. Indian Muslims have been professing great concern for the Palestine Arab cause, and the concession of Pakistan may go some way to reconcile them to the sacrifice of Arab independence.

Disingenuous Report:—Propaganda during the War created the impression that the Jews in Europe outside Russia, Britain, Spain and a few other neutral countries, had been nearly exterminated by the Nazis. The Anglo-American Commission estimates that the number of Jews in Germany, Austria and Italy and Nazi-occupied countries, is over one million. There are besides three million more in Europe. They all want to get out of Europe because, the Commission is silent on this point, anti-semitism is today more rampant in Europe than ever. Even Britain and the United States have not escaped the infection. In a pamphlet "Nowhere to lay their Heads" the British publisher, Gollancz, categorically stated that except where the Red Army was in occupation, Jews all over Europe endured discriminate treatment and even persecution in various degrees. The Commission says that the persecuted and displaced Jews want to get out of the European countries of which they are natives. Why does not the Commission recommend methods to keep them in their native countries by putting down anti-

semite feeling in them? The Commission says that no other country wants to take them and that they do not want to go to any country except Palestine. Why does not the United States, which can easily find room for several millions, want to have them? It is absolutely untrue to say that Jews do not wish to settle in the United States. The fact is that this Commission was appointed to find more or less plausible reasons for a policy which the United States Government had settled upon beforehand. President Truman had suggested 100,000 Jews should be admitted this year and the Commission had recommended that this should be done. A more flagrantly disingenuous document, has not seen the light of day for many years.

Next Congress President:—When the Romans clamoured for a constitution or code, the authorities had one inscribed in minute characters and hung up high on a pillar. Such seems to be the Congress Constitution. When Maulana Abul Kalam Azad announced some days ago that he wished to retire and designated Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as his most suitable successor, the public were taken by surprise. But the General Secretary has explained that the Maulana's action was strictly according to the Congress Constitution. Four other names were proposed for the Presidentship. The nominations of two of the five, Subhas Bose and Jai Prakash Narain, have been declared invalid by the General Secretary who is himself a candidate for the Presidentship. The reason given is that the two rejected men were not four-anna members of the Congress. But surely the Congress High Command has condoned more serious irregularities, and, moreover, it is now proposed—or has it been adopted?—that every Indian should be regarded as a Congressman, unless, we presume, he belongs to the Muslim League. However that may be, there can be little doubt that Subhas Bose would top the poll if he was nominated. Jai Prakash Narain, too, will be a strong candidate. As for the three left in the field, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel is both senior to the other two and has a maturer mind. His range is not so wide as the Pandit's but width often militates against depth. At the present stage of national evolution, India needs for leader a man of definite views and definitely expressed.

Mr. Kripalani will, of course, withdraw within the ten days prescribed by the Constitution.

The Madras Ministry: The Prakasam Cabinet Ministers who were sworn into office on Tuesday, constitute a strong team. They are nearly all persons of high education and experience of public life. All except one are university graduates, several with double degrees. This of course, may be regarded as a disqualification rather than a qualification in the inner circle of the Congress. All the same, it does inspire confidence to know that Ministers who have to administer national affairs, have undergone the discipline of academic training. Mrs. Rukmini Lakshmi-pathi is the only Woman Minister. She as well as most of her colleagues are seasoned Congress workers. Bombay which is the most advanced part of India in women's progress has no Woman Minister. While there seems to be a sense of omission in not having a Muslim Minister, the dropping of the Women Minister has passed without comment. In our opinion, this is a serious lapse from a wholesome principle which should be rectified. A noteworthy feature of the Tamil half of the Prakasam Cabinet, is that not a single Brahmin is to be found in it. Ex-Minister S. Ramanathan whose book "League of Youth" was noticed last week in the Reformer, remarks that the late Mr. S. Satyamurthi "broke the tradition in Madras politics that only an Iyengar could belong to the National party, while every Iyer should join the Moderates." The precedent set by Satyamurthi has been followed by both sects agreeing to stand with the Congress High Command and Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, its nominee for the Madras Provincial premiership. The Justice Party has won its greatest victory at the moment when it seemed to have suffered shattering defeat.

Vitamin & Food:—One of the noteworthy features of Congress politics is the number of medical men who have been drawn into its vortex. One of them, Dr. N. B. Khare, was Prime Minister in the Central Provinces in the first Congress regime, though the precedent was not so successful as to encourage repetition. Bombay has at least three eminent doctors holding a

front rank in the Congress, Dr. M. D. Gilder, Dr. G. V. Deshmukh and Dr. Jivraj Mehta. One feels diffident, in commenting on a Government measure pertaining to Health subjects. But we did rub our eyes on seeing a Press Note announcing that the Government of Bombay are distributing free several millions of tablets of Vitamin A derived from Shark Liver Oil among the people in the areas of food scarcity. Vitamins are an aid to growth and nutrition, and are generally present in many articles of food. Where there is a deficiency of a particular Vitamin, it finds expression in specific diseases which are cured by supplying the deficiency. But Vitamins are not a substitute for food, and recent writings warn the public that Vitamins are most beneficial as a component of food, and are liable to abuse when taken by themselves. Some, indeed, have mentioned Vitamin poisoning as the result of excessive use of them. Vitamins themselves do not supply nutrition. It is necessary to add this comment, to avoid the impression that the free distribution of Vitamins, is likely to ease the situation arising from food scarcity. It may, indeed, aggravate it by over-stimulating appetite when the call is for underconsumption of food.

Assamese Puzzle:—Assam, the paradise of planters, and the purgatory of labourers, has sprung a puzzle which has given a headache to Congress Constitutional pandits. Mr. Bardoloi, won the election to the Provincial Assembly and became leader of the Congress party and Prime Minister a few weeks ago. Then came the elections to the All-India Congress Committee, and here he was defeated by a Congress Socialist. Mr. Bardoloi offered at once to resign the Prime Ministership but the High Command has instructed him to hold on to the office. Probably, the framers of the Congress Constitution did not contemplate such a contingency and have not provided for it in the constitution. It falls, therefore, in the category of residual powers which are exercised by the President and are not vested in the Provinces. The President has perhaps power to nominate some members to the All-India Committee or he may assume it as a residuary power. Mr. Bardoloi may therefore stay on as Prime Minister and function as member of the All-India Committee.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, May 4, 1946.

FORTHCOMING SIMLA CONFERENCE

On April 26, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, President of the Indian National Congress, issued a statement to the effect that after six years of the office, he felt that he was entitled to be relieved of the burden and recommending Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as the fittest person to succeed him in the present circumstances. The statement certainly conveyed the impression that the Maulana wished to give effect to his intention on the earliest date which under the Congress Constitution allowed of a change of Presidents. It was stated in quarters close to the Congress High Command that this would be in the beginning of June when the All-India Congress Committee is to meet. In transmitting the Maulana's intended retirement to the British Broadcasting Corporation, its New Delhi Correspondent added the comment that Mr. Jinnah had all along refused to negotiate with the Maulana whom he regarded as a renegade Muslim and that the Maulana's retirement would remove this difficulty. Hot on the heels of the Maulana's statement came the British Ministers' communique that invitations had been sent to the President of the Congress and the Muslim League to send four representatives from among members of their Working Committees to a joint Conference with the Delegation. This was accompanied by the news that Mr. Jinnah had invited the Delegation to dine with him on April 30. As the Delegation's invitation to a joint conference followed three days' informal conferences, with Congress and League leaders, it was evident that its acceptance was virtually secure before it was issued. Mr. Jinnah has all along maintained correct but not cordial relations with the Delegation, and the sudden access of hospitality on his part, also led to a speculation of what might have happened to stimulate it.

A day or two later came a Press Note from Mr. Kripalani, General Secretary of the Conference, which while seeming to contradict the B.B.C. Correspondent's comment, left behind an uneasy impression that there might after all be something in

it. Having regard to the sinister significance of the B.B.C. Correspondent's insinuation that the Maulana was being brushed off to conciliate Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Kripalani's contradiction was a strangely tepid document. The Maulana would seem to have felt this, and he issued a statement which clearly indicates that he will be at the helm of the Congress until at least next November. The Maulana himself is leading the Congress delegation to the Joint Conference to be held at Simla and with him will be associated Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan the redoubtable Frontier leader, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The Sardar has spoken in unmistakable terms in condemnation of the partition of India. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has recently shown signs of being overburdened by responsibility in marked contrast to his previous role of Rupert of Congress politics. His observations regarding the length he was prepared to go in the direction of Pakistan, have not been reassuring. Gandhiji will attend the joint Conference as Adviser to the Congress as well as the British Ministerial delegation. His services will, no doubt, be at the disposal of the Muslim League delegation also if they are wanted. It has been the practice of the League to take decisions only after the Congress had shown the way. The Working Committee of the League had before it the resolution of the Congress Working Committee accepting the invitation of the Minister's delegation, before it had decided to accept it. It had also the names of the Congress delegates which included not only the Maulana but also the redoubtable Chief of the Red Shirts. How Mr. Jinnah agreed to attend the Conference in contravention of his contention that he would not recognise or have dealings with Muslims who are not members of his League, is a mystery.

One explanation of Mr. Jinnah's sudden change of front on a point on which he has repeatedly laid stress, namely that the Muslim League is the sole representative body of Indian Muslims, and he would not have

anything to do with Muslims who are not in the League whose Muslimhood he denied, may be that, as has been rumoured, there is a rising body within the League, which revolts against his intransigence, and he finds in the Conference a way out of the impasse into which his obstinacy has landed him. The other is that the scheme said to have been outlined in the invitation, concedes his main demands. The former does not explain the dinner invitation, while the latter does. The official version of the scheme which Congress and League representatives have been invited to discuss, is not available as we write. Different versions are given by different correspondents of newspapers. One thing on which they are all agreed, is that there are to be two Indias, one predominantly Muslim, and the other predominantly Hindu, and that there is to be a Union on the top with its functions strictly defined. The two Indias are to have all other powers, including residual ones. The latter which is Congress concession to Muslim claims is represented as a Congress demand which is conceded in the scheme. The main item, the bisection of India, is a real concession to the League, and it is evident that that is what has made the League so complacent and cordial to the Mission. Lord Pethick-Lawrence has assured Gandhiji that Congress is free to accept, reject or modify the scheme, but the scheme will hold the field to the exclusion of all else and the Congress if it rejects will bear the odium of having prevented a settlement, which Mr. Jinnah had to bear after the last Simla Conference. The Congress has all along protested against the two nations theory of Mr. Jinnah. Here it is accepted in black and white, and it is surprising that the Congress leaders do not realise this rugged fact. The Kashmir trout which the Delegation caught in their holiday trip, is as nothing compared to their grand catch. The Conference may fail on a number of points, but this will be the permanent and damning achievement of the Ministers' Mission that they got the Congress leaders to discuss what they have professed they will never discuss, the bisection of India, leaving the head and hands and a part of the trunk to Muslims, and the other part of the trunk and the legs and

feet to the Hindus. This may be a feat of statesmanship but it will be cold-blooded murder of an ancient land. If this is the best which three of the finest men of England can do for India, the conclusion is obvious. Mr. Attlee in his recent speech at New Castle referred to Palestine and India as the two most difficult problems they have inherited from the past. It is intended that the partition of India is sought to be used to reconcile

the Arabs to the partition of Palestine. But all these clever ruses are bound to recoil on the heads of their authors. First Lord Minto divided India by communities. Then, Sir Samuel Hoare, whose subsequent career was a tragic sequel to his treason to India, cut up British India into completely autonomous provinces. The War came as a rude reminder of the folly of this performance. Now, the Pethick-Lawrence Mission is

about to commit a worse crime, and the Indian National Congress is called upon to assist at the operation. The squalid feature about this latest feat, is the trickery by which it has been accomplished. The daily dinners, lunches, not to mention, silent Friends' Prayer meetings, the mid-night visits to leaders, now Congress, now League, all this manoeuvring, has yielded fruit in bringing the two together at a conference table.

WHAT GANDHIJI HAS DONE FOR INDIA

(By K. NATARAJAN)

In estimating Gandhiji's service to India, I will take first, the religious sphere. He himself has repeatedly declared that he is first and foremost a man of religion. Gandhiji, however, has not made the propagation of religious ideas or the promotion of the spiritual life, his mission in life. He has not founded any religious sect or school of religious philosophy, as did Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Swami Dayanand Saraswati or Swami Vivekananda. He does not claim to be a religious teacher and his place in Indian history will not be that of one.

In the social field, Gandhiji has given the uplift of the depressed classes the central place in his programme. Social reformers had carried on propaganda for the removal of untouchability. Their appeal was chiefly to Caste Hindus to get rid of this blot on Hindu society. Gandhiji's method is somewhat different. The appeal to Hindus is there all right but he relies mainly on ameliorative work among the depressed classes themselves and through legislation. The Harijan Sevak Sangh is his principal institution for raising the educational and economic condition of the depressed classes. Congress Governments when in office in two provinces, Bombay and Madras, passed laws for the removal of the ban on the depressed classes on entry into Hindu temples. The social reformers' method of removing untouchability by quickening the conscience of caste Hindus, made slow progress. But, as in the case of reforms affecting family life, it would have achieved its aim without arousing resentment among the depressed classes. Gandhiji's method, unfortunately, has caused much resentment among these classes. Dr. Ambedkar openly denounces Gandhiji as the enemy of his community. Almost every Harijan benefi-

ary of the Harijan Seva Sangh's activities, goes to swell the following of Dr. Ambedkar. There is also the contingency of the depressed classes as "scheduled castes" remaining permanently a political minority within Hindu society. Gandhiji's work for the depressed classes, nevertheless, must be counted high among his service to India. After generations will assuredly rate his contribution to this important reform as his highest service to society. Gandhiji's attitude on the Caste problem, with which the problem of the depressed classes is closely bound, has not been uniformly clear. He has sometimes spoken of the four-fold Varnashrama with approval. Latterly he has definitely condemned the Caste system. Evidently he regards the hereditary caste as different from the original caste based on character and behaviour.

The reforms for the emancipation of women from illiteracy and cramping customs, had nearly all been well advanced before Gandhiji came on the scene. By giving women a definite place in his social and political activities, he has materially raised their status in national life. At his call thousands of women in all parts of the country have discarded the purdah. In fact, it may be said that Gandhiji's influence has led to the practical extinction of the seclusion of women in many parts of the country.

Gandhiji's position in the economic and industrial spheres, has given rise to some confusion. His passionate devotion to the charkha or spinning wheel, has often been understood to mean that he is opposed to all machinery. This is not correct. He is not against railways or motor-cars, the telegraph and the telephone. His opposition is to the supplantation by steam power of the man-power so

abundantly available in India. The introduction on a country-wide scale of electricity for domestic and industrial purposes, will abolish the antithesis between town and country, and between man and machine. Gandhiji has not declared himself opposed to electrification schemes.

It is less easy to appraise with any approach to accuracy Gandhiji's work in the political than in other fields. In public service the line between success and failure is faint. Mistakes are often as valuable as successes in accumulating experience. In South Africa, the Indian problem is, still acute, perhaps more than in Gandhiji's time. But this itself to a large extent is the result of his work. Both the Indians in South Africa and the Government of the Union have become more sensible of their rights and duties. On the whole, the position of Indians there has appreciably improved in relation to the White population. A greater result of Gandhiji's agitation in South Africa is that has aroused the mother-country to a keen realisation of her duty to her children overseas. The indentured system which was adopted as a substitute for slavery when it was abolished, and which in fact was slavery with a limit of time, has been abolished. Investigations into the conditions of life of Indians abroad have been made and a special department of the Government of India has been created to look after their interests. It is accepted policy that so long as Indians in any part of the world are not accorded full rights of citizenship, it is incumbent on the Government of India to make special provision to protect their interests. Before Gandhiji's movement in South Africa, the Indian people were almost totally indifferent to the lot of their countrymen abroad. It is to Gandhi-

ji's credit that he has shaken India out of this apathy and made her vigilant in guarding the welfare of her children in distant lands.

Gandhiji's special contribution to Indian politics is non-co-operation with Government under diverse names: civil disobedience, satyagraha, and Passive Resistance. After exactly twenty-five years, he is today standing for full co-operation and it is Government which is hesitating to accept the professed hand of the Congress, lest it alienate the Muslim League. Congress of which Gandhiji claims only to be Adviser, invariably follows his advice. Thus his position in relation to that movement is virtually that of Dictator. Gandhiji is prepared to go farther than Congress has so far gone to disarm the opposition of the Muslim League. But the more he is prepared to concede, the deeper grows the suspicion with which the League leader regards his overtures. Mr. Jinnah suspects a trap in every move not only of Gandhiji but also of the Government of which Gandhiji and the Congress approve. Like Dr. Ambedkar, Mr. Jinnah also regards

Gandhiji as an insidious enemy of his people. Sudden changes of front even when they are actuated by the most honourable motives, are apt to be looked upon as concealing secret designs by people with whom one is dealing. Concession after concession by the Congress has failed to win the confidence of the League. It has, on the contrary, deepened the gulf between the two bodies. Gandhiji's political leadership has not been conspicuously successful. It has awakened the masses to a sense of their rights, and of their power, if well organised, to secure them.

Truth and non-violence have figured in the forefront of all Gandhiji's activities, social, political and religious. Assuredly these have always been his own guiding stars in life. He has certainly tried his hardest and with no inconsiderable success to live up to these ideals. Truth, however can be predicated only of facts, not of opinions. And even of facts, one knows only as much of the Truth of them as one's mind is able to apprehend. Hence, it has often happened that Gandhiji has seemed to

critics, even to friendly ones, to be indulging in self-deception. For non-violence, Gandhiji defined it in different ways at different times. He has said that to be non-violent because one has not the strength and the hardihood to be violent, is not non-violence but cowardice. And he would rather that men and women were violent than cowards. True non-violence is possible only for a strong man, well-armed, when he desists from beating down an opponent who is weak and without weapons. If one finds oneself hopelessly outmatched, a practitioner of Ahimsa should put up a fight and be vanquished. Ahimsa does not, according to this view, consist in making oneself indisposed to violence. All this is very puzzling to the average man, and it is not surprising that Gandhiji's idea was not universally or implicitly accepted by all his followers. Congress Governments when they were in power in several provinces did not discard violence in maintaining law and order.

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SIR CHIMANLAL SITALVAD

A note on the cover page of Sir Chimanlal Setalvad's "Recollections and Reflections" describes it as an autobiography which it is certainly not. The title of the book accurately defines the range of its contents. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, many of his friends will be surprised to learn, is an octogenarian, having been born in 1865. He has preserved a youthful and alert look, no doubt because of his alert mind and wide range of interest. Sir Chimanlal never aimed at the impossible, and except in one case, attained what he wanted. Early in his college career he set his mind on becoming an Advocate on the original side of the Bombay High Court. After some years' practice on the Appellate side as a Pleader, he was admitted to plead on the original side. This does not seem thrilling either in conception or achievement, but to the young lawyer it was no small prize. Sir Chimanlal was not only a successful Advocate but also a much-sought-after Legal Adviser to ruling Princes in their perpetual difficulties with the Political Department. They were on very friendly terms with him and once the late Maharaja Scindia invited himself by telephone to a meal in Sir Chimanlal's house prepared and served in the Indian style. The late Maharaja of Nabha sent his Maharani (a third whom he had then recently married) to stay with Sir Chimanlal's family on the chance of getting an opportunity of meeting Lady Willingdon to plead for the restoration of the Maharaja's allowance which the Government of India had reduced from Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 10,000 a

month. The Maharaja wrote to say that the Maharani would arrive in Bombay on a day when Lord and Lady Willingdon was to dine with him. Sir Chimanlal tactfully arranged to put the Maharani up at the Taj, until the Viceregal visit was over. Lady Willingdon declined to meet the Maharani, as might have been expected although she was not in the least conservative in such matters. The one case in which good luck deserted him, related to Law Membership of the Governor-General's Executive Council. Sir George Lowndes who was retiring from the office had casually sounded Sir Chimanlal whether he would like to succeed him. Sir Chimanlal, normally not given to jumping to conclusions, took this for a definite offer and told Lord Lloyd, then Governor of Bombay, who had designated him for another job about it, and got permission to waive the latter. To his surprise, Sir Chimanlal found some other person nominated to succeed Lowndes, and Lord Sinha, then Under-Secretary of State for India, wrote to Sir Chimanlal that he and Mr. Montague had tried their best to get him the Law Membership but "your friend, Lowndes, was too strong for us." Sir Chimanlal added: "I then decided early in October to stand for Election to the Central Legislative Assembly under the new reforms and resigned the Judgeship (of the Bombay High Court)." He does not say whether he was elected or not. He immediately passes on to his next job, Membership of the Bombay Governor's Executive Council which he accepted with the condition that

he would not hold it for the normal term of five years. During his short term of office, many exciting events happened in the administration. But Sir Chimanlal's narrative here leaves large gaps. Sir Chimanlal's reference to Lord Northcote comes as a revelation. He was popularly thought to be a steady upright man, but Sir Chimanlal depicts him as a shirker given to drink.

The "Reflections" part of Sir Chimanlal's book is a valuable contribution to the political literature of the period. He travels over the period with chronologic regularity. Except where the non-co-operation Congress and Gandhiji are concerned, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad is strictly non-committal. Of them he has nothing good to say. Looking back on the political history of the last twenty-five years, it is really impossible to deny that Gandhian policies have materially roused the country's political consciousness. Whether the same result would have been achieved under the pre-Gandhian leadership, is more than one can judge. The aversion of the Setalvad type to the Gandhi type is not merely political but almost physical, and is not removable by argument. That Gandhiji is a hopeless blunderer, that nothing good can come out of his political strategy, is inherent in the Setalvad mentality.

A minor controversy has arisen over some statement in this book about Mr. Jayakar's part in Hindu-Muslim negotiations at the Round Table Conference fifteen years ago. Sir Chimanlal believes that, but for Mr. Jayakar's intransigence, the problem would have been settled

then and the course of Indian politics would be different. Sir Chimanlal mentions two such occasions. On the first, he himself says reactionary counsels got the upper hand among Muslims and that put an end to the negotiations. On the second occasion, a number of leading Hindu delegates are said to have signed an agreement which was torpedoed by Mr. Jayakar insisting on conditions for the separation of Sind: What the conditions were, Sir Chimanlal does not say, but the subsequent history and present plight of Sind, do not show that the separation of Sind was a blessing either to Muslims or Hindus in that sub-province of Bombay. The administration has steadily deteriorated and to the point of public scandal in some respects. Among the names of those who signed the draft agreement, is Mr. Srinivasa Sastry's. We wonder if this is correct. In one of his published letters, Mr. Sastry speaks of Mr. Jayakar and Pandit Malaviya agreeing with him on this question. Here is the passage.

Neither Motilal Nehru nor Sapru has an adequate idea of

the strength of the Hindu Mahasabha, and they have openly declared in favour of the creation of a line of Moslem frontier provinces and the grant of a third of the Assembly's strength to that community. They will find it hard to carry the Mahasabha so far. For the chances of political manoeuvre will all tell in the direction of Moslem demands. They will get what Sapru is willing to concede plus what he is not willing to concede, viz. separate electorates. The Europeans in India will see to the latter point. Added to this, we have inherited from the old Congress constitution a clause giving to minorities a practical veto over what they may choose to regard as affecting their social or religious institutions. This cannot but lead to the enthronement of the Mohammedan community in a position of indisputable advantage. In the craze for Dominion Status here and now, those who are commonly looked on as our spokesmen are

willing to accept it, subject to so many undesirable conditions that posterity will have every reason to curse this generation. Mr. Jayakar is emphatically in agreement with this view. So is Malaviya, or at least was, when I accused him of two cardinal weaknesses, one towards the Maharajas and one towards the Mohammedans. You must have seen the energy with which he cleared himself of the latter. Of the former he said nothing.

The above is from a letter to Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar in December 1929. Mr. Sastry's prophecy that the Muslims will get what Sapru is willing to give and also what he is not willing to give, shows surprising pre-science. Sastry's accusing Malaviya of a weakness for Muslims, and the latter's repudiation of it, has a touch of the comic. Anyhow, Mr. Jayakar and Mr. Sastry were emphatically agreed in 1929. Did they part company in 1930?

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RESEARCH IN LEPROSY

During the centenary celebration of the Grant Medical College, Bombay, Dr. R. Row, who for many years past has been carrying on research in Leprosy, announced in a paper, read before the Professors and students, the discovery which removes a great obstacle to the preparation of an anti-leprosy serum to cure leprosy. The bacillus of leprosy was isolated some years ago. But it has not been possible to produce a culture of it from which the serum can be prepared. The leprosy bacillus lives only in the blood stream of living human beings. A variety of it has been found in rats. But whether in men or mice, it has not hitherto been possible to make it live and multiply outside the living human being. Dr. Row said that, while most modern research was directed to the destruction of disease germs, his research was to find a bacillus with sufficient vitality to impart a part to the leprosy bacillus to enable it to live and grow and multiply outside the living human or rat body. Dr. Row uses the term symbiosis to describe such vitalising of one bacillus by another. Dr. Row after many failures has discovered that the bacillus of Kala Azar was able, though itself a parasite, to vitalise the bacillus of leprosy when both were placed together in a suitable medium. Col. S. S. Sokhey, Director of the Haffkain Institute, who presided, spoke in enthusiastic terms of Dr. Row's success in a research which has hitherto baffled many scientists. He said that the control and treatment of leprosy had been held up by the inability of scientists to propagate the organism of leprosy in the laboratory and their inability to infect laboratory animals. "The several cultures and serial sub-cultures which Dr. Row has been able to make so far and in five cases in succession, put the symbiosis of *Leishmania Tropicae* (*dona vani*) and *Mycobacterium leprae* on a fairly firm basis. What is equally interesting is that he has been able to propagate the organism of rat leprosy.

Leprosy is a very ancient disease. It prevailed in many parts of the

world from which it has almost wholly disappeared. India and China are at present the countries where it prevails most largely. While laboratory researches for finding a cure for leprosy, are most valuable, it would seem that the disease flourishes in certain social and economic conditions and disappears when these conditions no longer exist. The basic condition for leprosy as for other diseases, seems to be poverty and insufficient and unhealthy feeding. Leprosy has been attributed to feeding on decayed fish. But that itself is a sign of low economic condition. India and China are notoriously poverty-stricken, though potentially wealthy, countries and it is significant that they are the chief centres of the disease. That an improvement of economic condition is itself the most patent prevention of many diseases, is proved by the fact that the death-rate in England began to fall years before a public Health Service was instituted in the country. India and China will be the last refuge of diseases which have ceased to inflict humanity and other countries, so long as their people do not get enough to eat. It is an ill wind that blows nobody any good. The present world-food-scarcity has awakened statesmen all over the world to the fact that adequate and nutritious food for the world's population, is the fundamental problem which they have to face and solve. Medicine is not a substitute for food. Excellent work has been done by Anti-Leprosy missions and Societies, by removing certain false beliefs which impede free discussion. The disease is not contagious. It is not infectious. It is not inherited. Sir George Birdwood in his "Sva" throws doubt on the story of Father Damien having contracted the disease from the patients whom he tended. Dr. Birdwood adds:

As for the horror of leprosy, that has been revived by the sensational treatment of the subject in recent years, nothing could be more ignorant, heedless, and unfortunate. The true penance of medical science is the light and life that flows in

upon the sick from the sympathy of others; while the consciousness enforced on the lepers of being shunned by everyone is the darkest feature of their affliction.

OIL WELLS UNDER THE SEA

OIL reserve in the United States may be exhausted sooner than was expected, said Mr. Harold Ickes, former Secretary of the Interior, quite recently. But new deposits, vaster than yet tapped, await development—under the waters of the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean!

Some experts supported him by stating that the submarine oil wells of the Gulf contain more than 22 thousand million barrels of oil, or more than the entire reserves of the United States. Another oil king, with interests in California, asserts that beneath the bed of the Pacific lies more oil than has ever been discovered in American soil.

So, ever enterprising, America has taken steps to exploit these resources. Last September President Truman proclaimed jurisdiction over these oceanic oilfields which it is estimated, will increase America's natural wealth by one fifth!

Already off the West Indies derricks sprout from the sea, and the oil is piped ashore to storage tanks by the natural pressure of the submarine wells.

The Caspian Sea also covers large oil deposits, and just before the war thirty-five wells were sunk in the open sea.

Russian engineers now plan to sink many more and we may see a new era of well-boring by which the world's oil supplies will be very considerably increased.

SASTRY IN SOUTH AFRICA

Mr. K. Natarajan writes: "The extract about Mr. Sastry's work in South Africa quoted by me last week, was from a letter addressed to Sir Mahomed Habibulla, then Member of the Government of India in charge of the Overseas Department. A copy of that letter was sent to me at the time."

TOWARDS THE CLASSLESS SOCIETY

(BY RALPH TEMPLIN)

The first term of six years that we were in India, we were making the usual adjustment which every missionary has to make, only we made it in the opposite direction from most.

In India, at least, a missionary faces at once a dualism which demands his adjustment for sheer survival. There are before him definite patterns of behaviour involved in being "a good missionary."

Among these, as a dominant feature, is this dualism—two well-defined categories of thought and action and ways of living; one of which he is expected to apply to himself and all his white fellow missionaries, the other to all Indians, including his fellow workers in the mission.

My arrival placed me immediately in the position of a favoured race, including appointment as manager and principal over a headmaster who was as well trained and far more experienced as an educator than myself.

Unless one developed revolt in his being, he had to accept this dualism of race. If he did give in to the almost overwhelming pressure to conform, as most beginners did, he would in time become a good missionary and in time he would be able to say, as an older and one of the most devout among them said once to me:

"But don't you think when there are so few of us that when such mistakes are made by one of our number we should stand together?"

The identification we sought through the "fellowship" with the Indian members of our staff in our own excessively large bungalow was begun with this gulf between the races in view. We adopted two lovely orphan Bengalis, sons of a very dear associate, and they became very dear to the entire family.

That fellowship, never called an "Ashram", attracted people from every part of India till we were actually embarrassed. But it was held very much against us by other missionaries and authorities of our own mission.

Christian boys, picked for leadership, in all our schools, although from the villages, sought their education as an escape, turned their backs on their own people and village life, and tried to imitate the western ways of their missionary leaders. We sought to overcome this by instituting the first use in India of the part-study part-experience plan of education as originated at Antioch College, U.S.A., which we used as a technique for getting upper class boys out into villages under leadership.

A Hindu lad attending classes in the school became a Christian (though we never asked him), went for training at Wardha in Gandhi's movement of village crafts and education, and became the leader of this work. He inspired the boys with nationalist fervour for the betterment of the poorest of their own people. The missionaries liked this still less.

These radical experiments were largely responsible for calls that began to come to me to attend youth meetings all over India, and to have part in the indigenous Federation of International Fellowships. With increasing tempo, right up to the end, articles in greater number began to appear, especially in the "Indian Social Reformer" of Bombay. The last two appeared just before we were put out of India by the Mission authorities on September 15, 1940, for our stand against imperialism as the cause of the war. The "Indian Social Reformer" printed my article "The Inter-racial Basis of Permanent Peace," and "Harijan," Gandhi's paper, printed my letter to him on "A Non-violent Army of the World."

Other more minor struggles along non-violent lines were the ending of segregated food arrangements in our own Annual Conference session, against great odds; and the merging of the Epworth League, Methodist Young Peoples' Society, into the Christian Endeavour. In this I was at first almost single-handed, and the Methodist authorities were opposing it to the very end. We secured it by vote of the General Conference. I was not at any time a member of it.

An understanding of imperialism came gradually but became the predominant element before we had to leave India in our intense opposition to war and conscription.

World Goodwill Service

MRS. PITT CORRECTS BANDRA DIARIST

Sir.—In the *Bandra Diary* of March 2nd I find a cursory account of the career and character of myself. It is a long list of inaccuracies and misrepresentations. Greatly disliking to bring myself forward, it is still more unbearable to keep silent under a load of injustice, and I am forced to give a brief relation of the facts of my life.

Now to proceed with my story. I first came out to India in 1886, to relatives in Hd Departments of Government Service, spending 8 years in plains and Hill Stations in N. India and Burma; but rebelling against this life for its aloofness from the Indian life around. Married into the I.C.S., my husband doing everything to help me, I was able to fulfil partially my earnest desire of friendship with the Indian people. After his death in 1905, I determined to throw in my lot entirely amongst the people, and bought an Indian house in the centre of the small town keeping an open house to all who wished to come in and they did come in! During the 45 years I lived in this way I had two homes. As my mother was living in Cambridge alone, I could not leave her entirely and I divided my time between the two countries. When in Cambridge, I was as devoted to India, working for the welfare of the Indian Students, and in conjunction with Dr. (afterwards Sir Thomas) Arnold and Miss Beck and colleagues whose untiring efforts and aidings of the students never flagged, though little heard of. Sir Vishal Chandravarkar will bear me out.

But it was in Penukonda where the happiest days of my life were spent, and especially in the company of my intelligent friends, in our

daily gathering in the evenings on the roof of my house.

With the utmost frankness did we discuss every kind of subject, religion and politics, the failings and faults on both sides, Indian and English; and I sat amongst them as a learner; they called me sister, mother, and "one of them." Their political hopes and aspirations were mine too, I saw profound discontent, but not a vestige of ill-will. Those were the days when I came into touch with G. K. Gokhale and Sir William Wedderburn and in the time of Mr. Montague, who introducing himself to me, asked, "I hear you have been living amongst Indians and will know what they want—what do you think we should do about India?" I replied promptly, "Give her self-government."

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, when I saw him in London at the time of the session of the Joint Select Committee, made it plain to me that it was really complete independence that was the aim of the Congress Party as also did the late Mr. T. Sivasankaram whom I had enabled to come over to England, and got him chances to expound his political views to some influential people here, and the "Times" published a long letter of his, so you are quite mistaken in thinking I was unprepared for the change. I had, on the contrary, made every preparation to meet it. Your specification of the reasons which led to my leaving India at that time, is so contrary to facts that I must make a protest at having this event of my life so misrepresented. The avoidance of me or rather of my house was confined only to certain people who were angry and disappointed because I dared to try to

make them understand a side of the political situation of which I found they were completely ignorant. Literature which they could not otherwise have seen, was provided in my hall open every evening to them and with the hope that frank discussions on burning questions would result in understandingly and consequence goodwill, but none of these men came—they did not want to know the truth. Except for these people there was no difference towards me in the conduct of the others; much was done to induce me to cancel my passage back. My leaving was not the result only of this one factor a combination of lamentable circumstances happening simultaneously, chiefly financial difficulties brought upon me unwittingly but none the less disastrously, left me broken down in health and utterly broken-hearted, seeing the wreck of what had been the main hope of my life. And what was that? It was that India should win through to her freedom holding the friendly hand of Britain. And the wreck? That political India had chosen to regard Britain as "the enemy," to be fought against and systematically distrusted. I also at this juncture started distrust on my own account, and came to the conclusion that the much vaunted toleration of Hinduism is a myth, and your idea of democracy an ideology with the liberty to hold one's own opinions and to express them, left out. At any rate I have suffered from intolerance, and not only in Penukonda, actions speak louder than words.

We have retained all the corrections of inaccuracies in "A *Bandra Diary*" but have been obliged to omit general reflections for want of space.—Editor

A TRIBUTE TO MR. SASTRI

Sir, I trust you will publish the following. Just after sending my preceding letter to you I read in the "Times" the obituary notice of the Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastry. Words are needless, but as a testimony to his nobility of character as well as his world-wide public eminence, I am giving you the letter which he wrote to me after hearing of my leaving India:

Annamalai University,
Annamalainagar,
18-9-36.

"Dear Mrs. Pitt,

Many thanks for your letter of August 9th, giving cover to an old letter of Gokhale's. I have sent this on to our society in Poona to be preserved with his remains.

What you write of India and the way it has disappointed you reads like a Greek tragedy.

Yet it is just and true and I don't complain..... You and I have had arguments, and I fear some of them were bitter. Once or twice perhaps I was unfeeling, for that I must ask for your indulgence.

Please be sure that my heart

is without a trace of bitterness or ill-feeling, and I pray that your days may be full of good thoughts and kind acts as they have been in the past.

I need not add, but please let me do so, that you will be so good as to forgive India, and Indians, for in hurting you they hurt themselves ten times more.

With kindest regards
Yours sincerely,

V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.
Unhappy India! from whence has departed this rare and great soul
—I. J. FITT.

WHO IS TO BLAME?

Sir,—The Indian Social Reformer of April 20, 1946, publishes a letter from an English woman, in which a reference is made to my article entitled "Non-violence, Our Hope," which appeared in the issue of February, '39. I have read the letter with all the interest it deserves, and I find she refers to four things. At the outset I must say that I am pained to see a clear indication of violence in her language. I must state that reason does not appear in the presence of emotion. Where there is an attempt to find out the truth the first thing that has to be done is to dispel all clouds of violence and anger. Hence what I write I write as if I were writing to my friend.

Firstly, she maintains that all along there has been an intense desire in the West, as all over the world, for the perpetuation of peace. This is not reading the reality. The present war, the continuance of war

conditions, even now when the war (I mean Great War No. 2) has been officially closed, the threat of another war, all these are proofs enough of the war-mentality. That is natural. Wealth and machines must have this companion, this war-mentality. Then, even if there is a desire for peace, at the moment, that is there not because of a positive love for peace; but that is there as a result of the awareness and experience of horrors of war.

Secondly, non-violence is not a negation. If it is a negation, it is a negation of all that is evil. Surely negation of evil should be preferred to a great presence of evil. Non-violence does not mean inactivity. All that it means is to turn to peaceful settlement of differences, in the world. It is a new thing to the Western mind but that does not mean that it is nothing, but talk. She must know Jesus Christ, preached

this very thing. So it is not even new.

Thirdly, she seems to defend Mr. Winston Churchill by placing the blame at the door of Stalin. Even if Stalin is to be blamed for the war-mentality that is certainly not the royal road to true security and peace in the world. As she says all are keen on peace, let her give up this habit of blaming others for our own faults.

This takes me to the fourth point, which she has definitely made. I admit we are to blame if we are not free. Indeed no one can stop the hands of progress. If we are strong enough, marching all in unity, we will soon be free. But one thing the British can do. They say they are civilised, and they must help us to be free. Will they?

—MATHUR.

TWO TALES AND A MORAL

In a recent issue of "Worldover Press", there are two interesting stories and an interpretation which have more than passing interest. The writer shows how he was cured of deep-rooted prejudices by seeing instances which went dead against them. He writes, "It was a chauffeur in England who cured me of any superficial belief that understanding alone would accomplish miracles. As we drove past Monmouth, in the last province to be turned over by Wales to England, he said: 'See that schoolhouse, Sir. They'll be fightin' the same feud that went on there when I was a lad.' 'Feud?' I asked, 'A feud between you British and the Welsh? You have lived side by side all these years, and surely you understand each other by

now.' 'That's just it,' he exclaimed earnestly. 'The closer we get to 'em and the better we understand 'em, the less we like 'em'. . . . Turning the tables on prejudice sometimes will accomplish a mental revolution. Next time you hear someone telling the world how much he likes some of the Jews, but they sure are an acquisitive lot, tell him about the Hebrew Free Loan Society and how it lends money, without interest, to Jew and Gentile alike. And ask him where he will find a Christian organization that will act as generously. Located in various cities throughout the United States, the Loan Society brought help to persons in need of temporary aid, last year, to the tune of well over a million dollars. In 50 years of life, it has loaned almost

\$34,000,000 in amounts up to \$500, entirely free of interest, and has helped more than 650,000 persons of all races and creeds. *Losses? Yes!* But less than one-half of one per cent. An applicant for a loan is not checked, but he must have two business signers who are investigated. He will be treated with heart; the whole idea is to help get him on his feet. . . . Yesterday, in Biloxi, Mississippi, I passed a bullock cart, the first I've ever seen in the U.S., in a large town. A symbol of backwoods backwardness. May be. But I also read yesterday of the bullock carts soon to be in use in India, made for the native "carriage trade" by factories in the U.S.A. They'll be in the old familiar style but the material will be aluminium!"

POLITICAL ADVANCES IN JAPAN

For eight months of Allied occupation the Japanese people have been witnesses of and participants in the democratisation of their country. They have seen a purge of the militarist machine, curbing of industrial monopolies, renunciation of state Shinto, enfranchisement of free expression and development of critical thought. They have been called upon to voice their opinion on the draft constitution and have participated actively in the most democratic election in Japan's history.

These tremendous advances have

been made despite numerous economic obstructions stemming for the most part from the severe food shortage. The serious food shortage has done more than anything else to hamper occupation policies, for it has stimulated black market activities, rice hoarding and inflation. According to Gen. Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, who has placed a priority on the democratization of Japan, democracy will be real only when the people have been given hope of economic betterment.

Rice, which normally furnishes about 60 per cent of the Japanese diet, is fast disappearing from the working man's table because of destruction of the 1945 crop by typhoons and floods and because of soil exhaustion due to lack of fertilizers. In view of the diminished rice crop, fish has become a vital source of food supply for the country, but the fishing fleet, which had been completely swept from the seas during the war, cannot function because of shortage of materials for building and repair.—USIS.

THE

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

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

No Solitude for Gandhiji:—Sunday papers announced that Gandhiji had sent down from Simla his entire entourage including his Private Secretary. Mr. Pyarelal, as he wanted to do some hard thinking in solitude. Alas for human hopes! The same day, Mr. Kripalani, who was staying with President Abul Kalam Azad, moved into Gandhiji's house. He was followed by Miss Agatha Harrison and Mr. Horace Alexander who also took their residence with him. Did Gandhiji expect these arrivals?

Warren Hastings on Bhagavad Gita:—The oratorical genius of Edmund Burke had branded for all time the first British Governor-General of India, Warren Hastings, as a cruel and ruthless tyrant. There was another side to the man. Sir Radhakrishnan quoted, in an address recently at Karachi on the Bhagavad Gita, Warren Hastings' words when writing his introduction to the English translation of the work which he had got made. When writing it, he said: "Writings like this will survive when the British Empire has lost its dominion over India; when the source of its wealth and prosperity are lost to remembrance, this book and writings like this will survive." It is from this English translation that the American sage, Thoreau, "bathed his brains every morning with the stupendous philosophy of the Bhaga-

vad Gita" and he has left on record his grateful appreciation of Warren Hastings' initiative in having the translation made.

All Honour to MacArthur:—The 'Reformer' has sometimes had to criticise the methods of General MacArthur, Supreme Commander, in Japan. It is, therefore, all the more incumbent on it to express its admiration for the noble way in which, unheeded of attacks in a section of the Press, he evinces a paternal solicitude for the Japanese people over whom Destiny has for the time being made him absolute ruler. His policy and methods are in the highest American tradition, recalling those of Penn in New England. The General has been accused of being over-partial to the Japanese in the matter of food, pampering them while some other countries which helped to conquer them are in urgent need of it. We are sorry to see Indians of light and leading joining in the outcry. It will not bring an ounce more of food to India than what she would get which is very little. The Americans feel that it is Britain's responsibility to feed her Indian subjects, as General MacArthur feels it is America's responsibility to look after the Japanese people. Britain has never felt that way towards India. As Lord Randolph Churchill said, and his son has echoed his father's view, the possession of India more than that of all British colonial dominions, "has

raised in power, in resource, in wealth and in authority this small island home of ours far above the level of the majority of nations and States." But he said this not in a spirit of gratitude and as entitled to generous recognition and reciprocity, but as an argument for strengthening British hold on the country and putting down Indian movements for self-government. This, if we understand, is not General MacArthur's plan for Japan. He is determined to lead, if necessary by force, Japan, to the American pattern of democracy as quickly as possible, and then leave the country to carve out her own career. How far he will succeed, remains to be seen. But his intention reflects credit on him and the nation which sustains him in his policy in the face of powerful antagonists

The Food Muddle:—The revelations about the import of food to India from the United States, are startling. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar's confident expectations about imports of wheat and rice from the United States have proved illusory. The latest news is that some maize is being sent from that country. On a previous occasion maize from the States was found unsuitable for famished Indian digestion. This time it may or may not prove more suitable. Siam, Burma and Indonesia are nearer sources which Mr. Herbert Hoover, President Truman's Food Commissioner, has advised us to try. We are much obliged to him for his flying visit and this valuable piece of advice. The fact seems to be that an impression has got currency in the United States that the Food situation in India is being exploited for political purposes. We are bound to say that the circumstances do give

room for such a suspicion. However that may be, the Governments of the two provinces most affected are straining every nerve to see that the people do not starve to death, without looking to outside help from other provinces or from abroad. We think that it is quite possible for them to manage this, if the people are frankly told of the conditions prevailing in the land and exhorted to save the lives of their fellowmen.

Aligarh Incendiarism:—The way in which Mr. Govind Vallabh Pant's Government is going about with reference to the burning down of the grain and cloth market in Aligarh, may be prudent politically but it does not inspire confidence in the ability of the Government to deal with organised crime. The incident occurred just before the Congress Ministry took office. One of the Ministers, Mr. Kidwai, personally visited the scene and expressed his opinion about the responsibility for the crime. Two senior English officials were charged with further investigation and their report confirmed that students of Aligarh University were the principal culprits and that there was no provocation for their crime. Government still held their hands. They announced their intention to levy a punitive tax on the local inhabitants, taking care that it did not touch those who were innocent. This is not possible. One of the objections to a punitive tax—there are many—is that it is impossible to discriminate between the guilty and the innocent and that, indeed, more often than not the innocent are apt to suffer more than the guilty. The Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh University, Sir Ziauddin Ahmed, at once took fire and declared that if the measures of Government touched the precincts of the University, it was Government and not the University that will be responsible for the consequences which he did not specify. What the Government propose to do in the face of this defiance, remains to be seen. If they quail before it out of political consideration, they would forfeit their right to govern the province. The delay in dealing with the crime has already affected their prestige. What they should have done was to have called upon the Vice-Chancellor to hand over the students concerned in the crime or the ring-leaders to the Police with-

in twenty-four hours, and, if he failed to do so, to arrest him for harbouring criminals and put him on trial before the proper tribunal. Incendiarism is not a political issue. It is a crime and falls within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Executive Administration. No Minister worth his salt will allow fear of political repercussions to interfere with his plain duty in such cases.

Government and the Press:—The daily newspapers published this week "a certain convention" agreed on between the Bombay Home Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, and editors at a Conference. The "Convention" concerns reports of communal disturbances. The "convention" is not a new one. It has been observed for some years past, at whose instance we are unable to recall. The omission of names and facts likely to lead to the identification of communal affiliations, has not fulfilled the professed object, namely, relieving communal-bitterness. On the contrary, it has turned conflicts which were non-communal in origin into communal ones, on the well-established principle that a man may be made insane if he is persistently treated as a mad man. One of the ablest of Anglo-Indian administrators held that many even of the communal disturbances were really and at the bottom demonstrations against Government. If the authorities had acted on this sound view, instead of dubbing a street-fight between persons of different religious denominations as communal conflict, there would have been a wholesome atmosphere in the country. To call a disturbance "Communal", however, transfers the responsibility for it from the Police authorities to the Communities and tear-gas bombs and rifles are called in to "restore order" which would not have been disturbed had the preventive side of police administration not been completely neglected. Whatever excuse there might have been for this neglect under British administration, there is none whatever under an Indian Government. More embitterment is caused by calculated concealment of facts as a measure of appeasement than by their disclosure in a faithful report of events as they happened. Conspicuous illustrations are the relations between the Congress and the Muslim League and the Harijan Songh and

Ambedkarites. The "Convention" is open to objection on principle. It is derogatory to the freedom of the Press and absolves the Editor of a responsibility which is and should be exclusively his. The "Convention" requires that all newspapers should publish one report agreed upon by a Committee of editors. It may as well be agreed that they should publish no reports whatever. The public will not trust the agreed report. And it after all must count for something. Public interests are best served by the Administration and the Press functioning independently in their own well-defined orbits. According to this convention, it would be inadmissible to mention the Aligarh University students in connection with the burning-down of the market, because they are generally assumed to be all Muslims, though there are non-Muslims also among them.

Racial Discrimination or Overseas Pay?—We learn from a reliable source that from October 1945, that is, after the cessation of hostilities the members of the Queen Alexandra Indian Medical Nursery Service are being paid Rs. 100 more per month for nursing Indian patients. All these nursing sisters are ignorant of any Indian language and consequently no direct communication between patient and nurse is possible. This perhaps made the nursing of the Indian Soldier a more arduous job than nursing his British counterpart. The privilege of extra pay was not given to the members of the I.A.M.C. when nursing the British Tommy. It is a matter for speculation why the increment was given effect to as late as October 1945 when by a stroke of the pen the benefit could have been applied with retrospective effect from September 1939. As the Indian public is unaware of such happenings, no objections would have been raised. It would have been tactful on the part of the authorities to label such extra remuneration as overseas pay instead of naming it as a reward for nursing Indian soldiers.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, May 11, 1946

PLACE AND PEOPLE

Isaiah Bowman, President of the John Hopkins University, in an article in the January number of the American Quarterly Journal, "Foreign Affairs," headed "The Strategy of Territorial Decisions" calls attention to an important factor often neglected or ignored in discussions relating to territorial divisions. The value of his observations to Indians is enhanced by the fact that the eminent scholar and educationist had in mind only territorial divisions in Europe and America and makes not the remotest reference to Pakistan or India. In discussions on Pakistan in India, the questions usually considered are: "Is Pakistan economically and industrially self-sufficient?" and "Can Pakistan defend itself against foreign invasion?" It is seldom asked, "Would India benefit as a whole if the provinces of Pakistan be self-sufficient for economic and defence purposes?" It is assumed that these questions either do not arise for Hindustan or are totally irrelevant to the discussion. Dr. Bowman maintains that the most important question in territorial decisions is not economics or defence, but the sentiment of the people attaching to the land. He begins by noting the existence of a profound psychological difference between a transfer of territory and a change in a trade treaty or pact of international co-operation. People conscious of their individuality, he observes, endow the land itself with a mystical quality, hearing revered ancestors, the authors of past grand deeds, speak from the graves in its soil. He continues:

To all classes, landscape is an essential part of home. Enshrined in every national literature are the changing moods and compositions of the river, mountain, plain forest and shore. All the familiar techniques of living are involved in the complex of feeling, remembered experience and imagination surrounding place and home. It is little to sentiments like these, and not merely to so-and-so many square miles of land, that is transferred when there is a change of boundaries and rule.

Military alliances and trade treaties do not touch the spiritual intimacies of life.

The links between place and people are countless. The fact that one was born in a certain spot pursues one throughout life. The first question in most census schedules is, "Where do you live?" In com-

mon thought today, as in the earliest folklore, one's dwelling place is the centre of the universe. The national leaders must be especially alert to territorial losses and gains, for they touch the main nerve centre of popular feeling.

These observations were as true of India as of the United States and other countries until forty years ago. Then it was decreed that not where a man lived, not the place where he was born, but what creed he professed should be the main thing about him. The first question in the Indian Census Schedule and in the Indian Franchise roll, is "Are you a Mahomedan or non-Mahomedan?" The Indian population consisting of one-third Muslims and two-third others, was officially divided into "Muslims" and "non-Muslims." The strategy of this remarkable transposition was extended to nearly all political and administrative spheres to the almost complete elimination of territorial affinities. The President of the Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah, publicly declared the other day that he was not an Indian. A few days ago another League leader proclaimed that he did not care for the soil of India. Leaders of the Indian National Congress who are officially recognised as its spokesmen, discuss Pakistan, on purely strategic, economic and political grounds. Divided India will have no international status. She will not be able to feed herself or to defend herself. These arguments fail to convince either Muslims or Britons. Britain, Switzerland, Belgium and Holland have a high international status. Pakistan will be larger than they; Hindustan very much larger. As for feeding, Britain cannot feed herself. Nor was she able to defend herself against Germany without American and Russian help. Pakistan will be in no worse position. As a matter of fact, the Punjab and Sind are the two surplus provinces in India today in the matter of food. The British Ministers now on a Mission in this country, cannot deny these facts. They must accept them. The Congress leaders, because they claim to be nationalists, are stopped from saying anything which savours of Communalism, though the President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, in his statement announcing retirement forgot the convention, and spoke as a Muslim.

The Hindu Mahasabha is not recognised by the British delegation and the Congress while firmly denying it is a Hindu organisation, has actually accepted that position at the Simla Conference. Its Nationalism has led to the curious result that out of eight representatives at the Conference, six are Muslims, each one of them vigorously asserting his right to speak as Muslim, while the two Hindus dare not whisper the word, "Hindu," as it would clash with the Congress claim to be national! Mr. Jinnah has won all along the line, though he does not show that he knows it.

The reasons which should weigh most with statesmen if they are earnest about devising a stable and just settlement, are those which Dr. Isaiah Bowman has indicated in his article. To begin with, the people whose views and sentiments most have the first consideration are the Hindu and Sikh minorities in the provinces claimed for Pakistan. Even if they agree to Pakistan, the rest of the Country will have a strong claim to prevent it. The most sacred sentiment of the Hindus centred in these areas. Mohenjodaro was their most ancient home, so far as we know at present. The Vedas, the oldest records of man's search after Truth, were compiled in the banks of the Sutlej. The Bhagavad Gita was delivered at Kurukshetra. The Himalayas have shaped not only the climate, but the religion and culture, the art and social pattern of India. Kailas, Amarnath, Kedarnath, Badrinath are holy shrines on its peaks. The priest at Badri is always a Nambudri Brahman from Malabar nominated by the Maharaja of Travancore and approved by the ruler of the State in whose territory Badri is. This is typical of the links which bind North and South, East and West, as web and woof. The Ganges, the most sacred of Indian rivers, whose name is intimately interwoven with Indian life, together with the Brahmaputra, has made the soil of Bengal right up to the hills of Assam and beyond. Those are bonds, severance of which means the stopping the flow of India's life-blood. The English Ministers are not likely to appreciate these sentiments but there they are and will in the nature of things ever remain impelling India to regain her unity, if it should unhappily be broken by the machinations of statesmen, English and Indian.

ACCREDITED HELPERS

A fervent appeal to the British public to organise relief for India in her impending famine was issued by Lady Pethick-Lawrence, and three other members of the Friends Service Council of London. "We are all appalled by the terrible menace of the famine which threatens the life of millions of the Indian people," says Lady Pethick-Lawrence, and appeals for means to send out to India more accredited helpers on behalf of the Friends Service Council "to help in the organisation and distribution of food". Is the famine in India or in England? Tons and tons of food parcels were being sent to families in England by relatives in India, till quite recently. Will not the

"accredited helpers" prove useful in their own country especially at a time when there is much planning for post-war reconstruction? With the terrible depletion in man-power caused by the war one would have thought it natural for England to conserve what is left of it for her own service. Who are the accredited helpers and by whom are they accredited? Whatever their number, is it fair to foist them on India at a time when her political and economic structure is rocked to its very foundation? The accredited helpers do not speak the language of the people and will be so many extra months to feed. Lady Pethick-Lawrence and others are, to say the least,

frank in their opinion of the vast Indian population as they do not even consider the possibility of the existence of accredited helpers in its ranks. Strange as it may seem, no similar public appeal has been made in India. If such an appeal is made, we have no doubt of accredited helpers offering their services in large numbers. The demobilised Indian Army and the I.N.A. Corps have plenty of potentiality and should prove second to none in efficient, energetic and patriotic work for famine relief. To permit foreign help would be unsound, extravagant and wasteful. The Friends will earn a better name by keeping away instead of rushing to help.

DR. DESHMUKH'S LATEST BILL

By Kopargam Ramamurti

Dr. G. V. Deshmukh, M.L.A. (Central), is not merely a brilliant surgeon but a seasoned politician too. In an age when the old heroic pioneers of social reform, still happily with us, have grown a bit pensive and cautious and even alarmed at the pace of the modern women's movement for freedom, Dr. Deshmukh has proved himself a tireless, unshamed and successful legislative champion of women's rights in India. Hindu widows, throughout the country, already owe him an eternal debt of gratitude for his "Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act" (Act XVIII of 1937), which has since been wisely endorsed and made flawless in Orissa by its Provincial Legislature and in some other Provinces also by the Governor regimes for the time being. The intrepid Doctor then extended his beneficent services to distressed Hindu wives, either deserted or superseded or otherwise oppressed by their living but unloving husbands, and sought to secure for them separate residence and maintenance through his "Hindu Women's Rights" Bill, which was passed a few weeks ago by the Central Legislative Assembly and is now before the Council of State. Not satisfied with these achievements, the indefatigable reformer in Dr. Deshmukh has urged him now to push forward again his old lapsed Bill "to further amend" the Special Marriage Act (Act III of 1872). This Act was amended once before by Dr. Hari Singh Govt's Amendment Act XXX of 1923. The object of the present move for further amendment is only to extend, on a voluntary basis, the benefits of the former amendment to Hindu wives also, though married already with due ceremony under the "Hindu law and custom" of our courts, which, as is well-known, permits polygamy and also discriminates grievously against female heirs in the matter of inheritance. This object is to be gained with the willing co-operation of the husband himself in each case by getting their previous marriage registered under the Act in order to bind him from that date to Monogamy and subject his property to the more equitable rules of inheritance provided by the Indian Succession Act. The vested Mitakshara

interest, however, of any sons born to them before such joint steps taken are not sought to be interfered with in any way.

This self-same Bill had figured before about five years ago as L.A. Bill No. 31 of 1941. It was also circulated at that time through all the Provincial Gazettes, including the Orissa Gazette of 12th December 1941, and public opinion was duly gathered by the Government of India by the end of March or April 1942. But now again, constrained no doubt by the unquestionable and hallowed 'Sankhya' dictum that 1946 is not 1942, the same meticulous process of circulation and opinion seeking is being patiently gone through by the Law Departments of all Provincial Governments on behalf of the Government of India. It is conceivable, though not disclosed, that there is also a less abstruse reason for this dilatory and seemingly redundant procedure. The Rau Committee's gigantic labours on the Hindu Code had not been brought to public view in 1941. Even their tentative sectional proposals on Marriage and Intestate Succession were not published till July 1942. Their all comprehensive "Draft Hindu Code", was not available till 1944. That Draft, carefully revised since, after an elaborate process of circulation, explanation, public discussion, written memoranda, personal touring, oral examination and evidence-recording, is now on the waiting list of the Central Legislative Assembly in the shape of a full-fledged "Hindu Code Bill." And it may come up for final decision any day according to the mysterious chances of the ballot, provided of course the present all-India Legislature manages to survive the revolutionary changes envisaged in the political horizon.

The Rau Committee's revised Hindu Code is not as widely known as their original Draft of two years ago. At any rate, some of us have not yet seen it. We are therefore content to presume, subject to correction, that they both tally exactly on all the points relevant to an intelligent appraisal of Dr. Deshmukh's "Special Marriage (Amendment) Bill" of 1946. Let us then compare the proposals of Dr. Desh-

mukh from the Preamble onwards with the following portions of the Draft Hindu Code:

(a) the definition of "Hindu" in Section 2 clause (2) and of "Stridhana" in section 5 (j) and the amendment of Act III of 1872 provided by section of Part I;

(b) the order of Intestate Succession, advancing the status of female heirs and the quantum and nature of their inheritance, provided in sections 5, 6, 7 and 13 of Part II; and

(c) the provision for compulsory monogamy in Marriage, both sacramental and civil, in section 24, and the option given for the subsequent registration of a prior sacramental marriage as a civil marriage through section 18 of Part IV. If we make this comparison, we cannot but come at once to the conclusion that whether the impending Hindu Code Bill is passed first or last, it will not only take the wind almost entirely out of the sails of Dr. Deshmukh's Bill but in addition torpedo its very bottom, because it repeats in express terms all the provisions of Dr. Gour which were grafted in 1923 on the old Act III of 1872 and which alone are sought now to be extended to persons not hitherto eligible under the Act.

But will the impending Hindu Code Bill be ever passed in the life-time of the present generation, let alone the present legislature? Dr. Deshmukh, the veteran Assembly-man, apparently thinks it can never be. He is one of those hardy realists perhaps who are quite sure that it would be folly to expect that the mammoth legislation can be passed down the narrow throats of the reactionary patriots who abound in our legislature. The deep sentimental antagonism that the Bill is sure to arouse simultaneously from all quarters on some sensitive point or other among its many details, are bound to make it flounder in the end, even if it escaped disaster earlier through some accidental mischance due to the several technical rules of Assembly procedure. Moreover, where will the present legislators, with their all absorbing and exciting pre-occupation with high explosive politics, both national and international, and with most of their innate idio-

syncretics and their sectional and actual prejudices yet untamed, find the time, the patience, the serenity, the clearness of vision and openness of heart necessary to make up their minds wisely on such a vast and complex theme? They can only be expected to clamour irresistibly for the maintenance of the 'status quo' at all costs until national independence sits enthroned again in this ancient land.

Like the shrewd and bold light-armed captain and guerilla warrior of the Maharashtra of old, therefore, Dr. Deshmukh prefers to take his chance immediately against any odds. He would rather rely on his dash and snatch methods in his legislative work, and concentrate his strength entirely on some single

point at a time, so that by seeing a patch of ameliorative concession here and another patch there, unscared by discouraging cries of "piecemeal legislation" or "defective drafting," he may in course of time gather sufficient statutory material to produce a ready-made Hindu Code of his own which will at least be sufficient to place women's rights in all their phases on a safe and satisfactory footing. Did not his modest but practical minded ancestors steadily piece together a mighty Mahratta empire in days of yore with many casual snatches of small territory without seriously alarming their most formidable adversaries till the whole unexpected thing was done and finished?

The benign Government of our day blandly ask that they may be

"favoured" with our opinion on Dr. Deshmukh's Bill before the end of June this year but they do not give us the least hint in this connection that they are holding up their sleeve a deadly super Bill, all ready for action, which can torpedo this small Bill in no time. Dr. Deshmukh knows of the existence of that lurking danger but is quite unperturbed. He is gaily convinced, so it seems, that big Panjandrum will explode itself somehow, doing no harm to his light craft and doing no good to anybody. May be he is right! Let us therefore take heart and, like good citizens, play our part dispassionately by studying Dr. Deshmukh's Bill in all earnestness and formulating our considered opinion on its own merits, as if the 1923 edition of Act III of 1872 is going to enjoy a charmed life for ever.

TROTSKY'S LIFE OF STALIN

The long-awaited biography of Stalin by Trotsky contains the sensational charge that Stalin helped Lenin, the founder of the U.S.S.R., to his death by poison.

Trotsky asserts that what he was reluctant to believe formerly, he could hardly avoid believing after the purges of 1936 and Moscow trials—that use of poison was an instrument of state in Stalin's regime and in his climb to power.

Trotsky relates that Stalin informed him and several other party comrades that, at the height of Lenin's illness, the father of the revolution despaired of his own recovery and asked that he be given poison to end his suffering.

Trotsky and the others recoiled in horror. But, insists Trotsky, Lenin was of rugged constitution and should have recovered had not Stalin done "something to expedite" his death.

With Lenin there, Stalin could not have achieved supreme control.

This gruesome contention is of a piece with the whole book, which cannot accurately be described as other than a conspiratorial, contentious and polemic study of the men and events of one of the strangest movements in history, the Russian Revolution.

With only two-thirds of the volume written, Trotsky himself was snatched out of life in a manner consistent with the methods and characteristics he so fully described.

He was assassinated by one Jacques Mornard, alias Frank Jackson, identified on one hand as a follower of Trotsky, and, on the other, as a C.P.U. agent.

Trotsky died on August 22, 1940, aged 60, with the death-bed exhortation, "please say to our friends that I am sure of the victory of the Fourth International. Go forward!"

What he has written about Stalin cannot easily be evaluated without first examining his own career. Born Bronstein, a Jew, he became Lenin's right-hand. As Commissar of War, he headed the victorious Red Army in the revolution and civil war of 1917.

He differed radically with Lenin on many questions of policy, but, like all other factions of the Communist Party of Russia, he acknowledged the undisputed leadership of Lenin.

When Lenin knew he was about to die, in 1924, he nevertheless hesitated to appoint a titular successor. At this time, Russia was ostensibly ruled by a so-called central committee. This committee, known as the Politburo, had three members: Stalin, Zinoviev, one of the old Bolshevik

leaders, and Kamenev, Commander-in-Chief of the Red Army in the civil war and first President of the Soviet Republic.

Lenin was disturbed by opposition in the eleventh Party Congress in 1922. He had Stalin appointed general secretary of the central committee.

When Lenin died, the Politburo triumvirate succeeded to his power. Trotsky was left out in the cold.

From about 1920 onwards, serious differences developed between Stalin and Trotsky over many questions, but chiefly as to whether the International should be used as an instrument for achieving revolution in the West.

Stalin contended Russia must first achieve the fruits of her own revolution, Trotsky held that without world revolution, Russia could not achieve the fruits of her own. Ultimately, Zinoviev and Kamenev split with Stalin on this question and joined Trotsky.

Stalin expelled Zinoviev and Kamenev from the central committee, and finally they were executed.

Trotsky was briefly exiled to the Caucasus in 1925, but after that apparently he and Stalin made their peace. Trotsky was re-elected to the central committee.

But then Stalin attacked Trotsky as a "heretic." He said "Trotsky never was a Bolshevik. We must stamp out Trotskyism."

Trotsky publicly and unconditionally capitulated in 1928. (I can find no mention of this in his book.) But the feud between the two men was too great to be overcome.

Gradually, Trotsky was deprived of all his offices and honours, and in November, 1927, he watched the tenth anniversary parade of the Red Army as a simple spectator among the Moscow crowds. In January, 1928, he and his family were exiled to the China-Turkestan frontier, and in February, 1929, they fled to Turkey.

Thereafter, Trotsky was refused permission to enter Germany, England, Ireland, and many other countries.

He lived for a while in France, Norway; and in 1937, found refuge in Mexico, where he met his death.

He consistently denied accusations of treason at various Moscow trials, demanded an impartial international investigation, and offered to surrender to the Soviet Government if proved guilty by such an investigation.

He alleged Stalin instigated many attempts on his life during his exile.

Three months before he was assassinated, his Mexican home was riddled with machine-gun bullets and a guard was kidnapped and killed.

Now, to revert to Trotsky's Life of Stalin.

Born Joseph Djughashvili on December 21, 1879, in the Georgian town of Gori, 26 kilometres from Tiflis, the future dictator of Russia has gone under many aliases. His names include Ivanovitch Ryobi (meaning "pockmarked"), Totmyants Koba (after the hero of a popular Georgian novel), Nizheradze Chizikov, Kinto, and ultimately in 1912, Stalin, which means "steel." It was the fashion of young Communists to assume "hard" pseudonyms at the time.

Aside from minimising Stalin's capacity as a thinker and originator, Trotsky's whole thesis is that Stalin was an upstart, a Johnny-come-lately to the Communist movement, who, until 1907, had little or no direct contact with Lenin.

Stalin's early career is obscure, despite the present-day adulatory biographers. As a consequence of having an intensely religious mother, he studied at the local theological school, from which he was expelled. What his home life was like, Trotsky says, can be drawn from the fact that his father was a drunken shoemaker-peasant.

Out of school, young Stalin went to work as a bookkeeper in the Tiflis observatory. He may or may not have led Marxist groups at 18, but his career as a Georgian revolutionary was nothing more than that of a gangster, who planned violence against the Czarist Government, but let others execute it.

Trotsky gave Stalin the little attention he deserved in those early years, although he remembered with resentment Stalin's references to the Trotskyite bloc in the party in 1901 as "putrid unscrupulousness."

It was in 1912 that Stalin came into contact with major party policies, and into close touch with Lenin.

But even as late as 1915, Lenin could not remember Stalin's real surname, Djughashvili, showing how little real intimacy there was between the two men. Even in the revolution of 1917, when all the revolutionaries freed from exile or imprisonment began to converge on Petrograd, Stalin "remained on the sidelines."

But how did Stalin achieve his ultimate pre-eminence? Stalin's technique always has been, not to create

an instrumentality but to acquire control of one.

Arriving at Petrograd from Siberia, where he had been exiled by the Czarist authorities for four years, Stalin installed and entrenched himself at Bolshevik headquarters at a time when "Soviet politics were shot through and through with compromise and equivocation."

His activities in that fateful 1917 disclose him as nothing more than "a plebeian democratic and oafish provincial forced by the trend of the times to assume a Marxist tinge."

In the seizure of Petrograd and the overthrow of the Kerensky Government, Stalin did not even know that the insurrection had begun. But then when the revolution succeeded, Lenin began to advance Stalin "admiring him for his firmness, grit, and stubbornness, and, to a certain extent, his slyness, as attributes necessary in the struggle. He did not expect from him any independent ideas, political initiative, or creative imagination."

Then came the civil war. The Bolsheviks, in the minority, had obtained control of the Communist Party by sweeping out the majority of moderates, the so-called Mensheviks. Trotsky's own attitude towards that struggle on Russian soil is now legendary. A turbulent genius in so much else, he was an equally turbulent genius in the art of war. Stalin, although commander of one of the fronts, in Trotsky's opinion did little for victory.

Later he purged and executed every general whom Trotsky had appointed. Trotsky's description of how he built up the Red Army is a classic of historical writing. "On the foundations of every great defeat, he laid the groundwork of even greater victory."

"Throughout the period of civil war, Stalin remained a third-rate figure, not only in the army, but in the field of politics as well," wrote Trotsky.

But Stalin was already a member of the Politburo, and that was what

counted.

Two years later, his hold on the party's political machine became formidable, and four years later Stalin had relegated Trotsky to a precarious status.

Trotsky says that a Russian revolutionary named Parvus, an emigre who, in the days of the Weimar Republic in Germany, became adviser to President Ebert, suggested in 1905 "the establishment in Russia of a workers' democracy more or less as in Australia, where first the Labour Government did not venture beyond the limits of a bourgeois regime."

Trotsky says, "I did not share that conclusion. The Australian democracy, maturing organically on the virgin soil of a new continent, immediately assumed a conservative character and dominated the youthful, yet rather privileged proletariat. Russian democracy, on the contrary, could come about only in consequence of a large-scale revolutionary insurrection."

TRUTH ABOUT ST. MARY'S COLLEGE, KURSEONG

Sir—

For the sake of truth and justice, I feel it my duty to give you objective information about St. Mary's College, Kurseong, as I find that your esteemed correspondent's account, published in your journal of April 27, 1946, is based on wrong information.

Now Kurseong being the nearest hill station in Bengal, I had occasion to come here very frequently, and on each and every occasion, I made it a point to visit the great institution, —St. Mary's College, which is unique of its kind in the whole of India. Situated on a lovely mountain height, the College has a special attraction for visitors and its Indian library in particular has got a special fascination for me. In it have I spent many an hour in spite of other pre-occupations.

St. Mary's being a Theological College where Catholic priests receive their training and are ordained, has got a rich library of Scriptural texts in Latin, French, Hebrew, and English, and very many languages; but then its Indian Section also is not poor. Very few of our national libraries possess so many volumes of Tagore, Bankim Chandra, Sarat Chandra, Ramkrishna, Vivekananda, Sri Aurobindo and modern Bengali authors, besides a good number of Indian journals, both English and Bengali. Mention also should be made of the huge collection of Sanskrit books—Vedas, Upanishads, literature, and also books on Indian History and Economics.

The Rev. Fathers with many of whom I had, and still have the privilege of coming into close and intimate contact, are, to my mind, the brightest specimens of humanity, broad-minded and generous, free from racial taint or prejudice, they seem to be God's good angels on earth. "Racial struggle" and "barbarous wars" are very far from their mind. Nor do they have, as I found them, Indians or Indian culture, or indulge in the game of power politics, —Partition of India—, etc. or in any way usurp the function of the ruling class.

Further no service-men are living here permanently. Of course some religious-minded groups would come occasionally to spend their holidays here and devote some of their time to prayer, praise and meditation. And your correspondent is entirely wrong when he says that the "military officers

of arms." It is possible that he has been misled by any casual remark passed by some of these service-men out of fun.

On the staff, a professor of divinity happens to be an Indian. Then again there are Hindu teachers, as also a Muslim, to teach Hindi, Sanskrit, Bengali and Urdu. That shows the catholicity of the institution.

Poona, as I learn on enquiry, is not a new institution, but one existing already before the war, and is expected to reopen when the staff will be ready.

At all events it is my considered opinion, as I have had occasions to see things personally and am still in close touch with the institution, that St. Mary's College is both a training college for Christian priests and a centre of culture, and any unbiased visitor to the institution cannot but be impressed by its ideals and activity. And, neither your esteemed correspondent, nor the Free India Government of the future need be afraid of its activity or hold it as suspect.

P. RAY,

Teacher St. Alphonsus H.E. School, St. Mary's Theological College, Kurseong, May 4th, 1946.

2

All of us here at St. Mary's Theological College have been surprised and not slightly amused to read in your issue of April the 27th the letter on Indian Independence and Catholic Missions of "A Christian Lover of Hinduism."

It is not my intention to discuss in detail every affirmation of the correspondent, some of which were they well-founded, would indeed be very damaging charges against us and our institution. A few indications on his main allegations will show that he must have been very ill-informed.

The Community of our College is made up of young religious and professors belonging to many different nationalities. By far the greater majority are Indians. Your correspondent asserts that Indians are not allowed on the Staff. I need only remark that I myself am an Indian and proud of it, and am a full professor on the teaching staff of our institution. Another Indian professor, who had begun teaching here

and remains attached to the staff has just gone to Europe for further training in his highly specialised subject.

The British soldiers whose presence so alarmed your correspondent, far from teaching us the use of weapons, are passing guests, coming here for a brief rest and a few days of prayer, technically called a spiritual retreat, Indians, applying for similar reasons, have always been equally welcome and happy in our midst.

As for our feelings towards Indian Independence, the correspondent is greatly mistaken. I can assure him that the day when the great news shall be announced, will be a day of rejoicing for all of us here, Indians and non-Indians alike.

We do not remember when or in which circumstances your correspondent visited the house. Should he wish to complete his information and correct some very mistaken impressions, he will be most welcome to visit us again.

ALBERT D. MENDONCA,

Professor of Theology, Kurseong, 5th May 1946.

3

Sir,—It was with great interest that I read the letter on "Independence and Catholic Missions" published in your paper. I have been living in Kurseong since 1940. I have visited St. Mary's several times. I see the missionaries and their servants in the town almost every day, and I am convinced that the author of the letter, "A Christian Lover of Hinduism," is right. I can further elucidate you that, besides Europeans, there is also a great number of Americans besides the officers both British and Americans who constantly come and go. The staff of the College, as the author of the letter says, was entirely European, and once I was told by an old missionary that the College cannot rely upon Indians in the matter of teaching Christianity. He candidly affirmed that the Indian mentality could never grasp Christianity, that it is a special gift of God to the white people to show to humanity the way to eternal salvation. However a few months ago my son and my eldest daughter visited the College; they told me that they met in the garden an extremely kind Indian priest who seems to be a professor of the College. It may be that due to political circumstances the Europeans and the Ameri-

icans are obliged to change their policy. They may change their policy but they will never change their mentality; and truly how can they if to be a white man is to be a being specially chosen by almighty God? Hence among the missionaries there is a division. Every European and American, of whatever standard he may be, always belongs to the higher class. But an Indian, whatever talents he may have, is always doomed to be classed among the lower. Their conviction that the Indian is mentally and morally their inferior, is so strong that it does not need any further proof. This distinction is not found only in Kurseong but wherever white and coloured missionaries are found together. Does this distinction belong to the religion taught by Jesus? If it is so, then such religion is nothing but sheer hypocrisy. This kind of religion may satisfy the white men, it will never take root in India to whom Truth is the measure of everything. It is now high time to warn our Indian Christians against the influence of these foreigners who profit by their credulity to make themselves all important and necessary and to live in comfort, honour and glory.

AN INDIAN FROM KURSEONG.

BRAHMINS IN MADRAS CABINET

Sir.—In your Notes in the Issue of the Reformer of 4th May, you are pleased to say: "A noteworthy feature of the Tamil half of the Prakasam Cabinet, is that not a single Brahmin is to be found in it."

This statement is entirely wrong. Mr. K. Bhashyam is a Brahmin and so also Mrs. Lakshmiipathi. Both of them are from Tamilnad though Mrs. Lakshmiipathi's mother tongue is Telugu. Your conclusion: "The Justice Party has won its greatest victory at the moment when it seemed to have suffered shattering defeat", is both wrong and mischievous. Mr. Bhashyam's testimony is published in the newspapers about the fine team spirit of the Madras Ministry. In fact, the present Madras Ministry is better than the last in its democratic content and representation. Men like Mr. S. Ramanathan, who never made up their mind, are not there nor are those who had any leanings towards the Justice Party. Mr. Prakasam, Mr. Giri, Mr. Kotti Reddi, Mr. Karant, are all tried Congressmen. Mr. Avinashalingam, Mr. Kumarswami Rajah and Mr. Kurmayya are all staunch nationalists from the beginning of their career. If it is your contention that because they are Non-Brahmins and as such a victory for the Justice Party, you are entitled to have it. But that will not be true to facts.

"FACTS".

[We forgot Mr. Bhashyam. Mrs. Lakshmiipathi is not a Tamil since her mother-tongue is Telugu although her domicile is in Tamilnad. For the rest, all that we meant obviously was that the chief aim of the Justice Party, namely ousting the Brahmin from public life, was achieved, and not that any member of the Ministry was a Justice party-minded man. We agree that the Madras Ministry is a strong one.—Editor.]

DELETION OF CASTE

PREFIX

Sir.—It is a matter of great pleasure that the Congress Secretariat has ventured to discontinue the old system of putting caste prefix, such as Pundit, Lala, Thakur and Chaudhuri, before the names of gentlemen and has adopted a common word 'Shri' like the English word 'Mister' for persons of all castes and creeds, as is clear from the statement of Shri J. B. Kripalani issued in connection with the names received for presidentship of the next session of the Congress, in which he writes 'Shri Jawaharlal' instead of 'Pundit Jawaharlal'. Although it appears to be an insignificant thing, yet it has far-reaching effects in uniting the people into a nation. May I hope that our public and press too will follow the good lead given by the Congress. We should bear in mind that unless we learn good qualities of free and united nations, we shall not be able to bear the responsibility that is coming on our shoulders in the form of independence.

SANT RAM

[Many Hindus had dropped for years their caste prefixes and suffixes, along with their more visible caste-marks, though Mr. Sant Ram seems not to have noticed it before. The word "Pandit" before the name of Shri Jawaharlal was an anomaly even apart from its caste connotation and he must be glad to be rid of it.—Editor.]

THE CABINET MISSION'S PROGRESS

Recent developments at Simla have a nightmarish quality about them. The replacing of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, though it has been brought about by all the paraphernalia of a "democratic election", has a lurid appearance in the light of Mr. Jinnah's torrent of hate poured forth on the Maulana during his Presidentship. Neither is it seemly that so soon after his election to the Presidentship, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru should seek the company of the Muslim League President, Mr. Jinnah who has hurled abuse at the Congress for putting up a Muslim as its President, seems to have freed himself from this prejudice the moment Maulana Azad's Hindu successor was designated. It might be all right for Mr. Jinnah but it does leave a bad taste to think of the Congress itself accepting the position. There is a strange resemblance between the exit of the Executive Councillors which was announced as impending on the same day as the election of Pandit Nehru, and the end of Maulana Azad's presidentship. If one were swayed by appearances, one might be impressed by the fact that the Congress Presidentship is an elected office whilst the Executive Councillors were hand-picked by the Viceroy. But appearances are deceptive. The Maulana had declared his unwillingness to contest the elections again, on grounds of ill-health. All this only conveys the impression that the technique of diplomacy has been mastered by the Congress.

The resignation of the Executive Councillors and the reports that persist of a new plan, suggest that the Cabinet Mission's award will be

soon made. The proposals for a Centre so far canvassed are not reassuring. There can be either a Centre or no Centre. This attempt to satisfy all parties by providing for a weak Centre cannot but create conditions of the greatest uncertainty at a time when India needs her greatest support to her strength. The beginning of a new era is not the time for introducing experiments in constitution-making at the Centre. The danger to India is all the greater since the innovation has secured the acquiescence of leading political parties.

MR. BHULABHAI DESAI

The death of Mr. Bhulabhai Desai on Monday May 6 removes from Indian public life a great personality. His defence of the accused in the first INA court martial marked the peak of his political life, a peak the more remarkable since it followed so close upon his fall from political grace over the Desai-Liaquat Pact. Mr. Desai made his mark in the Bardoli defence and his entry into political life dates from that period. Unlike others who were drawn to the Congress by the austerity of Gandhiji, Bhulabhai Desai never quite acquired the atmosphere which would have made him comfortable in the right-wing of the Congress where his nature and temperament best fitted him to play a part. The policy of non-co-operation with its periodic intervals of jail-going, was foreign to his genius. Yet he loyally kept to the discipline of the party until the 1942 movement brought chaos in the country and in the Congress. On the failure of the talks

between Mr. Jinnah and Gandhiji at Bombay in 1944, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai attempted to achieve the same result through a pact carried out with his League counter-part, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. But the Nawab Sahib proved a broken reed and ultimately Mr. Bhulabhai failed even to carry the Congress with him. In his eagerness to see a settlement, Mr. Bhulabhai welcomed the Wavell Offer. He regarded it as an improvement on his own terms, implying that the section he represented was willing to go even further than the British Government in its eagerness to see India free. He was right in his position but he miscalculated the forces arrayed against him and his group. The forces proved weak enough to begin with but once Mr. Jinnah's obduracy broke the Wavell negotiations, they gathered strength. The appeasing section was even made responsible for the misleading of the Congress leadership. Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose replaced Mr. Bhulabhai Desai as leader of the Central Assembly Congress Party. The laudatory messages which have been published after the death of Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, refer to the gap that has been caused by his passing away. That there is a gap cannot be denied. His defence of the INA accused was an outstanding performance which cannot be easily matched. But that the Congress High Command had made any attempt to facilitate Mr. Bhulabhai's return to politics, is not apparent. In fact, every thing points to the inference that for the Congress his services were over and he had been sent into virtual retirement.

BERNARD SHAW—THE PLAYWRIGHT

(By Hasketh Pearson)

FROM the time of Shakespeare onwards, for some three hundred years, the British drama was moribund. Now and again a masterpiece appeared, such as Goldsmith's "She Stoops to Conquer" or Sheridan's "The School for Scandal" or Wilde's "The Importance of Being Earnest"; but it is broadly true to say that from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the end of the nineteenth the theatre was kept going by great actors, not by great dramatists.

The genius of Shakespeare and the rise of Puritanism were responsible for the dearth of good playwrights during the seventeenth century: the first swamped them, the second suppressed them. The lampoons of Henry Fielding, which resulted in the establishment of a censorship by his chief victim, Sir Robert Walpole, account for the fact that, for the next two hundred years in England, imaginative writers left the stage alone and concentrated on novels.

Just as the Restoration dramatists, with Congreve at their head, took their cue from France, so did the later Victorian dramatists; and when Bernard Shaw arrived on the scene the English theatre was dependent on cheap melodramas, adaptation, and plays which were modelled on the artificially constructed plots of two French writers, Scribe and Sardou. From 1895 to 1898 Shaw, as a dramatic critic, ceaselessly attacked the fashionable drama of the age, championed Ibsen, prepared the way for his own comedies, and incidentally wrote some of the wittiest and most provocative essays in the history of journalism. His attack was successful.

The so-called "well-made" play gave place to the drama of ideas, and the Shavian Theatre was firmly established in the early years of the present century.

At first, of course, the London managers would not look at Shaw's plays. Instead of the deceptions and stale situations and commonplace sentiment to which they were accustomed, he gave them social satire, unconventional philosophy and brainy dialogue. One of his early plays was bored, another was censored, a third failed. Still he pegged away, and when his chance came in 1904 at the Court Theatre (under the management of J.E. Vedrenne and

Harley Granville-Barker) he produced his own comedies, trained his own actors and created his own audiences.

After that the London managers clamoured for his plays. But the critics, uninfluenced by the box-office considerations, were not so easily persuaded, and for more than a generation many of them went on repeating that his plays were "not plays", an attitude he derisively encouraged by calling them conversations, history lessons, and so on.

What made his work seem so novel was that he revived the classical technique of play-writing, applying it to modern problems: he adopted the methods of the Greek dramatists in order to deal with the topics of the hour.

While the essence of his plays is as original as Shaw himself, their novelty lay in the fact that he used the theatre as another man would use a newspaper, a pulpit or a platform; many of his comedies are half-sermon, half-debate, and every conceivable subject is discussed, from love, marriage and family life to religion, science and politics, his laboriously acquired knowledge of social conditions and his creed as a socialist informing most of them.

Being an inspired dramatist, not a manufacturer of entertainment, he did not plan or plot his plays in advance. While engaged on them he never saw a page ahead and never knew what was going to happen. The forms they took were inevitable, though he worked as carefully at the writing of them as the most industrious craftsman.

His first plays, which he labelled "unpleasant," dealt with slum landlordism, jealousy and prostitution; then came some "pleasant" plays, two of which, "Arms and the Man" and "You Never Can Tell," are now recognised as classical comedies. There followed "Three Plays for Puritans," which were written to prove that the popular subjects of sex and adultery were not the only interesting themes for dramatic treatment, and to preach the folly of punishment and revenge. Easily the best of these was "Caesar and Cleopatra," which, by initiating a natural and humorous treatment of historical figures, has widely influenced modern drama and biography.

After that Shaw abandoned his efforts to suit the stage and wrote simply what suited himself. In "Man and Superman" the long third act contains his creed as a Creative Evolutionist. Politics in "John Bull's Other Island," the Salvation Army in "Major Barbara," the medical profession in "The Doctor's Dilemma," marriage in "Getting Married," parents and children in "Misalliance," phonetics in "Pygmalion," followed in quick succession; and the political

implications in religious persecution were set forth in his most perfect drama, "Androcles and The Lion," which appeared in 1913 and was dismissed by the critics as blasphemous and in bad taste.

During the 1914-18 war he wrote "Heartbreak House" in the manner of Tchekov, and began his testament to the human race, "Back to Methuselah," in which he postulated the necessity for the prolongation of human life to at least three hundred years, the reason being that until men and women could expect to live much longer than they do at present they would not seriously attempt to better their conditions.

His fame as a dramatist was fitly sealed in 1924 with "Saint Joan," which was a world-wide success; and though he wrote eight or nine plays after that, none of them is on a level with the best work he produced before 1926, when he reached the age of seventy.

Apart from the peculiarity of genius inseparable from their creator, Shaw's plays are chiefly notable for their traditionalism, though when first they appeared the critics thought them widely original and undramatic in form, the performers thought them completely lacking in good 'acting' parts, and the audiences did not know what to think.

Actually, he used the technique of Euripides and Moliere, he revived the idiosyncratic differentiation of character seen in Shakespeare, he provided the actors and actresses with enormously effective parts, such as had not been created by British writer for nearly three hundred years, and he restored the long rhetorical speeches which are an important feature of primitive dramaturgy.

As a result, his is the only considerable repertory of classical plays and parts in the English language since the early years of the seventeenth century; and his famous onslaughts as a dramatic critic on the reputation of Shakespeare were largely due to a desire to clear the ground before settling down to the job of supplying the modern stage with a living drama, just as his only comparable predecessor had animated the stage of a different epoch.

The two great playwrights cannot be compared, because Shakespeare was solely concerned with the portrayal of human beings and the expression of the human soul in poetry; while Shaw was mainly concerned with ideas and philosophy, with making people think and giving them a faith. It is the difference between a pure artist and a prophet. But Shaw, too, was an artist, and many characters in his plays were admirably presented. What observation could do, his observation did.

He saw people with exceptional shrewdness, and could exhibit their characteristics vividly, but he had not Shakespeare's mediumistic power of feeling and living his creations, and a great deal of Shaw's own kindness and common sense is given to some of his characters where it is utterly out of place.

THE

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

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

A Gloomy Record:—In the train from Lahore to Rawalpindi two English women, nurses in the British section of the Indian Army were assaulted, and one of them was killed and the other seriously injured by three men dressed like Sikhs who boarded the first-class compartment in which they were. In Sind, ten armed Hurs attacked a Railway station, attacked the staff, shot dead one of them, and carried away much loot. In Nagpur there have been clashes described as between Hindus and Mahars, in which two persons were killed. In Madura in Southern India, Mr. Ramaswami Naicker's Black Shirts burst into the Sri Meenakshi Temple, insulted the women worshippers, and provoked a riot necessitating police going to stop the trouble. The spirit of violence is abroad. There are wholesale strikes in almost every department of Government. The sweepers, school masters, dock workers, Post peoples and Railway employees have struck or threaten to strike. They find that some classes have made much money during and in consequence of the war and they do not see why they too should not get their share. "The devil finds some mischief still for idle hands to do" and strikes have a national tendency to break out in violence unless they are ami-

cably settled soon, which becomes increasingly difficult as it involves a considerable addition to the wages fund, when the cry on every side is for retrenchment. A large addition to wages, is followed like the night the day by increasing upward pressure on prices of consumers' goods. Government controls force into black markets which, again, call forth measures for combating them. Corruption is the inevitable result—widespread corruption. A few petty traders get caught and punished but the big culprits escape. Begging missions for food, newsprint and other necessities of life are pleading in foreign lands for pity on poor Indians.

Hindustani in Lucknow University:—The Pant Ministry in the United Provinces has issued fiat for the immediate substitution of Hindustani for English as medium of instruction in Lucknow University. The Provinces have the distinction of having five universities within its jurisdiction. Lucknow has perhaps been chosen because of its vicinity to Government Headquarters and its size as the smallest University in the country. The decision has called forth much criticism from the people who favour Hindustani as the national language. It is said that the question, what

Hindustani is, has not passed the stage of discussion; that no professors and no text books on University subjects are available; and that the precipitate action of Government will involve much confusion. The Government itself, it is further urged, is still far from being stable. Its authority has been defied by one of the Universities. It has won in the conflict with the Governor on the release of certain political prisoners. This was a foregone conclusion and the Governor could not have intended to veto his Government's decision in such a trivial matter. The Pant Government has undertaken to abolish the system of large landed estates in Oudh. It should conserve its strength for the heavy task and not fritter it away in kite-flying. The medium of University education is, moreover, a question which cannot be decided by a Provincial Government. It is a question which should be determined by a conference of Indian Universities after full consideration of all the numerous implications of the change. The Pant Government's action is but a variant of the Pakistan ideology. The Congress Governments on the occasion incurred criticism more by their way of doing things than by the things done. We are not referring to the interested calumny of communal interests. Long term policies, the Bombay Premier said apropos of the intention of his Government to postpone the re-introduction of Prohibition require to be handled with caution. Hasty action on part of a Government suggests that it is not sure of itself, when the subject concerned is one which has struck deep roots with wide ramifications in the national psychology.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, May 18, 1946

CONGRESS AND CONFERENCE

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been elected President of the forthcoming session of the Indian National Congress, not by the votes of the electors, but by the withdrawal of the other two candidates, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Mr. J. B. Kripalani. Mr. Kripalani's withdrawal was quite on the cards. Why his name came to be proposed at all, is only known to the masters of electoral strategy who direct Congress elections. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's withdrawal is unfair to the electors and to the public. Congress candidates at the provincial elections would in any case have won a majority of the non-Mahomedan seats but Hindu Mahasabha candidates would have made a better show but for Sardar Vallabhbhai's coming forward with emphatic assurances that Congress would oppose Pakistan and would not compromise on that issue. But for the Sardar's withdrawal, the Pandit, if he had been elected, would have won by a narrow majority. It is possible he might have been defeated. Several causes have contributed to the diminution in the Pandit's popularity. For some of these the Pandit himself is not responsible. The adulation of friends in the Press and outside, is not the least of these. Of these for which he himself is responsible, the most glaring are his pronouncement, for instances on the August 1942 disturbances and their authors, the undergrounds during the same period, the Indian National Army and Subhas Chandra Bose's moves which have not seemed to hold together. Most of all his declarations about Pakistan, have varied from downright condemnation to readiness to concede the substance of the demand if the shadow of the name is not insisted on. Another point is the Central Government in the Indian Constitution. This variation in opinion is due, no doubt to the Pandit's being able to see a question from different angles at different times. This marks him out as an intellectual of exceptional gifts. At this juncture, however, the Congress as the most important political organisation, needs a firm hand at its helm. The Sardar has proved himself a first-class administrator and there is never

any occasion to speculate about his views. They may be right or wrong but he holds to them unflinching. On Pakistan which, after all, is the burning question of the day he is unmistakably right. He, therefore, would have been the right man in the President's place and it is quite probable that had there been an open election he would have been the choice of the electors. On the grounds of seniority alone, he was entitled to the honour. He is not of course, an international figure like Pandit Jawaharlal or Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, but international reputation is often a snare and a delusion. The Sardar knows his country in the concrete and that is what makes him so clear and emphatic against its partition into two or more communal pens.

The Pandit's nomination to the Presidentship by the withdrawal of the other two candidates was announced on the 8th. According to the Congress Constitution as recently expounded by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, this only made him President-designate who had to wait till the next session of the Congress to assume the office and exercise the authority appertaining to it. This, the Maulana estimated, could not be until next November at the earliest. The Pandit, however, snatched the sceptre out of the Maulana's hands on the very next day after his nomination by seeking at an interval of the Simla Conference a personal interview with the President of the Muslim League who has all along refused to deal with the Maulana as President of the Congress. We daresay he did so with the approval of the Maulana. Even so, it strikes us as a bit officious. The Pandit's intervention prevented an immediate break-up of the conference. It was adjourned to Saturday and then to Sunday when it finally ended without result. The Pandit is said to have suggested to Mr. Jinnah arbitration of the points in dispute by a person or persons not belonging to either of the two communities. Mr. Jinnah of course, can speak for the League which is an exclusively Muslim Body, but what right had the President-designate of the Congress which protests

it is not a Hindu movement, to commit the Hindus to accept arbitration by non-Hindus? And who are the non-Hindus he had in mind for arbitratorship? We cannot think of a single person who in the present state of feeling can be trusted to bring an unprejudiced mind to bear on the question. With the example of Anglo-American arbitration in Palestine looming large in the horizon, we cannot think how the Pandit who is a close student of world affairs, suggest arbitration on a matter which concerns Hindus much more closely than the Palestinian question concerns the Arabs who were, after all alien invaders who established themselves in Palestine by ousting the decadent Roman Empire. The Hindus have been in India continuously for five thousand years. Their most ancient literature knows nothing of any other country. Modern Indian scholarship is against the theory of an Aryan or pre-Aryan invasion. Indian Mahomedans are the descendants of these ancient sons of the soil. The Pandit may not care for these things but he cannot assume that Hindus as a people are also indifferent to them. The letters which passed between the Pandit with the other papers relating to the Simla Conference, are to be published in a few days, and we shall be in a position then to judge whether the Press reports correctly represented his position. Our criticism applies only to the position. Whether it is the Pandit's or not, is of small consequence.

The position of Gandhiji at the Conference was most anomalous. He was called in and constituted himself as Adviser to all parties. The Muslim League did not avail itself of his service as Adviser. It seems to have continued to look upon him as the supreme Congress Commander. Gandhiji has repeatedly declared that he does not claim to speak for the Hindu community. The Hindus in the Congress are precluded by the national character of that body from speaking as Hindus for Hindus. In practice, this weighs Congress influence entirely against Hindus. A national body should not sacrifice the interests of a community, because it is a majority community. But that is what the Congress does under the Charkha flag. In the circumstances, as the late Mr. Srinivasa Sastri contended, the Hindu Mahasabha is a necessary and legitimate body. But the sense of fairplay of the Eng-

lish Ministers nor his own repeated declarations, availed to invite the Mahasabha to send representations to the Simla Conference. The three Ministers and the four Congress delegates, two of whom were not Hindus, and neither of the two who were Hindus belonged to the Punjab or Bengal, the two Provinces most concerned, tacitly accepted the League's imputation that the Congress is a

Hindu organisation just as the League was a Muslim organisation, though Congressmen have vehemently protested against it at other times and places. The Hindu side of the case thus has been compelled to lapse by default. If the Conference had succeeded in patching up an agreement, the agreement would have been blown to pieces in a year's time: Bengal and the Punjab are in high revolt

against the pro-Pakistan Congress leaders. The failure of the Conference, in fact, has saved the country from a serious crisis. Sardar Vallabhbhai's assurances created confidence but somehow he was left in the background. Pandit Jawaharlal's succession to the Presidency of the Congress virtually on the pressure of Mr. Jinnah shows which way the wind is blowing.

PAKISTAN AND PAN-ISLAMISM

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad wound up the statement which he issued announcing the Congress formula with some observations on his views as a Muslim on Pakistan. He said in effect that Pakistan has attained its present importance which was largely artificial, owing to Hindu extremists having attacked it as inspired by Pan-Islamism. Pan-Islamism never disturbed the sleep of Hindus. It was a bogey set up by the fanatics of Europeanism as a part of the propaganda now nearly a century old to drive the Turk bag and baggage out of their Continent. If anything, the Hindu attitude to pan-Islamism was rather one of sympathy as likely to prove a counterpoise to the political and economic exploitation of Asia and Africa by the predatory imperialism of Europe. The enthusiasm which the Congress-Khilafat movement created among Hindus for a time, was clearly due to this sentiment. Hindus did not think of Pan-Islamism as directed against themselves or their religion. Hindu extremists, by which term the Maulana obviously meant the Hindu Mahasabha, have never asked for anything more than that Hindus should not be discriminated against in the political constitution and administrative services. Lokamanya Tilak was believed by some prominent Muslims as a Hindu extremist. Yet it was he who was instrumental in getting the Congress to adopt the Lucknow Pact. He warmly defended the Pact against critics, who thought that the Pact gave too much to Muslims.

Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League under his leadership have repudiated but not consistently, any connection between their advocacy of Pakistan and Pan-Islamism. But almost every Muslim on Pakistan that we know has justified and advocated Pakistan on much larger grounds than the narrow, bread and butter, grounds officially advanced for it by Mr. Jinnah and other leaders of the Muslim League. Even these, however, have not always confined themselves to the political economic plane in their arguments for Pakistan. On these grounds the case for Pakistan is pitifully weak. They have found it necessary to enforce the appeal of their scheme to the Muslim world, by speaking of their longing to have a Muslim State in which they can fully develop the Muslim ideals and the Muslim way of life. But they have not emphasised this, because the disparity between the Muslim majority and non-Muslim minority in the proposed Pakistan is almost negligible as compared with the disparity between the Muslims and the Non-Muslims in India as a whole. But every writer on the subject, as we said, has dealt

with Pakistan not as an end in itself but a step towards a greater end. The majority of them, however, have not gone beyond the consolidation of Islam as the main object. Mr. Ziauddin, Ahmed Suleri in his "The Road to Peace and Pakistan" (Sh. Mahammed Asraf, Kashmir Bazaar, Lahore. Price Re. 1/8) has pointed to nothing less than world peace as the aim of Pakistan. His thesis is—and we agree with him—that world peace cannot be built upon national and materialistic foundations. As an ideological foundation alone will make it possible, an Islamic Federation based on Islamic ideology, would serve the cause of World Peace just as, in Mr. Suleri's belief the U.S.S.R. has been welded into "a solid singleness" and Anglo-Saxon co-operation may become a permanent reality by a common ideology. It is too early yet to speak of "the solid singleness" of the U.S.S.R. Besides Soviet ideology has been in a state of violent flux during the last ten years. Edgar Snow in his "Pattern of Soviet Power" (Thacker Co., Bombay, price Rs. 7/11) catalogues a number of changes in Soviet life, political social and economic that have been taking place and concludes that not until the Soviet Government feels secure from Anglo-American rivalry will Russia be able to settle down into a stable social and political democracy. As for a common ideology binding permanently together Britain and the United States, it seems as likely that it may divide the two. Nearly two hundred years ago that ideology brought about the American war of Independence. The common Islamic ideology did not prevent the Arabs from revolting against Turkey on the impulsion of Anglo-Saxon ideology personified in Lawrence. Mr. Suleri's hope that an Islamic Federation stretching from Turkey to the Punjab will be a foundation of world peace, has no better chance of realisation. Besides Mr. Suleri does not seem to be aware that intellectuals in Turkey are working to break through the Islamic crust of their culture and civilization to their Turanian foundations and that otherwise Persian intellectuals are harking back to the ancient Zoroastrian ideals as more satisfactory nutrition to the nation's genius. Both Turkey and Persia have emphatically repudiated Pan-Islamism for themselves. Afghanistan under Amanullah Khan did the same. Even the Arabs are not talking of Pan-Islamism but only of Pan-Arabism.

If Pan-Islamism had a vitality even a tenth as strong as Zionism, it would have dominated the world when the Ottoman Empire extended from the Black Sea to the Persian Gulf. That chance—once gone is gone

for ever. As for Pakistan while we may admit the arguments for it, we cannot see why Hindus who have been living in the areas to be comprised in it for several centuries before Islam saw the light of day in Arabia and whose descendants, Hindus and Muslims, have dwelt there in peace and harmony should be dispossessed of their patrimony in favour of one, though the larger, section in the Muslim majority provinces. Muslims under a democratic Government will have perfect freedom to live, think and act as Muslims. Even now no one prevents them from so doing. The only additional freedom they may have in separated Pakistan, can be the right to treat minorities without any interference from outside. Hindus and other non-Muslims may well object to be isolated from their people under such circumstances. This is the objection to which the advocates of Pakistan have to give a satisfactory answer otherwise, they will have to come out for Pakistan by the sword. The Hindus if they cannot protect their rights by the same or some other means will go under them. Where do the British come in?

Ministerial Salaries:—It is perhaps to be expected that the Congress Ministers should, on resuming office after seven years out of it, wish to impress the people by their desire to do the maximum of public work for a minimum salary. But this may be overdone. In the first place, the public are not impressed exactly in the same way as it is expected to be. In the next place, it does not grudge a Minister a salary sufficient to keep him and his family well above want with some modest provision for the evening of his life. The United Provinces Ministers have had their salaries fixed by law at Rs. 1,500 a month. The Bombay Ministers propose, it is understood, to draw no more than half that sum, Rs. 700. The cost of living in Bombay is perhaps double that of Lucknow and this seems disproportionately small. There should be a uniform scale of salaries for the whole country, with local allowances for special local conditions.

THE CABINET MISSION'S SCHEME

The statement issued on Thursday by the Cabinet Mission's Delegation is published in this issue. The time and space available for comment obliges us to restrict it to the broad features of the statement. To begin with, the Delegation, dismiss both the Muslim League plan of Pakistan and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's scheme with its provision of optional subjects which the Provinces may reserve to themselves or make over to the Centre. The Delegation deals rather more tenderly with Pakistan than with the Maulana formula. This is perfectly intelligible. Both Pakistan and the Maulana scheme rest on the assumption which the Delegation also appears implicitly to accept of "the very real Muslim apprehensions that their culture and political and social life might become submerged in a purely unitary India, in which the Hindus with their greatly superior numbers must be a dominating element." This "very real apprehension" is not more than five years old. Before that, the Muslim League and its President, were entirely far from it. They never even dreamt that the non-aggressive, non-proselytising Hinduism would be suddenly transformed into an aggressive, oppressive influence aimed at Muslim culture and religion. Not only Islam but other great religions have had their believers living unmolested in India for centuries past. This "very real apprehension" is a purely political invention without the slightest basis. If Muslims have to be protected from the Hindu majority, Christians, Parsis, Jews and Anglo-Indians need protection in a much larger degree, but the Delegation is content to entrust their fate to an Advisory Committee. But we cannot complain of its acceptance by the Delegation. The President of the National Congress accepted it and proposed to allay it by a scheme of his own to which the Delegation refers as the Congress scheme. Indeed, the Maulana claimed that he had got the Congress to adopt his ideas as to optional subjects and shadowy centre.

Rejecting Pakistan and the Maulana-Congress plan, the Delegation has outlined a scheme of its own for the consideration of the Constituent Assembly to be set up on lines which it lays down. In this scheme, the Centre is to have in addition to the three subjects mentioned in the Maulana scheme, namely, Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications, a Legislature and an Executive with power to raise the revenue necessary to finance the three Departments. In order to do this, there will have to be a common currency. Each province and State cannot issue its own currency without creating an intense economic chaos. Then, the power to levy customs duties if left to the Provinces will irretrievably break up its economic and political unity. A Zollverein will be anomalous in a union with a Cabinet Government. Customs will have to be included in Central subjects, if the Union is not to be a farce. Residual powers with the provinces would only serve to obstruct and irritate without in any way adding to their efficiency or prestige. The irresistible force of modern life steadily tend to force the Centre to assume by hook or by crook all powers including those

properly provincial. The war has obviously ended, but the war conditions persist and will do so to an increasing degree. The United States and Australia, in both of which the States have the residuary powers have been entrenching on them in the interests of the whole country. In a scheme of Indian Swaraj which the late Mr. C. K. Das had found, he had suggested a device to safeguard the exercise of residual powers which he held, should vest in the Centre. It was a "Consulting Senate" consisting of eminent Indians, which would advise on the exercise of residuary powers and other subjects at the request of the Central Government. The proposals of the Delegation for the Constituent Assembly are much too complicated and should be reserved for later comment. We must add that the Delegation's three groups of areas, is not justified.

There is no reason why provinces which have definitely rejected the Muslim League leadership, like the North-West Frontier and Assam should be grouped with provinces merely because the majority of population follow one religion. This is not true of Assam which has a non-Muslim majority.

The statement speaks of India as an independent country within or without the British Commonwealth. The Commonwealth Premiers in London are said to be likely to consider the establishment of common citizenship for the whole Commonwealth. South Africa, however, is resolutely opposed to the idea. The bulk of Indians for whom Commonwealth citizenship will be immediately beneficial are in South Africa. If nevertheless, the idea should materialise it may invest the question of India's relation to the Commonwealth with a new aspect.

A BANDRA DAIRY

When Jehangir Petit was with me here last October we talked of many things. Talking of the relations between the National Congress and the Muslim League, he referred to an incident in the early twenties when Congress and the League were acting in close co-operation and Mr. Jinnah was a staunch nationalist—Indian first and Muslim afterwards. A session of the Bombay branch of the League was programmed to meet with Mr. Jinnah as President. There was a municipal social function and Petit happened to sit near Mr. Edwardes, then Commissioner of Police of Bombay City. Some one, perhaps, Petit happened to ask Edwardes if he knew there was to be a meeting of the Bombay League. Edwardes said yes, and added emphatically that he was not going to allow it. The meeting was held and some rowdies appeared on the scene, challenged Mr. Jinnah's orthodoxy, and the meeting broke up. The matter was brought to the notice of the then Governor, Sir George Lloyd, and Edwardes ceased to be Police Commissioner. I do not see a reference to this incident in Sir Chimanlal Setalvad's Reminiscences, though I remember Petit saying that it was Sir Chimanlal who spoke to the Governor. Those were the days of diarchy. Police was a reserved subject. Sir George Lloyd was an autocrat himself but, like autocrats generally, he would not tolerate another beside or under him. I recall this incident as I read and hear of Provincial Ministers having difficulties with their Police heads. The Constitutional position is clear. The Minister is responsible to the Legislature. The Policeman is not. But he is not irresponsible. He is responsible to the Minister. The Minister cannot discharge his responsibility to the Legislature unless his subordinates carry out his orders implicitly. Inevitably, there will be a breakdown. The example of their chief will be reproduced by his subordinates and there is bound to be general demoralisation. The Minister under our law cannot remove his subordinate but the Governor will be bound to do so at his Minister's request or revert to Sec. 93. The public will stand by the Minister in such circumstances.

* * *
Incalculable harm is done by using loosely the word "communal"

with references to breaches of the public peace. It should be strictly confined to troubles which rise out of violation of religious sentiments, such as that against cow-killing and music before mosques. Such riots have become rare. A riot cannot be called communal merely because the parties concerned belong to different religious communities. Many of the riots nowadays have arisen from some casual incident quite unconnected with religious feeling. The last riot in Bombay was a sartorial riot. The mob insisted on passers-by taking off their ties and hats. The same antipathy as this would seem to have been shown in the trouble caused by the action of the authorities of the Leper Colony in Hyderabad. A friend who was an eye-witness told me the other day that the attack on the Nawab of Chhatarai was unpremeditated. The Muslim inmates of the Leper Colony had for some time past been having their prayers in a shed which they had put up with the approval of the missionary in charge. He was temporarily absent attending a conference elsewhere. During that time the Muslim patients had put up a mud wall to the shed. When the Superintendent returned, he wanted not the wall only but the whole shed removed. Expecting troubles he discharged the Muslim patients and had the structure removed. The patients were readmitted but were infuriated on finding the prayer shed gone. A crowd gathered and attacked the houses of two Ministers and went to the residence of the District Collector, with a like intent. The Collector was not in the house. His wife, a plucky lady came out to meet the crowd with her ailing child. She addressed it saying that her husband was not in the house, that she did not justify or apologise for his part of which she knew nothing, that she and her child were alone and unprotected, and the crowd may do whatever it liked. Her appeal had an instant effect. The crowd melted away, leaving the house untouched. The story as my friend told it moved me greatly. An Indian crowd if handled intelligently can be prevented from getting out of hand.

—RECLUSE

CABINET MISSION'S STATEMENT

Statement by the Cabinet Delegation and His Excellency the Viceroy

1. On March 15th last just before the despatch of the Cabinet Delegation to India Mr. Attlee, the British Prime Minister, used these words:—

"My colleagues are going to India with the intention of using their utmost endeavours to help her to attain her freedom as speedily and fully as possible. What form of Government is to replace the present regime is for India to decide; but our desire is to help her to set up forthwith the machinery for making that decision."

"I hope that India and her people may elect to remain within the British Commonwealth. I am certain that they will find great advantages in doing so."

"But if she does so elect, it must be by her own free will. The British Commonwealth and Empire is not bound together by chains of external compulsion. It is a free association of free peoples. If, on the other hand, she elects for independence, in our view she has a right to do so. It will be for us to help to make the transition as smooth and easy as possible."

2. Charged in these historic words we—the Cabinet Ministers and the Viceroy—have done our utmost to assist the two main political parties to reach agreement upon the fundamental issue of the unity or division of India. After prolonged discussions in New Delhi we succeeded in bringing the Congress and the Muslim League together in Conference at Simla. There was a full exchange of views and both parties were prepared to make considerable concessions in order to try and reach a settlement but it ultimately proved impossible to close the remainder of the gap between the parties and so no agreement could be concluded. Since no agreement has been reached we feel that it is our duty to put forward what we consider are the best arrangements possible to ensure a speedy setting up of the new constitution. This statement is made with the full approval of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

3. We have accordingly decided that immediate arrangements should be made whereby Indians may decide the future constitution of India and an Interim Government may be set up at once to carry on the administration of British India until such time as a new Constitution can be brought into being. We have endeavoured to be just to the smaller as well as to the larger sections of the people; and to recommend a solution which will lead to a practicable way of governing the India of the future, and will give a sound basis for defence and a good opportunity for progress in the social, political and economic field.

4. It is not intended in this statement to review the voluminous evidence that has been submitted to the Mission; but it is right that we should state that it has shown an almost universal desire, outside the supporters of the Muslim League, for the unity of India.

5. This consideration did not, however, deter us from examining closely and impartially the possibility of a partition of India; since we were greatly impressed by the very genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find them-

selves subjected to a perpetual Hindu-majority rule.

This feeling has become so strong and widespread amongst the Muslims that it cannot be allayed by mere paper safeguards. If there is to be internal peace in India it must be secured by measures which will assure to the Muslims a control in all matters vital to their culture, religion and economic or other interests.

6. We therefore examined in the first instance the question of a separate and fully independent sovereign State of Pakistan as claimed by the Muslim League. Such a Pakistan would comprise two areas; one in the north-west consisting of the Provinces of the Punjab, Sind, North-West Frontier and British Baluchistan; the other in the north-east consisting of the Provinces of Bengal and Assam. The League were prepared to consider adjustment of boundaries at a later stage, but insisted that the principle of Pakistan should first be acknowledged. The argument for a separate State of Pakistan was based first, upon the right of the Muslim majority to decide their method of Government according to their wishes; and secondly, upon the necessity to include substantial areas in which Muslims are in a minority, in order to make Pakistan administratively and economically workable.

The size of the non-Muslim minorities in a Pakistan comprising the whole of the six Provinces enumerated above would be very considerable as the following figures show:

	Muslim	Non-Muslim
North-Western Area—		
Punjab	16,217,242	12,201,577
North-West Frontier Province		
Sind	2,788,797	249,270
British Baluchistan	3,208,325	1,326,683
	438,930	62,701
	22,653,294	13,840,231
	62.07%	37.93%
North-Eastern Area—		
Bengal	33,005,434	27,301,091
Assam	3,442,479	6,762,254
	36,447,913	34,063,345
	51.69%	48.31%

The Muslim minorities in the remainder of British India number some 20 million dispersed amongst a total population of 188 million.

These figures show that the setting up of a separate sovereign State of Pakistan on the lines claimed by the Muslim League, would not solve the communal minority problem; nor can we see any justification for including within a sovereign Pakistan those districts of the Punjab and of Bengal and Assam in which the population is predominantly non-Muslim. Every argument that can be used in favour of Pakistan, can equally in our view be used in favour of the exclusion of the non-Muslim areas from Pakistan. This point would particularly affect the position of the Sikhs.

7. We therefore considered whether a smaller sovereign Pakistan confined to the Muslim majority areas alone might be a possible basis of compromise. Such a Pakistan is regarded by the Muslim League as quite impracticable because it would entail the exclusion from Pakistan

of (a) the whole of the Ambala and Jullunder Divisions in the Punjab; (b) the whole of Assam except the district of Sylhet; and (c) a large part of Western Bengal, including Calcutta, in which city the Muslims form 23.6 per cent of the population. We ourselves are also convinced that any solution which involves a radical partition of the Punjab and Bengal, as this would do, would be contrary to the wishes and interests of a very large proportion of the inhabitants of these Provinces. Bengal and the Punjab each has its own common language and a long history and tradition. Moreover, any division of the Punjab would of necessity divide the Sikhs, leaving substantial bodies of Sikhs on both sides of the boundary. We have therefore been forced to the conclusion that neither a larger nor a smaller sovereign State of Pakistan would provide an acceptable solution for the communal problem.

8. Apart from the great force of the foregoing arguments there are weighty administrative, economic and military considerations. The whole of the transportation and postal and telegraph systems of India have been established on the basis of a united India. To disintegrate them would gravely injure both parts of India. The case for a united defence is even stronger. The Indian armed forces have been built up as a whole for the defence of India as a whole, and to break them in two would inflict a deadly blow on the long traditions and high degree of efficiency of the Indian Army and would entail the gravest dangers. The Indian Navy and Indian Air Force would become much less effective. The two sections of the suggested Pakistan contain the two most vulnerable frontiers in India and for a successful defence in depth the area of Pakistan would be insufficient.

9. A further consideration of importance is the greater difficulty which the Indian States would find in associating themselves with a divided British India.

10. Finally there is the geographical fact that the two halves of the proposed Pakistan State are separated by some seven hundred miles and the communications between them both in war and peace would be dependent on the goodwill of Hindustan.

11. We are therefore unable to advise the British Government that the power which at present resides in British hands should be handed over to two entirely separate sovereign States.

12. This decision does not however blind us to the very real Muslim apprehensions that their culture and political and social life might become submerged in a purely unitary India, in which the Hindus with their greatly superior numbers must be a dominating element. To meet this the Congress have put forward a scheme under which Provinces would have full autonomy subject only to a minimum of Central subjects, such as Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications.

Under this scheme Provinces, if they wished to take part in economic and administrative planning on a large scale, could cede to the Centre optional subjects in addition to

THE CABINET MISSION'S SCHEME

The statement issued on Thursday by the Cabinet Mission's delegation is published in this issue. The time and space available for comment urges us to restrict it to the broad features of the statement. To begin with, the Delegation dismisses both the Muslim League plan of Pakistan and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's scheme with its provision of optional subjects which the Provinces may reserve to themselves or make over to the Centre. The Delegation deals rather more tenderly with Pakistan than with the Maulana formula. This is perfectly intelligible. Both Pakistan and the Maulana scheme rest on the assumption which the Delegation also appear implicitly to accept of "the very real Muslim apprehensions that their culture and political and social life might become submerged in a purely unitary India, in which the Hindus with their greatly superior numbers must be a dominating element." This "very real apprehension" is not more than five years old. Before that, the Muslim League and its President, were entirely far from it. They never even dreamt that the non-aggressive, non-proselytising Hinduism would be suddenly transformed into an aggressive, oppressive influence aimed at Muslim culture and religion. Not only Islam but other great religions have had their believers lying unmolested in India for centuries past. This "very real apprehension" is a purely political invention without the slightest basis. If Muslims have to be protected from the Hindu majority, Christians, Parsis, Jews and Anglo-Indians need protection in a much larger degree, but the Delegation is content to entrust their fate to an Advisory Committee. But we cannot complain of its acceptance by the Delegation. The President of the National Congress accepted it and proposed to allay it by a scheme of his own to which the Delegation refers as the Congress scheme. Indeed, the Maulana claimed that he had got the Congress to adopt his ideas as to optional subjects and shadowy centre.

Rejecting Pakistan and the Maulana-Congress plan, the Delegation has outlined a scheme of its own for the consideration of the Constituent Assembly to be set up on lines which it lays down. In this scheme the Centre is to have in addition to the three subjects mentioned in the Maulana scheme, namely, Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications, a Legislature and an Executive with power to raise the revenue necessary to finance the three Departments. In order to do this, there will have to be a common currency. Each province and State cannot issue its own currency without creating an intense economic chaos. Then, the power to levy customs duties if left to the Provinces will irretrievably break up its economic and political unity. A Zollverein will be anomalous in a union with a Cabinet Government. Customs will have to be included in Central subjects. If the Union is not to be a farce, Residual powers with the provinces would only serve to obstruct and irritate without in any way adding to their efficiency or prestige. The irresistible force of modern life steadily tend to force the Centre to assume by hook or by crook all powers including those

properly provincial. The war has not only ended, but the war conditions persist and will do so to an increasing degree. The United States and Australia in both of which the States have the residuary powers have been entrenching on them in the interests of the whole country. In a scheme of Indian Swaraj which the late Mr. C. R. Das had found, he had suggested a device to safeguard the exercise of residual powers which he held should vest in the Centre. It was a "Consulting Senate" consisting of eminent Indians, which would advise on the exercise of residuary powers and other subjects at the request of the Central Government. The proposals of the Delegation for the Constituent Assembly are much too complicated and should be reserved for later comment. We must add that the Delegation's three groups of areas, is not justified.

A BANDRA DAIRY

When Jehangir Petit was with me here last October we talked of many things. Talking of the relations between the National Congress and the Muslim League, he referred to an incident in the early twenties when Congress and the League were acting in close co-operation and Mr. Jinnah was a staunch nationalist—Indian first and Muslim afterwards. A session of the Bombay branch of the League was programmed to meet with Mr. Jinnah as President. There was a municipal social function and Petit happened to sit near Mr. Edwardes, then Commissioner of Police of Bombay City. Some one, perhaps, Petit happened to ask Edwardes if he knew there was to be a meeting of the Bombay League. Edwardes said yes, and added emphatically that he was not going to allow it. The meeting was held and some rowdies appeared on the scene, challenged Mr. Jinnah's orthodoxy, and the meeting broke up. The matter was brought to the notice of the then Governor, Sir George Lloyd, and Edwardes ceased to be Police Commissioner. I do not see a reference to this incident in Sir Chimanlal Setalvad's Reminiscences, though I remember Petit saying that it was Sir Chimanlal who spoke to the Governor. Those were the days of diarchy. Police was a reserved subject. Sir George Lloyd was an autocrat himself but, like autocrats generally, he would not tolerate another beside or under him. I recall this incident as I read and hear of Provincial Ministers having difficulties with their Police heads. The Constitutional position is clear. The Minister is responsible to the Legislature. The Policeman is not. But he is not irresponsible. He is responsible to the Minister. The Minister cannot discharge his responsibility to the Legislature unless his subordinates carry out his orders implicitly. Inevitably, there will be a breakdown. The example of their chief will be reproduced by his subordinates and there is bound to be general demoralisation. The Minister under our law cannot remove his subordinates but the Governor will be bound to do so at his Minister's request or revert to Sec. 93. The public will stand by the Minister in such circumstances.

* * *
Incalculable harm is done by using loosely the word "communal"

There is no reason why provinces which have definitely rejected the Muslim League leadership, like the North-West Frontier and Assam should be grouped with provinces merely because the majority of population follow one religion. Even this is not true of Assam which has a non-Muslim majority.

The statement speaks of India as an independent country within or without the British Commonwealth. The Commonwealth Premiers in London are said to be likely to consider the establishment of common citizenship for the whole Commonwealth. South Africa, however, is resolutely opposed to the idea. The bulk of Indians for whom Commonwealth citizenship will be immediately beneficial are in South Africa. If nevertheless the idea should materialise it may invest the question of India's relation to the Commonwealth with a new aspect.

with references to breaches of the public peace. It should be strictly confined to troubles which rise out of violation of religious sentiments, such as that against cow-killing and music before mosques. Such riots have become rare. A riot cannot be called communal merely because the parties concerned belong to different religious communities. Many of the riots nowadays have arisen from some casual incident quite unconnected with religious feeling. The last riot in Bombay was a bartorial riot. The mob insisted on passers-by taking off their ties and hats. The same antipathy of ties would seem to have been shown in the trouble caused by the action of the authorities of the Lepet Colony in Hyderabad. A friend who was an eye-witness told me the other day that the attack on the Nawab of Chhattari was unpremeditated. The Muslim inmates of the Lepet Colony had for some time past been having their prayers in a shed which they had put up with the approval of the missionary in charge. He was temporarily absent attending a conference elsewhere. During that time the Muslim patients had put up a mud wall to the shed. When the Superintendent returned, he wanted not the wall only but the whole shed removed. Expecting troubles he discharged the Muslim patients and had the structure removed. The patients were readmitted but were infuriated on finding the prayer shed gone. A crowd gathered and attacked the houses of two Ministers and went to the residence of the District Collector, with a like intent. The Collector was not in the house. His wife, a plucky lady came out to meet the crowd with her ailing child. She addressed it saying that her husband was not in the house, that she did not justify or apologise for his part of which she knew nothing, that she and her child were alone and unprotected, and the crowd may do whatever it liked. Her appeal had an instant effect. The crowd melted away, leaving the house untouched. The story as my friend told it moved me greatly. An Indian crowd if handled intelligently can be prevented from getting out of hand.

—RECLUSE

CABINET MISSION'S STATEMENT

Statement by the Cabinet Delegation and His Excellency the Viceroy

1. On March 15th last just before the despatch of the Cabinet Delegation to India Mr. Attlee, the British Prime Minister, used these words:—

"My colleagues are going to India with the intention of using their utmost endeavours to help her to attain her freedom as speedily and fully as possible. What form of Government is to replace the present regime is for India to decide; but our desire is to help her to set up forthwith the machinery for making that decision."

"I hope that India and her people may elect to remain within the British Commonwealth. I am certain that they will find great advantages in doing so."

"But if she does so elect, it must be by her own free will. The British Commonwealth and Empire is not bound together by chains of external compulsion. It is a free association of free peoples. If, on the other hand, she elects for independence, in our view she has a right to do so. It will be for us to help to make the transition as smooth and easy as possible."

2. Charged in these historic words we—the Cabinet Ministers and the Viceroy—have done our utmost to assist the two main political parties to reach agreement upon the fundamental issue of the unity or division of India. After prolonged discussions in New Delhi we succeeded in bringing the Congress and the Muslim League together in Conference at Simla. There was a full exchange of views and both parties were prepared to make considerable concessions in order to try and reach a settlement but it ultimately proved impossible to close the remainder of the gap between the parties and so no agreement could be concluded. Since no agreement has been reached we feel that it is our duty to put forward what we consider are the best arrangements possible to ensure a speedy setting up of the new constitution. This statement is made with the full approval of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

3. We have accordingly decided that immediate arrangements should be made whereby Indians may decide the future constitution of India and an Interim Government may be set up at once to carry on the administration of British India until such time as a new Constitution can be brought into being. We have endeavoured to be just to the smaller as well as to the larger sections of the people; and to recommend a solution which will lead to a practicable way of governing the India of the future, and will give a sound basis for defence and a good opportunity for progress in the social, political and economic field.

4. It is not intended in this statement to review the voluminous evidence that has been submitted to the Mission; but it is right that we should state that it has shown an almost universal desire, outside the supporters of the Muslim League, for the unity of India.

5. This consideration did not, however, deter us from examining closely and impartially the possibility of a partition of India; since we were greatly impressed by the very genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find them-

selves subjected to a perpetual Hindu-majority rule.

This feeling has become so strong and widespread amongst the Muslims that it cannot be allayed by mere paper safeguards. If there is to be internal peace in India it must be secured by measures which will assure to the Muslims a control in all matters vital to their culture, religion and economic or other interests.

6. We therefore examined in the first instance the question of a separate and fully independent sovereign State of Pakistan as claimed by the Muslim League. Such a Pakistan would comprise two areas; one in the north-west consisting of the Provinces of the Punjab, Sind, North-West Frontier and British Baluchistan; the other in the north-east consisting of the Provinces of Bengal and Assam. The League were prepared to consider adjustment of boundaries at a later stage, but insisted that the principle of Pakistan should first be acknowledged. The argument for a separate State of Pakistan was based first, upon the right of the Muslim majority to decide their method of Government according to their wishes; and secondly, upon the necessity to include substantial areas in which Muslims are in a minority, in order to make Pakistan administratively and economically workable.

The size of the non-Muslim minorities in a Pakistan comprising the whole of the six Provinces enumerated above would be very considerable as the following figures show:

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of (a) the whole of the Arwaha and Jullunder Divisions in the Punjab; (b) the whole of Assam except the district of Sylhet; and (c) a large part of Western Bengal, including Calcutta, in which city the Muslims form 23.6 per cent of the population. We ourselves are also convinced that any solution which involves a radical partition of the Punjab and Bengal, as this would do, would be contrary to the wishes and interests of a very large proportion of the inhabitants of these Provinces. Bengal and the Punjab each has its own common language and a long history and tradition. Moreover, any division of the Punjab would of necessity divide the Sikhs leaving substantial bodies of Sikhs on both sides of the boundary. We have therefore been forced to the conclusion that neither a larger nor a smaller sovereign State of Pakistan would provide an acceptable solution for the communal problem.

8. Apart from the great force of the foregoing arguments there are weighty administrative, economic and military considerations. The whole of the transportation and postal and telegraph systems of India have been established on the basis of a united India. To disintegrate them would gravely injure both parts of India. The case for a united defence is even stronger. The Indian armed forces have been built up as a whole for the defence of India as a whole, and to break them in two would inflict a deadly blow on the long traditions and high degree of efficiency of the Indian Army and would entail the gravest dangers. The Indian Navy and Indian Air Force would become much less effective. The two sections of the suggested Pakistan contain the two most vulnerable frontiers in India and for a successful defence in depth the area of Pakistan would be insufficient.

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10. Finally there is the geographical fact that the two halves of the proposed Pakistan State are separated by some seven hundred miles and the communications between them both in war and peace would be dependent on the goodwill of Hindustan.

11. We are therefore unable to advise the British Government that the power which at present resides in British hands should be handed over to two entirely separate sovereign States.

12. This decision does not however blind us to the very real Muslim apprehensions that their culture and political and social life might become submerged in a purely unitary India, in which the Hindus with their greatly superior numbers must be a dominating element. To meet this the Congress have put forward a scheme under which Provinces would have full autonomy subject only to a minimum of Central subjects, such as Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications.

Under this scheme Provinces, if they wished to take part in economic and administrative planning on a large scale, could co-ordinate the Centre optional subjects in addition to

the compulsory ones mentioned above.

13. Such a scheme would, in our view, present considerable constitutional disadvantages and anomalies. It would be very difficult to work a Central Executive and Legislature in which some Ministers, who dealt with Compulsory subjects, were responsible to the whole of India while other Ministers, who dealt with Optional subjects, would be responsible only to those Provinces which had elected to act together in respect of such subjects. This difficulty would be accentuated in the Central Legislature, where it would be necessary to exclude certain members from speaking and voting when subjects with which their Provinces were not concerned were under discussion.

Apart from the difficulty of working such a scheme, we do not consider that it would be fair to deny to other Provinces, which did not desire to take the optional subjects at the Centre, the right to form themselves into a group for a similar purpose. This would indeed be no more than the exercise of their autonomous powers in a particular way.

14. Before putting forward our recommendation we turn to deal with the relationship of the Indian States to British India. It is quite clear that with the attainment of independence by British India, whether inside or outside the British Commonwealth, the relationship which has hitherto existed between the Rulers of the States and the British Crown will no longer be possible. Paramountcy can neither be retained by the British Crown nor transferred to the new Government. This fact has been fully recognised by those whom we interviewed from the States. They have at the same time assured us that the States are ready and willing to co-operate in the new development of India. The precise form which their co-operation will take must be a matter for negotiation during the building up of the new constitutional structure, and it by no means follows that it will be identical for all the States. We have not therefore dealt with the States in the same detail as the Provinces of British India in the paragraphs which follow.

15. We now indicate the nature of a solution which in our view would be just to the essential claims of all parties, and would at the same time be most likely to bring about a stable and practicable form of constitution for All-India.

We recommend that the constitution should take the following basic form:—

- (1) There should be a Union of India, embracing both British India and the States, which should deal with the following subjects: Foreign Affairs; Defence, and Communications; and should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects.
- (2) The Union should have an Executive and a Legislature constituted from British Indian and States representatives. Any question raising a major communal issue in the Legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a ma-

majority of all the members present and voting.

- (3) All subjects other than the Union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the Provinces.
- (4) The States will retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded to the Union.
- (5) Provinces should be free to form Groups with executives and legislatures, and each Group should determine the Provincial subjects to be taken in common.
- (6) The constitutions of the Union and of the Groups should contain a provision whereby any Province could, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for a reconsideration of the terms of the constitution after an initial period of 10 years and at 10 yearly intervals thereafter.
- (7) It is not our object to lay out the details of a constitution on the above lines, but to set in motion the machinery whereby a constitution can be settled by Indians for Indians.

It has been necessary however for us to make this recommendation on the broad basis of the future constitution, because it became clear to us in the course of our negotiations that not until that had been done was there any hope of getting the two major communities to join in the setting up of the constitution-making machinery.

17. We now indicate the constitution-making machinery which we propose should be brought into being forthwith in order to enable a new constitution to be worked out.

18. In forming any Assembly to decide a new Constitutional structure the first problem is to obtain as broad-based and accurate a representation of the whole population as is possible. The most satisfactory method obviously would be by election based on adult franchise but any attempt to introduce such a step now would lead to a wholly unacceptable delay in the formulation of the new Constitution. The only practicable alternative is to utilise the recently elected Provincial Legislative Assemblies as the electing bodies. There are, however, two factors in their composition which make this difficult. First, the numerical strengths of the Provincial Legislative Assemblies do not bear the same proportion to the total population in each Province. Thus, Assam with a population of 10 millions has a Legislative Assembly of 108 members while Bengal with a population six times as large has an Assembly of only 250. Secondly, owing to the weightage given to minorities by the Communal Award, the strengths of the several communities in each Provincial Legislative Assembly are not in proportion to their numbers in the Province. Thus the number of seats reserved for Muslims in the Bengal Legislative Assembly is only 48 per cent of the total, although they form 55 per cent of the Provincial population. After a most careful consideration of the various methods by which these inequalities might be corrected we have come to the conclusion that the fairest and most practicable plan would be—

- (a) to allot to each Province a total number of seats proportional to its population roughly in the ratio of one to a million, as the nearest substitute for representation by adult suffrage.

- (b) to divide this provincial allocation of seats between the main communities in each Province in proportion to their population.
- (c) to provide that the representatives allotted to each community in a Province shall be elected by the members of that community in its Legislative Assembly.

We think that for these purposes it is sufficient to recognise only three main communities in India: General, Muslim, and Sikh, the "General" community including all persons who are not Muslims or Sikhs. As the smaller minorities would, upon the population basis, have little or no representation since they would lose the weightage which assures them seats in the Provincial Legislatures, we have made the arrangements set out in paragraph 20 below to give them a full representation upon all matters of special interest to the minorities.

19. (i) We, therefore, propose that there shall be elected by each Provincial Legislative Assembly the following numbers of representatives, each part of the Legislature (General, Muslim or Sikh) electing its own representatives by the method of proportional representation with the single transferable vote:—

TABLE OF REPRESENTATION

Provinces	Section A		Total
	General	Muslim	
Madras	45	4	49
Bombay	19	2	21
United Provinces	47	8	55
Bihar	31	6	36
Central Provinces	16	1	17
Orissa	9	0	9
Total	167	20	187

Province	SECTION B		Total
	General, Muslim	Sikh	
Punjab	8	16	24
North-West Frontier Province	0	3	3
Sind	1	3	4
Total	9	22	31

Province	SECTION C		Total
	General	Muslim	
Bengal	27	33	60
Assam	7	3	10
Total	34	36	70
Total for British India			292
Maximum for Indian States			93
Total			385

Note:—In order to represent the Chief Commissioners' Provinces there will be added to Section A the Member representing Delhi in the Central Legislative Assembly, the Member representing Ajmer-Merwara in the Central Legislative Assembly, and a representative to be elected by the Coorg Legislative Council.

To Section B will be added a representative of British Baluchistan.

(ii) It is the intention that the States should be given in the final Constituent Assembly appropriate representation which would not, on the basis of the calculations adopted for British India, exceed 93, but the method of selection will have to be determined by consultation. The States would in the preliminary stage be represented by a Negotiating Committee.

(iii) The representatives thus chosen shall meet at New Delhi as soon as possible.

(iv) A preliminary meeting will

be held at which the general order of business will be decided, a Chairman and other officers elected, and an Advisory Committee (see paragraph 20 below) on the rights of citizens, minorities, and tribal and excluded areas set up. Thereafter the provincial representatives will divide up into the three sections shown under A, B, and C, in the Table of Representation in sub-paragraph (i) of this paragraph.

(v) These sections shall proceed to settle the Provincial Constitutions for the Provinces included in each section, and shall also decide whether any Group Constitution shall be set up for those Provinces and, if so, with what provincial subjects the Group should deal. Provinces shall have the power to opt out of the Groups in accordance with the provisions of sub-clause (viii) below.

(vi) The representatives of the Sections and the Indian States shall reassemble for the purpose of settling the Union Constitution.

(vii) In the Union Constituent Assembly resolutions varying the provisions of paragraph 15 above or raising any major communal issue shall require a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities.

The Chairman of the Assembly shall decide which (if any) of the resolutions raise major communal issues and shall, if so requested by a majority of the representatives of either of the major communities, consult the Federal Court before giving his decision.

(viii) As soon as the new constitutional arrangements have come into operation, it shall be open to any Province to elect to come out of any Group in which it has been placed. Such a decision shall be taken by the new legislature of the Province after the first general election under the new constitution.

20. The Advisory Committee on the rights of citizens, minorities and tribal and excluded areas should contain full representation of the interests affected, and their function will be to report to the Union Constituent Assembly upon the list of Fundamental Rights, the clauses for the protection of minorities, and a scheme for the administration of the tribal and excluded areas, and to advise whether these rights should be incorporated in the Provincial, Group, or Union constitution.

21. His Excellency the Viceroy will forthwith request the Provincial Legislatures to proceed with the election of their representatives and the States to set up a Negotiating Committee. It is hoped that the process of constitution-making can proceed as rapidly as the complexities of the task permit so that the interim period may be as short as possible.

22. It will be necessary to negotiate a Treaty between the Union Constituent Assembly and the United Kingdom to provide for certain matters arising out of the transfer of power.

23. While the constitution-making proceeds, the administration of India has to be carried on. We attach the greatest importance therefore to the setting up at once of an interim

Government having the support of the major political parties. It is essential during the interim period that there should be the maximum of co-operation in carrying through the difficult tasks that face the Government of India. Besides the heavy task of day-to-day administration there is the grave danger of famine to be countered; there are decisions to be taken in many matters of post-war development which will have a far-reaching effect on India's future; and there are important international conferences in which India has to be represented. For all these purposes a Government having popular support is necessary. The Viceroy has already started discussions to this end, and hopes soon to form an Interim Government in which all the portfolios, including that of War Member will be held by Indian leaders having the full confidence of the people. The British Government recognising the significance of the changes in the Government of India, will give the fullest measure of co-operation to the Government so formed in the accomplishment of its tasks of administration and in bringing about as rapid and smooth a transition as possible.

24. To the leaders and people of India who now have the opportunity of complete independence we would finally say this. We and our Government and countrymen hoped that it would be possible for the Indian people themselves to agree upon the method of framing the new constitution under which they will live. Despite the labours which we have shared with the Indian Parties, and the exercise of much patience and goodwill by all, this has not been possible. We therefore now lay before you proposals which after listening to all sides and after much earnest thought, we trust will enable you to attain your independence in the shortest time and with the least danger of internal disturbance and conflict. These proposals may not, of course, completely satisfy all parties, but you will recognise with us that at this

supreme moment in Indian history statesmanship demands mutual accommodation.

We ask you to consider the alternative to acceptance of these proposals. After all the efforts which we and the Indian Parties have made together for agreement, we must state that in our view there is small hope of peaceful settlement by agreement of the Indian Parties alone. The alternative would therefore be a grave danger of violence, chaos, and even civil war. The result and duration of such a disturbance cannot be foreseen; but it is certain that it would be a terrible disaster for many millions of men, women and children. This is a possibility which must be regarded with equal abhorrence by the Indian people, our own countrymen, and the world as a whole.

We therefore lay these proposals before you in the profound hope that they will be accepted and operated by you in the spirit of accommodation and goodwill in which they are offered. We appeal to all who have the future good of India at heart to extend their vision beyond their own community or interest to the interests of the whole four hundred millions of the Indian people.

We hope that the new independent India may choose to be a member of the British Commonwealth. We hope in any event that you will remain in close and friendly association with our people. But these are matters for your own free choice. Whatever that choice may be we look forward with you to your ever increasing prosperity among the great nations of the world, and to a future even more glorious than your past.

HINDUS AND HEBREWS

Sir,—I am sorry and surprised at the attitude of the *Reformer* to the cause of a national home for Jews in Palestine. The similarity in the origin and history of Hindus and Hebrews is very striking. There are no other two peoples who present such a similarity. To begin with they are the two radically religious races of mankind. Christianity and Islam branched off from Judaism. Buddhism did the same from Hinduism. Hebrews and Hindus have clung to their ancestral faiths through persecution and calumny of the worst kind for ages. More than that at the highest levels of philosophy they touch each other so closely as to suggest a course of common evolution. On the bhakti side, the psalms of the Saiva saints are almost an echo of the Hebrews psalms. Turning to social and family organisation, the Mosaic law closely follows the code of Manu in ideology as well as in details. Racial purity is the fundamental to both. Ideas of purity and pollution are almost identical in both. The picture of the good housewife in Proverbs is true word for word of the Hindu as of the Hebrew. Hebrews like Hindus do not proselytise. These points of resem-

blance can be multiplied indefinitely. The history of the two peoples too has not been dissimilar. Hebrews have been exiles from their land for centuries. Hindus have not had that misfortune. But for centuries they have been aliens in their own land. Their shrines have been destroyed or desecrated, their people have been converted wholesale by force and fraud, their culture condemned. Still the two races have survived, holding to their ancient faiths as a safety-belt to save them from being drowned in the materialist flood. A good understanding between the two peoples will mean much for world peace. The Hebrews exiled from their ancient home land are seeking to return and found a national home in it. They are making tremendous efforts. They are not overawed by the might of the forces opposed to them. The demand for Pakistan springs from the same ideology as the Arab opposition to the Zionists' longing to be united to their ancient home land. The Zionists do not ask for help from others. But they are entitled to be judged by the Indian people without prejudice, if not with sympathy.

—SCRUTATOR.

CO-OPERATIVE LIVING IN THE U.S.A.

[BY LOUISE GOSHO]

Life can be a growing realization of ever-widening circles of fellowship and understanding if we start at life's centre—the home and community.

That is the conviction of those interested in Co-operative Community. We believe that most problems can be solved effectively by living together as neighbours. In a group of 15 or 20 families, we can really know each other's problems, needs, and dreams. We will not need research men to discover them for us, or social workers to administer their solution.

Our organization must be within the comprehension of every individual. Only thereby can every individual intelligently participate. Only thereby can we achieve real democracy. Only thereby can we have anything to extend into our larger units of state, nation, and world.

"But we have neighbourhood groups in the city," someone says. "And how about our hundreds of small towns?" another asks. But I am sure you will agree that real neighbourliness is the exception rather than the rule in the city. All of urban life works against its development. Most services are given on a large, impersonal scale. Most real needs are not known or cared for by one's neighbours. Social agencies take the place of neighbours.

And small towns imitate the city. Many of their best young people leave for school and work, seldom

to return. Those remaining spend much of their spare time in city-made movies or drive to the city to absorb its "culture" and recreation.

There is some hope that these small communities will return to the kind of neighbourliness that existed prior to the onslaught of mechanization and specialization. Arthur Morgan is dedicated to the revitalizing of such communities. He offers help through the organization "Community Service, Inc." Yellow Springs, Ohio, U.S.A.

To distinguish communities like the one we hope to build from happen-stance communities, some of us use the term "Intentional Communities". We live in such a community because we are INTENT on it as a way of life—not just because we were born into one or because it is there that we earn our livelihood. We often use the terms "Intentional Community" and "Cooperative Community" interchangeably, but the degree of formal cooperation ranges from those groups which only own their land in common to those which are entirely communal.

There is some confusion as to the relationship between those Intentional Communities and the movement toward decentralisation with its emphasis on home-steading. Most "communitarians" (persons living in an intentional community) are necessarily decentralists, but not all of them are homesteaders. Many of them want a homestead in a Cooperative Community, recognising the values in a well-rounded range of activities for

the family, but also aware of the dangers in an overgrown family life. The more communal the community, the less chance that it will contain homesteads. And only some decentralists are interested in Co-operative Community. More and more of them, however, are coming to see that we need more than a productive homestead to develop the kind of personalities today's world needs so desperately.

No one kind of Cooperative Community is most sure of success. Important though the economic organization can be, the major problems will always centre around personality differences (why we need such communities?). That is why members of a Cooperative Community must choose each other if they are to have a ghost's chance for survival. If you want to throw your lot in with an Intentional Community, but do not especially like the set-up in the one with which you are most familiar, some of us hope soon to be able to help you find one that is more to your liking. The national organization of such groups, the Rural Cooperative Community Council, Teaberryport, New City, New York, U.S.A., already exists for that purpose. The COMMUNITEER edited by Stephen Leeman and May Cavin, is its quarterly publication. We all hope some day to have many intentional cooperative communities scattered throughout our country, co-operating with each other in many ways to bring a fuller, freer life to all. (World Goodwill Service).

GERMAN TERRITORY MAULED BY POLES

Reports that the Polish Government intends to make still further claims for territory on the Baltic Coast, west of Stettin, are causing considerable anxiety in Berlin, says Hubert Harrison Reuter's staff correspondent in a dispatch from Berlin.

The Poles have already occupied territories in this area far in excess of those to which they are entitled under the Potsdam Agreement. Now, they are reported to want another 750 square kilometres (about 290 square miles) of land from Germany.

Walter Pleck and Otto Grotowohl, leaders of the new Socialist Unity Party in the Russian Zone, have asked General Sokolovski, the Russian Commandant in Germany, for information as to Soviet intentions regarding the Eastern frontier of Germany. It is believed that Sokolovski expressed surprise at Poland's new claims with which Soviet Russia is not in sympathy.

Reports of these new Polish claims have thrown the leaders of the new Socialist Unity Party into panic. Throughout the campaign for fusion of the two working class parties—the Communists and the Social Democrats—the leaders of the fusion group used vague suggestions that Russia was considering a change of the Eastern Frontiers in favour of Germany as a bait to get people to support the merger.

No official claim for new territory has been made by the Warsaw Government; but the claims have been made "unofficially" by the Governor of Stettin and other officials. It is believed that this has been done to try out Russian reaction. It may be

that new claims are being formulated as a bargaining counter to be set off against the possibility of Russia suggesting changes in the present frontiers in favour of Germany.

The Germans believe that these claims may be used by the Russians to put still further pressure upon the German people to accept the Russians sponsored plan for the unification of all working class political parties in Germany under Communist leadership. Just as the suggestion of changes in the south Polish frontier in favour of Germany were used as a bait to achieve the union of the two parties in the Russian Zone, so now the threat of further conces-

sions to the Poles in the north may be used to urge the Germans in other zones towards fusion under Communist leadership.

German fears are based on the fact that Poland will always be very dependent upon Soviet Russia and that therefore Russia may be tempted to give more of the coast land of the Baltic, which is of vital strategic importance to her, into Polish hands. Such a step is more likely if Russia sees that Germany is taking an independent attitude and is not likely to fall in with the Soviet scheme to secure Communist domination over Germany as a guarantee of her own security.

NON-VIOLENCE IN ACTION

The Congress of Racial Equality is a national (but not nationalistic) federation of local inter-racial groups working to abolish racial discrimination by direct, personal, non-violent methods.

Affiliated groups are: Committee for Practice of Democracy, Kansas City, Missouri; Vanguard League, Columbus, Ohio; and the Committee of Racial Equality in each of the following cities of the U.S.A.: Denver, Colorado; Chicago, Illinois; Detroit, Michigan; Oberlin, Ohio; Cleveland, Ohio; Syracuse, New York; New York; New York.

Individual soldiers in these units are all volunteers. There is no conscription in this army! Each individual conscripts himself and voluntarily agrees to maintain, to the best of his ability, a friendly, humble, understanding attitude towards

all persons responsible for race discrimination, while still refusing to co-operate with racial injustice in any way. These self-disciplined volunteers refuse to use violence, and their attitude reduces to a minimum the possibility of violence on the part of opponents. The psychology of such an attitude sets up a mental barrier which often completely blocks violence by the opposition, and always reduces such violence, when it does occur, to a minimum.

The significant thing about these workers is that they do not withhold action until an election is won or a law is passed. They go out and control actual practice by non-violent, direct, personal action.

The national headquarters is at 1850, East 81st Street, Cleveland 3, Ohio, U.S.A. (where George Houser is organization secretary. (World Goodwill Service).

THE

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

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Satyanand Stokes:—An Associated Press message in the Tribune of Lahore reported the death of Satyanand Stokes in a Simla hospital on Tuesday, May 14. When Stokes was in Bombay two years ago he was so full of vigour and vitality that he seemed likely to live for many years longer to continue his active and many-sided pursuits. He was a remarkable man. In his own person he disproved the doctrine that the East and West can never meet and mingle. He came to India in 1904 "under the urge of a very deep spiritual experience framed in the terms of my Christian upbringing and in the course of time under the influence of the Upanishads, the Gita and the Vedanta." His Hindu spiritual growth led to his marrying and settling down as a householder among the Rajputs of Kotgarh. He so completely identified himself with his adopted people that he became virtually the head of the community in religious, social and secular matters. The Hindu social system is generally believed to be rigid and exclusive. Stokes' example goes far to show that it is not so. There have been several cases of Europeans adopting Hindu beliefs and even the Hindu way of life but of none of them could it be said that they were so completely assimilated

as this American. He joined the non-co-operation movement and went to jail but his faith in it soon evaporated. He thought it a futile proceeding and sheer waste of valuable time. The first draft of his book "Satyakama" was made during his term in jail. It was considerably revised and published some years later. He described it as "the final product of twenty years of earnest meditation and travail of soul." He was nevertheless warmly nationalist in his sympathies and had written out a strong and clear statement at the request of a relative in the United States for submission to the late President Franklin Roosevelt. The sympathy of a large circle of friends will be with his family in their bereavement.

A Pointless Point:—The point raised by a retired Anglo-Indian journalist about the legal difficulty in the way of framing a Treaty by the proposed Constituent Assembly, has not much of a point in it. The treaty will have the necessary legislation passed by Parliament to constitute India into an independent State. Such a Treaty was made with the Irish Revolutionary Party. It is true, the question of Independence was not involved in that case, but that should make little difference; the terms of this quasi-

Treaty will be embodied in the Act as in the case of the Irish Act. There is no need for the King Emperor to divest himself of Sovereignty until the moment of his assenting to the Bill passed by Parliament.

The Chronicle and Lucknow University:—The Bombay Chronicle warmly praises the action of the Lucknow University in adopting Hindustani as its medium of instruction and calling upon the four other Universities in the Province to do likewise. It is much easier for a newspaper to change from one language to another at short notice. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* changed from Bengali to English overnight to baulk Lytton's Vernacular Press Act. Its readers may look forward to waking one morning to read their *Chronicle* in Hindustani, printed in Urdu as well as Devanagri changes.

Aligarh Market Fire:—A complete lull has fallen on the burning down of the cloth market near Aligarh, except for the reverberations in the Muslim Press. The *Eastern Times* of Lahore maintains on the strength of an independent enquiry by the University authorities and Muslim League leaders that Aligarh students had nothing to do with it. "The riot was a spontaneous affair caused by provocation resulting from shots fired by a Hindu shopkeeper and the continuous stone throwing by the Hindu residents of Mahara-jagunj." The Pant Government is accused of mishandling the situation to the prejudice of the most important Muslim University in the Islamic world. Referring to the punitive fine the Government is said to be "contemplating" the *Eastern Times* warns it that "the entire Muslim nation of India will range

itself openly on the side of the Aligarh University". And, as a final kick, it declares "that the law-breakers and saboteurs of 1942 cannot teach law and order to the premier Muslim educational institution which has its own unbroken traditions of discipline and administration." Is it going to be another case of "Forget and Forgive?"

Congress Creeds:—The following from Gandhiji's pen occupies the first place in Harijan of May 19, under the heading "Non-violence and Khadi."

The Congress constitution is undergoing a radical change. The supreme change that is desirable for the sake of avoiding untruth and hypocrisy, is to remove the words "legitimate and peaceful" from the first article of the Congress constitution as also the clause about Khadi. Experience shows that the people who form the bulk of Congressmen are not wedded either to truth and non-violence or to Khadi. As an ardent lover of truth and non-violence and khadi as their symbol, I make bold to suggest that these clauses should go. It will be open to anyone to be truthful and non-violent and to wear Khadi if he or she chooses to. Only there will be no deception practised on India or the world. Paradoxical as it may appear we shall be more healthful, more non-violent and better Khadi lovers with the suggested amendment than without. It should be remembered that I myself had at one time moved the removal of these clauses. I was glad I was defeated. I was wrong to be glad. I shall be sorry if my suggestion is rejected even now. Let it not be said of us that we prize hypocrisy above truth.

Gandhiji's words come from bitterness of heart. There is no occasion for it. Congress which began as a movement of the elite and remained for nearly thirty-five years a movement of the intelligentsia, was transformed by Gandhiji to a mass movement. "Truth and non-violence" had to be inculcated as "creeds" whereas it was part of the culture of the educated classes. The Indian masses as inheritors of an ancient culture have an innate regard for Truth and Non-violence. When they depart from them, it is generally because they have not, like their educated fellow citizens, adjusted themselves to the changes in their mental and moral environment caused by the impact of modern ideas. The political and legal arena, in which educated men fight with words, are inaccessible and unfamiliar to them. They are men and women of flesh and blood, and when moved by exciting slogans are irresistibly impelled to react with their thews and

sinews. There is no hypocrisy in this. It is merely that the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak. Putting on a white Khadi cap, does not effect a permanent change in a man's nature, although he may think and act for the moment as if it does. This danger is always present when an ideal is invested with a livery. The livery swallows up the ideal. This has happened to the Kashaya, the traditional sanyasin's robe.

The omission at this stage of the words "legitimate and peaceful," which Gandhiji understands to be synonymous with "truth and Non-violence," but which do not necessarily exclude the use of force to ensure peace and legitimate rights, may imply that non-peaceful and illegitimate means are permitted. It would have been otherwise if the words had not been there all these years. Although every individual Congressman may not have implicitly followed "Truth and Non-violence" as a creed, there is no doubt whatever that the Congress party and the country as a whole has accepted it as their ideal and that it has had a salutary effect as a check on the unrestrained exercise of the opposite quality. "Khadi" is in a different category. Gandhiji holds it to be the symbol of "Truth and Non-violence". This is rather far-fetched and beyond the intelligence of the average man or woman. While the wearing of Khaddar and the Gandhi cap has certainly contributed to create a sense of solidarity among Congressmen—as the uniform among soldiers to whom many Congressmen liken themselves—it has also contributed to the notion that all those who do not wear Khaddar are devoid of patriotism and are, therefore, an inferior class. It has also to some extent conduced to what Gandhiji stigmatises as "hypocrisy" but which would be more correctly described as an innocent and rather silly form of deception of one's-self and one's friends. Spinning and weaving as a political industry should go. The All-India Spinners' Association is a non-political body and so should the use of Khaddar be without any significance as a clue to one's political views. The propaganda and use of Hindi falls in the same category. Gandhiji is perfectly right in thinking that we shall be more healthful, more non-violent and better Khadi (and Hindi. Edi-

tor) lovers with the suggested omission than without.

Panchamas as Cooks:—The weakness of Gandhian ideology, especially in its application to social reform, is its partiality for short-cuts which, as an old and wise saying goes, is often the longest way around. An enthusiast for Harijan uplift had suggested to Gandhiji the employment of only Harijans to cook meals for delegates to the next Congress session and the immediate institution of a school for training Harijans to prepare palatable food for them. Gandhiji does not disapprove of the idea but improves on it by suggesting that Congressmen should employ only Harijans not only as cooks in their homes but adopt them as members of their families. This suggestion is likely to prove even more disappointing to Gandhiji than the Congress aim of Truth and Non-violence. Gandhiji incidentally mentions that he nowadays blesses (or approves!) only marriages one of the parties to which is a Harijan. Obviously he does not withhold them where both the parties are Harijans! We have indicated in a previous issue the danger of propaganda marriages as illustrated in the early days of the social reform movement when the remarriage of widows focussed attention. As for training Harijans as cooks, Gandhiji's correspondent does not seem to know that Europeans have anticipated him by many years. Pariahs and pallies and other Harijans were trained and employed as cooks. Some of these men have started business on their own account and in London there is a famous Madras firm very successfully running a restaurant providing Indian cooking. But this has not in the least helped the cause of Harijan uplift. The Brahman is the universal cook in India. The sacred thread across his shoulder ensures the reception of food and water at his hands by every caste and creed from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. The Brahmin has not considered this as in any way degrading but rather as a recognition of his superior sanctity. Would Harijans take the same view of the idea of relegating them to kitchen work at national gatherings? People who wish to raise others should not overlook the psychological, which is an essential, factor.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, May 25, 1946.

MR. JINNAH ON THE MINISTERS' PROPOSALS

Mr. Jinnah's comments on the proposals of the Cabinet Ministers' Delegation for a Constituent Assembly and the future Constitution of India to form a basis of discussion by it, were published on Wednesday. The Working Committee of the League had formally nominated Mr. Jinnah as its sole spokesman in dealing with the Delegation. But Mr. Jinnah has waived that authority and, while expressing his personal views, left it to the Working Committee and the League Council to formulate their decision on the Ministers' proposals in the first week of June when they have been called to meet. So far as Mr. Jinnah's views afford a clue to the decision of these bodies, the proposals will be rejected. The Working Committee and the Council have, so far as is known, never once gone against the President's decisions. It may be that Mr. Jinnah himself realises that the proposals concede the substance of Pakistan though not in the form in which he has been demanding it and would not be sorry if the Working Committee and the Council decide to accept them with or without further "clarification". His complaint that the Ministers' statement contains passages calculated to offend Muslim sentiments, lends colour to this surmise. We do not see any word or sentence in the Ministers' statement at which any reasonable Muslim should take offence. They have stated the arguments against Pakistan in studiously objective terms. The only sentence which might conceivably have irritated Mr. Jinnah, is where the Mi-

nisters clinch the argument against Pakistan by pointing out that every argument that could be used in favour of Pakistan, could equally be used in favour of the exclusion of the non-Muslim areas from Pakistan. Its very truth would, in Mr. Jinnah's mind, be the gravamen of the offence to Muslim sentiment.

It is to be regretted that the Ministers have not shown equal solicitude for Hindu sentiments. We commented last week on the inaptitude of the sentence in which the Ministers justify the provisions which concede the substance of Pakistan. They say that "this decision does not blind us to the very real Muslim apprehension that their culture and political and social life might become submerged in a purely unitary India, in which the Hindus with their greatly superior members must be a dominant element." Mr. Jinnah has naturally fastened on this admission as vitiating all the other arguments advanced by the Ministers against Pakistan. The Ministers, however, have merely followed Maulana Abul Kalam Azad who put forward a formula of his own on the self-same ground, presumably with the knowledge if not approval of his colleagues in the Congress High Command. The Ministers perhaps merely intended to mean that they are aware of the apprehension of the Muslims apart from its being well-grounded or ill-grounded. The fear of a person who mistakes a rope for a snake, is real though the ground for it is illusory.

THE CONGRESS FORMULA

In an exclusive interview on April 17, to the Associated Press of India, the President of the Indian National Congress, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, said that as the result of four days' discussion in the Working Committee, he had brought the Congress to the following position: "The Congress stands for four fundamental things—first, complete independence; second, united India; third, one federation composed of fully autonomous units, which will have residuary powers in their hands; and fourth, two lists of central sub-

jects, one compulsory and the other optional."

The Maulana added that under this formula the Muslim fear of Hindu domination is removed by the fact that the centre will have a minimum list of subjects under its control.

In the Cabinet Ministers' statement published last week, it is this which is referred to and easily demolished as the Congress formula.

As a matter of fact, however, this formula does not appear in the letters, published this week, which passed between the Ca-

This, however, cannot be said of the Maulana who is in a position to know that the rope is not the snake. However that may be, we say that the statement is based on a palpable fiction, apart from its being a calumny on the Hindus. No people in history have been more tolerant, more considerate, more generous to minorities, aliens and even enemies of their culture and religion than the Hindus. They cannot help their numbers. But they have never used their numerical strength to submerge other religions or cultures in their midst. For proof of this, it is enough merely to look around. Hindus do not want to add to their numbers by proselytising. They have always followed the rule of "Live and Let Live". Mr. Jinnah has persistently spoken of Hindus with contempt amounting to hatred. For Muslims to live under Hindu "domination" is unthinkable to him, although actually they have lived thus for centuries and are living thus today and will be living thus in large parts of India even if Pakistan comes into being. We do not write this with the hope of convincing the British Cabinet Ministers. They probably know this quite well. Anyhow, the world must know the truth and it should know that the fear of Hindu domination is no more than five years old, and is a political myth. It is not always a majority which dominates. The tyranny of a minority has ever been the worst tyranny. The Cabinet Ministers' reply to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's request for clarification on two points—one a wholly imaginary one and the other, which Lord Pethick-Lawrence had made perfectly clear at a Press Conference—is, "All that can be discussed in the Assembly. Walk into it, first."

binet Ministers and the Congress President. The formula there is quite different and much more in accord with constitutional principles. It asks that the Central Government in addition to Foreign affairs, Defence, and Communications, should have Currency, Customs and Planning, and power to raise revenue necessary for these purposes. "The union must also have power to take remedial action in cases of breakdown of the Constitution and in grave public emergency." This can only mean "residuary

powers." In other words, the Congress Government wanted a strong Central Government and not the shadowy one in the formula attributed to it in the Ministers' statement. We reprint elsewhere the text of the Congress memorandum.

The statement is dated May 12. The Ministers' statement was issued in the evening of May 16. There was sufficient time for the Ministers to have dealt with it but there is absolutely no reference to this in their statement. They do not seem to have seen the Congress statement at all. We, and no doubt others, were thereby misled into thinking that the Maulana's formula had been adopted by the Congress, as the letters were not for some obscure reason published until a week after the Cabinet statement.

The interpretation of the tentative plan for the Indian union to serve as basis for discussion in the Constituent Assembly the formation of which is the principal if not sole function of the Cabinet Ministers' delegation, has caused much confusion. It has diverted attention from creation of the Constituent Assembly, and focussed it on what the Assembly should do. The Congress President has made the same mistake in laying down the lines which the Constituent Assembly should adopt for the Federal Constitution. He has suggested the grouping system which is wholly without any rational basis and is likely to prove a fifth and even seventh wheel to the Constitutional coach. The clause making special provision for

dealing with major points affecting communities is unworkable. Death duties were denounced by Sir Ziauddin Ahmed in the Assembly as opposed to Islamic law. Would the clause apply to them?

The Cabinet Ministers are paying for their hurry. They dismissed the method of adult suffrage for the Constituent Assembly as it would entail delay. They have shoved over major issues for the same reason. But Nature and Mr. Jinnah will not be hustled. Sir Stafford Cripps has broken down under the strain. Mr. Jinnah has allowed himself a fortnight to decide the course of action to be followed by the Muslim League. The British Ministers should go back to Simla or some other hill station to avoid more breakdown.

CO-OPERATION IN THE U. S. A.

(By Fred Nora)

All men are consumers. As users of goods, their interests differ from those of the people who make and sell consumer goods for private profit. Many consumers, therefore, have united in their own communities to sell themselves gasoline, groceries, hardware, machinery, insurance, and other economic goods and services. They own their stores and share in their business savings in proportion to their patronage as members.

Many rural consumer co-ops in the U.S.A. have reported to their annual meetings this winter increasing sales despite war and readjustment conditions. Co-op building and service expansion are common.

Total co-op membership—including duplications—in the U.S.A. are reported to be 6,022,000 persons, most of whom are rural. American and Canadian co-operators own 158 factories. That includes 10 gasoline refineries, 9 oil blending plants, more than 450 oil wells, 39 chick hatcheries, 11 fertilizer factories, 18 feed mills, 8 soya bean and 8 food processing plants, 7 seed mills, 7 insecti-

cide plants, 7 bakeries, 6 lumber mills, 5 printing plants, 4 coal mines, 3 farm machinery factories, 2 canneries, 2 flour mills, 2 coffee roasteries, 2 paint factories, 1 milking machine factory, and about 20 miscellaneous production units.

With 20 per cent of the petroleum products used on U.S.A. farms supplied through Co-ops, the farmer is becoming aware of his power as a cooperatively-organized producer consumer. He is, for example, breaking the fertilizer monopoly prices through co-op fertilizer production, and becoming more conscious of the necessity of soil conservation.

For years U.S.A. farmers have been organized as co-operative producers and marketers of the nation's food. In 1943-44 the 10,300 farmers' produce marketing and farm production goods purchasing co-ops had 4,250,000 members. Last year they did a business of \$5,250,000,000. They also shipped vegetables, grain, dairy products, seeds and cotton abroad. Farmers also had 1,877 mutual fire

insurance organisations, 370 credit unions, 43 burial co-ops. In 535 rural electric co-ops were 1,300,000 members.

Thus the farmers' total assets of some 90 billion dollars were partly the result of his co-operative selling, buying and saving in the midst of America's system of capitalist profit enterprise. That more co-operation would result in more purchasing power and increased assets for the farmer seems a fair assumption.

Through its "Freedom Fund," co-ops in the U.S.A. have attempted to help rehabilitate co-ops abroad devastated by war. Twenty-three foreign relief agencies in the U.S.A. recently organised "Co-operative Remittances to Europe" (CARE) to put "hands across the sea" on a co-op basis. CARE in February signed a contract with the War Assets Corporation for the purchase of 2,800,000 food packages to be distributed to Europeans. International co-operation and the role of co-ops in post war reconstruction, however, is another story. (World Goodwill Service).

A MONSTROUS UNTRUTH

Sir. It is well-known how propagandist foreign journalists (mostly Americans) have tried to vilify India in one way or the other to suit their own ends. There is an article in the 'National Geographical Magazine', for April on "Indian Mosaic". It is from beginning to end a propaganda against the Hindus. A favourite theme of these American journalists whenever they want to vilify Indians is caste distinctions. It is not denied that those distinctions do exist but these peripatetic critics ignore the efforts made to obliterate the distinctions and to exaggerate the prejudices and the line of cleavage. The authors of this article have brought in Mr. Jinnah to support their case and it is surprising that he does it with the help of a monstrous untruth.

Let the story be given in the words of the authors themselves: "Jinnah told a story which illustrates the degree to which some Hindus carry their non-bread-breaking principles.

"We had just got down to lunch," he said, "when a very old and dear friend was announced, a former President of the Congress Party. I ran to the door to greet him; he was leaving for a long trip and wanted to say good-bye. I took him by the door and led him into the dining-room, insisting that he have lunch with us.

He refused and I suddenly remembered that he was a Hindu.

"But just sit down with us," I pleaded. An extra chair was put at the table but he refused it."

"Jinnah stopped for a moment to chuckle. Then, 'Do you know, Mr.

Muir, that I had to have the rug rolled up and his chair placed on the bare floor, before he would sit down?"

"I must have looked puzzled for my host went on to explain, "He could not allow any contact with the table where we were eating—not even the contact of a rug."

There are some countrymen of ours who do not hesitate to vilify even "their old and dear friends" before foreigners. I did not think Mr. Jinnah would do it. What is worse is that this statement is attributed to him. Even staunch orthodox gentlemen sit down to a dining-table near men who take non-vegetarian food. Mr. Jinnah will do well to repudiate the propaganda statements of these two American journalists.

ANTI-HUMBUC.

SAGOTRA MARRIAGES

(By K. B. Gajendragadkar)

"It is true while dealing with questions like this, Courts have to construe the texts of Hindu Law in the light of the explanations given by recognised communicators. But it must always be remembered that since the said commentaries were written, several centuries have passed by and during this long period the Hindu mode of life has not remained still or static. Notions of good social behaviour and the general ideology of the Hindu Society have been changing; with the growth of modern science and as a result of the impact of new ideas based on a strictly rational outlook of life, Hindu custom and usages have been changed. The custom as to marriage between persons of the same Gotra is an eloquent instance in point. Between the letter of the law and Sadashar—good conduct according to the consciousness of the community—there is obviously great variance. It follows, therefore, that the prohibition which has been so emphatically enunciated by Nibandha writers in this connection have not, for a considerable time past confirmed to the usage and custom recognised by the community. In such a case, it is obviously the duty of the legislature to intervene and amend the material portions of the Hindu Law so as to make them consistent with the custom and usage, prevailing in Society and thus help to place the Hindu Law of marriage on a more rational basis." (The Bombay Law Reporter.—Vol. XLVIII Page 196.)

These weighty observations were made by Mr. Justice Gajendragadkar in a case wherein the question of the validity of Sagotra marriages under Hindu Law came before Mr. Justice Kanin, Ag. Chief Justice and Justice Gajendragadkar of the Bombay High Court in the Purandare—Mudholkar case of Poona. In this case the parties to the marriage belonged to one and the same Bharadwaj Gotra but following the custom prevailing in Deccan Brahmin community the marriage was preceded by the girl's adoption to a man of altogether different gotra. Thus in this case the validity of the marriage of a man with a woman of the same Gotra was established only by custom and it is held therein that on the strength of the custom to the effect that which a girl having the same Gotra as that of the intended bridegroom is first given in adoption to a person whose Gotra is different from that of her natural father and then is married to the proposed bridegroom, the bar due to the prohibition of Sagotra marriage is altogether removed and the marriage becomes valid.

In this case two main points were discussed. The first was whether marriage between bride and bridegroom was invalid under Hindu Law on the ground that both belonged to the same Gotra before their marriage and the second point was if in such a case was held to be invalid whether such marriages are recognised as valid on the strength of the custom prevailing amongst the Deccan Brahmins.

Their Lordships have decided the case before them only on the second point and they have held that the marriage between bride and bridegroom belonging to the same Gotra was valid on the strength of the custom.

In view of their decision on this point it was not strictly necessary

for Their Lordships to consider whether, apart from custom, marriages between Sagotra persons are valid in Law. Their Lordships have however discussed this point in detail probably for the benefit of the Legislators though the discussion strictly speaking can be said to be "obiter."

In this discussion firstly the history of the origin and development of "Gotra" and "Pravara" is traced and the views of learned Scholars like Max Mullar in (History of Sanskrit Literature), C. V. Valya (in History of Mediaeval Hindu India Vol. II) Mohamohopadhyaya P. V. Kane (in History of Dharmashastra Vol. II Part I and Mr. Karandikar in Hindu 'Exogamy' are discussed in detail and it has been found that Scholars of ancient Sanskrit Literature have expressed somewhat conflicting opinions as to origin and development of Gotra and Pravara. It is impossible to accept the suggestion that in reference to the Brahmin families of today their Gotra and Pravara represent anything like an unbroken line of descent from the common ancestors indicated by the names of their respective Gotras and Pravaras. Besides, if this fanciful theory is accepted, its logical extension may well lead to the conclusion that in the last analysis all Hindus are descended from their mythological ancestor Manu, himself and in that sense all of them belong to the same Pravara! It seems Pravara and Gotra had a purely ritualistic origin and in ancient times when several rites and sacrifices were frequently performed Pravara and Gotra had some significance. In course of time the performance of these rituals gradually decreased until eventually it ceased altogether. During this period the genealogical and real significance of Pravara and Gotra were misappreciated. In the writings of subsequent authors, these words came to be invested with a mystical and metaphysical importance; apparently, prohibitions against marriage of Sagotra and Sapravara persons were vehemently discussed and rigidly sought to be enforced about this time.

Their Lordships also discussed the texts of Manu and Yajnyavalkya bearing on this question to see whether under these texts marriages between Sagotra persons should be treated as absolutely void. The texts referred to are Manusmriti Chapter III Verses 5, 8, 9 and Yajnyavalkya Smriti Chapter III Verses 52 to 54. On these texts the question to be decided is whether the requirement that the girl should belong to a different Gotra as laid down by Manu or that she should have a different Gotra and different Pravara as laid down by Yajnyavalkya is obligatory. It is admitted that most of the attributes mentioned by Manu and Yajnyavalkya with regard to the boy, as well as the girl, are recommendatory. The only provision which is admitted to be obligatory is the requirement that the girl should be five degrees removed from the mother and seven degrees from the father. If the verses from Manu and Yajnyavalkya are read as a whole it is rather difficult to hold that the requirements as to Gotra and Pravara mentioned therein are mandatory rather than recommendatory. For that, it is laid down that while interpreting these verses it is necessary to adopt the rule of construction laid down by Jaimini in his Purva Mimansa. "That if there is a seen (Drasta) or easily perceptible

reason for a rule stated in the sacred texts it is only recommendatory and the breach of such a rule does not nullify the principal act. But if there is an unseen reason (adrasta) for a rule and there is breach of such a rule the principal act itself is rendered invalid and nugatory thereby. It must be said that this rule of adrasta is obviously one of these Mimansa rules of interpretations which are of doubtful utility in the present day administration of Hindu Law.

However, it is quite clear that according to Vijnaneswar the commentator of Yajnyavalkya a marriage between persons of the same Gotra is absolutely void since in such a case the condition of wifehood does not come into being at all. Vijnaneswar's interpretation is based on a Mimansa rule referred to above. That rule is both artificial and irrational. It should not be adopted as a safe guide in interpreting Sanskrit texts for the purpose of administering Hindu Law. Besides the said interpretation is open to other serious objections in so far as it deals with the question of Kshatriyas and Vaishyas. Vijnaneswar says that since Kshatriyas and Vaishyas have no Gotra of their own, for the purpose of marriage they should adopt Gotra of their priests. Now this assumption is historically inaccurate and the solution offered by him in regard to the marriages amongst the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas is clearly meaningless and unsatisfactory. The difficulties in applying this prohibition to the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas are obvious. In several cases many Kshatriya families which may not be related even remotely to each other may have the same priest while near relations may engage different priests. Besides the literal requirements of the prohibition can be easily met by the parties changing their priest first at the time of the marriage. Thus the view of Vijnaneswar also does not stand to reason. However as the Privy Council have consistently held that under the Mitakshara School of Hindu Law the gloss of Vijnaneswar must be accepted as authoritative and binding. There was, therefore, no alternative for Their Lordships but to hold that generally marriages between Sagotra persons are invalid under Hindu Law.

Mr. Justice Gajendragadkar has however made the observation quoted at the top that it is obviously the duty of the Legislature to amend the Hindu Law of marriage and thus help to place it on a more rational basis.

Such kind of attempt was made by Mr. G. V. Deshmukh of Nagpur when he introduced "A bill to remove legal disabilities under Hindu Law in respect of marriage between Hindus." The main cause of the Bill was that notwithstanding any custom rule or interpretation of the Hindu Law a marriage which is otherwise valid shall not be invalid because it is between Hindus belonging to the same Gotra Pravara. This bill was referred to the Select Committee but unfortunately it automatically lapsed when the last Central Assembly was dissolved. This bill is discussed by the present writer in the September 1941 issue of the Indian Review under "Hindu Law marriage Reform.". Now there are weighty and authoritative pronouncements though obiter from Their Lordships of the Bombay High Court. They would be a sure guide ceiling to the Legislators. Would any member take the initiative in the matter?

CONGRESS MEMORANDUM TO CABINET DELEGATION

Points suggested on behalf of the Congress as a basis for agreement, 12th May 1946.

1. The Constituent Assembly to be formed as follows:—

(i) Representatives shall be elected by each Provincial Assembly by proportional representation (single transferable vote). The number so elected should be one-fifth of the number of members of the Assembly and they may be members of the Assembly or others.

(ii) Representatives from the States on the basis of their population in proportion to the representation from British India. How these representatives are to be chosen is to be considered later.

2. The Constituent Assembly shall draw up a constitution for the Federal Union. This shall consist of an All-India Federal Government and Legislature dealing with Foreign Affairs, Defence, Communications, Fundamental Rights, Currency, Customs and planning as well as such other subjects as, on closer scrutiny, may be found to be intimately allied to them. The Federal Union will have necessary power to raise revenues in its own right. The Union must also have power to take remedial action in cases of breakdown of the Constitution and in grave public emergency.

5. After the Constituent Assembly has decided the Constitution for the All-India Federal Union as laid down in paragraph two above, the representatives of the Provinces may form groups to decide the provincial constitutions for their group and, if they wish, a group constitution.

6. No major point in the All-India Federal Constitution which affects the communal issue shall be deemed to be passed by the Constituent Assembly unless a majority of the members of the community or communities concerned present in Assembly and voting are separately in its favour. Provided that in case there is no agreement on any such issue, it will be referred to arbitration. In case of doubt as to whether any point is a major communal issue, the Speaker will decide, or, if so desired, it may be referred to the Federal Court.

7. In the event of a dispute arising in the process of constitution-making the specific issue shall be referred to arbitration.

8. The Constitution should pro-

vide machinery for its revision at any time subject to such checks as may be devised. If so desired, it may be specifically stated that this whole Constitution may be reconsidered after ten years.

ATTITUDE TO MUSLIM PLAN

Note by the Congress on the principles to be agreed upon as suggested on behalf of the Muslim League, dated 12th May 1946.

The approach of the Muslim League is so different from that of the Congress in regard to these matters that it is little difficult to deal with each point separately without reference to the rest. The picture as envisaged by the Congress is briefly given in a separate Note. From consideration of this Note and the Muslim League's proposals the difficulties and the possible agreement will become obvious.

The Muslim League's proposals are dealt with below briefly.

(1) We suggest that the proper procedure is for one constitution-making body or Constituent Assembly to meet for the whole of India and later for groups to be formed if so desired by the Provinces concerned. The matter should be left to the Provinces and if they wish to function as a group they are at liberty to do so and to frame their own constitution for the purpose.

In any event Assam has obviously no place in the group mentioned, and the North-West Frontier Province, as the elections show, is not in favour of this proposal.

(2) We have agreed to residuary powers, apart from the central subjects, vesting in the Provinces. They can make such use of them as they like and, as has been stated above, function as a group. What the ultimate nature of such a group may be cannot be determined at this stage and should be left to the representatives of the Provinces concerned.

(3) We have suggested that the most suitable method of election would be by single transferable vote. This would give proper representation to the various communities in proportion to their present representation in the legislature. If the population proportion is taken, we have no particular objection, but this would lead to difficulties in all the Provinces where there is weightage in favour of certain communities. The principle approved of would necessarily apply to all the Provinces.

(4) There is no necessity for

opting out of a Province from its group as the previous consent of the Provinces is necessary for joining the group.

(5) We consider it essential that the Federal Union should have a Legislature. We also consider it essential that the Union would have power to raise its own revenue.

COMMUNAL ISSUES

(6 and 7) We are entirely opposed to parity of representation as between groups of Provinces in the Union Executive or Legislature. We think that the provision to the effect that no major communal issue in the Union Constitution shall be deemed to be passed by the Constituent Assembly unless a majority of the members of the community or communities concerned present and voting in the Constituent Assembly are separately in its favour is a sufficient and ample safeguard of all minorities. We have suggested something wider and including all communities than has been proposed elsewhere. This may give rise to some difficulties in regard to small communities but all such difficulties can be got over by reference to arbitration. We are prepared to consider the method of giving effect to this principle so as to make it more feasible.

(8) This proposal is so sweeping in its nature that no Government or Legislature can function at all. Once we have safeguarded major communal issues other matters, whether controversial or not, require no safeguard. This will simply mean safeguarding vested interests of all kinds and preventing progress or indeed any movement in any direction. We therefore entirely disapprove of it.

(9) We are entirely agreeable to the inclusion of fundamental rights and safeguards concerning religion, culture and like matters in the constitution. We suggest that the proper place for this is the All-India Federal Union Constitution. There should be uniformity in regard to these fundamental rights all over India.

(10) The Constitution of the Union will inevitably contain provisions for its revision. It may also contain a provision for its full reconsideration at the end of ten years. The matter will be open then for a complete reconsideration. Though it is implied, we would avoid reference to secession as we do not wish to encourage this idea.

NO POLITICS FOR BHIKKHUS

A conference of bhikkhus and laymen, summoned by the All-Ceylon Buddhist Congress, met at the Raja Maha Vihare, Kelaniya, on 31st March, 1946. The following statement regarding the conference has been issued for publication by the President of the Buddhist Congress. A conference of bhikkhus and laymen met at the Raja Maha Vihare, Kelaniya, on Sunday, 31st March, 1946, at 9 a.m. The conference was summoned by the Working Committee of the All-Ceylon Buddhist Congress.

The Ven. Heramitigala Sri Dhira-nanda Anunayaka Thera occupied the chair and proceedings began with the administration of pansil.

The meeting agreed that the first item for discussion should be the question of bhikkhus and politics.

After a discussion in which most of those present expressed their views, it

was decided that all questions affecting the Sangha should be decided by the Sangha.

The laymen present expressed their entire agreement with the resolutions adopted and declared themselves ready at all times to do all in their power to implement them.

THE DECISIONS

The following resolutions were thereupon unanimously adopted by the conference:—

(1) In no circumstances should a bhikkhu seek election to or be a member of the State Council, Parliament, Senate, any municipal council, urban council, village committee or any other like institution or any political organisation.

(2) No bhikkhu should seek registration as a voter or exercise the rights of a voter in respect of any of

the institutions mentioned in resolution (1).

(3) In no circumstances should a bhikkhu associate himself with any election in respect of any of the institutions mentioned in resolution (1).

(4) In no circumstances should Buddhist laymen induce bhikkhus to take part in any matter which is contrary to the above resolutions.

(5) Where a bhikkhu has been expelled from the Sangha Sabha of his nikaya for acting in contravention of the above resolutions no Buddhist laymen should pay to such bhikkhu the honour and respect due to a member of the Sangha.

The meeting also unanimously adopted the following resolution:—

That suitable legislation should be introduced providing for the enforcement of the decisions of the Sangha Sabhas of the respective Nikayas.

THE BUDDHIST (Colombo)

PLAN FOR A PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTION

In 1923, Sri Chittaranjan Das, the distinguished Bengal leader, put out a draft constitution for the consideration of the people. In the light of the discussions now proceeding and the Constituent Assembly that will soon be functioning, it is of interest to recall the details of the Constitution framed by the Bengal Swarajist. Sri Chittaranjan Das's scheme and the note which prefaced it, are printed below:—

Note

In some public statements made by me in October and November, 1922, and again in my Presidential Address at the Gaya Congress, on 26th December, 1922, I drew the attention of the public to the need for stating the fundamental principles and formulating the broad outlines of a Scheme of Self-government which should form the basis of Indian Swaraj.

Subsequently, the new party (known as the Congress-Khilafat Swaraj Party) which has been formed within the Congress, in consequence of division of opinion over the question of contesting elections for the official Councils, desired me to outline such a scheme, in conjunction with other friends, who also had been pressing the matter on the attention of the Indian People for some time past, and were co-opted for the Drafting Committee.

The Outline now placed before the public is the result. It was laid before a meeting of leading members of the new party, at Bombay on 29th January, 1923. There was no time to discuss it properly. Many of the members present (from almost all the larger Congress Provinces) expressed a general approval; others reserved opinion. But it was unanimously agreed that the draft should be placed before the Indian People, through the Press, and suggestions and criticisms invited.

It was also unanimously agreed that the Outline represents the Ideal which should be kept in view, as one to be gradually worked up to, and that a certain number of intermediate and progressive steps have to intervene, but which must all definitely, unmistakably, steadily and progressively help to change the present regime so as to realise that ideal at no distant date.

—CHITTA RANJAN DAS.

Outline Scheme Of Swaraj

CHAPTER I.—ESSENTIAL PRINCIPLES

The principles which guide this outline are those which have been honoured in India from time immemorial, and have been reiterated in the Presidential Address of the Gaya Congress, in December, 1922, thus:

"To form a scheme of government, regard must be had

(1) to the formation of local centres more or less on the lines of the ancient village system of India;

(2) The growth of larger and larger groups out of the integration of these village centres;

(3) the unifying state should be the result of similar growth;

(4) the village centres and the larger groups must be practically autonomous;

(5) the residuary power of control must remain in the Central Government, but the exercise of such power should be exceptional, and for that purpose, proper safeguards should be provided, so that the practical autonomy of the local centres may be maintained and at the same time, the growth of the central

government into a really unifying state may be possible. The ordinary work of such Central Government should be mainly advisory."

Briefly, a maximum of local autonomy, carried on mainly with advice and co-ordination from, and only a minimum of control by, higher centres, which will have some special functions besides.

To this should be added that every possible care should be taken to ensure that the people's elected representatives, who will constitute the Chief Authority for each grade of centre, local and higher, with power to make laws and rules, shall be, not self-seekers, but seekers of the public welfare.

CHAPTER II.—ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS

(a) Local Centres

1. The foundation of the whole administration should be in Local Centres (*grama*), small be practically autonomous.

2. A Local Centre should ordinarily consist of a number of villages of which the population should total about ten thousand souls.

(b) Town Centres

3. Towns (*nagar*), should form separate entities, and might, as necessary, be sub-divided into wards or quarters, of about the same population limits as the rural Local Centres.

(c) District Centres

4. Rural and urban Local Centres should be integrated into larger groups or District Centres (*zila*) with populations of from five to twenty lakhs.

(d) Provinces

5. District Centres should be integrated into Provincial Organisations.

6. Provinces (*sooba*) should be demarcated on the linguistic basis. Any which are considered too large may be divided into smaller ones.

(e) All-India Organisation

7. The Provincial Organisations should be integrated into and be co-ordinated by an All-India (*Bharatavarsha* or *Hindustan*) Organisation according to population.

8. Subject to these general principles, each Province should draw up its own scheme of administrative divisions to suit provincial variations.

CHAPTER III.—ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS

Functions should be as below:

A. (i) Provision for appropriate Education of all educable children and youth of both sexes (*Shiksha* or *Talim*).

(ii) Provision for Recreation (*vinoda* or *dil-bastagi*), e.g., Public Gardens, Parks, Museums, Playing-grounds, Libraries, Reading Rooms, Art-galleries, Popular Lectures, Recitations, Processions, Pageants Religious Festivals* (*Katha*, *Yatra*, *Kalakshepam Kirtana*, *Ram-lila*, *Krishna-lila*, *Maulud*, *Christmas* and *Easter* celebrations, etc.) refining, elevating and instructive Dramas, *Cinecine* and *Magic Lantern Shows*, *Games* and *Sports*, etc.

B. Provision for Protection (*Raksha* or *Hifazat*), by means of

(i) Police and Local Militia and Regular Military Forces;

(ii) Justice and Settlement of Disputes, through Arbitration Courts or Panchayats in the narrower sense, and Registration of Deeds;

(iii) Appropriate Medical Help and Sanitation.

C. Provision for Economic and Industrial Welfare (*Jivika* or *Maash*), by promotion of

(i) Agriculture (*Krishi* or *Ziraat*);

(ii) Cattle-breeding (*Go-raksha* or *Taraqqi-maweshi*), i.e., increase and preservation of domestic animals of all kinds, for purposes of milk, wool, plough, transport, etc.

(iii) Other Productive Industries relating to Mines, Forests, Fisheries, Salt, Sericulture, Arboriculture, etc. (*Akara-Karma* or *Madaniyat*, etc.)

(iv) Arts and Crafts and Manufactures of all kinds (*Shilpa* or *Sanaat-hirfat*);

(v) Trade and Commerce (*Vaniya* or *Tijarat*); and

(vi) By promotion and regulation of the various means which subserve the above, e.g., Railways, Post and Telegraph, Shipping, Roads, Waterways, Canals, Bridges, Ferries, Presses, Public Buildings, Monuments, Rest-Houses, Currency, Measures of Flood and Famine Relief, Rates and Taxes, Tariff and Customs, Surveys of various kinds (Geographical, Geological, Botanical, Meteorological, Statistical, Archaeological, etc.), Friendly Relations with other States, etc.

D. The above provisions would be made:

(i) by means of laws and rules which would be framed by the different grades of Panchayats, and would have force within the domains of their respective makers, the enactments of the lower grades of Councils being made with advice from and co-ordination by the higher when needed;

(ii) by appointment of executive officials (who would be wholly responsible to the Councils appointing them) to carry out the laws and rules; and

(iii) by supervision of their work.

CHAPTER IV.—PANCHAYATS

AND ALLOCATION OF FUNCTIONS

A. Local Centres or Communes and Local Panchayats

(a) For each rural or urban Local Centre or Commune there should be one Local Panchayat of twenty-one periodically elected members.

(b) This Panchayat should be in charge of the different functional departments mentioned above, so far as the Commune affords scope for them and should carry on the work by means of sub-committees.

(c) Under Education,

(i) they would maintain local Schools, giving elementary cultural and vocational-technical instruction, and

(ii) would provide for suitable Recreation.

(d) Under Protection,

(i) they would appoint their own *Chaukidars* (Watchmen), and would form Local Militia out of such *chaukidars* and other able-bodied men,

and would provide for their proper training;

(ii) they would arrange for Arbitration Courts (the members of which would be separately elected), which would deal with simple civil (including what are known as rent and revenue, divorce and mal or artha-vivada) and criminal (fauldari or parushya-vivada) cases;

(iii) they would also maintain an adequate Hospital (chikitsalaya or shafa-khana) and Medical Staff which would provide treatment free and be responsible for the proper Sanitation of the Commune.

(c) Under Economical and Industrial Administration, they would see

(i) that all arable lands are properly tilled, and village commons, playing-grounds, pasture-lands, groves, orchards, etc., are properly maintained, and a sufficiency of necessities, specially corn, cotton and cattle, (or other forms of food, clothing and accessories, in specially circumstanced tracts), for the use of the Commune, is always available within their jurisdiction;

(ii) that co-operative organisations, in the shape of Stores, Banks, etc., are maintained in the needed numbers;

(iii) that wells, tanks, tals, canals, and all means of supply of good water for drinking and other domestic purposes, and for irrigation, and all roads, etc., within their Commune, are properly maintained;

(iv) that production of surplus corn, cotton, cattle and other necessities as well as comforts, and of mineral and other products and means of increasing the wealth of the locality is encouraged, cottage-industries promoted and arrangements made for commercial dealing with this produce in such a manner as to avoid competitive waste.

B. Intermediate Centres or Districts and District Panchayats.

(a) The District Panchayat should be constituted by each Local Panchayat (or group of Local Panchayats) periodically choosing one member, who may or may not be one of them; provided that the total number of members should not exceed one hundred; and provided also that at least two-fifths of them should be residents of towns.

(b) They would form sub-committees among themselves on the lines before mentioned.

(c) The District Panchayat would generally advise and not control the Local Panchayat, in respect of all functions. Special provision would be made for such control as may be occasionally or absolutely necessary.

(d)—(i) Under Education, the District Panchayat should maintain one or more higher educational institutions (like colleges and high schools) as may be necessary, which would give cultural as well as technical instruction.

(ii) They would also provide Recreation, arranging for the more expensive items which may not be within the means of the Local Panchayats.

(e) Under Protection, they would

(i) co-ordinate the Local Police;

(ii) arrange to maintain some special Reserve or District Police;

(iii) organise and co-ordinate the Local Militia, so that they might discharge the functions of a disciplined Army; and

(iv) maintain one or more larger Hospitals and supply medical and sanitary advice to their Communes.

(f) Under Economic and Industrial

Administration, the District Panchayat would

(i) co-ordinate the Local Banks and Stores and other local economic and industrial and commercial enterprises; and

(ii) organise or promote independent such enterprises.

C. Town Centres and Town Panchayats.

(a) Aggregations of dwellings containing ten thousand or more inhabitants should be regarded as towns.

(b) Towns should be organised in the same way, generally, as the rural Local Centres; and the same general principles should be applied to their functioning as to the rural Local Centres, as far as practicable, but regard must be had to the special variations in the economic and other circumstances.

(c) For the purposes of the integration of the District Centres and the election of the District Panchayats, the rural and the urban Local Centres should be counted side by side as component units; and the headquarters or the seat of the District Panchayats would ordinarily be the largest town of the district.

(d) For the purpose of unifying the administration of each town as a single whole, the Town's Members of the District Councils, together with such other members as may be specially elected by the Ward-Panchayats, in the proportion of two or more per ward, should form a Town Panchayat (like the present Municipal Boards), which would be intermediate between the urban Local (i.e., Ward) Panchayats and the District Panchayat, and would discharge as many of the functions of the District Council, towards the whole Town, as may be conveniently possible.

D. Provinces and Provincial Panchayats.

(a) The Provincial Panchayats should consist of members elected by the District Panchayats in the proportion of one for every two lakhs of the population; provided that the total number should not fall below twenty-one, nor exceed one hundred; and provided also that at least half the number should be urban residents. They may or may not be members of the District Panchayats.

(b) The Provincial Panchayat would advise the District Panchayats and co-ordinate them and their work, using residuary powers of control under proper safeguards.

(c) Its special work would be,

(i) to maintain advanced Educational Institutions (in the nature of Vidya-pithas, Dar ul ulums, "Seats of Learning," "Centres of knowledge," Universities) which would give expert cultural and technical training and promote research;

(ii) to maintain special Police and Military Forces, for the guarding of Frontier, Sea-boards, etc;

(iii) to make provision for Justice in special cases;

(iv) to administer Provincial Railways, Water-works, Canals, Roads, etc.

E. The India Panchayat.

(a) The All-India Panchayat should consist of members elected by the Provincial Panchayats in the proportion of one for every thirty lakhs of population, but Provinces which may

have a total population of less than thirty lakhs would send one representative. At least three-fifths of the members should be urban.

(b) The functions of the India Panchayat would be similar to those of the Provincial Panchayat, mutatis mutandis; a special one would be to deal with neighbouring States (including Indian States) and Foreign Countries.

(c) The India Panchayat should create a Consulting Senate, consisting of eminent men and women of thought and special knowledge, belonging to all parts of India, who would be elected by the India Panchayat, from time to time, without restriction of numbers, etc., and who would be asked for advice on any subject, as needed, by the India Panchayat or the Provincial Panchayats.

(d) The language of the India Panchayat should be Hindustani, while the Provinces would use their mother-tongues.

F. Special Provision for Filling up Vacancies

Generally, if a member of a lower Council is elected to a higher, his place may be filled up by a new election by the same electorate.

CHAPTER V.—THE QUALIFICATIONS OF THE CHOOSERS AND THE CHOSEN

1. Every individual of either sex, who has resided in India for at least seven years, and is at least twenty-five years of age if a man, and twenty-one years if a woman, should be entitled to elect to the Local Panchayat.

2. The members of the Local Panchayat should elect to the District Panchayat.

3. The members of the District Panchayat should elect to the Provincial Panchayat.

4. The members of the Provincial Panchayat should elect to the India Panchayat.

THE CONGRESS RESOLUTION

The Congress Working Committee has released to the Press its resolution on the Cabinet Mission's proposals. The provisions regarding an interim government are lightly dealt with because they are lightly touched on. The Mission has been given the benefit of the doubt in several points. But the Congress has enunciated basic principles with a firmness lacking in previous declarations. The Congress would seem at last to have realised that success is more important to the Cabinet Mission than to the Congress and reverted to first principles. If it stands by the position enunciated in its resolution, it will have advanced the constitutional position several steps forward. The Working Committee does not reject the proposals; it simply states that it cannot form an opinion until it has a full picture. This is one way of saying that the picture presented by the Mission is unsatisfactory. The demand for clarification which was evidently set aside by the Mission when it was made by Congress personalities, is now reiterated with all the dignity of a resolution. The next step lies with the Mission. What will it say in answer?

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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

Ambedkar Despondent: The "Bharat Jyoti" published last Sunday an interview with Dr. Ambedkar in the saloon in which he arrived in Bombay soon after his arrival. Dr. Ambedkar was in a despondent mood. The British Cabinet Ministers Delegation had not made as much of him as he expected they would. They gave him an opportunity of stating his case but they do not seem to have been much more impressed. In their statement of proposals they recognised only the Sikhs and Muslim minorities. Dr. Ambedkar felt and said that there was no further use for him in India and looked forward to availing himself of the quota which, if the Bill before Congress is passed, will enable him to become a citizen of that country. Dr. Ambedkar had lived in the States and had part of his education there. He knows that there are some ten million American citizens who in some respects are in a worse plight than the scheduled castes in his native land. Dr. Ambedkar could become a Member of the Government of India but it will be a long while before he can aspire to become a State Secretary in the land of the Stars and Stripes. It is to be hoped that on more mature consideration Dr. Ambedkar would feel that it is wiser to bear the ills there

are in this country than fly to others that he knows nought of in the United States. Asked if he would join a Congress Government if invited, the Doctor did not give a decided no. He said that will have to be considered when the time came. There are no differences between Dr. Ambedkar and the Congress except purely personal ones.

"Women and Children": The cry of "women and children in danger" has been raised in connection with the as yet inchoate British Government's declaration of its intention to withdraw from India. This does not mean that the people who raise it actually believe that they know of any organised plot. It is only a slogan to rouse British opinion against the mere idea of making India independent. This concern is reserved exclusively for white women in Asiatic countries and for British women amidst white populations. It is never felt about the safety of Asian women and children from white savages, though it is oftener in danger. The agitation in Britain is largely artificial and political. Nevertheless there are special circumstances which make it incumbent on Indian nationalists, those holding office and others, to be particularly vigilant to prevent

anti-white feeling from transcending the limits of the moral law. These circumstances briefly are, first, as anti-semitism continues to flourish in Europe after the destruction of Nazi system, so anti-Europeanism continues to flourish in Asia after the destruction of the Japanese system. Subsequent developments in Indo-China and Indonesia have only aggravated it. In India the older Congressmen studiously strove to eliminate from politics the prejudice against British rule as a foreign rule. The most they permitted themselves to urge against it, beyond defects of administration and failure to redeem pledges of equal citizenship, was its character as an absentee rule. In Gandhiji's Congress, on the other hand, the foreign character of the rule has been persistently pushed to the front. The slogan of non-violence has not sufficed always to counteract the emotional force of the anti-foreigner appeal. Gandhiji has instinctively sensed this, and has recently suggested that the creed of the Congress might be amended so that, if Congressmen cannot be non-violent, they need not at least be hypocrites. The considerable number of Indian National Army men and women are writhing under a sense of frustration. There is profound discontent in the Naval and Air Forces at the discrimination in conditions of service between Britons and Indians. Strikes in the utility and even security services of Government are almost chronic. There is danger that all these may be canalised in a general anti-white feeling. The Central and Provincial Governments have a very great responsibility to guard against this development.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, June 1, 1946.

GANDHIJI AND CABINET MINISTERS' SCHEME

In the "Harijan" of May 26. Gandhiji after studying the Cabinet Ministers' scheme ("Reformer," May 18) for four consecutive days declares that his conviction declared on the day of its publication abides. It is that it is the best document that the British Government "could have produced in the circumstances." If the Congress and the Muslim League had come to an agreement, the British Government would have produced a better document. The differences are no longer due to "the third party"—a phrase which, if it did not originate with Gandhiji, had certainly attained its vogue from his frequent use of it—but to ourselves. "The Mission has not come all the way from England to exploit them (our differences). They have come to devise the easiest and quickest method of ending British rule. We must be brave enough to believe their declaration until the contrary is proved. Bravery thrives on the deceit of the deceiver." We do not understand the aphorism about bravery and deceit. As for the rest of the passage quoted from the "Harijan" article, it would have been as correct and as appropriate of the previous missions of Sir Stafford Cripps, Sir John Simon and others. The change, so far as there has been change, is as much in the mind and purpose of the British Government as in the mind and purpose of Gandhiji. With this fervent preface, Gandhiji goes on to state what according to him is the significance of the important provisions of the Cabinet plan. The scheme Gandhiji expounds and extols is not the Cabinet's plan but the very opposite of what that plan is intended to provide. Referring to its "appeal and advice" Gandhiji affirms that "there is no compulsion in it." If it was not clear at the first reading that there was "compulsion" at the very threshold which was bound to affect all subsequent stages, the "clarification" of it the very next day at a Press Conference by Lord Pethick-Lawrence made this beyond doubt. The grouping was compulsory and so was the make-up of the groups at the initial stage. The three groups must remain. Assam must go to

Bengal; the North-West Frontier Province must group with the Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan; however much they dislike it. If the Provincial Assembly does not join the Constituent Assembly, it will not be acting in accordance with the Cabinet plan but in passive resistance against it. So also, if, as Gandhiji suggests, the delegates after being elected do not attend the Assembly, or attending the Assembly decline to take part in the proceedings. The Cabinet Ministers in Delhi have promptly and emphatically repudiated Gandhiji's interpretation. But it has been broadcast in Britain and all over the world that Gandhiji supports the Cabinet Plan and has asked the country to support it, while the fact that the Plan he supports is as different from the Cabinet Plan as chalk from cheese, is suppressed. Immediately after the Cabinet Plan was published, Gandhiji stepped into the arena with a demand that the Press should postpone comment. For about two years past, Gandhiji has made it as much part of his technique as the prayer-meeting to seek to muzzle the Press whenever any important issue crops up. Fortunately there are journalists who feel that they have a duty to their public which they cannot always rightly discharge by complying with Gandhiji's wishes. On three separate occasions in the last two years the country would have been committed by Gandhiji to plans the full implications of which he did not grasp but for the intrepidity of some independent journals.

To vouch for the sincerity of the members of the Mission or the British Government, is superfluous. It is also irrelevant as motives in public affairs count for little. The different motives of different people in a public issue cancel one another. As for the members being God-fearing, it does not mean that they are wise or well-informed. If the fear of God is the beginning of Wisdom, it is not seldom also the end of it! History is full of men who destroyed from fear of God as also of men (far fewer) who fulfilled from the same motive.

The Cabinet Mission's scheme, whether interpreted as Gandhiji does or as the Cabinet Mini-

sters do, is so far from being the best, it is the worst "in the circumstances." What are the circumstances? In 1908, Lord Minto, then Viceroy of India, going straight against the terms of the Queen's Proclamation, and the warnings of Lord Morley, then Secretary of State for India, introduced communal differentiation in the Indian franchise, since extended to the administration. In 1935, Sir Samuel Hoare divided British India into several autonomous provinces, completing the division of India both communally and territorially. Lord Pethick-Lawrence, in the Cabinet Ministers' scheme, proposes to consolidate communal and territorial by the "group" division. The Americans are striving hard to help the unification of China, while the British have been doing everything in their power to disintegrate India. Another point worth noting is that the method adopted in India has a close affinity to the method adopted to prevent Germany from becoming a united nation. If British statesmen, in the "circumstances," wished to do their best for India, they would have adopted quite the opposite line. They would have said to Indians: "We broke our promise to you by introducing communal franchise. We went back on our own policy of unifying India. Now, we want to correct the two mistakes. We shall go back to India as it was before the 1935 Act. We shall recognise no longer communal distinctions in citizenship. We shall repeal both these measures. We shall not recognise the Muslim League as we have not recognised the Hindu Mahasabha. Every Indian is as good as every other Indian. We shall reconstitute the Government of India, making it a wholly Indian body with an Indian as King or President. We shall then leave you to manage your own affairs in the way you wish. If you wish to have a monarchy, you may choose one of your ruling princes to be your Emperor in the place of our King. If you choose to have a President, you may elect Gandhiji, Mr. Jinnah, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel or whomsoever you like to be the head of the State. Or you may desire a multi-presidentship alternating among the several communities. On January 1, 1947, we shall cease to have anything to do with the Government of the country, even if chaos may ensue." If this straightforward

course had been adopted all the various provinces and communities would have been forced out of their separateness into forging some sort of unity. That the Congress and the Muslim League could not reach an agreement, is inevitable. They are two disparate bodies. One is a fiercely communal organisation, the other professing nationalism is intensely provincial in its outlook. To counteract

these forces and to ensure stability and unity, a strong Centre is absolutely necessary. The Congress aversion to a strong Centre is only a little less than that of the Muslim League. The key to the question is the location of residual powers. Both the Congress and the Muslim League want them vested in the provinces. There are two matters in regard to which the Congress is at a disadvantage as

compared with the League in negotiating with the British Government. The Congress is irrevocably committed to separation from the British Commonwealth and to self-sufficiency. The League, judging from recent pronouncements of its leaders is open to remain in the Commonwealth and to negotiate preferential trade relations with Britain.

NATIONAL LANGUAGE PROPAGANDA

The current "Harijan" has two paragraphs on Hindustani. One is by the Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who says that Gandhiji has given many things to India but that very few people realise that the biggest thing that she has received at his hands is the idea of a national language. The Maulana adds that, until Gandhiji came on the scene, of the many languages of India there was none "accepted" as her national language. The other paragraph is by Gandhiji himself. He quotes a letter from "a fellow-worker" who calls attention to the disparity in the wages of journalists on English newspapers and on Indian language newspapers although the latter has double the work of the former in having to translate all the news foreign and Indian, from English to an Indian language. This complaint is not specially relevant to Hindustani propaganda but the correspondent somehow connects it with it. As a matter of fact, his letter conclusively shows that the propaganda to make Hindustani the national language has not been "accepted" as the Maulana believes.

There are many ardent followers of Gandhiji who honestly believe that India was a howling wilderness before Gandhiji appeared on the scene. Then God said, "Let Gandhi be and all was light." Really speaking, however, Gandhiji has not given a single thing to India. Truth, Non-violence and Charkha which he now rightly wishes to be dropped out of the Congress creed, are the ancient Satya and Ahimsa. The Charkha has for ages not only in India but in ancient Greece, in Judea and other countries been the speciality of women. This Gandhiji has sought to make with Hindustani the special weapon of India, and has got it

inscribed on the Congress flag. With the omission of the Charkha from the Congress creed, it will presumably also drop out of the flag. The charkha is a tool just like a pen or a plough and these are as much entitled to figure on a flag as the Charkha. Only if all tools have to find room in the flag, the flag must be a very large one, and would require a regiment to furl or unfurl.

"Everybody knows," as the Cabinet Mission would say, the story of the genesis of Hindustani as an item of the Congress creed. In his search for points of unity with the Muslim League, Gandhiji adopted the Khilafat. The Khilafat organisation is "still there" but it is now wholly on the side of the Turkish Revolution, and celebrates the anniversary of its great leader, Kemal Ataturk. A linguistic point of contact was the next objective. Indian Mahomedans took to English more than half a century after the Hindus and were less at home in that language than Hindus. The pre-Gandhian Congress had adopted English as the lingua franca of the country, and Hindus and Mahomedans had accepted it as such. Gandhiji conceived the idea of installing a language more popular among Muslims as a likely means of promoting "Hindu - Muslim unity." We are not sure that Gandhiji wanted to give India a national language, that is, a language that would displace about half a dozen highly developed languages in the home, in the mart, and in the State. He meant it originally only to take the place of English or to be with English a second inter-provincial language. The immediate result was, as in the case of most other ideas of Gandhiji, a virulent dispute between Hindi and Urdu as to which was the true Hindustani.

Gandhiji, a man of compromise, suggested a blend of Hindi and Urdu. A lingua franca is only for purposes of oral communication not for literary composition. But a national language must have a literature. There have been vast literatures without writing in ancient times, but it requires an elaborate system of memorising which is, in modern eyes, to cram, and to cram means to overload the mind and make it incapable of the master-pieces of the race-course and the cricket-field. So we must have a script to our national language. Brickbats and lathis appeared to arbitrate whether it should be the Persian-Arabic right to left script or the Devanagari with for every sound a character, and no sound lacking. Gandhiji compromised again. Let each man, woman and child learn to write both in Persian-Arabic, right to left, and in Devanagari, left to right. An old English saying branded the man who knows two languages as a rascal. The man who wrote one language in two scripts—the ancient English would have burnt him at the stake. We read in a Madras report that in order to facilitate the Hindi Pracharak, Hindi readers—the word Hindustani is taboo in the South—were printed in the Tamil characters. Notwithstanding the compulsion order of Rajaji's Ministry, the knowers of Hindi in the South are still, as a leading pracharaka, lamented, a drop in the ocean.

A convincing proof of the failure to force Hindustani on India as the national language, is the new mode of trying to scold and bully people to speak in Hindustani or be eliminated from national councils. The latest thing in Hindi propaganda seems to be to proclaim that it is "shameful" to speak in English. Why is it "shameful" to

learn English? Because it is a "foreign" language? Is representative, responsible, parliamentary government which Congress wants to see established everywhere, an indigenous institution? And the pity of it is that it is in English that the speaking of English is proclaimed to be shameful! In spite of all these diatribes, every week books written in English by Indians have been increasing, and on all kinds of subjects. The

Maulana is living in a world of his own!

It is inevitable that new Indian Ministers should seek every opportunity to demonstrate—with the help of the photographic and motion picture artists—that they are servants of the people and not masters, as their predecessors were. But it can be safely prophesied that in ten short years, the Gandhi cap and the uncomfortably buttoned long Khaddar coat will go

and for work-a-day purpose Ministers and officials will adopt—as they have done in Japan, China, Turkey, Persia and other countries—the European dress. A group of photograph of them will not be one of a variety show. They will speak and write in English in which they have learnt their politics without any sense of shame, real or artificial. What is the Hindustani for the leader of the opposition? Ragh-satru?

THE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT IN INDONESIA

(BY DIRK J. STRUIK)

In the present controversy between the Dutch, the British, the Indonesians and the rest of the world, the Dutch point to their achievement with considerable and justifiable pride. Among positive aspects of their administration they point also to considerable scientific and technological achievements. It was on *beri beri* research in Indonesia that Doctor Eykman did his pioneer work in vitamins. The botanical garden at Buitenzorg is one of the most important in the world.

From their point of view the Indonesians do not deny these important facts. Only they also point to other aspects of Dutch rule, which substantiate their claim that the relations between the Dutch and the Indonesians have to change radically before friendship between the two peoples will be possible. In the first place, though the Dutch have called their modern methods an "ethical policy," they have not invested their money merely to satisfy a mystical craving to carry the "white man's burden." They have realised handsomely on their investments. The average annual returns from Indonesia to the Netherlands have been estimated at 160 million dollars. This explains to a considerable extent the prosperous appearance of the Netherlands before the war. For Indonesia it meant absentee ownership with all the evils it implies.

In the second place, Indonesians point out, there is no evidence that the native population has benefited much from all this investment of capital and brains.

The Javanese village, the *desa*, is a poetic place to look at, with its rice fields, its cottages, and the volcanoes in the background. The peasants, however, are desperately poor. Since the Dutch have discouraged the growth of industries for many decades, holdings in Java are very small and symptoms of "over population" have developed on an alarming scale. Crushing taxes and feudal services burden the peasants, and on top of this came the economic depression of the thirties, which reduced the meagre income of the peasants catastrophically.

A deep grievance of many Indonesians is the utter lack of self-government and the endless struggle to obtain even the most elementary democratic rights from the Netherlands administration. Under the influence of the first wave of the nationalist movement, during the first World War, the Government established the so-called People's

Council, which was as much of a real people's council as the policy on which it was based was "ethical." The country is ruled by a Governor-General appointed by the Crown, with extraordinary rights.

Another grievance is the neglect of Indonesian education by the Dutch administration, despite all protestations of the Dutch to the contrary. The number of illiterates in Indonesia is still estimated at more than 90 per cent.

One of the deepest grievances of the politically more developed Indonesians has been the discouragement and often the bitter suppression of the nationalist and progressive movement. The roots of this movement go back to the years before the first World War, when a Mahomedan mass movement developed, the *Sarakat Islam*, which in 1917 declared for independence. The *Sarakat Islam* disintegrated gradually under fractional struggles. Trade unions developed, and in 1919 a Central Trade Union was established which conducted several strikes. In 1920 the Communist Party followed, and several other organisations, mainly of Indonesian intellectuals, some of whom supported collaboration with the Dutch towards participation of the native population in the government, others standing for freedom from imperialist rule. Some of the more radical organisations were suppressed, others were placed under constant and arbitrary police supervision. A six weeks revolt on Java in 1926 was violently broken, but unrest and discontent remained, deepened by the economic depression and the measures of the Indonesian government. A token of this unrest was the mutiny of the warship "The Seven Provinces," which was taken over by an Indonesian crew, and which again was bloodily suppressed without any deeper analysis of the desires of the native population.

One of the aspects of a colonial policy is the use of one oppressed nation against the other. The Dutch have always refused the formation of an Indonesian army, which is the main reason that the enormous empire fell to the Japanese in one month of fighting. They have used, however, special contingents of Indonesians in the colonial army, taken from some islands where the native population has a different background and religion. Another form of suppression has been a whole series of laws to discourage political movements which do not please the

colonial rulers, and which even approach the "dangerous thoughts" laws of Japan. After the revolt of 1926 the government instituted a concentration camp in the swamps of New Guinea, the infamous *Digul* camp, where hundreds of Indonesian nationalists were dumped and left to rot. Several leaders of the present Indonesian government have learned in this way the meaning of Dutch "ethical" policy. And while this was going on, the Dutch Navy leader, Mussert, came to Indonesia and was cordially received by many of the highest officials.

The present rebellion against the Dutch rule—we are not supposed to call it "colonial" rule since the word "colonial" was removed from the Netherlands constitution in 1922—is the logical outcome of three hundred years of Dutch neglect to take the interests of the large masses of the population into serious account. On top of this comes American, British and Dutch emphasis on the Global War as a fight for democracy. Even the Japanese, with their sham "Asia for the Asiatics" have fanned this fire. There is no doubt that large masses of Indonesians have taken hopes seriously. There is also no doubt that the Dutch themselves have been deceived by their own propaganda, which for years has stressed the willingness of the native population to collaborate with imperialism. All strong expression of nationalist feeling was derided as the work of "malcontents," or even of bandits. Now the official imperialist news handouts bristle with words like "extremists," not to speak of "Japanese propaganda."

Public opinion in the Netherlands, and in the Netherlands administration of Indonesia, is divided. The Netherlands population, just liberated from German tyranny, is in part sympathetic with the Indonesians, especially since many Netherlands have always felt a bitter contempt for the mentality of the planter and his white man's burden. Other groups in the Netherlands demand the policy of the big stick, but even many of these feel very uneasy about the ruthless methods employed by the British, now engaged in wholesale killing of Indonesian nationalists, with the help of Japanese troops. The regular British soldier is unreliable for this purpose, as articles in the British press have indicated, so that Great Britain carries out its main activities with Indian mercenaries, Sikhs and Gurkhas.

"Social Questions Bulletin"

WHY CHANGE RELIGION?

In the following letter dated December 7, 1938, Satyanand Stokes explained at length the reasons for his formally adopting Hinduism.

I have wanted to write to you upon point which has struck me from time to time in reading the Reformer. Here too I am not writing for publication but because I am not sure of your considered position upon the question of conversion from one religion to another, and I should like to bring certain points to your consideration.

You have more than once appeared to imply your disapproval of conversion under any circumstances and to suggest that there is never a justification for one's leaving the religious community in which he has been born and joining another. I, who have done just that, would like to suggest that there are factors under certain circumstances, that not only justify the step but make it almost necessary. I think I can make my point clear best by taking the case of our own family as a concrete example.

In the first place I fully agree that the attitude of the truest Hinduism is such that it leaves a spiritually minded man all the freedom that he needs in following the path of his spiritual development. Provided he conforms within reasonable limits to the discipline of his social group, he is free to develop his deeper life along any lines that his needs may indicate. Unless, therefore, he arrives at the conviction that there is no salvation unless he accepts the teachings of, and joins some religious community that is subject to a definite creed, I cannot see the slightest necessity for him to cease to be a Hindu, no matter how unusual the paths into which his spiritual evolution may carry him.

But suppose a man, or a family, belong by birth to a religious body with a specific creed or outlook, which definitely demands acceptance by each member. For example, a man may believe anything or nothing and yet be a 'nominal' Christian, but he cannot be a TRUE Christian and he has no right to claim to be one unless he accepts a modicum of theological propositions.

Take my own case. Though my ancestors on both sides were all Quakers, we have been members of the Protestant Episcopal Church, which is identical with the Church of England, for the last couple of generations. That church has a definite creed and a body of theology to which its members are expected to give adherence. Even if one is very "broad" or liberal there is still much that he is bound to accept if he wishes to be a true member of the body. He must not merely believe that Christ was a great Jagat Guru with a message for all men, but that he was divine in a sense that other men neither are nor can ever be. He must believe that "there is no other name under heaven by which a man can be saved," and that it was by faith in him alone and the supreme efficiency of his sacrifice that we are saved. I took my Christianity very seriously for the first twenty-five years of my life and it is my conviction that this is the minimum that one can accept and yet have the right to class himself as a Christian and to continue a member of the Christian Church. Ordinarily much more than this would be expected of him but

I think he would be justified in remaining in the church if he held this much, even if he had no specific views on the trinity, the virgin birth, the resurrection of the body, forgiveness of sins, etc.; of course to join almost any of the Christian religious bodies he would have to accept much more.

Now, though I have the deepest reverence for Christ and a very real appreciation of the profound spiritual realities at the back of all that is highest and best in Christian spiritual experience, and truly believe that, whatever its defects, the Christian religion has been a real factor upon the side of righteousness in the world. I nevertheless am quite unable to accept any of the positions I have referred to above. I do not believe that in his essential nature Christ was other than what I am; if I did it would deprive his life and teaching of most of its significance for me. I do not believe—in any sense that a Christian would—that his death and resurrection could win salvation for me, or that they could be instrumental toward the 'forgiveness' of my sins. I do not believe that either he or his message are unique in any sense that supersedes the messages of other great teachers of mankind; certain aspects of the truth seem to me to be most nobly and fully presented by him, and certain other aspects to be more nobly and fully presented in the Gita. Finally, I personally cannot feel that a great deal that Christ taught, as we find it in the New Testament, meant to him what it has come to mean to the Christian Church, generally. Then the whole idea of Christ as the 'sacrifice', all ideas of 'Propitiation' or of 'redemption', or of the vicariousness of Christ's passion and death in our behalf are repugnant to me, though it does seem to me that each of them represents a distortion of some great underlying reality.

Feeling thus it became in the course of time impossible for me to think or speak of myself as a Christian with any honesty, or to take part in the Christian religious services and sacraments in which the whole language and tradition was saturated with these conceptions. As a consequence I had not been in a Church or taken part in a religious service for many years previous to the time when our family accepted the invitation of a section of the local Hindu community to identify ourselves with them.

At this juncture you may be thinking, "but where was the necessity of leaving one community and entering into association with another?" Here are my reasons for what they are worth:

Had it been only a question of myself the question need not have arisen. Neither the Upanishads nor the Gita are concerned with religious or social affiliations or names, nor am I personally at all interested in them. If I were alone I should have been quite happy to have been free from all such names as 'Hindu' or 'Christian' or 'Muslim', and to have gone about recognizing as my own all that called forth responses from the depths within me, wherever I might find it. Freed from names and with such an outlook I feel I should have been meeting life in the very spirit that runs through the Upanishads; their concern was with 'the real—

not with the fleeting forms that veiled it.

But I had my children to consider. I could not bring them up to the Christian outlook myself without being guilty of a deep hypocrisy nor, feeling as I did, could I deliberately arrange to have them brought up to such an outlook by others. Yet only that outlook would have fitted them to live happily as members of the Christian community. You know it well, I am sure. The mere worldlings in it may care for none of these things, but I am not attracted by such a type of family, nor would I feel that I was doing my duty by my children to arrange that their lives should be lived among those to whom the spiritual aspect of life meant nothing. And in the other type of Christian home belief in the 'fundamentals' of Christianity means a very great deal; girls from such homes would not have been happy in ours, nor our girls in theirs.

What I had actually found in practice was that the whole outlook of our home was not calculated to make its members fit in to the Christian community. At college my boys were not on intimate terms with Christians but with Hindus, and at home the friendships of my children followed the same lines. This tendency was becoming constantly more clearly marked, and the fact that it was so much in evidence probably suggested to our Hindu neighbours that we would fit in comfortably into their community.

The point I am trying to make is this—that the considerations governing whether a family can remain happily in one community or would fit better into another are not merely a matter of the religious beliefs of the people that compose it. Out of the religious life of one or more than one of them may gradually develop an outlook and way of family life that cuts them off from the life and interests and conceptions of the community to which they have belonged and brings them in constantly closer unity of spirit with another community. They cease to be fitted to live as a part of one and become increasingly fitted to live happily as part of the other.

It is, I admit, a quite unusual situation, but when it arises what is to be done? I myself did not see what to do in our own case; I saw the situation developing and had not an idea as to how it was to be solved. Our neighbours' spontaneous suggestion that we should throw in our lot with them, and that they would be ready to receive us as part of themselves, appeared to me to furnish the most reasonable solution. In making the suggestion one of them remarked, "except in name you are already as much Hindus as we are; then why not become Hindus in name also."

If "becoming Hindu" had meant accepting a certain specific body of dogma we should probably not have found ourselves able to accept the invitation. But it was nothing of the kind, but rather the acceptance of a certain way of life which we were largely following already, together with a communal discipline and a communal responsibility. As to beliefs those of us who were engaged in considering these matters believed in the law of "karma" and "samsara" and that salvation would be achieved when the *Real* was known, and that 'shraddha' and right

action were the factors that prepared the path for the growth of that knowledge.

My submission, therefore, is that upon rare occasions circumstances justify the absorption of a family from one community by another community. In the nature of things this will not often happen for it implies an uncommon conjunction of wills to that end upon the part of both parties.

I also feel that when a member of a community which makes credal demands upon those who belong or

wish to belong to it is no longer able to honestly accept the tenets of the body to which he belongs, and is in real sympathy with the outlook of another community, and is fitted to live his life more fully and happily as a member of it, there is justification for his going over to the other body, provided it is prepared to receive him, and that it would be to its credit if it would find a way of doing so. We must remember, however, that in India at least this is fully as much a social as a religious problem.

I think it will interest you to know that my three daughters are all happily married, and that the two older each have a son and a daughter. My two oldest sons are also married and their wives—Rajput girls—have fitted quite happily into the life of our family. Our relations with the family from which they come are also most cordial. You will, I know, consider this letter as personal.

Sincerely Yours,
SATYANAND STOKES

THE RT. HON. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

For the past twelve years and more, I have had the privilege of intimate and personal friendship with the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, and am supposed to have studied and preserved, for ready reference, most of his speeches and writings published in the press. Many were the evenings that found me and Sastri together at Colmabore in our evening strolls; and I am one of his few friends who could take the liberty of asking him to throw light on any matter I pleased without being misunderstood. I had no idea of giving publicity to his letters to me; but now alas! he has left the world of the living. I believe I am not showing irreverence to the departed soul by sharing with the wider reading public some scraps from a few of his letters written to me on mostly public affairs. He himself used to say that we should know all about great men, and wrote to me in May 1945, "I have always held that a biography should tell all about the hero, not merely his serious side. We slide in India into hero-worship and later into deification. Gandhiji is in this danger."

When the volume of his letters was published, I wrote that in the interests of his reputation, the publication, while Gandhiji was in prison of his letter to Mr. Suryanarayana Rao in 1921, declaring that he "cannot let my regard for Gandhi swallow up my love of country" was not wise and proper. A similar criticism I made with regard to the inclusion of his letter to Sir G. S. Bajpal in 1937 urging the Government of India to adopt a course different from the one favoured by the Indian community directly concerned. He replied to me thus:—"That letter to Suryanarayana Rao gave us pause. But it got in because other letters of a critical nature have also got in. I see, however, room for differences of opinion. There are worse things in politics than unpopularity. Treason to one's real convictions, for example. I am not so highly evolved spiritually as to disdain popularity. But I should not profess views which in my judgment are wrong or injurious for the purpose of remaining popular."

"In Malaya the local politicians and I did not see eye to eye. My report was violently criticised by them and I was denounced in unmeasured terms. But I said never a word in self-defence, except when summoned before a committee of the Central Legislature. I must say the Committee agreed with me and adopted my report. In the end, however, a sort of stalemate ensued.

"I do not regard it as a sin to hold views not acceptable to the general public. In some cases it may

be necessary to oppose the opinion that commands a majority."

In the special message that he wrote for the "Indian Express" on the occasion of Gandhiji's 77th birthday, Sastri wrote, "I fear you will miss some of your superlative desires. Industry will thrive and machinery rear night and day. Villages will not be content with spinning and prayers. They will cry for electricity for places of organised amusement, for the tram and quick-going plane too." I thought that Sastri was not fair to Gandhiji in referring to his picture of future India on the basis of his views expressed in 'Hind Swaraj' Gandhiji had modified his views since then, as may be seen from his article "Evils of Machine-milling" in Young India of 12th May 1927, wherein he says, "The hand-spinning movement is not an indiscriminate onslaught upon machinery. It is intended to displace only such machinery worked by power as is harmful to the moral and material welfare of the starving millions." Sastri replied to my criticism as follows:—"Can you give me definite guidance as to the Mahatma's changes? He has bowed to circumstances now and then; as when he travels in trains and ships and uses the phone and the telegraph; or accepts money help from industrialists and merchants; or acquiesces in violence on extraordinary occasions. But these are modifications and departures forced on him; not theoretically justified deductions from the rigidity of his doctrines or ideals. To the principles of his Hind Swaraj he has more than once repeated his adherence. No use referring me to issues of 'Young India' or 'Harijan'. I don't keep either. I have taken these points with him before. There was once a strong criticism about his change of front over the non-violence pledge of the Congress. To this he gave no answer, but asked Mahadev Desai to do so. I got a feeble explanation which was neither here nor there." It was not entirely an innocent joke when Sastri during Gandhiji's last visit to him in Madras pointed to the dangling watch and asked Gandhiji if he would give up using a watch if someone stole his; but in my opinion a gentle hit at Gandhiji's ideology. Sastri and Gandhiji were poles asunder as regards their basic ideologies; and the psychology behind their mutual esteem and friendship is not only a mystery, but a miracle, testifying to the greatness of both in evincing ideal human relationship.

It is well-known that, in replying to Gandhiji's request for a message for publication in the first issue of "Harijan", Sastri furnished Gandhiji with a list of mistakes of grammar and idiom in the first issue of Hari-

Jan, and that Gandhiji published the same under the caption, "The Schoolmaster Abroad." Sastri brought to the notice of the English-speaking world Churchill's wrong coinage of "triphthian". Sastri is reputed to be a careful writer and speaker. But even he has nodded. The sentence in his letter to Srinivasa Rukmini from London in 1919 which was prescribed for the SSLC 1946, jarred my nerves. "Being rather free, I propose to write you a few lines before going to bed, in case I should be too busy on Thursday next." The conditional clause for indicating the future contingency did not seem to be appropriate; and I drew his attention to it. Again, the famous Guildhall speech of Mr. Sastri is included in most of the selections compiled for use in High School classes. One sentence offends all grammatical propriety, viz., "Freedom is a thing which, the more it is given the more it grows." This sentence without the predicate for 'which' occurs in all the textbooks; and I suggested to Sastri that the sentence might be corrected in the edition of his speeches that might be published. In "The Other Harmony" that was edited by Mr. T. N. Jagadisan, the sentence reads, "Freedom is such that the more it is given the more it grows." In my opinion, the correction is no improvement; and my amendment would be, "Freedom is: the more it is given the more it grows." Sastri was generous enough to acknowledge both of my suggestions, and wrote to me in October 1945, "An English lecturer of Presidency College, whom I asked to help, has just informed me that the O.E.D. sanctions the use of the idiom "in case I am too busy on Thursday." The change in the Guildhall speech I made, T.N.J. protesting. You are right. Grammar is saved, but the effect is gone. Pity I dreaded the schoolmaster."

Though a figure of international repute, he gave me the blessing of his close friendship, and enabled me to live life on a high intellectual plane by replying in his beautiful handwriting to my many queries on all matters for the past 12 years. His last letter was in December 1945, regarding Dr. Pattabhi Satharamiah's inclusion of the abolition of University Examinations in the Congress election programme, and contained the exhortation, "You rightly sense danger in that direction. Go Ahead." "Go Ahead" was his last message to me!

R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR,
Pezhamedu

PRINCIPLES FOR A SWARAJ CONSTITUTION

The notes appended by Mr. C. R. Das to his Swaraj constitution of 1923 are valuable enunciations of fundamental principles. The following extracts are taken from the notes.

FUNDAMENTAL

(a) Excessive centralisation, and the concentration of all power in the hands of a bureaucratic clique, mindful of its own prestige and emoluments, careless of the public weal, walling itself off more and more thickly from touch with public opinion, in fact arrogant and disdainful towards the public, regarding itself as public-master rather than as public-servant—this is the bane, in consequence of which the public servant waxes and the public wanes, more and more, every day, in India. Genuine decentralisation of administration, substantial distribution of power and real responsibility of the public servant to the People's trusted representatives—this is the only remedy. Hence the formulation of practical local autonomy as a fundamental principle.

(b) The failure to secure ethical fitness, the philanthropic and humanitarian outlook upon life, in the elected legislators,—in consequence of which failure, the laws made by them are not wise and just, but partial to special class interests, and promote an excessive inequality and therefore widespread discontent and conflicts of all kinds and degrees—this is the disastrous and all-vitiating defect of western systems of Swaraj, the cause of all their internal fermenta and their external wars, of the enslavement of Labour by Capital, of the many by the few, within each State, and of the ruthless exploitation of weaker nations without. This failure must be strenuously guarded against.

BUILDING ON THE VILLAGE

The agricultural village and the village community were, are, and ought to continue to be, the natural basis of our special type of culture and civilisation, and of all wise administration in a country ninety per cent of the population of which is rural. Most writers and thinkers about India are agreed in this. In the most ancient days, of which accounts are available, the socio-political-economic divisions were the village, the group of ten villages, the group of ten tens or a hundred, the group of ten such or a thousand—grama, janapada, pranta, vishaya, mandala, and so on. In medieval times and the days of the Moghals, the arrangement was much the same—mauza, tappa, pargana, zilla, sobha, etc. It is the same today in the Indian States and in the territories under British occupation. The names of the divisions and sub-divisions differ in the different provinces. No radical change can be made in this principle of groupings and integration. But for the purposes of the electoral principle, which worked sub-consciously in the old days of the panchayat and the village community, and has to work consciously and deliberately now, a population basis is suggested for the initial groups, and also for the next intermediate groups, though with greater elasticity. For the third grade, the linguistic basis is the most natural and has been already recognised by the Congress. The fourth and the final grade is governed by many considerations, geographical, political, economical, cultural, etc; for fixing the outermost boundaries of this whole, no single principle suffices.

The single village cannot well be accepted today as the initial unit of

administration. The population of the five hundred thousand villages of British-occupied India varies from a few dozens to a few thousands. Therefore, in the interests of a convenient uniformity, a population basis of approximately ten thousand is suggested. This will give about three to four thousand electors for the Local Panchayat.

The treatment of towns as separate entities is suggested for obvious reasons. The difference between the conditions of the two, town and country-village, "pura" and "janapada," "shahar" and "dehat," has been recognised in all times and climes. The one represents (by no means exclusively, but only by predominant feature) the 'intellectual power' (buddhi, aql) of the People; the other, their 'vital power' (prana, jan). They are inter-dependent. Both are necessary for a full civilised life for the People as a whole. But the modern western plutocratic and bureaucratic centralising tendency causes the town to grow 'excessively' and absorb the vitality of the country inordinately. This excess needs to be checked, and 'a just balance between the two' to be restored, in order to prevent disastrous devitalisation of the soul and the body of the vast agricultural population, and the consequent crashing down, before long, of the whole much too top-heavy organism.

This balance will be restored by emphasising the "separate autonomy" of the village groups and the towns—the needed co-ordination and mutual support being secured by the advice, and, where absolutely necessary, the control, of the Provincial Authority. The need of this separateness is recognised even under the British regime by the distinction between Municipal Boards and District Boards, though, of course, in that regime, the 'local self-government' of the Boards is carried on under the strict other-government' of the district officials.

The reason for fixing more elastic population-limits for the District and Town Groups is this. In the Punjab, the population of the existing twenty-nine districts varies from five lakhs to ten lakhs, and gives an average of about seven lakhs. The twenty-six districts of Bombay vary between three and twelve lakhs, and give an average of eight. The average for Bengal is sixteen; the largest population, not only in Bengal, but the whole of India, being that of Mymensingh i.e., forty-five lakhs. The average for Madras is also sixteen. Also for Bihar. That for the U.P., ten. Some of the larger districts, i.e., Mymensingh with forty-five lakhs, Vizagapatam and Gorakhpur with thirty-two each, Dacca and Darbhanga with thirty each, Muzaffarnur and Midnapore with twenty-eight each, are too bulky for convenience of autonomous administration. Even the men of the British regime have been thinking of dividing some of them into two or three districts each. The capital towns have eleven or twelve lakhs. The lower limit for towns may be regarded as ten thousand. The Census officials of the present regime have defined the town as every continuous collection of houses inhabited by not less than five thousand persons. Ten thousand is suggested in the text, later on, in view of the fact that the figure has been suggested for the rural Local

Centre also. In British-occupied India, there are about twelve hundred 'towns' or villages, with a population between five and ten thousand, or a total of about eighty lakhs. In view of such facts, elastic limits, of five to twenty lakhs, have been suggested for the District. For purposes of symmetry, the figure might have been fixed at ten lakhs uniformly. It is the actual average for the two hundred and seventy-five districts of British-occupied India. But the centre of a district has, ordinarily, to be a fair-sized town. And in tracts where towns are few and far between large agricultural areas and populations have to be grouped around and with them.

FRACTIONS OF GOVERNMENT

Western writers divide the functions of government into (i) Constituent or Protective, and (ii) Ministrant or Promotive. The former are what may be called negative mainly, (a) the prevention of crimes and breaches of peace, and (b) adjustment of wrongs; in other words, preventive and curative, or police-military and judicial. The others are positive and constructive, the active promotion of the welfare of the community.

The 'laissez faire' school of socio-political thought, looking at the mischievous consequences of over-interference by the State, i.e., the Bureaucracy, would confine the duties of government to the former only; and would give to the Individuals, regarded as units, who compose the Public or People, full liberty to work out their own destiny in their own ways, in competition with each other, so far as positive welfare or 'success in life'—whatever that might mean—is concerned. This is the school of Individualism. Another school, looking at the immense waste of energy and life, which results from unregulated competition, and at the exploitation of the less cunning and less able 'many' by the more cunning and strong 'few', (so that the evils of bureaucracy re-appear as the evils of plutocracy) and also realising that widespread and substantial and lasting 'success in life' depends more upon 'mutual aid' and co-operation and communal organisation, than upon individual enterprise, recommend State-regulation and the free exercise of promotive functions by the State in new ways which will obviate the evils resulting from bureaucracy. This school of thought is generally known as that of Socialism; but by differences of views as to the ways, becomes divided into many, known as Collectivism, Communism, Anarchism, State-socialism, Guild-socialism, etc.

As usual, the truth is in the golden mean, and error in the extreme. The best course is the middle course. Our Swaraj must maintain a balance between Individualism and Socialism, (swartha, and parartha); must reconcile the two. For both are necessary to full civilised life, even as the pronouns 'I' and 'We'. The needed reconciliation will be effected by maximising local elective autonomy and minimising centralisation.

As to the preventive and curative functions, Police, Military and Justice, there is no dispute. Also as regards Medicative and Sanitative, which may be regarded partly as protective and partly as promotive, Sanitation being preventive of

disease and promotive of health. And Medication being curative of ills.

But a certain amount of "promotive" work must also be done by the various grades of Centres. This work may be grouped under 2 main heads: the promotion (i) of right Education, the very foundation of all communal welfare, (and therefore placed here before even Protection) and (ii) of Economic and Industrial Well-being. Education will include Recreation also, as being indirect education in a popular and elastic and almost more effective form.

It is the duty of the elders of the family (i) to protect the younger generation, (ii) to amuse and educate them, (iii) to settle them in life, to put them in the way of earning a livelihood. The duty, the right the function, of the elders of the villages, of the districts, of the provinces, of the country as a great whole, is none other. All the functions of government are either these, or subsidiary to these.

A word may be specially added here on the subject of Recreation. The object of measures under this head would be two-fold; (i) to provide such refined entertainment, for young and old alike, as will give healthy relaxation, as well as healthy tone, and also indirect yet very useful education, to the mind and body of all sections of the public, in leisure hours; and (ii) at the same time to displace the evil recreations of drink and drugs and other social vices and harmful indulgences. It should be borne in mind, that some recreations human beings will have; and where healthy ones are not easily available, evil ones will be resorted to.

The desirability should be considered here, of putting provision for "Places of public worship for the various creed" among the duties of the Panchayat, under the head of Education and Recreation, and putting it even in the forefront. The Worship of the Infinite, (a more indubitable fact than the Finite, is Recreation, creation anew of the soul and the finer elements of the body, nourishment for the inmost heart, in a very real sense. That the Elders of the Commune should have the duty of making this provision duly (and separately only, to the extent unavoidably necessary, and with at least one place where members of all and any creed might join occasionally in a Common Prayer worded so as to be acceptable to all)—this would conduce to the liberalisation of all the creeds concerned and thence to the Religious Peace, which is indispensable for India's and the world's progress.

PANCHAYATS

The placing of the head-quarters of the District Panchayat in the largest town of the district will make the co-ordination of the administration of the town and the country easy. And it is in accordance with natural tendency. The danger that the town may begin to dominate the country, is guarded against by the provision that the country members of the district Panchayat should be in the majority.

The proportion of the two classes of members is made equal in the Provincial Panchayat, and reversed in the India Panchayat, because the upper bodies have to deal more and more with technical and non-agricultural affairs.

"Advisory and not mandatory—

excepting in rare cases"—this is the essence of the change needed in the administration. The change is one of spirit. The details of the official executive machinery may remain much as they are now; but if the executive, the judicial, and the legislative powers are separated, and the 'legislators' (in the broad sense) who compose the Panchayats, of all grades, are elected, and the higher Panchayats ordinarily advise and not command the lower Panchayats, and the executive officials are really responsible to the Panchayats then, it is expected, the evils of the present regime will be cured. For the autocracy of the Bureaucracy will be replaced by what may be called an aristo-democracy. Aristocracy, because the panchayats will be composed of the best and most trusted and honoured of the people; democracy because the people will choose them. The members of the Panchayats would not exercise any executive powers directly, either in their individual or their corporate capacity, but would only make laws or pass resolutions. These would be carried out by the Executive. And the Executive, or at least the chief officials thereof, would be appointed and, if necessary, dismissed or otherwise punished, by the Panchayats. In some cases the executive official may be an elected one. He too would be subject to the supervision of the Panchayats. The control of the Panchayat-Legislative would thus be exercised over the Executive by means of this power of appointment, dismissal, or advancement. The Judiciary would be mostly elective also, subject to approval by the Panchayat Legislative.

This separation of powers would minimise the temptations to, and opportunities of, corruption for all, and would make the Executive (and also the Judiciary) responsible to the People. In the persons of their elect, which responsibility is the one great desideratum today.

It will be remembered that Mr. Gokhale suggested and endeavoured that Advisory Committees should be formed in each district, to advise the district officer in all important matters. Of course, the Bureaucracy declined, on the ground that it would interfere with the individual responsibility of the district officer. When they said 'responsibility', they of course, meant irresponsibility; for when was the district officer responsible, and to whom? If he was or is responsible at all, it was and is only to the Bureaucratic Clique.

Measures are outlined later on, for further safeguarding and ensuring, as far as is humanly possible, the uprightness of the members of the Panchayats themselves; for such safeguarding is the very heart of the whole scheme.

It should be noted that, though mention is given, the presumption is that the majority of the members of the higher Panchayats will be chosen from among the members of the lower, who will be all directly elected by the People. Constant and sympathetic touch and unity of spirit and of work will thus be maintained throughout, and the people will, for all practical purposes, directly elect to all the Panchayats, Local, Intermediate, and Central, even though, technically,

the election to the latter will be by a process of distillation through electoral colleges. The latter process has some advantages, which too will be secured by this method. The immense worry and trouble and expense of holding huge elections by millions upon millions of voters, over and over again, for a handful of seats would be all saved. And in the Local Panchayats, with their small area and population, and through them, in the upper ones, the elected and too electors will be in constant touch with each other, and public opinion will carry its full weight and receive its full due, influencing the members of the Local Panchayats and through them those of the upper ones effectively.

It is very desirable that there should be a certain number of persons who should belong to all grades of Panchayats. They will serve as the personal linking medium and would bind together all parts of India continuously and effectively, and at the same time keep all the centres in real touch with each other. And this would be one important measure for guarding against the possibility (which is always present in federations of practically autonomous areas and communities of their falling apart, under the influence of false provincialisms and insularities and other such causes, which are very liable to be fostered by the linguistic demarcation, and so weakening the whole. Another measure is connected with finance, in the shape of some special All-India taxation; and a third, with the use of a common language by the All-India Panchayat. Both are mentioned in their proper places.

In this way, the virtuous and not the vicious circle of (not to use the harsh word 'government', but administration of the affairs of the people, for the people, by the people's Trustees and Chosen Elders) will be wholesomely completed. Human affairs should be administered by those who know human nature in mind and body; a People's affairs should be administered by those who are its Elect and are in constant and sympathetic touch with, and therefore know, the people and their requirements of body and mind.

It will be seen that, under the scheme, the District Councils will be fairly large in point of numbers. A district of the maximum population of twenty lakhs, will have a Panchayat of one hundred members; whereas the provinces which are larger in population (at present) will have no more in the Provincial Panchayats. As the bulk of the administrative work will be disposed of by the Local and the District Councils, when they are really autonomous, very large numbers for the upper Councils are unnecessary from the standpoint of disposal and distribution of work between and by sub-committees. Very large numbers also otherwise undesirable in deliberative bodies. The personnel may be changed at short intervals, by framing rules in that behalf. It may be observed here that these sub-committees properly framed and used, would correspond to heads of guilds, and would secure to the communal administration, the advantages, on a higher level of the village community as well as the city-guild-system.

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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. Attlee and the Cabinet Delegation:—It has become apparent that the Prime Minister's idea and those of his colleagues who are here, of the nature of the work of the latter, have increasingly been tending to diverge widely. The Prime Minister said in his address to the Labour Conference at Bournemouth early this week, that his colleagues of the Cabinet Delegation are at work in India "not to force something on Indians but to help Indians to solve their own problems." What is the fact? The very basis of Cabinet proposals, the "Grouping system" is forced on Indians against strong protests from every quarter but the Muslim League. The Sikhs in a body swore before the Akali Takt in the Amritsar Golden Temple to oppose the grouping system at all costs. The Assamese are protesting against their forced grouping with the Muslim majority province of Bengal. The North-West Frontier Province is an indisputable Congress province and it is being yoked into a group which but for the grouping will have no Muslim League majority in the Legislatures worth mentioning. The feeling between the Muslim Leaguers and the Frontier Red Shirts nationalist, was distressingly exposed this week when a relative of Khan

Abdul Ghaffar Khan who went to a meeting of the Muslim League in a mosque at Peshawar was shot dead. And it is these two utterly rival parties that the Cabinet Delegation in their wisdom, have chosen to tie up together in a single group! The Cabinet Delegation are not helping Indians to solve their own problems. Their proposals begin with force and have already gravely complicated the problems Indians have to solve. The reason is that the Delegation instead of acting on the broad principles laid down by the Prime Minister have adopted a grossly partisan attitude. They have accepted as genuine the wholly fictitious fear of the Hindu majority professed by the League. We suggested an inquiry into this fabricated history. This they have not undertaken. One fact alone should have given them food for thought. The Muslims in the provinces in which they are in a minority, are better off educationally and economically, than in provinces where they preponderate. They are an "advanced" community in these and other respects.

Freedom of the Press:—Mr. Tushar Kanti Ghose, one of the Indian delegates to the Empire Press Conference in London, is reported to have made a speech detailing the

restrictions imposed on the Indian Press during the war and Bengal famine. His paper, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, was asked not to refer to the famine or the possibility of it. The bureaucracy, it was the Muslim League Government that was at the helm, could not, however, prevent the famine and the grim fact had to be acknowledged. But Mr. Ghose did not refer, as he should have done in order to complete his picture, to the attempts of Gandhiji to prevent the Press from functioning in respect of his talks with Mr. Jinnah, the first Simla Conference and to prevent negotiations with the British Cabinet Delegation. The Delhi Correspondent of the British Broadcasting Corporation, has noted the fall from the first "exuberance" of Gandhiji's reception of the Delegation's proposals after four days study. Gandhiji has now realised that his judgment was hopelessly at fault. That, however, is not what we want to stress here. That is, the Congress attitude.

to the Press, is no better, than that of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. It may, even be said to be worse. A free Press is incompatible with foreign rule. The attitude of the bureaucracy was, therefore, natural. But what excuse is there for a Government which calls itself popular for seeking to dictate to the Press? Gandhiji is reported to have observed after a prayer meeting—of all occasions!—that newspapers were a walking plague. His view may be expected to colour the attitude of Congress Governments. A great disillusionment is in store for those who expect more freedom for the Press than under the regime which lives on in preparation to die.

Hyderabad Constitutional Reforms:—Speaking at the Peace Conference recently held at Gulbarga, the Hon. Nawab Moni Jung Bahadur, Reforms Member of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government, referred at some length to the Reforms scheme promulgated seven years ago. The scheme, he said, could not be brought into operation owing to the war. Some critics were of the opinion that it was now out of date. But His Exalted Highness's Government intended to implement that scheme with some modifications necessitated by changed conditions. The Nawab outlined the main features of the scheme and the principal modifications that have been made in it. He said:

As you are aware the most important components of the Reforms Scheme consist of representation by interests, joint electorates and parity of representation between Hindus and Muslims so far as the elected and nominated seats are concerned. Representation by interests is intended to prove that every element of society shall receive representation in the legislature in proportion to its importance and that the Legislative Assembly shall not consist merely of those who have made a profession of politics. In other words, the Legislative Assembly shall present a true composite picture of the various interests of the country. Direct representation of interests will result in the establishment of close contacts between the Government and the public and the reduction of unnecessary intermediaries. The aim of joint electorates is to ensure that each community shall depend upon the other for the advancement of its interests. To make sure, however, that each member shall be a true representative of his own community, it has been stipulated that he shall secure at least 40 per cent. of the votes of his own community. Each interest shall be represented by an equal number of Hindu and Muslim members, so that the possibility of rivalry and tension between the two communities may be eliminated. In view of the changes that have taken place during the last six or seven years, the Government have under contemplation certain necessary alterations the result of which would be that, whereas under the original scheme the nominated and appointed members were in a minority, under the revised scheme, the latter would constitute the majority. Besides, the franchise qualification of Pattedars and Cultivators prescribed under the original scheme is being lowered, which would treble the number of voters in those constituencies. For those living in urban areas who cannot under the existing arrangements seek election to the Legislature from any other constituency, a constituency is being created, consisting of owners and tenants of lands and buildings in urban areas, so that the urban

population too may enjoy sufficient representation in the Legislature.

The scheme outlined above is radically different from the original schemes. Representation by interests and joint electorates was in the original scheme but not "parity of representation between Hindus and Muslims" which introduced itself by the back door in opposition to the declared intentions of the authors of the scheme. According to the latter, the main consideration which induced them to accept the Fascist idea of the Corporative State of which representation by interests was the corner-stone, was that it provided a way of escape from communal representation. The chairman of the Committee which drafted the scheme, Dewan Bahadur S. Aravamudu Aiyangar made it clear that the only consideration which led him to view with favour representation by interests, was that it would dispense with communal representation. The late Sir Akbar Hydari, then Prime Minister, was of the same view and he was greatly distressed when he found in the final order as it came to him, parity of representation between Hindus and Muslims, inserted in it. This was wholly against the spirit of the scheme and it was inevitable that it should have been practically dropped. It has evidently now been resuscitated with further changes which have further emphasised the communal representation which it was the original idea to abandon, by providing that any member elected should get 40 per cent. of the votes of persons of his community! The "parity formula" which has now made its way into British India was thus originally evolved in Hyderabad! The Nawab who is a very broad-minded man calls upon the world to admire the harmonious relations prevailing in Hyderabad as the result of 13 million Hindus being accorded parity representation with 3 million Muslims in the State!

Privy Council Settles a Sectarian Dispute:—A century-old dispute between the two main sects of Sri Vaishnavas in the Madras Presidency has been closed by a decision of the Privy Council. The Tenggais lay more stress on the Alvars whose religious experiences are enshrined in Tamil than on the Upanishads, to which the Vadagalais attach more importance. The Sri Vaishnava philosophy

and religion is a blend of both. Both sections worship in the same temples but there is a slight difference in the ritual. The question which has been agitating the community and which a Privy Council has now set at rest, was whether one sect while attending a Divine service in a temple where the ritual of the other sect is followed, is entitled simultaneously to use its own ritual. In the Tirupati temples the Tenggai ritual is followed. The Vadagalais claimed to recite their own hymns when they were attending worship conducted with Tenggais, mostly Tamil, hymns. The Privy Council after reviewing the history and traditions of worship in Sri Vaishnava temples, has ruled out this claim. In doing so it has upheld the decision of the Subordinate Judge who tried the case in the first instance, and overruled the decision of the Madras High Court which, on appeal reversed his judgment. People from all parts of India, not all of them Vaishnavas, make pilgrimages to Tirupati. If Vadagalais are entitled to chant their special hymns, the others also will have the same right. The dignity, orderliness and the reverence appropriate to worship, will, as the Privy Council observe, cannot but suffer.

What Is Parity?:—The Muslim population of India, according to the 1941 census, is just 24 in 100. Even if every Muslim, man, woman and child, be taken to belong to the Muslim League, parity would mean the reduction by a stroke of the pen, of the rest of the population which Congress claims to represent by 52 per cent, as if they were exterminated by an atom bomb. Has such a proposal been made ever before in any country and would British statesmen venture to make it in any other country? Mr. Attlee tells the world that he wants India to be as free as British. Is it freedom to inaugurate Constitutional reform by the political massacre of over one-half of the population? We appeal not only to the British Cabinet Mission but also to Congress leaders, not to do a gross injury to their own reputation by perpetrating an act of such monstrous perversion of political arithmetic.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, June 15, 1946.

INDIAN STATES

Left to themselves, the Indian States will collapse under the weight of their autocracy, observed Raja Sir T. Madhav Rao, three quarters of a century ago. The Raja was the first Indian statesman to introduce the rudiments of a Constitutional system in an Indian State in the British period. As Dewan of Travancore, he had a hard task to keep Palace influence from permeating every branch of the administration. Travancore was then the most conservative of Hindu States. As illustrative of its conservatism, may be mentioned that audiences between the Maharaja, and his Dewan, had to be brief because they had to take place with both standing. The Maharaja cannot sit in the presence of his Brahmin Dewan. The Dewan cannot sit in the presence of the Maharaja as he was his master. The word "Constitutional" stank in the nostrils of the Maharaja. He complained again and again that the term conveyed no sense to him. If he cannot appoint his favourite courtier to the chief judgeship or suspend the processes of law in favour of a criminal with influence in the palace, what was the fun of being ruler of a State? By the patience and perseverance of Madhav Rao and his successors, also Pavell's students in the English High School, Travancore was moved off the old ruts. Mysore had the advantage of fifty years of administration under British trained in the same school of thought. Madhav Rao was successively Dewan of Indore and Baroda. In the latter state as Regent he had an augean stable to clean up. His observation about the states collapsing under the weight of their own autocracy, was therefore, not that of an impatient idealist. The possibility today is much greater than it was when Madhav Rao wrote. In those days, the Maharaja, autocrat though he was, was in close touch with his people. He shared their ideas, their superstitions and prejudices. He was one of them socially and spiritually. His people were attached to him by bonds of personal loyalty and affection. That explains why any action taken by the Para-

mount Power against an Indian ruler, however bad or tyrannical, invariably aroused public sympathy in his favour not only in his State but also in British India.

Now, things have completely changed. The rulers are no longer in touch with their people. They have discarded so far as their personal life is concerned, the old moral and social restraints. In this they have been encouraged and even applauded by the British in India and Lord Curzon incurred much odium when he reminded the Princes of their duties to their people. For the demoralisation of Indian Princes, a heavy responsibility lies with the Anglo-Indian Press. The process has been powerfully stimulated by the institution of "Chiefs' Colleges" in which young princes and sons of Zamindars were sedulously trained to look up to English society and down on their own people. The Hindu theory of sovereignty does not provide any checks on the ruler's absolute power through a political constitution. But he is subject to the same rules and customs as the people, he has no power of legislation, and the right to depose is expressly provided in the authoritative works on the subject. Though in theory he was not a constitutional sovereign, in practice his functions were far more circumscribed than those of the limited monarch by custom which in India has greater force than the written law. The Prince nowadays has emancipated himself from all restraints. We should be sorry to generalise, but the behaviour of some of the most prominent of them could not be different had they deliberately modelled their life on the pattern of the loafer. Decency, not to speak of religion or morals, has been openly flouted by some of them. They are neither of the East nor West but just vagrants rushing headlong to their own ruin. A great statesman occasionally arises among the princely order, who blessed by a long reign brings up his State to a high level of administration and prosperity. The next man in a very few years destroys the fruit of the labours

of his predecessor and the State is thrust back into its original chaos and confusion. When a ruler falls short of the standards of personal life of his subjects, his authority has no basis but physical force and that cannot be a permanent prop of any system. We say that the present almost universal unpopularity of the Princes is due pre-eminently to their action as if they were a law unto themselves. They are incapable of working any system of Constitutional Government because they recognise no restraints in their own personal lives. The old Sanskrit adage "As is the King, so are his people" has not been without application. The subjects of Indian States who clamour most for recognition of their rights in British India, have absolutely no notion of the consequences which they entail. They want to have equal rights of citizenship in British India but they are very jealous of British Indians acquiring any position in their States. A British Minister is persecuted as a foreigner. Every effort is made to make his position untenable. The other day Sheikh Abdullah, according to all accounts a staunch Kashmiri nationalist, suddenly sprang a slogan to abolish the monarchical rule in the State. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel have put their feet firmly down on this project. What the Sheikh wished to substitute for the present ruling house, was never explained. Dalhousie has been widely blamed for extinguishing Indian States. Today, his policy finds many warm advocates among nationalist Indians. It is in fact the policy most approved by Congress leaders though for the time being they do not want to complicate the very complicate British Indian position by openly taking sides against the Princes. Many of the States are beyond hope of salvage and extinction is the best that could happen to them. But there are a few—they can be counted on the fingers of one hand—which can play a very decisive part in the future history of India. Both in Germany and Italy in the last century, it was round a native State that nationalism rallied to overthrow alien domination and to unify the country. The States thus established have been swept away by the tide of events but no one can deny

that it was a necessary stage in the development of Germans and Italians as free nations. This is what we would emphasise finally. In politics, as in all human affairs, absolute truth is an ideal to which the path lies through many stages. "Thought," it has been said "moves in a spiral curve, and not in a straight line." There are moments in progress, stages, in

which the spiral seems to be retreating when it is actually moving forward. To "abolish" these stages, will only plunge man back into his primitive beginnings. "Abolition" in fact, is not a mode of progress. The reformer—that is what differentiates him from the revolutionary—seeks to fulfil not to destroy. No institution was ever

created except on a felt—often long felt—necessity. When it has fulfilled its purpose, it should be changed but care must be taken to see that whatever vital there may still be in it is fostered. The reformer, as Ranade used to repeat, does not write on a clean slate. He also said that the heart of India beat in the Indian States.

KHEDDAH OPERATION IN DELHI:

—The long-drawn out proceedings in New Delhi over the Cabinet Delegation's proposals, are strongly reminiscent of the Kheddah method for catching and taming wild elephants practised in Mysore. A large pit is dug surrounded by a heavy wooden stockade with an opening into which the animals previously located are driven by beat of drum and other devices. When they are safely collected in the pit, tame elephants of the Princely order are introduced among them, which by persuasion and coercion reduce their newly-captured brothers and sisters to a state of acquiescence sufficient to enable their mahouts to put heavy fetters on the legs of the wild ones. After that, it is a question of but a few days when all the wildness goes out of them and they are completely domesticated. Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps, Mr. Alexander with the Viceroy aiding them are the beaters who have been exhausting all their devices of cajolery to get the Congress and the Muslim League to enter the pit dug for them in the shape of the Constitution-making body and, incidentally of an Interim Government. Gandhiji has pointed out that the Interim Government should have been formed before the proposals of the Cabinet Delegation for the Constitution-making body were announced. But Mr. Jinnah had forestalled him by insisting on having the "full picture" before he would move a single step. So the proposals for the Constitution-making body could not be withheld. And those proposals have raised a storm which Gandhiji did not expect and which has made his "exuberance" on the publication of the proposals, fantastically premature. The Cabinet Delegation have rea-

son to complain that they have been misled by Gandhiji's exuberance. Gandhiji, however, cannot be blamed by the public because he but followed the way which it knows is his normal way. As Gandhiji has repeatedly said after his prayer meeting, the Indian people (the Hindus particularly) have themselves to thank for the predicament in which they find themselves.

Under the impression that Gandhiji, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and to a large extent Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru—Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel did not come into the picture until the mischief had been done—were prepared to go to all lengths and any length to appease Mr. Jinnah and his Nawabs and Nawabzadas although they were not prepared to make the advance the Cabinet Mission framed their proposals not only for the Constitution-making body but also a tentative basis of the future Constitution as a basis for discussion by it. In respect of the latter they have to define the centre and its functions so as to allay the apprehensions of the Muslim League of Hindu dominance by restricting its functions to an impossible minimum. Both the grouping system and the attenuation of the Central functions, were not fundamentally incompatible with pronouncements of the three leaders and the Congress would have been irrevocably committed to them—as the Cabinet Delegation probably expected—but for the outburst in the independent Press, the vigour of Sikh opposition, and the protests of Assam Congress Ministers. If the compulsory grouping is dropped, there is nothing inherently objectionable in the proposals for the Constitution-making body. But the grouping has to be there to ensure that the centre is kept weak, impotent,

and useful only as a means of preventing India from achieving her world destiny. In passing it may be pointed out that the division of Germany into provinces with full autonomy, occupies a prominent place among the means contemplated by the Allied Four to keep her perpetually subject to them. The Congress leaders have been compelled to oppose the grouping by the protests of the Sikhs, Assam and of the Frontier Province. The suggestion of parity in the Interim Government, which is not in the proposals, but which Mr. Jinnah avers was promised to him by Lord Wavell, has provided the Congress leaders with a ground for throwing out the whole scheme. Here, again, the Viceroy has reason to complain that he has been misled. The Congress leaders had accepted the Desai-Liaquat agreement for parity in the Executive Council. The Viceroy had altered this into parity between Muslims and Caste Hindus. The late Mr. Desai, one of the authors of the Pact, had welcomed this as an improvement, on it. Was it altogether the Viceroy's fault if he thought that the Congress leaders would not be irrevocably opposed to an idea which they themselves had sponsored a few months ago? The parity formula, it is true, is merely an euphemism for robbing Peter to pay Paul. But Peter himself had proposed that he should be robbed and Paul paid, a few months ago. Surely, whatever his present reasons for opposing it may be, they could not be conscientious objections. So, Lord Wavell might have argued Gandhiji who is always fair to his opponents, though he may not be always so to his friends, cannot but realise this. It is obvious that he at the time of writing would seem to be more worried than Mr. Jinnah or the Cabinet Delegation.

DR. DESHMUKH'S LATEST BILL II

(By KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI)

"To me, Sir, no change is called for in the present social order. With due respect to my Honourable friend, I am not convinced that modern society has advanced to a degree where this Bill is called for. I am afraid, by introducing this Bill he wants to encourage those marriages which in England are known as Gretna Green Marriages. According to this Bill, what I am afraid is that an enterprising unmarried young lady of about 18 who wants to marry somebody may run away with him from a mofussil town to a city like Bombay, live quietly there for 14 days and then the two can get themselves registered as a married couple without reference to the parents or those who are interested in their marriage."

So ran the spontaneous denunciation of Sardar Sant Singh, M.L.A., the redoubtable political hot-gospeller, a nationalist and democrat from West Punjab, when the present "Bill to further amend the Special Marriage Act of 1872" was first debated in the Central Legislature on the 7th November 1941 on a motion for its circulation as L.A. No. 31 of 1941. Dr. Deshmukh gently protested that his Honourable friend evidently had not read the Bill which was for people already married and not for unmarried persons. He might with equal truth have added that the gallant Sardar, in spite of being an Honourable member responsible to the House and to the public for the scrupulous correctness of his facts, had certainly never read even the Special Marriage Act (Act III of 1872), to which the Bill relates. That Act, as every one who is not blinded by inborn prejudice can easily see for himself at a glance, precludes any person, male or female, from validly marrying under it except in the immediate presence and with the express consent and attestation of the father or other guardian before the Marriage Registrar; and it also provides for punishment under the Perjury Section of the Indian Penal Code of any party who makes a false declaration of age, etc., before the Marriage Registrar. The runaway maiden of the gallant Sardar's conception would also require even if she were above twenty-one years old, a stay of at least four weeks in her new place of refuge before the Marriage Registrar of that locality can solemnize her marriage; the first 14 days' residence being sufficient only to qualify her to give him notice of her intended marriage (vide Sections 2, 4, 6, 10, 21 and Schedule 2).

Sober well-wishers of humanity whose vision of human freedom is not blurred by too exclusive devotion to Imperial politics and intolerance of ways of life other than their own, have always recognised the Special Marriage Act of 1872, which supplements the Castes Disabilities Removal Act of 1851, as the Magna Charta of religious and social freedom in India. This is not to say that it is a perfect measure. Far from it. But its defects and deformities are all such as were forced upon it by orthodox oppositionists of all communities in 1872 and 1923, whom the Government and the Legislature were anxious to placate. In the first place, it is not a purely civil marriage law as it ought to be. It is not open to all Indian citizens as such on an equal footing irrespective

of their religious affiliations though caste distinctions are ignored. Some religious qualification, either negative or positive is stipulated by Section 2 to entitle the parties to avail themselves of its provisions. Secondly, certain disabilities are imposed by Section 23 to 26 upon the Hindus who may marry under the Act according to the amendment of 1923 after positively asserting their adherence to the Hindu faith. This was done in order to differentiate them to their disadvantage from Hindus who follow caste custom and marry only in the orthodox way. These disabilities however are not imposed upon Hindus who solemnly deny their profession of the Hindu religion at their marriage according to the original provisions of the Acts of 1872 which still continue in force. This glaring and ridiculous anomaly has never been satisfactorily explained. It is difficult to imagine that it could be due to the incompetence or in-advantage of the Legislature as a whole or to attribute it to the deliberate design of insensate oppositionists. Some social reformers however are rather inclined to regard Sections 22 and 24 as a blessing in disguise in the present state of Hindu law and society whatever may have been the motive of its authors. The former, because it automatically creates by reason of the civil marriage itself a divided status for the bridegroom in his joint family without the unbearable fuss and unpleasantness of an immediate division of family property; and the latter because, with regard to the devolution of his property, it substitutes the Indian Succession Act for the Hindu law of intestate succession which is less fair to female relations. But no one has a good word to say about Section 23 which disqualifies a Hindu marrying as a Hindu under the Act for holding any office or position of trust in connection with any Hindu religious or charitable endowment; or about Section 25 which disqualifies him also for adopting a son to succeed him and offer Pinda to his manes which is the privilege of every sonless Hindu under the Hindu law; or for Section 26 which authorises an irate Hindu father to treat his only son practically as dead if he marries as a Hindu under Act III of 1872 and adopts a son in his place, although he cannot make such adoption if the same son became a Christian or Mahammadan.

All these defects and ugly features call for early mending, if the Act is to be fully useful without confounding or unnecessarily hurting those for whom it is intended. Dr. Deshmukh's present Bill however does not undertake this task. It accepts the Act as it is now with all its shortcomings, old and new. It only wants to make its benefits, such as they are, available to a new category of persons, namely to married persons who are ineligible at present but who are willing to submit to its essential conditions. In order to convert their previous marriage in whatever form it may have been solemnized into a civil marriage solemnized under the Act. For this purpose two new Sections are proposed, Section 2-A and 15-A, with a few ancillary provisions and amendments to other Sections. These two new Sections constitute practically a revival on a permanent foot-

ing of the old temporary Section 20 which while it lasted enabled married persons also to benefit by the Act if they abided by its rules including the declaration about religion in accordance with Section 2. But whereas registration under Section 20 within the short period allowed created a valid civil marriage from the date of the original marriage in some other form which may have taken place long before the passing of the Act but about the legal validity of which an honest doubt had arisen in the public mind, under the present Bill the civil marriage with its peculiar legal consequences commences only from the date of registration without however affecting the validity or otherwise of their previous marriage and the legitimacy or otherwise of the children born in the intervening period, or the law which would govern their inheritance, etc., all of which would be determined by the nature of the previous marriage.

Those Vitamin Tablets

Sir,—Allow me to remove some misunderstandings which seem to be at the bottom of your comments in your issue of May 4, regarding the distribution of vitamin tablets in the scarcity areas of Bombay Province. Vitamin tablets will be distributed not as a substitute for food but only as a supplement to food with a view to supplying essential vitamins which are not derived from the food that people generally eat. As you are probably aware, milk reconstituted from separated milk-powder is being distributed to children and expectant and nursing mothers in the scarcity areas. This milk does not contain fat and A and D vitamins which are contained in the milk fat. The idea is to distribute tablets of vitamin A and D in order to make up for their deficiency in the reconstituted milk and these tablets will be distributed only to the recipients of reconstituted milk at the rate of one tablet per individual every day. Supposing there are 10,000 persons who take advantage of the scheme, we will need 36,50,000 vitamin tablets in one year. The manufacture and distribution of millions of tablets therefore, should not be misconstrued to suggest that they are being distributed in hundreds to all and sundry as a substitute for food.

The tablets being issued contain vitamins in optimal doses known to produce the best results. Thus A and D tablets contain 2,000 units of vitamin A and 200 units of vitamin D. Government has been advised by the highest medical authorities that vitamins A and D have to be taken several hundred times the optimal dose and that too for a prolonged period of time to produce any ill effects. Thus the statement "some, indeed, have mentioned vitamin poisoning as the result of excessive use of them," has a purely theoretical interest and has no bearing on the Government scheme of issuing vitamin tablets with optimal doses of vitamins to supplement the nutritive value of food-stuffs which lack the needed vitamins, and the use of which is forced on the public by the scarcity of food. The same is true of vitamin B and C tablets.

G. G. GOKHALE,
Director of Information.

EUROPEAN CHRISTIANITY

Sir,—I read in your issue of 11th May the answer of Rev. Fr. Albert De Mendonca, S.J., to my letter published in your paper of April 27, under the title of "Indian Independence and Catholic Missions."

I thank Rev. Fr. A. De Mendonca, S.J., for his kind invitation to visit St. Mary's College again, in order to correct my mistaken views about the same College. Presently however, there is no need for further investigation since the informations I have received do not leave any room for improvement. The following will bear witness to their exactness.

During the first days of April, I visited St. Mary's College for the second time; I was taken round by two European missionaries, the queerest persons I ever met. Perfectly ignorant of the most elementary rules of circumspection, these gentlemen, taking me for an Anglo-Indian, began to give vent to their distaste for Indians. Then, to point out the excellence of St. Mary's College, they informed me that the teaching staff was composed of the most eminent professors brought straight from Europe; the brightest geniuses, which only the West had the privilege to produce.

When I humbly asked them if there was any Indian professor on the staff, they answered contemptuously, that in fact there was a young Indian priest, but they added he is not a member of the staff. Finally they offered me two booklets; the one is an old number of "The Clergy Monthly" a magazine published by the College in the Catholic Press, Ranchi. The other is a Guide for the visitors of St. Mary's College arranged for the present year of 1946.

On my way back to Darjeeling, I met a police officer and an Anglo-Indian gentleman. Both had visited the College, and about it they told me the most ridiculous stories. It is incredible how primitive the mind of these vain and self-satisfied European missionaries are. It is this backwardness of their mind that explains their intolerance and blindness towards whatever is good and great outside their narrow fold.

The latest informations I received are about the Indian priest who is teaching in St. Mary's College.

In order to refute my assertion that in his College no Indian is allowed on the staff, Rev. Fr. De Mendonca S.J., who is the Indian priest referred to above, states that he is an Indian, a full professor and a member of the staff of St. Mary's College. Though I never met Rev. Fr. De Mendonca, by the information I have received, I know that he is an Indian; I believe that he is a full professor with every necessary qualification. What I cannot accept is, that he is a member of the staff.

To prove this, I enclose herein a few pages from the above-mentioned Guide. As you will see, in the very second page, we find the list of the professors of the College. They are divided into two groups; the first group includes all the members of the staff. They are all Europeans. The second group comprehends those who for some reason or other (colour for instance), cannot belong to the staff.

In this last group figures the name of Rev. Fr. Albert De Mendonca, S.J. Hence Fr. De Mendonca, in spite of all his qualifications, is not a member of the staff of St. Mary's College as he pretends to be. To be a member of the staff is a privilege exclusive to the European geniuses. Comments are needless.

Rev. Fr. De Mendonca refers to another Indian who belongs to the staff of St. Mary's College, but actually is in Europe. If the Rev. Father in his letter had given the name of this gentleman who seems to enjoy the precious gift of bilocation, I should be able to trace how far this story is true. After all, Rev. Fr. De Mendonca seems to admit that it is European Christianity that is taught in his College; for he implicitly declares that the mysterious Indian who was on the teaching staff, was found wanting in that sweet odour of European civilisation, so dear to St. Mary's College; hence he was immediately exported to Europe, where presently he is saturating himself with that precious nectar of Atomic bomb and other barbarities, until he comes back to explode it in Kurseong for the great edification of all the white colony.

Fr. De Mendonca states in his letter, that presently the majority of the community of his College is made of Indians. I have no objection against it, though it is an abnormal case in St. Mary's. The reason of this strange phenomenon was given to me by the two Europeans who took me round. These gentlemen wildly lamented it. It consists in this that during the years of the war, the white contingent could not sail for India; but they added that there is good hope that soon it will invade every corner of this country, so that the strange phenomenon will never be repeated in St. Mary's College.

Fr. De Mendonca is greatly mistaken if he thinks that I was alarmed with the presence of the soldiers in his College. One who, like myself, has been in Europe for several years, and knows what it is to be a Christian in those very unchristian parts, is not so easily moved. In Europe every priest is bound to follow the military training; no wonder therefore if St. Mary's College, which is an entirely European institution, adopts methods entirely European, and introduces a course of military training in her curriculum. Even my difficulty to try to reconcile this pugnacious job with the religion of the meek Jesus, is not serious: After all, is not the contradiction between religious doctrine and religious practice natural to the European mind?... He who has talked to a European divine, knows by experience how empty and full of affectation his words sound to our eastern ears. The reason for this is evident: Their words do not correspond to their deeds. Hence Fr. De Mendonca need not be afraid to give the real reason to invite foreign soldiers to his College. Beside the spiritual explanation he gives, is too far-fetched and cannot convince one who has been twice at his College, and knows the opinion of the people of Kurseong about those soldiers.

Fr. De Mendonca states that with the foreign military men Indians too are received in his College. I would be most thankful to the Rev.

Father if he could give the name of a single Indian officer or soldier who has passed a single night in his College. I ask this because St. Mary's distaste for Indians is traditional, and the opinion of the people of Kurseong and Darjeeling is, that the College is a well furnished nest for foreign troops. By this, it is not my intention to say, that St. Mary's College is the only one of this kind. No. There are many other institutions ruled by European missionaries, where, just like in St. Mary's, the colour-bar is more efficient than, in the South-African policy of General Smuts.

I admire the high nationalistic feelings which Fr. De Mendonca professes in his letter. Let me remind him, however, that these feelings are entirely personal and are not to be found in his community. I tried to get some numbers of the above mentioned magazine. The Clergy Monthly for I was sure, that this magazine published by the College, would reveal to me the mentality of the institution. A friend of mine did me the favour. Now, if the Rev. Father opens any number of this magazine, he may be sure to fall upon articles signed by some rabid enemies of Indian Nationalism; in these articles passages like the following will easily be found:

"The atmosphere created by Nationalism is unfavourable to the progress of Christianity."

"Nationalism tends to create a positive prejudice towards Christianity." "In India where Nationalism is widely allied with Hinduism, the temptation will be strong to use political power to repress the Catholic Religion or to paralyse its influence and progress."

"The Clergy Monthly"—April, 1946. All this is true if the author by Christianity means European Raj....

Some missionaries who realize their tottering position, appeal to their great sacrifice in leaving their country and home. Let them know that no one in India believes in such sacrifices; there is no sacrifice where there is a comfortable life. I have been in Europe and I know from where these missionaries come. They would be nobody if they had remained in Europe.

We want a Christianity free and progressive based upon the soul and culture of India, and not an imitation of the western "phobia"; not even on its adaptation concocted by the over-heated imagination of some crazy fellows, whose intellectual horizon is less wide than that of the uncouth European village from where they come. Indian Christianity will come from Indians and for India. That will be the glory of India.

In the same issue of your paper, Mr. Rey, a teacher of St. Alphonsus School, seems to defend his masters, the missionaries, by describing their library. I would ask Mr. Rey whether the possession of a good library is a sure sign of the good intentions of the owner.

Other Catholic papers conducted by foreigners e.g. The "Examiner", The "Catholic Herald" of Calcutta etc. have tried to attack me personally by crying, Calumny! Calumny! Such attacks coming from morally blind and irresponsible persons, do not deserve any attention.

A CHRISTIAN LOVER OF HINDUISM

ROBERT OWEN — A MESSAGE FOR OUR TIMES

(BY RAMAN K. DESAI.)

During the whole of the Middle Ages Britain was self-sufficient in the matter of food and commercial economy; not merely the whole country but even the districts and the towns comprised therein aimed at a local economy. There was very little movement of goods or of persons from one part of the country to another. In the beginning of the 19th Century a population of nearly twelve millions depended for all practical purposes on an agricultural economy. Four out of every ten male workers in England and Wales were engaged in agriculture. The population in towns formed a small part of the whole and there were very few towns of importance. The Napoleonic Wars left a legacy of inflated currency, unemployment, and a depression in agriculture. But already the remarkable series of inventions in mechanical engineering was transforming not merely the cotton and woollen industries, but the development of iron-smelting combined with coal-mining was transforming the whole country into a highly industrialised state. But new problems were created by an extremely rapid process of development of factories concentrated in towns. The conditions of work in these factories, particularly as they affected women and children, were appalling. Indirect taxation affected the poorer classes far more than the rich. Along with an economic revolution a vast social revolution, with the formation of various classes of people with wide disparity of incomes, was on the move. Under the influence of rising prosperity for the higher classes and the theories of a limited "Wages Fund", the inexorable pressure of population, the freedom of contract, very little was attempted to relieve the pressure of the revolution on the working-classes.

It is under these circumstances that Robert Owen, one of the greatest social reformers of the 19th Century, in integrity the noblest of them all, pondered on the possibility of harnessing the vast potential of the machine not only for increased production but for production for the benefit of the personnel who contributed to the national wealth. It must be stated that Owen was not harking back to some idyllic past but, fully accepting the machine, he sought to use its power for the higher standard of living of the worker; nor did he

contemplate the advancement of one class of the community to the detriment of another but indeed he called upon all sections of the community to pull their resources towards a new conception of society. It must be borne in mind that it was only near the middle of the 19th Century that the system of railways was developed and the rapid mobility of transport of goods and persons within the country assured. Owen was essentially a man of action concerned with practical affairs and if the criticism of some of his plans, which while he directed them he turned to success, on the basis of subsequent development of communications is out of place, there remains to be added a further corollary that these plans may not hold valid under the present altered circumstances.

Nevertheless Owen, forgotten within a few years of his death nearly a hundred years ago, has risen in stature ever since. His fundamental ideas, that Science should be harnessed to the needs of humanity, that no changes in the mere forms of political structure will avail, that the very basis of society, the motive of profit and competition, should be altered by processes of enlightenment and co-operative enterprise still remain valid. It is significant that while Owen may not have succeeded in a specific plan, each one of his ideas started movements, broken up as it were in numerous parts, which have progressed far beyond the expectations of the pioneers.

We in this country stand at the beginning of a vast industrial development, the dawn of a machine age. We have before us the bitter lessons provided by the history of Britain in the early 19th Century, as well as the shining example of gallant men who sought to transform the hideous anarchy of greed into a harmonious design for living. In a series of six articles, the first of which appears this week, it is proposed to delineate the character and trace the ideas of one who tested every method in the crucible of the theme of "the dignity and worth of individual man". Serfdom and exploitation are not only as old as the ages but ever-recurring in new shapes; it is only the vigilance of men, who have chartered the oceans and found their bearings, that will guide us through the gathering storms.

Robert Owen was born in 1771, one of 13 children of a saddler who was also a postmaster. As a youngster he was keen on reading, wrote sermons and was regarded as a thoughtful serious person.

After a period of employment as assistant in a haberdasher's shop he went at 18 years of age to Manchester. By then the inventions of Hargreaves, Arkwright and Crompton were revolutionising the textile industry. He set up a small spinning Mill. He later became manager of a large factory and turned out the finest yarn in the district. He was the first to import American Sea Island Cotton into England. Now, as later during all his life, he had friends among men of inventive genius and he financed several engineering designs. He was destined evidently for a brilliant career in the new industry. In Manchester he came in contact with the learned and scientific men of this period of rising liberalism. During these 12 years in Manchester, it is clear, he formed opinion which later he tried to put into practical effect. He saw the slums of Manchester and the degradation of factory life but he saw as well how science could be made to serve mankind.

Nearing his 30th year he fell in love with Caroline Dale, daughter of a wealthy spinner in Glasgow. Mr. Dale was a religious zealot and his consent needed the persuasion of Owen and the tears of a dutiful but lovelorn daughter. Owen and partners bought Mr. Dale's New Lanark Mills for £60,000 and he married the daughter. Three months after his marriage, on the 1st January 1800 Owen took charge of the Mills and

began there an experiment not only in textile spinning but in a new science of society.

Efficient Manager that he was, Owen found no difficulty in making the New Lanark Spinning Mills pay well. What is remarkable is that he went on to demonstrate that it paid to transform the human material under him. Of this material he wrote, "It may with truth be said, that at this period they possessed almost all the vices and very few of the virtues of a social community. Theft and the receipt of stolen goods was their trade; idleness and drunkenness their habit; falsehood and deception their garb; dissensions, civil and religious, their daily practice; they united only in a zealous systematic opposition to their employers!" The temper and quality of Owen are shown in the very next sentence! He proceeds: "Here then was a fair field on which to try the efficacy in practice of principles supposed capable of altering any character! The Manager formed his plans accordingly."

A fair field, indeed! Owen had the peculiar habit throughout all his experiments never to choose the material and environment congenial to his success but deliberately to look out for the most difficult human material to mould. He started a store of cheaper goods and employed its profits to his school. He eradicated drink and compelled fathers to pay maintenance for illegitimate children. He started a sick fund to which the workers had to contribute from their wages; he opened a Savings Bank for the workers. He started communal kitchens which served cheap food. For the old he built communal houses to which they

contributed out of wages. We are today familiar with the high wages policy worked out by Henry Ford but 140 years ago Owen was the founder not only of this idea but of almost all the methods of old age and sickness insurance which later returned to England via German Socialism. In those days, be it remembered, 14 hours a day, Saturday included, were standard hours of labour, not merely for adults but even for children from 5 to 7 years of age upwards. Workhouses to save expense, sent the orphans to work in the Mills and 500 children were under Owen. These children, as they grew up, had nothing better to look forward to than the slums of big cities in later life. Drunkenness among children was common and infant death-rate and illegitimate birth-rate appalling.

In 1810 he planned an institution for the formation of character. He built commodious schoolrooms one 90 feet by 40, for the instruction of children including infants hardly able to walk. His partners were alarmed. In 1809 he paid them £84,000 having already retrieved their capital in profits in 10 years. With new partners he started again. But in 4 years there was further trouble. These 4 years had yielded them a profit of £60,000 and these partners felt they could buy the mills at low rates, Owen having resigned. At the auction of the Mills on the last day of 1813 they hoped to buy in the property for £40,000. Owen coolly bid against them and he bought the Mills for £114,000. It was a part of his terms to the new partners that they must accept his measures for the benefit of the workers and their children. These men

were quakers and philanthropists, Jeremy Bentham being one of them. He was empowered to pay 5 per cent on capital and use the rest of the profits for the benefit of his schemes. On 1st June 1816 the Institution was opened.

He believed in education from infancy, one year onwards; children upto ten years of age were day pupils and those over ten attended in the evening. He declined to employ children under 10 years of age. From January 1816 he reduced their hours of work to 10½ hours. When he started the school, the average attendance was over 600 children, comprising a larger proportion of girls over boys. In this school, the first of infant schools, he aimed at teaching by means of signs, pictures and habits rather than by cramming and the use of monitors; he was keen on drill, song, dances and his school-room was decorated with pictures and pictorial guides to geography and history. Children under ten used no books. He went to the extent of teaching words by labelling a child as a letter of alphabet and arranging children to form words. Punishment was not to be thought of. With Plato he considered grace and self-possession as the test of education. Differences with his partners arose over the inadequate use of the Bible; but what shocked them most and aroused widespread comment was the dress Owen prescribed for the boys, a tunic which reached upto the knee and revealed bare legs.

But in all these projects he emphasised not the aspect of benevolence nor that they worked efficiently but that the ventures paid. He wished it to be known that they directly led to higher profits. He claimed that in all these years at New Lanark, without the assistance of the poor rate, without any legal punishment awarded, reducing hours of labour, spending large sums on social benefits the Mills not only paid interest but yielded nearly £300,000 in profit. Later on, on a memorable occasion he said, "Injustice is a mistake." Even when like other owners he had to close his Mills in 1808 when during the American war no cotton could be had and he paid full wages during the stoppage, unlike others, and he lost £7,000 he would have claimed that all this paid, because by that act his victory over his employees was complete. He gradually reduced the hours of work to 12 hours in 1816 with nearly 2 hours for meals. For a period of nearly 35 years till he finally left the Mills, this factory was a model and a brilliant example regarded with esteem throughout Europe and visited by almost every high personage and thinker in Europe. His influence was felt in the Pauper Colonies of Holland and in infant schools throughout Europe. Realizing that communal living saved expense and waste, he visualised the large stores where the middleman and his profit would be eliminated. He argued that there could be a science of society; indeed the word Social Science was coined by Owen.

* * *

The story of the impact of mechanical inventions on an economy based on handicrafts and particularly the part played by the Spinning machine needs no reiteration. No attempt was made by the State to

lessen the violence of what was in effect an economic revolution. Displacement of hand labour by machinery meant suffering in any case but the needs of war accelerated the process of industrialisation and intensified the hardship. Paper currency and inflation, with higher prices and lower real wages added still further to the misery of workers whose wages were already lowered by competition for employment. The most severe trials faced the workers in the textile industries. In the middle of the war, handloom weavers found their wages cut to 1/3rd of what prevailed 10 years ago. In the handicraft industries, the master had himself been an artisan; in the industries now mechanised, the employer was a financier and an entrepreneur interested in dividends only and the managers and foremen recruited labour in the cheapest market. Wages were constantly being reduced, women and children were substituted for adult males and during the war, with incomes falling rapidly, unimaginable misery was the lot of the workers. The industrialists who found machines and factories highly profitable, resisted legislation to prevent full exploitation of labour. Denied by the legislature, the workers formed secret societies; abject slavery was sought to be mitigated by outrages of machine-breaking. In 1811-12 in the Luddite agitation, they went about destroying textile machinery and factories.

With peace, the situation worsened; the prices of manufactured products were reduced but not the price of wheat. Employers reduced wages drastically claiming that the fall in prices meant no loss in real wages. They competed against one another by cutting prices and wages. The poor rate was supposed to assist the destitute.

By 1813, when Owen published the first of his series of pamphlets the economic condition of Britain was in a state bordering on chaos.

Owen called upon fellow manufacturers to adopt his methods of ameliorating the lot of the workers, to their own higher profit. He argued that the Steam engine and the Spinning machine added immensely to the aggregate wealth but this wealth produced by the multitude accrued only to the few. The requirements of national production forced by the war had resulted in vastly increased use of mechanical energy but the increase in production was not balanced by increase in power of consumption among the people. When peace came, machinery could fulfil the normal requirements of the nation more cheaply than by the use of handicraftsmen; the workers thus displaced were forced into a chronic state of unemployment. Society had

not reaped the advantages which were expected from scientific inventions. On the contrary, Owen maintained, "Mechanism, which may be made the greatest of blessings to humanity, is under the existing arrangements, its greatest curse." Instead of machinery superseding labour, it must be made subservient to human needs.

He demanded immediate investigation into this question, a question which affected not merely Britain but all countries, before dire necessity compelled attention.

In dealing with the poor and the unemployed, the existing alternatives were starvation or support and relief by the State. Many were supported at a minimum expense by parishes and by private charities. Owen maintained that doles were demoralizing and the proper method of relief was employment in productive enterprise where the workers would contribute to the expenses of the State and maintain themselves. "Something, therefore, must be done for them and done soon—That something must be employment on land." He advocated, "nationalisation of the poor."

He recommended that the State not merely undertake public works but assist the public to found communities of about 500 to 1,500 souls; these communities should be self-sufficient agricultural and industrial societies owning land and workshops and distributing products according to the capacity of the resident worker. These "villages of Union and Co-operation" were to be established all over Britain, with the help of public contributions on which interest would be paid out of the sale of produce. These communities would be federated into a central directive. His immediate object was providing relief for the unemployed, not by charity but by work in an environment which would build up character.

In these villages occupations would be made healthy and pleasant, machinery and science being employed for disagreeable or injurious labour, rendering them the servants of man. Children would be well instructed, every male adult instructed in the knowledge of gardening, of agriculture and in at least one other trade, manufacture or occupation; females trained to bring up infants, trained in the usual domestic requirements, gardening and in some other useful, light, healthy manufacture.

Owen was not merely attempting a solution for the immediate problems of the day but presenting, what he termed in his set of 4 essays published in 1816, "A New View of Society."

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

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NOTES

Pandit Nehru in Kashmir:—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's entry inside the land of his fathers in circumstances which have caused wide-spread regret, is against his own declaration made more than once recently that the peoples of Indian States should work the Constitutional reform under the aegis of their rulers. This was a clear repudiation of Sheikh Abdulla's movement to evict the dynasty at present holding sway. The Sheikh is being prosecuted for what in British Indian law would be termed waging war against the King. He has entrusted the arrangements for his defence to his leader and friend, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The Pandit, it was stated, had invited Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar, of Madras to take up the case. Sir Alladi is evidently not available. With the ex-Advocate-General of Bihar, Mr. Baldev Sahai and two political associates, the Pandit left Delhi for Kashmir. At Lahore he told Press correspondents that the objects of his visit to Kashmir were to make arrangements for the Sheikh's defence and to see things for himself. The Prime Minister at an early stage of the struggle had welcomed the Pandit's proposed visit. But in the inter-

val between invitation and the visit, the Pandit had made himself responsible for statements which are even highly derogatory to the Darbar and two of which, the burning of Muslims killed in the riot and the burning of mosques, were really such that if they had been made or published in Bombay, Mr. Morarjee Desai, the Home Minister, would have taken serious notice both of the speaker and the publisher. With characteristic candour, the Pandit publicly admitted that these allegations were made without adequate evidence and it was no doubt his intention, if on personal investigation on the spot he found that they were baseless to publicly castigate the persons responsible for their promulgation. The Prime Minister of Kashmir unfortunately did not realise this and revoked his invitation on the ground that the Pandit's visit, after his statements against the Darbar, would serve no useful purpose. The Pandit occupies two highly responsible positions. President designate of the Indian National Congress and President of the All-India States Peoples Conference. He might have been expected to abandon his visit in view of the Prime Minister's expression of

disapproval. A few days ago Gandhiji was invited by Indians in South Africa to return and resume his leadership. Gandhiji replied that he would gladly go if General Smuts, the Union Prime Minister, approved of his visit. That was the correct reply and the Pandit would have done well to have acted in the same spirit. Unfortunately he did not. Even before the Working Committee of the Congress had finished its deliberations on the Interim Government offer, the Pandit who is one of those invited to join the Executive Council, left by a plane for Kashmir with his three companions. He was stopped on the border and served with a notice barring entrance into Kashmir territory. The Pandit declared he would defy the order, and at nightfall crossed the frontier. Not long ago the Pandit had crossed into Faridkot under similar circumstances and the ruler yielded and accepted the advice of the Pandit. Kashmir is too large and important a State to submit to external pressure of the kind. The way was barred by armed police and the Pandit is said to have a scratch on his cheek from a police bayonet. The Pandit himself no doubt treats the matter as trifling but some newspapers have used the incident for glaring headlines, altogether out of place in the context. We do not see what good it will do for the matter to be carried further.

Invitations for the Interim Council:—On Sunday His Excellency the Viceroy issued a statement announcing the decision of the Cabinet Mission and himself to institute an Interim government with 14

members, all Indian, of his Executive Council, "on the basis that the Constitution-making body will proceed in accordance with the statement of May 16." The Muslim League had accepted the proposals in the statement of May 16, but the Congress had not. The Congress had taken strong exception to the compulsory grouping of provinces in the Constitution-making body. Gandhiji had endeavoured to provide a way of retreat by declaring that there was no compulsion in any part of the proposals and that the grouping as well as participation in the elections and attendance at the sessions of the Constitution-making body, was wholly voluntary and optional. The Cabinet Delegation promptly and sharply repudiated Gandhiji's interpretation declaring that the grouping at the initial stage was compulsory. The negotiations were declared to have ended without result. It was, therefore, very cool on the part of the Viceroy to invite the five most prominent Congress leaders to join the Interim Government, on the basis that the proposals of May 16, for the Constitution-making body will proceed on the lines indicated therein. Either His Excellency understood that the Congress Working Committee did not put forward its objections to the proposals seriously or that the bait of office would make them resile from their opposition. In the statement of May 16, the Congress scheme which was noticed and dismissed rather unceremoniously was one outlined by the President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad at a Press Conference a novel feature of which was the large option given to the Provinces in regard to subjects which they may keep for themselves or delegate to the Central Government. It was not until the correspondence between the Cabinet Mission and the two political parties was published three days after the publication of the statement that the public knew that the Maulana's scheme was not adopted by the Working Committee which had, instead, submitted a very critical estimate of the proposals, suggesting important modifications. This was completely ignored in the statement and it has been contemptuously ignored in the invitation to individual members of the Congress

to join an Interim Government on the basis of the proposals on which the Congress Working Committee refused to co-operate. One would have thought that the Congress leaders invited by the Viceroy, would have declined at once on the ground that they could not agree to work on the basis of the proposals for Constitution-making body in the statement of May 16. But four days have been taken in haggling with the Viceroy about the number of places allotted to Congress and some of the non-Congressmen invited as representatives of minorities. Regarding the latter we can only say that they seem to be intended to be the determining factor when Congress-League parity in the Council results in a deadlock as it is bound normally to do.

Ceylon and India:—Amidst the harsh clamour of political and economic strife between Indians and Sinhalese, it is refreshing to notice the efforts to promote the growth of cultural and spiritual ties between Ceylon and India. Recently, a deputation of Ceylonese Buddhist divines visited Nepal with a relic of the Sakyamuni, and with an address of goodwill to His Majesty the King. They were very cordially received as State guests. A Vihara to be known as the Sri Lanka Vihara is to be built to house the relic. The foundation stone was laid during the visit of the deputation. In reply to the address the Maharaja said that though spatially Nepal and Ceylon, were separated by a vast distance, they share the living tradition of Buddhism. He hoped that cultural friendship will continue to be more intimate. He wished every prosperity to Sinhala-durja. "Be true to your religion", he concluded "and always stand upright". Dr. Rajendra Prasad presided over the Buddha anniversary celebration in the Lakshmi Narayan Birla temple at Patna. He spoke of the importance of India's cultural relations with Buddhist countries. Referring to the Buddha-Gaya temple he promised that the Congress Government will soon take up the question but he would wish that the Mahant of his own motion would transfer the management of the temple to a joint committee of representative Hindus and Buddhists. This is a matter which has been agitating Buddhists all

over Eastern Asia particularly Ceylon, for many years and we are glad that the prospect of an early settlement is in sight. Dr. Rajendra Prasad urged that Patna University should become an international centre of Buddhist scholarship.

The Special Marriage Act:—We publish elsewhere Mr. Ramamurthi's third article on the Bill to amend Gour's amendment to the Special Marriage Act of 1872 in order to enable Hindu married people to bring themselves under its provisions as regards monogamy and Succession to Property. The original Act of 1872 did not affect the law of Succession. It was a Civil Marriage Act enabling people of all castes and communities to inter-marry on making a declaration that they did not profess any of the existing religions. It has been authoritatively held that this declaration is only for the purpose of registration and does not affect the personal law of the parties in any other respect. Socially and legally parties married under the Act are in the same position as those married under their personal laws, except that the husband should be unmarried or a widower and cannot take a second wife while the first is alive. Sir Harising Gour's amending Act omits the requirement of the declaration of disbelief as among parties professing the Hindu religion. But it tacks on provisions breaking up the joint family and substituting for the Hindu law of Succession the Indian Succession Acts as incidents of marriage under it. Dr. Deshmukh proposes to enable Hindus married under their personal law to bring themselves under the monogamous and Succession provisions of the Gour Act by a declaration before a proper authority of their desire to change their personal law. We have often allocated a permissive law enabling men, Hindus and Muslims, to have their marriages declared monogamous by a declaration before a Registrar or other authority. We think that a measure to this effect will not meet with opposition. But we are not sure to the same degree that the change of Succession law and break-up of Joint family which follow marriages under the Gour law, will be equally acceptable to the Hindu community to which alone the Act applies.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, June 22, 1946.

GANDHIJI AND THE PRESS

On Wednesday after evening prayer meeting Gandhiji indulged in another vicious attack on the Press. Prayer would seem to have on him, an effect the reverse of the 'shanti' with an invocation for which Hindu divine services conclude. The occasion for the outburst this time was that Press reports of the Congress Working Committee's discussions of the Viceroy's plan of an Interim Government suggested that there were strong differences of opinion among members. Gandhiji and the Committee or some members of it, did not agree about the substitution in the list of five nominees from among Congressmen, a Nationalist, i.e., Congress, Muslim for a Hindu. Gandhiji's own explanation which followed substantially confirms the Press report. He spoke of the duty of the majority community to make sacrifices for the sake of minorities; and that the Congress has assumed for itself the protection of all minorities. Gandhiji is always vague in history. The Hindus centuries ago took upon themselves the duty of protecting the cultural and religious interests of minorities; and relying on their good faith persecuted minorities sought and found asylum in India. This was not done in a spirit of sacrifice on the part of the Hindus but in pursuance of a great principle which grew out of the religious philosophy of Hinduism. Hinduism has not delegated and can never delegate this historic function to the Congress or any political body. We stress this point because Gandhiji on this as on previous occasions countenanced Mr. Jinnah's indictment of Hindus as oppressors of mino-

rities, particularly, Muslims. As for Gandhiji's statement that Congress has assumed charge of the interests of all communities, it is strange that the two communities it had, under his leadership, sought particularly to placate, have come to regard it as their worst opponent. Mr. Jinnah has insisted that the Congress is a Hindu organisation and the Cabinet Mission in its statements have mentioned the Congress and the Hindus as if they were the same body. The Congress leaders have tacitly accepted this ambiguity though on previous occasions they have vehemently repudiated as an aspersion that Congress was a Hindu organisation. In the result the Cabinet delegation and the Viceroy have completely ignored the Hindu Mahasabha whose influence in the country is not to be judged, as we pointed out at the time, by the defeat of its candidate at the general elections. Gandhiji is perfectly right in insisting that one at least of the Congress ministers in the Central Government should be Nationalist Muslim. Not only is this just because of the sacrifices—using the term in a broad sense—Nationalist Muslims have made for the Congress cause, incurring the bitter hatred of Mr. Jinnah and his League, but also and chiefly because the Nationalist Muslim view on the vital issue of the position and functions of the Central Government, is the view of the Congress. This is, as provided in the scheme which President Maulana Abul Kalam Azad outlined at a Press Conference, to secure for Muslims all the advantages of Pakistan without

making them aliens in Hindustan. The Cabinet Mission's scheme for the Constitution-making body is based on the same identical principle. The Hindu view, as defined in the resolution of the Hindu Mahasabha, is that there should be a strong centre with residuary functions vested in it and having co-ordinate powers with the provinces and able to formulate and pursue all-India policies if necessary against any single province or a combination of provinces. This is the view of many who have pondered the problem from a political, economic and strategic, as well as historical, standpoint, and this view has gone without the means of expression in the discussions with the Cabinet Ministers owing to the Congress position as representing all the Indian peoples. Gandhiji, therefore, is right in wanting the Nationalist Muslim, that is the Congress point of view, to be represented by a Nationalist Muslim in the Government. But he is wrong in obstructing by his equivocal position the representation of the Hindu Mahasabha at the Centre. The Cabinet Mission cannot ignore this important factor by just closing its eyes to it. It would have avoided much of the baffling and vexatious delay in implementing the Prime Minister's declaration if it had not from the start misconceived the Indian question as a party duel between Congress and the Muslim League personified in Gandhiji and the Muslim League. Gandhiji is imperceptibly sliding into the imperialist attitude of mind. He spoke of Congress having assumed the trusteeship of the interests of all minorities. This evidently entitles the Congress to disregard not the interests of the majority community but elementary arithmetic to the extent of equating three to one.

A CASE FOR WOMEN'S CHARTER

The Bombay-Sind Public Service Commission recently advertised vacancies in the Bombay Educational Service for which women were eligible on the same initial pay as men. But the maximum pay showed a great discrepancy in favour of the men candidates. As an example we quote a relevant part of one of the advertisements: "Applications are invi-

ted by 8-7-46 for the post of Lecturers in Geography in the Bombay Educational Service, Class II. Pay Rs. 170 during the first two years and thereafter Rs. 170-500 for men and Rs. 170-350 for women, plus war allowance and prospects of promotion to Bombay Educational Service, Class I....." We hope that the Premier of Bombay, Mr. B. G. Kher, who is in

charge of Education and Mrs. Hansa Mehta, the author of the women's Charter of Rights, will use their influence to remove the discrimination. No women should apply for these vacancies until equality with men in all respects is established. Advertisements of this type are a blot on the fair name of Bombay.

PUCKLE ON PAKISTAN

Sir Frederick Puckle was Secretary to the Government of India when the Congress adopted the "Quit India" resolution at Wardha. He issued a circular to District officers suggesting that they should promote a counter agitation. This was a rather blatant suggestion and it should have passed without comment but for his having marked the circular "confidential". That word gave a piquancy to what after all was a routine part of the daily duties of a Departmental Secretary. Gandhiji made it and its author a target for special attack in his address to the All-India Congress Committee in August 1942. That irrevocably fastened on Sir Frederick Puckle the character of an anti-Congress, anti-Indian bureaucrat and the Government of India sent him to Washington as a Publicity Officer attached to the British Embassy. When, therefore, a news agency sent a message two months ago that Sir Frederick has contributed to the American Quarterly "Foreign Affairs," an article on Pakistan, it was taken for granted in India that it was a propaganda composition in support of Pakistan. The April "Foreign Affairs" has arrived and Sir Frederick Puckle's article is not likely to afford satisfaction to Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League. Sir Frederick himself admits the difficulty in the way of an Englishman writing objectively on Pakistan when he says of Professor Coupland's book as "something as near to a dispassionate survey as is possible for a contemporary Englishman." It is all the more creditable to Sir Frederick that he has succeeded to a greater degree than Professor Coupland in achieving this difficult task.

Mr. Jinnah has been speaking of 100 million Muslims of India. Sir Frederick reduces this number by 10 millions. Even 90 millions is excessive in discussing the Pakistan issue. Pakistan refers only to British India, and of the 92 million Muslims for the whole country, the 1941 census allots less than 80 millions to the provinces. In another point, a historical one, Sir Frederick puts the Pakistanists right. It has been claimed by them that as the British took India from Muslim rule they should hand it back to Muslims when they quit India. "One thing seems certain," writes Sir Frederick—though Muslims are apt to forget it—"Muslim imperial pretensions had ceased to be valid before the British appeared." Lord Linlithgow was severely criticised for mentioning the obvious fact of India's "geographical unity" as offending Muslim sentiment. The Cabinet delegation has been admonished that it has been offensive to Muslims in its suggestion that the Sikh minority in the Punjab might lay claim to a Separate State on the same grounds as Muslims in the whole country. They will surely resent Sir Frederick's reminder as undermining a cherished belief by his reminder of a fact which they have resolutely ignored, with the connivance, we may add, of many British statesmen and high-placed officials. The practical bearing of this historical fact is to make the threat of civil war, if Pakistan is not granted, a plain piece of bombast. While Sir Frederick compli-

ments Mr. Jinnah for not claiming that Indian Muslims—90 per cent of whom are converts or descendants of converts from Hinduism—are racially different from Hindus, he himself indulges in a sweeping generalisation when he assumes that "there was the difference of language, of script, of literary tradition" between conquerors and conquered. This was not quite true even of the Turks and Moghuls, and not of Mr. Jinnah and the great majority of members of the Muslim League whose ancestors embraced Islam long after the Moghul Empire had ceased to count as an effective political power. If Indian Muslims of the present day may claim any special rights as the representatives of the Moghuls merely because they profess the same religion, Indian Christians may do the same because they profess the religion professed by the British. As a matter of fact, Muslims who speak and write Urdu are a minority in the country. The majority speak and write the vernacular languages of the provinces where they live—Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Kanarese, Telugu, Tamil and Malayalam. As for culture and customs, many English writers who were more closely in touch with district life may be quoted to prove that it is no easy thing to distinguish Hindus and Muslims in the countryside. We have more than once quoted Sir Walter Lawrence and other writers on this point. The French in Canada and the Boers in South Africa, whom Sir Frederick cites as parallels, are no analogies at all. If they can live in harmony under one government, it should be much easier for Indian Muslims to live with Hindus. In fact, they have been doing so for centuries before Pakistan was discovered to be a matter of life and death for Indian Muslims, strictly speaking to those of them who inhabit four provinces in the North-West and one in the North-East and even there are a bare majority. Sir Frederick includes Assam as a Muslim majority province, which it is not. He also ignores the fact that the North-West Frontier Province has voted solidly for the Congress and against Pakistan although the overwhelming majority of its population is Muslim. Sir Frederick rightly warns foreigners from taking the communal conflicts reported from India as proofs of innate antipathy. "To exaggerate the importance of Hindu-Muslim riots is a great mistake," he writes. "Such open clashes are more incidents of propinquity than symptoms of a condition of mind." There can be no better proof of this than that these clashes occur and subside suddenly and then in a day or two after subsidence members of the two communities resume their normal life together as if nothing had happened.

Of Pakistan itself, Sir Frederick observes:

No one can help sympathising with the Hindu vision of a great, united India; most people will believe that such a union would be best both for Indians and for the world.

This is not a Hindu vision. It was the vision of Muslims including Mr. Jinnah until a short five years ago.

It is the vision of every Indian from early ages. It was not merely a vision but a faith deep-rooted in Indian history and culture. It should be added that Congress Hindus have swerved from this faith in the desire to placate the Muslim League. The most prominent of them are Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and Gandhiji who first dissented from and then embraced Mr. Rajagopalachari's plan with the fervour of apostasy.

But the fear of Hindu domination among Muslims is real. It is, in Sir Frederick's analysis, ultimately traceable to economic causes. Mr. Z. A. Sufert whose book "The Road to Peace and Pakistan," was recently noticed in the "Reformer," goes a long way with Sir Frederick in his analysis underlying the demand for Pakistan. In fact, Sufert goes further. He brushes aside the differences of language, social customs and so on as irrelevant both as arguments for or against Pakistan. The economic reason is the dominant reason. Even the religious difference, though fundamental, is comparatively less important. "A united India means," he writes, "that Mussalmans will have to live in perpetual slavery to Hindu money-lenders, Hindu market owners and Hindu industrialists." And this not owing to any deliberate intention on the part of either Hindu or Muslim, but owing to the difference in economic ideas. "For example," writes Sufert, "if a Hindu tradesman earns hundred rupees, he is bound to save at least seventy of them. A similarly situated Muslim can save only about twenty!" This at once recalls the argument used in South Africa and other countries by Whites against Indians. Sufert has the courage of his conviction. He does not exactly defend the racial discrimination, but points out that the economic factor should not be ignored.

One word, and only one, as to the difference in religious outlook between Islam and Hinduism. Islam is equalitarian but only as regards those who are Muslims. For those who cannot accept the creed there is no equality. Hinduism does not maintain that salvation is for Hindus only. It holds that the different religions are several ways to salvation. Proselytisation is, therefore, barred and differences are not merely tolerated but flourish as Hinduism believes that they do not affect the ultimate goal of realisation, that "God fulfils Himself in many ways."

THE MUFTI

After much speculation about his disappearance from Paris, including a surmise that he had been assassinated by Zionist anarchists, the Mufti has been traced to Egypt where he sought sanctuary in the royal palace and was received by King Farouq. The announcement is made in a Palace communique. The Mufti had gone to Berlin and surrendered to the French when Germany fell.

ROBERT OWEN—A MESSAGE FOR OUR TIMES.

(BY RAMAN K. DESAI)

It is not clear if Owen had derived inspiration from any predecessor for the various schemes he launched for the reconstruction of society. In the 17th century several ideas had been mooted for the transformation of society on the basis of equal share for all in the wealth produced by all. From the fact that he published at great expense the works of John Bellers, who died in 1725, on the foundation of a College of Industry, some connection between his ideas and those of Bellers may be established. Bellers started with the motto "Industry brings plenty", and he insisted that, if a sluggard shall not eat, equally it is the duty of the rich to relieve and reform the poor by undertaking industries. He maintained that "it is the interest of the rich to take care of the poor." The industrial college was to be started under State auspices with funds raised as well from the rich people and the profits were to be shared among the contributors after guaranteeing the workers all things necessary for health and sickness, education of the children and maintenance of orphans.

Owen was impressed by Morely, a Frenchman, who suggested that the problem of social reform was how to make it impossible for any one to be depraved or poor.

Early in life, he had been impressed by the unreality of sectional and religious conflicts. There is no evidence that the thinkers of the American and French revolutions influenced his ideas, but their thoughts permeated the spirit of the reformers of the day. Perhaps, Godwin influenced him. Godwin maintained that by nature, man was neither good nor evil but created by external circumstances, among which political institutions were major factors. Godwin looked upon Government as a necessary evil; he regarded property in the labour of others as unjust; he maintained that with better use of resources and division of wealth, workers could be assured of a decent standard of living without excessive hours of work. Godwin's main theme was equality and he hoped to bring about a change in society by education and enlightenment.

* * *

Such paintings as exist of Owen reveal a man of strong chin, a high brow, sensitive lips, eyes far-seeing and compassionate, of slim straight figure. There is nothing here of the visionary Utopian as some people erroneously came to look upon him but his colleagues knew as a "reasoning machine." There never was much humour in his make up, he was apt to be emphatic and positive, his writings do not possess grace of phrase, logical sequence, sustained eloquence. Italics and large type may well embellish his writings, as sonorous long names adorned the signboards of the societies he founded. But in public debates, which were a feature of those days, lasting for days and several hours of each day, where soon the contestants pursued their several these is, unmindful of the other,—brave days of long suffering zealous audiences,—his voice with its compass commanded hearing. He spoke much better than he wrote, with a delivery effective for the argument and his noble bearing, gentle, simple moods, sweet reason, often roused the listeners to tumultuous ovation.

He could be quick in sharp retort; when he stated that human beings can be trained to believe anything, and some one in the audience shouted: "Is it possible to train an individual to believe that two and two make five?" Owen countered, "We need not, I think, go far for an answer. I think all of us know many persons who are trained to believe that three make one, and think very ill of you if you differ from them."

* * *

Owen believed that human beings are born with the animal desire to enjoy, sustain, propagate life, that they are endowed with the desire for happiness, commonly termed self-interest, which provides the motive for its actions. That they are also born with the faculties of receiving, conveying and comparing ideas which constitute human knowledge. These desires and faculties are neither alike nor equal among individuals. The happiness or misery of a human being depends on the state of knowledge possessed not only by himself but by those around him. Trained from infancy to true knowledge he would be happy and his misery was the result of error imposed on him by prevalent social conditions and ideas.

He maintained that a little observation of children would show how their character is formed at a very early age; even before their second year their temper and disposition may be gauged; that many enduring impressions can be charged and material injuries inflicted during the early years of childhood. Society moulded a person, ignorance was the source of errors and education the cure. He evolved thus the theory that man is the product of his surroundings and that "the character of man is formed for and not by him", to this he later added, as a counter to the question of heredity, "before his birth" that is, the forbears of man suffered from their environment and passed on the heritage of stunted lives. If he could educate only one generation of men according to the new concept, a new world of universal knowledge and charity would remodel the present society.

If training from earliest years forms the character of a human being, and if happiness depends on sentiments and habits acquired by him from infancy as well as from persons and conditions around him, it is vital to society that from infancy such habits and emotions should be imparted to him as conduce to happiness. The individual, he insisted, can be truly happy only in such conduct as will promote the happiness of the community.

He submitted that there were in Britain millions of people rooted in circumstances which compelled vice and misery; that their character was formed by their environment; that it was within the power of those who controlled public affairs to mould the community by means at their command; that the means were indicated by his experiments at New Lanark. He maintained that if human beings, when young, were brought up in a proper environment they could be moulded to any shape desired. He was the first to point out that criminals were not born but made and that crime should be treated not as a sin but as a disease. If the Judges had been born in St. Giles and the

Criminals in St. James their roles would have been reversed.

Owen asked for a religion of charity unconnected with faith. The child does not fashion itself in the womb; upon its intellectual faculties are impressed by environment, habits, manners, and sentiments. Old society, believing that man's character is formed by himself instructed the child and the man in ways of ignorance and superstition: "together they invented all the faiths or creeds in the world—a horrid crew armed with every torture for body and mind."

In the fourth essay of "A New View of Society" published at the end of 1816 Owen made proposals for immediate adoption by the Government. He urged universal secular education in schools, and the establishment of what was then, unknown, training colleges for teachers. Child labour should be forbidden and the hours of work for adults restricted to ten hours a day. Public works should be started to absorb the unemployed and a state department should institute a public inquiry into the questions of wages and unemployment. Licenses for sale of spirits should be decreased and duties on spirits increased. Jail and Judicial administrations should be reformed. State lotteries should be suppressed. The Church should be reformed, religious intolerance removed, freedom of conscience permitted, religious tests abolished. Bigotry and war demolished by education and enlightenment.

These proposals intended by Owen as a preliminary to a new social order have been adopted in the passing years and may now appear as modest enterprise. But in those days every item was hotly contested on the ground not merely of public policy but far more relentlessly on religious grounds by the Church whose influence over the daily conduct of life was supreme and all pervading. The manufacturers in the textile industries were alarmed at his programme for more than a quarter of the employees were children under ten years of age. When the Government circulated his book among foreign governments and universities and sent a copy, strangely, to Napoleon at St. Helena, and the Government of the United States of America sent a copy to every Governor in the U.S.A. and the factory bill reducing the labour of children was introduced, things indeed were going too far.

* * *

Bernard Shaw once remarked that when Englishmen dislike an enemy they first question his morals. They could find nothing against Owen personally but they demanded to know what his moral and religious principles were any way. When he gave evidence before a Parliamentary Committee he was rudely heckled and some passages in cross-examination were so offensive that they had to be expunged. Malthus proclaimed, "We are bound in justice and honour formally to disclaim the right of the poor to support." Apart from catechism little was taught even to the few who learnt the rudiments. The governing classes had a strong sense of the virtue of ignorance among the working people. A man was deprived of his office of bailiff because he was suspected of being the author of

a book called "Natural History of Creation", it was most irregular to consider creation natural. Medical men testified that long hours of labour, even night work, did not injure the health of children. In any case did not shorter hours lead to greater immorality?

We may wonder what possible objection could be raised by religious folk to the mottoes of Owen. "The Character of man is formed for, not by him," and "man is the creation of circumstances." As working hypotheses they might seem acceptable to the Christian version of charity. But actually they were directly contrary to the tenets of those days. Man is born in sin, said the Church, and his sin is wilful and without extenuating circumstances. Man must bear the moral responsibility for his errors and weaknesses. To suggest that one should have pity for the errant, would indicate compromise with sin. It was shocking to formulate the idea of punishment being justifiable only for the purpose of prevention.

Then there was the metaphysical doctrine of free will and necessity over which endless debates raged. It seems strange to us today but this question of Free will and Determinism pursued its dreary way for several generations. Owen would probably have agreed with what Ruskin wrote, in January 1874, in *Fors Clavigera*, "I find some of my friends greatly agitated in mind, for instance about Responsibility, Free will and the like. I settled all these matters for myself, before I was ten years old, by jumping up and down an awkward turn of four steps, in my nursery stairs, and considering whether it was likely that God knew whether I should jump only three, or the whole four at a time. Having settled it in my mind that He knew quite well, though I didn't, which I should do; and also whether I should fall or not in the course of the performance,—though I was altogether responsible for taking care not to—I never troubled my head more on the matter from that day to this."

If the industrialists and the clergy fumed, the response from the general public, the economists and the thinkers of the day was extraordinarily enthusiastic. All his life, whenever he travelled on the Continent, he was received with high honours. Owen realised he had become one of the most popular figures in Europe. To the persistent queries about his religious views he prepared an answer the gravity of which he realised. "At the meeting called by him at the City of London Tavern on Thursday, 21st August, 1817, he flung the challenge. Writing about this address he says, "I went to the meeting with the determination by one sentence to destroy that popularity."

The purpose of the meeting was to consider Owen's plan to abolish pauperism and rescue the country from its present distress.

He pointed out how the vastly increased use of mechanical energy to meet the needs of war production had in time of peace led to increase in products without corresponding increase in consumption. The machine was a cheaper agent than human labour. Instead of increasing the products available to the Working classes, machinery had reduced the workers to compulsory

pauperism. The only lasting method of improving the lot of the unemployed to demolish pauperism, to rescue the mass of people from vicious and demoralising environment, was employment on land in village communities with means provided to create their own subsistence and training designed to transform character. Under the existing order of competitive society individuals regarded one another as natural enemies and their characters were so formed that the co-operation and unity so necessary for the large scale solution of the national misery would be impossible to attain under the accepted methods of amelioration. Under a Communal way of living the people would gradually realise how much greater production could be increased and appreciate the consequent reaction on their own living. These principles would lead to a betterment of the conditions not merely of the working classes but of the whole community, "that a mere change of sufferers, whether it be from one part of a class to another—from one entire class to another—or from one nation to the other is no remedy for the great and increasing evils which the world now suffers."

If the new way of life promises so much, then, he asked, why have people not adopted it yet? He gave the momentous answer: "My friends, I tell you, that hitherto you have been prevented from even knowing what happiness really is, solely in consequence of the errors—gross errors—that have been combined with the fundamental notions of every religion that has hitherto been taught to men. . . . In all the religions which have been hitherto forced on the minds of men, deep, dangerous and lamentable principles of disunion, division and separation have been fast entwined with all their fundamental notions. If, therefore, my friends, you should carry with you into these proposed villages of intended unity and unlimited mutual co-operation, one single particle of religious intolerance, or sectarian feelings of division and separation,—maniacs only would go there to look for harmony and happiness. Unless the world is now prepared to dismiss all its erroneous religious notions and to feel the justice and necessity of publicly acknowledging the most unlimited religious freedom, it will be futile to erect villages of union and mutual co-operation; for it will be vain to look on this earth for inhabitants to occupy these, who can understand how to live in bond of peace and unity; or who can love their neighbour as themselves, whether he be Jew or gentile, Mahomedan or Pagan, Infidel or Christian. Any religion that creates one particle of feeling short of this is false; and must prove a curse to the whole human race!"

The effect of this speech was electric. "The Times" remarked, "The curtain dropped yesterday on Mr. Owen's drama." Some thought the attack indiscreet and unnecessary. Even Mill and Bentham did not go out of their way so to touch public opinion on religious issues. How strong was the feeling in those days can be gathered by the fact that even humane Wilberforce opposed his schemes on religious grounds. Owen himself considered it the most glorious day of his life.

Owen soon realised that neither

politicians nor philanthropists were likely to encourage his schemes. The workers had no savings and not till the Companies Act of 1862 could undertakings be safely launched under the principle of limited liability. In 1822, Owen started on his schemes for establishing communities for mutual co-operation. He had started life with £100 borrowed from his father and now he had about £40,000 of his own.

An offer came to him from Indiana, U.S.A., for sale of 30,000 acres of land colonised by one Rapp, which he bought for £28,000. This was a flourishing agricultural colony with its own workshops. Rapp and his colonists were moving on to another area. Rapp's insistence on celibacy as a condition for welcoming the new Messiah and gaining paradise looked like depopulating the colony and actually some of the disciples later parted from him when another evangelist promised salvation without this inconvenience; it is, however, remarkable that this and other later colonies did flourish for a generation or two before they disintegrated into small holdings. Owen came to grief, firstly because he accepted as members not a picked set but any adventurer that applied and during its formative stages he was away from the colony. Two items survived; his school with nearly 400 children set the model for infant schools, this being the first of its kind in America; and his son Robert Dale Owen settled on the farm, thus beginning a distinguished public career, a leader of educational reform, champion of women's emancipation, one who influenced Lincoln's opinions on slavery.

By 1828 Owen had severed his connections with New Lanark Mills and the Indiana experiment had shattered his finances. For the rest of his life Owen was supported by the pious fraud of a devoted son who went on concocting accounts to show how Owen still had means enough to live on. His wife passed on in 1831; a devout Christian, she had brought up her children in the faith; she was his mate throughout his turbulent career, ever proud of his labours.

(This is the second article in the series of six)

The Positive Values Of Death

(BY HERBERT H. STROUP)

No one can saunter through life without the expectation that life's meaning will be summarized at death. The person who is unaware of the tremendous personal import of death for his own life has never known the deeper significance of living. For in death we all stand as equals. In death the shams of life which are so possible and so easily acceptable are crushed and life comes in contact with life's Essential Meaning. As long as death is an experience common to human beings, religion will always be needed.

Death, then, is not an unmitigated evil. It seems to be essential to mature, human life. Without it much of the value which we seek in life would be lessened or vanish. Death in itself is not to be feared as undesirable. It is to be recognized and accepted as being pivotal to a profound understanding of the nature of human nature and human destiny.

—UNITY.

POLITICS AND THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

(By GEORGE ORWELL
in the "Horizon")

Most people who bother with the matter at all would admit that the English language is in a bad way, but it is generally assumed that we cannot by conscious action do anything about it. Our civilisation is decadent, and our language—so the argument runs—must inevitably share in the general collapse. It follows that any struggle against the abuse of language is a sentimental archaism, like preferring candles to electric light or hansom cabs to aeroplanes. Underneath this lies the half-conscious belief that language is a natural growth and not an instrument which we shape for our own purposes.

Now, it is clear that the decline of a language must ultimately have political and economic causes; it is not due simply to the bad influence of this or that individual writer. But an effect can become a cause, reinforcing the original cause and producing the same effect in an intensified form, and so on indefinitely. A man may take to drink because he feels himself to be a failure, and then fall all the more completely because he drinks. It is rather the same thing that is happening to the English language. It becomes ugly and inaccurate because our thoughts are foolish, but the slovenliness of our language makes it easier for us to have foolish thoughts. The point is that the process is reversible. Modern English, especially written English, is full of bad habits which spread by imitation and which can be avoided if one is willing to take the necessary trouble. If one gets rid of these habits, one can think more clearly, and to think clearly is a necessary first step towards political regeneration! so that the fight against bad English is not frivolous and is not the exclusive concern of professional writers.

Modern writing at its worst does not consist in picking out words for the sake of their meaning and inventing images in order to make the meaning clearer. It consists in gumming together long strips of words which have already been set in order by someone else, and making the results presentable by sheer humbug. The attraction of this way of writing is that it is easy. It is easier—even quicker, once you have the habit—to say *In my opinion it is not unjustifiable assumption that* than to say *I think*. If you use ready-made phrases, you not only don't have to hunt about for words; you also don't have to bother with the rhythms of your sentences, since these phrases are generally so arranged as to be more or less euphonious. When you are composing in a hurry—when you are dictating to a stenographer, for instance, or making a public speech—it is natural to fall into a pretentious, Latinized style. Tags like *a consideration which we should do well to bear in mind* or *a conclusion to which all of us would readily assent* will save many a sentence from coming down with a bump. By using stale metaphors, similes and idioms, you save much mental effort, at the cost of leaving your meaning vague, not only for your reader but for yourself. This is the significance of mixed metaphors,

The sole aim of a metaphor is to call up a visual image. When these images clash—as in *The Fascist Octopus has sung its swan song, the jackboot is thrown into the melting pot*—it can be taken as certain that the writer is not seeing a mental image of the objects he is naming; in other words he is not really thinking.

People who write in this manner usually have a general emotional meaning—they dislike one thing and want to express solidarity with another—but they are not interested in the detail of what they are saying. A scrupulous writer, in every sentence that he writes, will ask himself at least four questions, thus: What am I trying to say? What words will express it? What image or idiom will make it clearer? Is this image fresh enough to have an effect? And he will probably ask himself two more: Could I put it more shortly? Have I said anything that is avoidably ugly? But you are not obliged to go to all this trouble. You can shirk it by simply throwing your mind open and letting the ready-made phrases come crowding in. They will construct your sentences for you—even think your thoughts for you, to a certain extent—and at need they will perform the important service of partially concealing your meaning even from yourself. It is at this point that the special connection between politics and the debasement of language becomes clear.

In our time it is broadly true that political writing is bad writing. Where it is not true, it will generally be found that the writer is some kind of rebel, expressing his private opinions and not a 'party line'. Orthodoxy, of whatever colour, seems to demand a lifeless, imitative style. The political dialects to be found in pamphlets, leading articles, manifestos, White Papers and the speeches of under-secretaries do, of course, vary from party to party, but they are all alike in that one almost never finds in them a fresh, vivid, home-made turn of speech. When one watches some tired hack on the platform, mechanically repeating the familiar phrases—*bestial atrocities, iron heel, bloodstained tyranny, free peoples of the world, stand shoulder to shoulder*—one often has a curious feeling that one is not watching a live human being but some kind of dummy: a feeling which suddenly becomes stronger at moments when the light catches the speaker's spectacles and turns them into blank discs which seem to have no eyes behind them. If the speech he is making is one that he is accustomed to make over and over again, he may be almost unconscious of what he is saying, as one is when one utters the responses in church. And this reduced state of unconsciousness, if not indispensable, is at any rate favourable to political conformity.

In our time, political speech and writing are largely the defence of the indefensible. Things like the continuance of British rule in India, the Russian purges and deportations, the dropping of the atom bombs on Japan, can indeed be defended, but only by arguments which are too brutal for most people to face, and

which do not square with the professed aims of political parties. Thus political language has to consist largely of euphemism, question-begging and sheer cloudy vagueness. Defenceless villages are *bombarded from the air*, the inhabitants driven out into the countryside, the cattle machine-gunned, the huts set on fire with incendiary bullets; this is called *pacification*. Millions of peasants are robbed of their farms and sent trudging along the roads with no more than they carry; this is called *transfer of population* or *rectification of frontiers*. People are imprisoned for years without trial, or shot in the back of the neck or sent to die of scurvy in Arctic lumber camps; this is called *elimination of unreliable elements*. Such phraseology is needed if one wants to name things without calling up mental pictures of them. Consider for instance some comfortable English Professor defending Russian totalitarianism. He cannot say outright, 'I believe in killing off your opponents when you can get good results by doing so.' Probably, therefore, he will say something like this:

'While freely conceding that the Soviet regime exhibits certain features which the humanitarian may be inclined to deplore, we must, I think, agree that a certain curtailment of the right to political opposition is an unavoidable concomitant of transitional periods, and that the rigours which the Russian people have been called upon to undergo have been amply justified in the sphere of concrete achievement.'

The inflated style is itself a kind of euphemism. A mass of Latin words falls upon the facts like soft snow, blurring the outlines and covering up all the details. The great enemy of clear language is insincerity. When there is a gap between one's real and one's declared aims, one turns as it were instinctively to long words and exhausted idioms, like a cuttlefish squirting out ink. In our age there is no such thing as "keeping out of politics". All issues are political issues, and politics itself is a mass of lies, evasions, folly, hatred and schizophrenia. When the general atmosphere is bad, language must suffer.

But, if thought corrupts language, language can also corrupt thought. A bad usage can spread by tradition and imitation, even among people who should and do know better. The debased language that I have been discussing is in some ways very convenient. Phrases like *a not unjustifiable assumption*, *leaves much to be desired*, *would serve no good purpose*, *a consideration which we should do well to bear in mind*, are a continuous temptation, a packet of aspirins always at one's elbow. Look back through this essay, and for certain you will find that I have again and again committed the very faults I am protesting against.

The defence of the English language implies more than this, and perhaps it is best to start by saying what it does not imply.

To begin with, it has nothing to do with archaism, with the salvaging of obsolete words and turns of

speech, or with the setting-up of a 'standard English' which must never be departed from. On the contrary, it is especially concerned with the scrapping of every word or idiom which has outworn its usefulness. It has nothing to do with correct grammar and syntax, which are of no importance so long as one makes one's meaning clear, or with the avoidance of Americanisms, or with having what is called a 'good prose style'. On the other hand, it is not concerned with fake simplicity and the attempt to make written English colloquial. Nor does it even imply in every case preferring the Saxon word to the Latin one, though it does imply using of fewest and shortest words that will cover one's meaning. What is above all needed is to let the meaning choose the word, and not the other way about. In prose, the worst thing one can do with words is to surrender to them. When you think of a concrete object you think wordlessly, and then, if you want to describe the thing you have been visualising, you

probably hunt about till you find the exact words that seem to fit it.

When you think of something abstract you are more inclined to use words from the start, and unless you make a conscious effort to prevent it, the existing dialect will come rushing in and do the job for you, at the expense of blurring or even changing your meaning. Probably it is better to put off using words as long as possible and get one's meaning as clear as one [can] through pictures of sensations. Afterwards one can choose—not simple except—the phrases that will best cover the meaning, and then switch round and decide what impression one's words are likely to make on another person. This last effort of the mind cuts out all stale or mixed images, all pre-fabricated phrases, needless repetitions, and humbug and vagueness generally. But one can often be in doubt about the effect of a word or a phrase, and one needs rules that one can rely on when instinct fails. I think the

following rules will cover most cases:

(i) Never use a metaphor, simile or other figure of speech which you are used to seeing in print.

(ii) Never use a long word where a short one will do.

(iii) If it is possible to cut a word out, always cut it out.

(iv) Never use the passive when you can use the active.

(v) Never use a foreign phrase, a scientific word or a large word if you can think of an everyday English equivalent.

(vi) Break any of these rules sooner than say anything outright barbarous.

These rules sound elementary, and so they are, but they demand a deep change of attitude in anyone who has grown used to writing in the style now fashionable. One could keep all of them and still write bad English, but one could not write the kind of stuff that is now common.

DR. DESHMUKH'S LATEST BILL—III.

(BY KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI)

The Special Marriage Act is concerned only with civil marriage. But the persons who choose to resort to it for whatever reason, invariably go through a religious ceremonial also to satisfy their religious sentiments. The Brahmans have their own wedding ritual as prescribed by the Brahma Samaj, to which they attach primary importance. Hindus have their customary Hindu ritual, the essential features of which are scrupulously observed. But the question often arises whether such religious ritual can precede the civil marriage ceremony if the latter has to have legal effect. There is much confusion of thought and practice on this point. The general tendency is to give precedence to the religious ceremony under the misguided impression that the proceedings before the Marriage Registrar are in the nature of the registration of a document which can be registered only after it is finished but without the time prescribed for the latter.

If the object of the parties is merely to secure the validity of their marriage, no double ceremony is necessary in ordinary cases. The religious ceremony of the Hindus is quite sufficient for the purpose. A civil marriage too is equally valid and sufficient by itself to establish a legal relationship of husband and wife binding on both parties. But where their castes differ or their gotras are incompatible according to Hindu law the religious ceremony fails to effectuate a valid marriage and then the Special Marriage Act must necessarily be invoked to their aid. In such a case it is immaterial which ceremony is performed first. It was because the Brahma Samaj had improvised an expurgated version, so to speak, of the Hindu ritual cutting out parts considered essential under Hindu law and custom, that some Brahmans came to fear that the Brahma ritual, even apart from the complication of intercaste and inter-racial union in some cases, did not have the same binding legal force as the Hindu ceremony, and cast about for a new law to validate their marriages, and they could find it only in the Special Marriage Act. In this case too it did not mat-

ter if the civil marriage was postponed to a date later than the religious ceremony, because the civil marriage was the only marriage recognisable as valid so far as the law was generally understood at the time when Brahma practice was less than a decade old and could not be urged as an "immemorial custom transcending the law!" That conception of the law still holds the field in spite of the determination of some Brahmans to defy it and contend that the eighty years or more which have elapsed since the Brahma ritual was first introduced have established a legal custom by now, ignoring the almost simultaneously grown up custom of accompanying a Brahma Marriage ceremony with a civil marriage ceremony. A Brahma couple may therefore appear before a civil marriage Registrar any time after their marriage and declare that they are yet "unmarried," and they would be legally right. Since that Central Brahma Samaj in Calcutta does not condemn such practice outright but condemns it as an "additional safeguard," it must be taken to be morally right too.

The case of a Hindu couple of equal caste status and compatible gotras is however different. Their marriage would be complete and unquestionably valid in law the moment the appropriate religious ceremony is performed. They cannot thereafter swear, either conscientiously or lawfully, before a Marriage Registrar that they were "unmarried" till that moment. If they did so, they would certainly qualify themselves for punishment under section 21 of the Act as perjurers and the civil marriage procured by such false averment would be null and void under section 13, though they may escape being punished further under the Bigamy sections of the Indian Penal Code because neither of the two fellow culprits can pose as an 'aggrieved' person and prosecute the other for marrying the same person twice with the different ceremonies. The proper course for such a couple, if the double ceremony was contemplated, beforehand, would be to

pocket their sentimental partiality for the precedence of the religious rite and have their marriage solemnised first before the Marriage Registrar. The civil marriage being a complete marriage by itself the Act takes possession of the couple thenceforward and governs them and their future progeny for all legal purposes. The subsequent religious marriage, though usually valid if it stood alone would be ineffective for all legal purposes and cannot put the couple back under the governance of the Hindu law. There is a High Court full Bench ruling to that effect. But are there any Hindus in India longing for such a consummation?

Incredible as it may seem to those who have a civil marriage and are ever ready to fall foul of the Special Marriage Act without knowing its contents, it is undoubtedly true that there are such Hindu couples. And they are to be found not only among those who have yet to be married but even among those who have, without any premeditation about a civil marriage, tamely gone through the usual routine of an orthodox religious marriage but awakened too late to the desirability of the services of the Special Marriage Act for certain purposes in the present unsatisfactory state of the Hindu law. "To the naked eye of the statistician," as Sir Ronald Wilson put it in his Anglo-Muhammadan law long ago when pleading for a proper civil marriage law for all India, their present number may seem to be so infinitesimally small in percentage as to be altogether negligible. But much smaller was the number of Hindu widows who favoured remarriage for themselves or for others in 1851 when the equally optional Hindu Widows Remarriage Act was passed at the instance of Pandit Jawar Chandra Vidyasagar. Dr. Deshmukh claims that there is a growing demand among Hindus for some such measure as his for the benefit of married Hindu couples in connection with the Special Marriage Act. Actual experience does endorse the correctness of his claim.

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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 Maulana's Statement:—Maulana Abul Kalam Azad has issued a statement explaining why the Working Committee of the Congress has gone out of its way in rejecting the proposals for the Interim Government to accept those which it had just ten days ago finally rejected for the constitution-making body. The preamble about the Congress's aversion from spectacular methods, comes strangely from a professor of Satyagraha which entirely depends for such efficacy that it may have on its sensational potency. Satyagraha in a hole and corner will fail bitterly. It must be enacted in broad daylight in a public thoroughfare so as to induce passers-by to form a crowd which the Police has to disperse as obstructing traffic. On the ethics of Satyagraha it is not easy to generalise but as to its spectacular character there can be no two opinions. The Maulana also says that the dispassionate observer must admit that the three months of negotiations mark a decisive step forward towards the attainment of our goal. Our own impression is quite the reverse. The situation, both as regards public feeling and the relations between the "two main political parties", is certainly

not more encouraging than it was after the first Simla Conference. The proposals for the Interim Conference were marked by a cynical disregard of elementary equity. Congress leaders with one or two exceptions seem to have been enthusiastically for accepting them. At a late stage they discovered that they could not face the country if they accepted them and the Nationalist Muslim issue suddenly developed into a major issue. The Maulana mentions a provisional list submitted by the Congress for one name in which the Viceroy had substituted another. Was there a Nationalist Muslim in it? Evidently not, because the Maulana says "subsequently in his letter, "We wanted to suggest the name of a Muslim to take the place of one of the Congress (why not be frank and say Hindu) names on the list." Mr. Jinnah's position that no Muslim unless he was a Muslim Leaguer should have a place in public life, was arrogant, and the Working Committee was in honour bound to stand up for its Muslim members. But why should there be this communal distinction in a body which is zealous of its national character? If Nationalist Muslim, is permissible why not National-

ist Hindu? And why should the latter give his place to the former, seeing that Muslims, Nationalists or Leaguers, are given ample weightage in proportion to their population? The first Muslim President of the Congress, Budruddin Tyebji, declared in his address fifty-six years ago that he was an Indian first and a Muslim afterwards. Does that represent the creed of the Nationalist Muslim today? If it does, why should there be a special provision for him? Is it meant as a reward for his being a Nationalist? To penalise a Muslim for being a Congressman as Mr. Jinnah does, is intolerable. To magnify him for the same reason, is not less objectionable in principle. In practice, it is nothing but penalising a non-Muslim for being a Nationalist! The Maulana's hope that the Constitution-making body will prove any less a field of contention than the conferences, is a self-induced illusion. The same differences, personal and political, will crop up there and the same verdict will mark its proceedings a fiasco. The Congress will make more concessions at the expense of Hindus who, as the majority community, under a strange new doctrine, have a duty to make sacrifices for the minorities! Can majorities have any ideals to work for except placating minors and minorities? The Maulana's position, and that of such of the Congress members, who agree with him about the unsuitability of a strong central Government with residual powers, is hopelessly wrong. Such a Government alone can protect the autonomy of provinces. The other day we had

the canard about Dr. Khan Sahib marching into Kashmir with 200 Red Shirts. But in the Maulana's scheme there is no means of preventing such incursions actually taking place. We shall have powerful Indian States overrunning neighbouring provinces and big provinces following smaller ones. In fact, even the Constitution of the Congress of which he is at the head is strongly centralised. So is that of the Muslim League.

Cabinet Mission's Plan:—The Cabinet Commission and the Viceroy in a short "communique" express their pleasure that their proposals for the constitution-making body, having been accepted by the Princes, the Muslim League and the Congress—in chronological order—they can now be brought into operation. The proposals for the Interim Government, are to be held in abeyance and an Executive Council of officials will carry on as a care-taking body. The members who have resigned might have been allowed to carry on, but that evidently does not fit in with the Viceroy's ideas. The Cabinet Delegation meanwhile will return to England to report to the Prime Minister and to Parliament; and in consultation with the full Cabinet they will formulate fresh suggestions for a Provisional Government. Meanwhile, the hope is expressed that the two main parties, will be able to adjust their differences. We appreciate the robust faith which refuses to acknowledge failure. But we are afraid that no satisfactory results can be expected so long as the Indian problem is approached as one primarily concerning the Congress and the Muslim League. The Indian question must be approached as one concerning the future destiny of 400 million people, irrespective of the creeds they profess, that is, to say, as before Lord Minto gave religious beliefs the basis of Indian politics. Lord Wavell might have asked Mr. Jinnah to form a Muslim League Government since he was responsible for the Congress refusal. He could have formed one with the help of other minorities, and even Hindus who are for some sort of settlement no matter how defective it may be. This would have certainly involved suspending the Legislature but this would be no worse than

suspending the constitution in regard to the Executive Council. If Mr. Jinnah pleaded inability, the Congress could easily have formed a Government with a considerable measure of stability. It seems absurd to let one party play the dog-in-the-manger. We much doubt if the months interval would effect any appreciable weakening in the antagonism between the two parties, which has been aggravated by the well-intentioned efforts of the Cabinet Delegation.

Long-Term Food Policy:—It is the fashion now to divide every question into two parts in relation to the answer: a short-term and a long-term. Short-term is the thing immediately to be done. Generally speaking, there is little choice in this solution. "Needs must when the devil drives" is the motto for short-term policies. In regard to long-term policies there is endless room for speculation. Long-term may mean ten years or fifty years or five hundred years or eternity. The plan of perpetual peace by means of international contraptions is the most prominent of long-term policies. The United Nations Organisation has already collapsed. No wonder. The Universal long-term plan cannot survive the short-term plans of its individual members. He is a very sanguine man who plans for the day after tomorrow not knowing what he will do tomorrow. This is the state of mind which underlay international plans for world peace and world security. Nations which have a plethora of money or credit may indulge in the pastime without irreparable harm to themselves. Nations with strong armed forces can also indulge in the pastime on the principle anciently enunciated by the Greek sage, Solon, that he who has more iron can at any time get all the gold he wants from him who has the largest hoard of the precious metal. For countries like India which have neither wealth nor arms, it is safest to keep out of the international racket. Especially is this case in regard to food. The plan of pooling the world's food resources and rationing them according to the ideas of a Central Committee or its agents, was conceived in the interests of over-industrialised countries like Britain which cannot grow enough food to feed their people. Britain has enough

ships to bring home food grown in other lands. India can grow enough food to feed her population and both the long-term and short-term policy for India is to do this. Another drawback of the international canteen system is that India can get not what food her people eat but anything that can be spared from the leavings of more powerful or politically influential countries. Continuance in the International system means that we must depend on several nations, first, for food (which may not be suited to Indian habits) and ships to carry them, and a number of men constantly on the hop to place India's "case" before the Committee or individual entrusted with the work of apportionment—in other words, a perennial propaganda of India's helplessness.

Are Anglo-Indians a Community?:—The energetic President of the Anglo-Indian Association, Mr. Frank Antony, has been loudly protesting against the omission of Anglo-Indians among Indian Communities entitled to representation in the Interim Cabinet and the proposed Constitution-making body. It would seem that the leaders of Indian political parties have recognised the claim. Apart from the political aspect, we cannot see on what grounds Anglo-Indians can be classed as a community. They are not a religious community. Christianity is professed by Europeans and Indians and a Christian community would include—these also. Indian Christians are, therefore, specified by race. This cannot be done in the case of Anglo-Indians. The Parsees and Jews are distinct communities bound by a common faith, a common race and by exclusive marriage laws. In the early days of the East India Company pecuniary encouragement was given to Anglo-Indian Unions but this was stopped at the instance of Sir Thomas Munroe. Children by European mothers of Indian fathers, are absorbed into the most exclusive castes and do not become Anglo-Indians. The Anglo-Indian community is now recruited mostly from Indian Christians. This source will soon be closed as there is a strong trend among Indian Christians towards their national culture. We are not concerned with the numerical strength of the community in these observations.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, June 29, 1946

FAREWELL TO THE CABINET DELEGATION

In his statement issued on June 16, the Viceroy said that the British Cabinet Delegation and he considered that no useful purpose could be served by prolonging further the discussions between themselves, the Congress and the Muslim League leaders on the proposals contained in their statement of May 16, the central part of which was the structure and functions of the constitution-making body. They had decided to form an Interim Government and were issuing invitations to fourteen persons drawn from the Congress, the Muslim League and certain of the minorities. There was no reference in this statement to the constitution-making body. The Congress Working Committee and the Muslim League Working Committee took over the invitations which were addressed individually, into their hands. The Congress Working Committee instructed one of the invited men, Mr. Harikrishna Mehtab, Premier of Orissa, to decline the invitation. Mr. Mehtab in a public statement announcing his compliance more than hinted that he did not feel happy about the intervention of the Working Committee. The Viceroy was requested to substitute Mr. Sarat Bose in place of Mr. Mehtab and His Excellency apparently agreed. But when the Working Committee further wished to replace another of the invited Congressmen by a Nationalist Muslim, as Muslim members of the Congress persist in calling themselves, the Viceroy and the Cabinet Delegation could not agree, not because they were anxious to maintain Hindu-Muslim parity in the Executive Council, but because Mr. Jinnah had vowed that he would not have any Muslim who did not belong to the Muslim League for a colleague. This was pure religious persecution. Sir S. Radhakrishnan on his arrival at Karachi told press representatives that he had met Lord Pethick-Lawrence in London and that he assured him that his delegation would not take sides in the communal dispute. Sir Sarvapalli added that Indian surroundings appeared to have shaken Lord Pethick-Lawrence out of this position.

The Congress Working Committee in a statement issued this week complains that it has been pressed by the Cabinet Delegation again and again to sacrifice its principles one after another in deference to Mr. Jinnah's intransigence. We rather think that Lord Pethick-Lawrence was not aware of engagements with the Muslim leader until he came to New Delhi. The members of the delegation are themselves men of high principles and would not think of pressing others to abandon their principles but for some overwhelming political reason which they could not ignore. Even during the present parleys, Mr. Jinnah has asserted that he had assurances from the Viceroy as to parity of which the Congress people were not presumably aware. The composition of the Cabinet delegation raised expectations the height of which may be measured by the depth of disappointment at the end of three months' negotiations. The country is tired of hearing of them, their discussions and personal interviews and movements by air and land several times a day for three months. The political situation today is many times worse than it was before they came. Hope disappointed makes the heart sick.

The Congress Working Committee did not confine itself to rejecting on behalf of its members who were invited to join the Interim Government. It accepted the proposals for the constitution-making body, which had been rejected by it and dropped by the Viceroy and the Cabinet delegation, and which had nothing to do with the proposals for the Interim Government. It is explained that the Committee has received assurances that its objections to the grouping proposals can be raised before the Constitution-making body. But the Muslim League has made cast-iron conditions for its acceptance of the proposals both of May 16 and June 16, and Mr. Jinnah is not the man to be moved by sentimental appeals and neither the Cabinet Mission nor the Viceroy is likely to try them on him. The Congress High Command is

not united in aim or method and it is comparatively easier by working on individual idiosyncrasies to confuse its judgment and paralyse its action. Dr. Khan Sahib, the redoubtable Premier of the Frontier Province while applauding the Congress for its decision not to join the Interim Government, suggests that it should support Mr. Jinnah and the League if they should accept it! A Muslim Government, if it does not go back on all its professions, must use the machinery of Government to consolidate its strength in the Provinces and make the way straight and smooth for Pakistan. The Viceroy's hands have been tied beforehand against intervention. Does Dr. Khan Sahib wish the Congress to help the League Government in these circumstances? Five years of the League Government will see the end of Nationalist Muslims including the Frontier province. The Congress was prepared to accept the Viceroy's proposals

at the penultimate Simla Conference. But Mr. Jinnah was not and Lord Wavell did not proceed with them. Now, Congress has declined to join the Interim Government. Mr. Jinnah and the League were ready to do so. But the new Government would have had to face the Legislature. The League members with the nominated and official bloc have been able to carry Government measures and they would have done so again. What would have been the relation between the League Central Government and the seven Congress provinces? The prospect of such an Interim Government being able to deal with any of the post-war problems, is infinitesimal. It would have been the only problem so long as it lasted. Subsequent developments have proved that the Mission was premature in congratulating itself on having secured acceptance on the long-term plan. Mr. Jinnah has recorded his strong objection to the long-term plan if the short-term plan is dropped. The negotiators, on all sides, have proved far too clever for each other. The talks have now shown themselves up for what they were—efforts at driving hard bargains. There is no use hoping for better results at the next effort. It is the basis that must be changed.

THE KASHMIR-NEHRU EPISODES

The little deadlock within the larger deadlock caused by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's entrance into Kashmir in defiance of the ban imposed by the State Government, has been resolved. The Pandit has declared that he returned to New Delhi in obedience to the requisition of the Congress Working Committee, but that he would resume his satyagraha against the Kashmir Government order as soon as he was free of the Congress pre-occupations over the Cabinet Committee's proposals. He may do so but it will be under circumstances more propitious for calm consideration of the issues involved. The Pandit and the Kashmir Government were both plunged into the deadlock before they knew what it was all about. The shock of suddenness will not be repeated. Approaching the episode as one which has already passed into history, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the Pandit's action was the less justifiable. The Darbar had responded to his first intention with a cordial invitation to go and study the situation for himself. He should have suspended judgment meanwhile but he lent himself to the promulgation of some wild statements regarding the measures adopted by the Kashmir Government. He admitted, it is true before he left Delhi that he had made them without sufficient data, but the mischief had been done, he had displayed a partisan's bias. A Prime Minister with a background of public life might still have turned the Pandit's visit to good account as a mission of goodwill. But Mr. Kak cannot be blamed for reacting to Pandit Nehru's defiance of State authority, as ninety-four out of one hundred men in his position would have done in the circumstances. Some of the subsequent incidents cannot be passed without comment. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in his capacity of President of the Congress telegraphed to the Maharaja requesting that the Pandit should be allowed to return to Delhi to take part in the deliberations of the Working Committee and that the case against Sheikh Abdulla might be postponed meanwhile. The Maharaja's reply was a polite snub. It was that the Pandit was free to return to Delhi whenever he chose and as for the suggested postponement, the case was before a Judicial tri-

bunal independent of the Maharaja's authority, but if the Shiekh's Counsel applied for an adjournment, Government would not oppose it. The Maulana had to remind the Pandit of the Congress discipline which he should respect before he could be persuaded to return. In a statement which he issued later, the Pandit said that his intended visit to Kashmir was only to arrange for Sheikh Abdulla's defence and to see things for himself, but he did not try to meet the Maharaja's apprehension that it would be attended by untoward incidents. The Pandit wherever he goes attracts large and often turbulent crowds, and the crowds which would certainly have collected about him in Kashmir, would have needed special measures to keep them within the bounds of law and order. Every Indian has the right to go anywhere throughout the country but every State or Provincial Government is responsible for the

maintenance of order in its jurisdiction. This is well-recognised in practice. Mr. Jinnah was banned for some time from entering Hyderabad. We should add that Mr. Jinnah's statement on the trouble in Kashmir, is marked by judicious statesmanship. He suggests that there have been agents working behind the scenes. One or two incidents would seem to be consistent with the suggestion; the report that the Pandit received a bayonet scratch and, worse, that Dr. Khan Saheb, Prime Minister of the Frontier, crossed into Kashmir to Domel where the Pandit was arrested with 200 Red Shirts. Both these have been denied by the Pandit himself. How did they come to be accepted by News Agencies and even to be included in the All India Radio News? Another disconcerting feature which emerges from this episode is that the country seems to be drifting dangerously towards Government by mass meetings.

THE SCHEDULED CASTES

The Scheduled Castes comprise some hundreds of groups which are divided from one another by barriers of caste far more rigid than those between Hindus of the four main castes. The only common ground between them is that they are all in very varying degrees regarded as beyond the social pole by the four main castes. Dr. Ambedkar on the strength of this single negative feature has been claiming the status of a community for this enormously variegated group. Gandhiji by inventing the word Harijan has fostered the illusion of Unity. Dr. Ambedkar, by the way, does not appreciate this valuable service on the part of Gandhiji. The Government description of them as "scheduled Castes" is both correct and compatible with the aim of social reformer for nearly half-a century to do away with "untouchability". Dr. Ambedkar by his method seems more anxious to perpetuate "untouchability" by retaining it as a claim for special recognition. Gandhiji's method also rather favours this. In any case, the Harijan movement had not altered appreciably the social aspect of the reform, though it has given them representation in statutory bodies and public service. The

recent "sweeping victories" in the elections resulting in the complete exclusion of the Ambedkarites from the Legislatures, are directly responsible for the street conflicts in different places in which Mahars have replaced Muslims. If a proportion of them had been allowed to sit the Legislatures, the wordy warfare there would have afforded an outlet for energies which now find it in street brawls. Minorities of opinion have been swept out of the field by communal representation.

A CASE FOR WOMEN'S CHARTER

Sir,—I was amused at your discovery you have published in the *Indian Social Reformer*, dated the 22nd June 1948—last issue under the caption "A case for Women's Charter." This discrimination is going on for the last number of years not only in the Education Department but also in the medical. The All-India Women's Conference had protested against this injustice long ago, as Parliamentary Secretary, I had moved in the matter. The Congress Government, was, however, contemplating a revision of scales for all services and so the matter was delayed. In the meantime we all resigned. I am glad you realise the case for a women's charter!

HANSA MEHTA.

[It was not claimed to be a discovery. It was merely stressing an old grievance anew.—Editor.]

ROBERT OWEN—A MESSAGE FOR OUR TIMES.

(BY RAMAN K. DESAI)

EDUCATION -

The Church insisted on its control over education by which it meant catechism and compulsory attendance in the Church on Sundays. It advocated this education as a cure for the morals of the poor and as an antidote to political agitation. Arthur Young in his "Inquiry into State of Mind of the Lower Classes," in 1798 supported education as means for "learning the doctrine of that truly excellent religion which exhorts to content and submission to the higher powers." Rev. Twist, 1822, argued, "Education would give the lower classes the absurd notion that they were on a footing with their superiors in respect of their rights to mental improvement; it would be dangerous to the public peace as the projects of certain revolutionary maniacs who teach the people that the convenience of man and not the will of God has consigned them to labour and privation."

The Health and Morals Act of 1802 limited the hours of work of children to 12 per day and abolished night work. The title of the Act and its content, so generous it seemed then, but actually of no practical effect without factory inspectors, shows the spirit of the times.

When Dr. Bell and Lancaster, the first with Church of England Bias, the second nonconformist started the monitorial system of education, its chief merit was advertised as reducing cost to five shillings per year per child. Actually it taught very little and its methods of punishment were brutal and rewards were tickets for petty toys. But when a bill was introduced in Parliament in 1807 to provide 2 years' free education in the three R's for "the lower Orders" the Commons reluctantly passed the bill but with full faith that the Lords would do their duty by the country. The Archbishop of Canterbury moved its rejection and it got 2 votes. The President of the Royal Society and a scientist of fame Dr. Giddy said, "education instead of teaching them subordination would render them factious and refractory; it would enable them to read seditious pamphlets, vicious books and publications against Christianity, it would render them insolent to their superiors. In fact in a few years all this would lead to sterner laws to deal with them."

Lord Brougham introduced a Bill in 1820 under the influence of Owen by which local manufacturers were to contribute towards the building of schools, school-master to be appointed by the Church and the curriculum to be fixed by the clergy. This bill, in its modest requirements, stated the limitation by the Church under which reformers then had to work but the manufacturers declined to be taxed and the Bill was withdrawn. Owen pleaded for a national system of education on non-sectarian lines. He advocated a Department of Education with power to establish training colleges, to build schools, to appoint teachers, to draft curricula. He laid great stress on equality of opportunity, above all on the development of personality.

The first public grant for education was made under an Act in 1833; it provided for the principle of education for 3 hours a day and the

grant was for £20,000 a year. In the same year the Parliament granted £50,000 for the Royal Stables.

One can gauge the obsession of those days in religious and moral education as an antidote to political agitation by the wording of a motion of Shaftsbury in 1843. He moved for "the need for instant and serious consideration of the best means of promoting the blessings of a moral and religious education among the working classes." In the same year a factory bill was introduced providing for 3 hours education for children limiting child labour for those between 8 and 13 years of age to 6½ hours a day. The bill provided that the schoolmaster should be a member of the Church of England, the management to be by trustees, clergymen and wardens, 2 members to be appointed by magistrates and two by mill owners, attendances at Church compulsory on Sundays. But the Bill was withdrawn, the Church demanded no secular control whatsoever and the others pressed for a national secular education under the control of representative bodies.

It is not my object here to trace the later controversy, voluntary system or national system, but it may be noted that it was only in 1902 that an Act guaranteed every child a free education, making counties and borough responsible for it. Educational reform has followed in the wake of industrial strife and after a period of stress, delayed only by the war, in 1918-1921 the Education Bill of Fisher dealt comprehensively for the first time with the whole range of education, provided for nursery schools and extended secondary education prohibiting employment of children in any kind of employment whatsoever under 12 years of age.

What is important for us here to remember is that as Earnest Green remarked "almost every effort for education reform since the beginning of the 19th century to 1936 has either suffered early bereavement or survived in an emaciated form as a result of differences of opinion on religious teaching and control". Is the teaching of religious instruction to be made compulsory? If so, on what doctrines? Is it to be left to teachers? Let any one consider that the issues do not affect us in this country, let him read the speeches of our politicians. Between those who regard their religious views as necessary foundation for a political state and others who advocate a sort of moral instruction the distinction in principles may be thin. I suggest that the history of education in England is a warning to us—and the best course is for the state to steer clear of these shoals and adopt a national secular policy of education.

It is to the singular glory of Owen that he placed education as the first essential in all his plans. If you believe that when people are deprived or base, the fault is not theirs but of their environment, their knowledge is the first essential of future progress and the security of such progress. Like the practical man that he was, he stressed that knowledge paid dividends in increased production apart from adding beauty and order and grace

to communities. Ignorance, he said, grows upon a society as age upon an individual, it stiffens the limbs and dims the sight. It follows that the lamp of knowledge must be eternally bright. If Caesar lamented that he could march no faster than the asses who carried his baggage, no society could progress faster than its most ignorant members. Co-operators, therefore, under his guidance, laid great stress on libraries in their stores and workshops. In those days public libraries were under the control of the squire and the parson both united under the banner of that illustrious Sultan who destroyed the library of Alexandria. A library was therefore requisite for intellectual freedom. They used to say that a "library to a house gives that house a soul," and more apt still, "Zeal without knowledge is as fire without light." But education is not a matter of reading and writing. If co-operation is to succeed education must have the object of companionship and training in companionship. Different ages have other names for the same thing and today you hear a lot about education for democracy. Owen supported all educational schemes generously irrespective of differences of opinion. If you believe in education for democracy or companionship, you must believe in freedom of conscience. If you believe that co-operation is the antidote to competition, then in education you must eliminate the process by which merit is recognised only in competition and scholarship given by marks.

* * *

That Owen took no account of heredity or natural tendencies is a charge often made. But if the end of education is to produce persons who will reach in the best way to the environment they will have to face in the future, and if the school provides such a simplified environment, the educator will not worry about the theory of human nature in general. Often enough acquired customs have far more of inertia and permanence than the nature of Adam. Aristotle regarded slavery as rooted in human nature. It may be possible for wise men to argue even today that war is rooted in human nature just as Lassalle argued that the natural law of wages must inevitably lead to pauperism and both are unchangeable. Wise educators will, however, prefer to provide a wholesome environment and leave society to provide for its own environment where personality will be respected.

There is a motto of a Moscow Sports Club: "We are not only rebuilding human society on an economic basis; we are mending the human race on scientific principles." It has been the avowed intention of the Soviets not merely to benefit the people but to transform them. They acted on the assumption that the Russian people needed a new environment altogether to alter their characteristics which themselves were the result of generations of evil social environment. Even if physical heritage were the deciding factor in the make up of the body and the mind there can be no doubt that social institutions have a potent influence on the making of human personality.

INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

In the Middle Ages, the governing classes, the King and the Parliament, accepted the need and the responsibility for seeing that the worker obtained competent livelihood. There were trade unions long before the factory system started at the close of 18th century. From the early 17th century, in the hosiery trade, it was common for a capitalist to let out the knitting frames to the worker working in his own cottage and child labour was used in competition with the independent knitter. The cutlery trade, with the hire of wheel, similarly developed a method of exploitation by which the owner hired not only the means of production but owned the result of labour. After the middle of the 18th Century the government turned to the policy of non-intervention in industrial affairs. Changes in process of manufacture, the demand of the export trade involved the removal of restrictions on buying raw materials as well as labour in the cheapest market.

The savings of a worker were not enough to supply the capital necessary to run a business founded on machinery; his skill hired itself to capital, he could not hope to be the owner of the materials of production nor the product of his labour. He could never be an independent producer but must remain a wage earner. This horizontal cleavage of society due to the industrial revolution was responsible for the ills of capitalist society, the rise of militant trade unions and all the conflicting theories, political and economic, which beset us to this day.

The gospel of freedom of contract enunciated by Adam Smith was a solace to the governing classes. In 1808 the Parliament regarded the fixation of minimum wage among handloom weavers as inadmissible in principle and likely to be disastrous in practice. The doctrine was enunciated that every man has a right to employ the capital he inherits as best he may; it is one of the privileges of a free and happy constitution established by law and a Briton's birthright. Free contract meant further that a combination among workers to obtain higher wages was illegal.

In 1799 all combinations whatsoever were forbidden. By 1808-1814 all Statutes which aimed at regulating wages were suspended. It was intended not only to punish combines to raise wages and reduce hours of work but even benefit clubs. Under the shadow of the French Revolution the Common people and the workers were regarded as potential rebels. The magistracy rose to the occasion; there was no question of justice or of mercy. Since Black Death reduced the number of labourers in the 14th Century, legislation had been framed to enforce service on the labourer at certain rates under penalty of imprisonment. Refusal to work was not only breach of contract but breach of duty enforced by law. In piecework, a worker, leaving work unfinished was liable to imprisonment. By their nature of work, many trades resorted to piecework and the freedom to use one's labour, unlike that of a capitalist to use his capital, did not exist.

The right of the workers to organise themselves was legally recognised in 1824 by the repeal of the combination Laws. Henceforth the

right to withhold one's services was recognised. Trade unions or societies for the benefit of artisans sprang up in all industries throughout the country. But the years 1825-29 were years of financial and commercial disaster. Wages were reduced, workers were thrown out of employment. Strikes were broken up by violence. Progress through trade unions seemed futile and men turned to political action supporting Radical and Socialist agitations.

Owen took a prominent part in the Builders' union, a Trades Union of the building trades, the first example of an Union stretching through all classes of building operations over the whole country. Each branch had its own solemn rites and passwords, as was usual in those days with societies which took the Lodge of Free masons as an example of organisation. There were prayers and hymns and oath of secrecy, the death chamber and mystic ceremonies. It is interesting to note that a Manifesto issued by one of these Unions in 1833 calls upon a building contractor to exhibit to the union his detailed estimates of quantities and prices at which the work was undertaken and demanded. "Should we find upon examination that you have fixed equitable prices which will not only remunerate you for your superintendence but as for our toil, we have no objection upon a clear understanding to become partners to the contract". This is interesting in the light of recent demands made by the United Automobile workers of U.S.A. upon General Motors. The American capitalists have never accepted the right of the Trade Union to examine its profits, the workers are only entitled to fair wages on the basis of general social conditions. The demand of the Trade Union even today in U.S.A. that the industry can be shown to bear higher wages if the company's books were examined, is considered a revolutionary proposal.

At the annual meeting of the Builders' Union in 1833 Owen propounded his thesis "Labour is the source of all wealth," and called for a compact among all the productive classes. In 1834 he started "The Grand National Consolidated Trades Union". He hoped to include all the working classes in one great organisation so that all individual competition would cease and all manufactures would be carried on by National Companies. He would federate all the separate trade lodges and even allowed for female lodges to be started. Proposals were adopted to lease-land on which to employ the strikers who were turned out and set up co-operative workshops. Within a few weeks half million members joined the Union. "Nothing in the annals of unionism in this country at all approached the rapidity of the growth which ensued." The avowed policy was for a general strike of all wage-earners with the object, not to bargain "for some paltry advance in the artificial money prize in exchange for their labour, health, liberty, natural enjoyment and life; but to ensure to every one the best cultivation of all their faculties and the most advantageous exercise of all their powers." The employers took strong action. They turned out employees who had joined any union but the savage sentence of 7 years, transportation to labour in March 1834 on the excuse of administering an oath, shook the whole trade union world. This sentence supported by a Whig Mi-

nistry meant the end of any hope of remedy by Parliamentary method. Petitions and processions, deputations were banned. Owen organised a big peaceful procession and a monster petition. Against Owen's advice a series of unsuccessful local strikes took place, he advocated positive action by starting co-operative societies of producers, i.e., production by association of producers. The Grand Federation by July 1834, was breaking up. It was quite clear that the strike as a weapon had its limitations when applied on a large scale.

Owen was responsible for the idea that wages should be based not on prices but on a minimum standard of living. He emphasised that instead of man being treated as a secondary and inferior machine, if he was treated with the care devoted to machinery, he would prove even as an instrument for creation of wealth, a most vital factor. Recently Henry Ford III said, "real progress towards better human relationships in industries can do as much in 10 years to lower costs as mass production by machinery achieves in 25 years."

The disciples of Owen carried on his ideas as their background into the struggles of succeeding generations, ideas adapted to the "needs of the hour, pragmatically, through such institutions as offered themselves. Their warnings were often timely, e.g. when rising prices suggested that sliding wages according to prices of goods would be momentarily profitable, they pointed out that the best wage with a minimum to assure food and some comfort, not dependent on the fluctuating whims of a competitive market.

About 1885 a new wave of enthusiasm was surging through the ranks of trade unionists; with this a new theory was being adopted, a demand for state or Municipal interference in industry and even the running of industry by the state. The assertion of Owenites that action should be taken by a federation of all trades, skilled or unskilled workers so that "the workers may themselves take hold of the means of production and organise a co-operative Commonwealth for themselves." Hyndman in 1885 said, "Noble Robert Owen, seventy years ago perceived the utter impossibility of succeeding in permanently improving the condition of our population by any half measures." That the workers should own their own factories and choose their managers was an idea difficult to reconcile with the idea of state administration but a vague idea of industrial democracy was revived. But a new school of thought relied increasingly on the openings offered by the Municipalities and Parliament based now and later more and more on broader suffrage of the population. Action through these institutions seemed to offer scope. The idea of a sudden revolution was replaced by a gradual development of socialist ideas among the people and political action through existing institutions. They hoped, by educating the masses, to capture political power to effect Socialism. Circumstances had certainly altered since Owen's days. Owen faced with the political scene in which 5 out of 6 adult males had no vote at all and then with open voting which meant open threats to voters, corrupt municipalities run by the same close oligarchy that ran the parliament, could have no faith in political action. Today when there is a Labour Government in power

for the first time in English history, it is well to remember that it is an experiment and its success or failure will determine whether the idea of industrial socialism through political action was correct in its assumption or whether Owen was right in his distrust of parliamentary action.

One thing can be asserted. Through the fluctuating fortunes of Trade Unionism, the thought has revived from time to time that the object of

trade unionism is not merely to retain a certain standard of life but to achieve the ownership and control of the means of production by the workers. In fact the idea of Socialism is no longer disputed; the point of distinction is only this:—that industries and services may be run by the state and Municipalities or should there be Associations of producers owning both the instruments of production and the products? But even

those who advocate State ownership today agree that labourers must have predominant share in the management of the industry, which affects them so closely and which they know better than either capitalists or state officials. Strangely enough Owen's ideas were more accepted in France and U. S. and over the continent, in the beginning of this century, in various forms, than in England.

DR. DESHMUKH'S LATEST BILL IV.

By Kopargan Ramamurthi

"The Object of the Bill," says Dr. Deshmukh in the statement of "Objects and Reasons" appended to it, "is to provide a means of having the benefits of modern ideas on Legislation respecting marriage without in any way interfering with the religious sentiments of the communities concerned."

It is clear from the Preamble to the Bill and his opening speech in the Legislative Assembly on the 7th November 1941 when first moving for its circulation, that the communities which he had in view were only the Hindu community and its three native offshoots, namely the Buddhist, Sikh and Jain communities. But what the benefits are which he wants to secure for persons of those communities already married in a valid form, he has found no opportunity yet to elucidate. We must gather his intended benefits only by noting in what particulars the Special Marriage Act (III of 1872) which he wants to utilise for his purpose differs from the current Hindu law of our courts.

It can be easily seen that the central feature of a civil marriage under the Act as distinguished from a Hindu law marriage is Monogamy. This is enforced and secured in respect of unmarried persons, for whom alone the Act is at present intended, by various provisions. Section 2, clause 1, stipulates that neither party must, at the time of marriage have a husband or wife living. Section 10 requires that, before the marriage is solemnized the parties and three witnesses shall, in the presence of the Registrar, sign a declaration in the form contained in the second schedule to the Act, the first averment of which (to be made by the bridegroom and bride separately) is, "I am at the present time unmarried"; section 13 provides that every person who, being at the time married, procures a marriage of himself to be solemnized under the Act shall be deemed to have committed an offence (bigamy) under section 494 or 495 of the Indian Penal Code, and the marriage so performed is void; section 21 provides for that person's further punishment for perjury under section 199 of the Indian Penal Code; and lastly as a deterrent against the commission of bigamy by a person already married under the Act, section 16 provides for his punishment under section 494 or 495 of the Indian Penal Code "whatever may be the religion which he or she professed at the time of such second marriage," but the latter marriage is not made void as under section 15.

If Monogamy, then, is the modern idea on Legislation in respect of marriage which Dr. Deshmukh has in mind, for whose benefit does he want it when he seeks to extend

the Act to Hindus already married in some valid form? Obviously the Hindu husband is no gainer of any benefit by the change from Hindu law to the Special Marriage Act. He is not ordinarily addicted to polygamy although the Hindu law allows it. But why should he voluntarily forego a power which he may need any time under stress of irresistible temptation or unbearable domestic unhappiness? Why should he also submit to the exposure of his dirty linen in a Divorce Court under section 17 for any matrimonial misdemeanours of which his wife may have cause to complain against him, and why should he agree to let her free from his bondage when he can hold her to her marriage vows under the Hindu law till her death even if ill-treated and abandoned her for no cause? As if the above considerations are not weighty enough to overcome any thoughtless enthusiasm for modern ideas which a married Hindu male may occasionally feel, Dr. Deshmukh imposes upon him the further disabilities introduced by the Amendment Act of 1923 as sections 22 to 26 of the Act of 1872, which are bound to make him feel as humiliated and hurt as one practically outlawed from the Hindu fold for the sin of marrying under the Act with a declaration of faith in the Hindu religion instead of denying it. (vide the "Reformer" of 15th June.)

What then can be the motive of any Hindu male in seeking a civil marriage ceremony under the Act of 1872 when he has already secured and is married validly to an eligible bride in the Hindu form? It can be no hope of earthly benefit to himself but a high principled conviction on his part that he owed it to himself and his bride to invest her with dignity and security of a monogamously married wife. This modern view of marriage would be of course of great benefit to the Hindu wife married with Hindu ritual and thereby placed under the governance of the Hindu law, which permits polygamy to her husband if he voluntarily accepts the monogamic restrictions imposed by the Special Marriage Act. The legal possibility of her supersession at one husband's whim which hangs unseen like a Damocles sword on her head would thereby be removed, and her wifely status placed on a more secure and honourable footing. But do the two implementing sections 2-A and 15-A proposed by Dr. Deshmukh's Bill by way of amendment to the Act of 1872 create such an acceptance on the husband's part of those monogamic restrictions?

Section 2-A no doubt imposes the condition that "neither party must at the time of registration under

this Act have any other husband or wife living." But the sanctions provided for the due observance of this condition under section 2 are avoided in Dr. Deshmukh's Bill. In the case of two unmarried persons seeking to be married under the Act, they have to make according to section 10, as already noted in an earlier paragraph, a declaration that they are unmarried at the time, in the form provided in schedule 2; and if that declaration be false, the party making it is made punishable for perjury under the Indian Penal Code by section 21 of the Act and by section 15 of the Act the marriage procured on the strength of that false averment is not only declared void but the offender is made punishable also for bigamy. What Dr. Deshmukh's Bill does is, provides no separate schedule with a suitable form of declaration calculated to commit the parties to the condition imposed by its new section 2-A and omits all the penal sections from its new section 15-A, which for the sake of such pointed exclusion, gratuitously recounts "all the rights" and "all the disabilities" to which the previously married parties re-married under the Act would be subject. If a man who has already two wives living, chooses to marry one of them again under the Act as proposed by this Bill leaving the other to her fate, such civil marriage will neither be void, nor would the husband be liable to be punished either for perjury or for bigamy. Again, section 16 of the Act which, as already noted, was intended to prevent bigamy by a person once married under the Act, is also excluded. Dr. Deshmukh's male protégé therefore can, after going through the civil marriage with his Hindu wife, at any time later marry again another woman validly either under the same Act or under Hindu law or Muhammadan law, without any fear of punishment for bigamy either under section 15 or 16. The only remedy which Dr. Deshmukh allows to the injured wife for her relief is to sue her husband in a Divorce Court at great expense and trouble to herself to get her marriage tie dissolved and rid him of the burden of supporting an unwanted wife, under the Indian Divorce Act as for section 17 of the Special Marriage Act which is included in his new section 15-A. The latter part of this section runs as follows: "And the parties to such registration and their issues shall thenceforth have all the rights and be subject to all the disabilities prescribed under sections 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25 and 26 of this Act. Unmarried persons marrying under the Act would not be exempt from sections 15, 16 and 21. But married persons re-marrying under the Bill would be exempt. The anomaly thus created is obvious.

We wish that either the whole of this part be omitted so that whatever consequential sections of the Act apply to unmarried Hindus marrying under the Act, may also apply to the new couples marrying under Dr. Deshmukh's amendment of the Act; or the omitted sections 15, 16 and 21 also be inserted in it in their proper places. Otherwise, it does not seem worth while or decent to utilise Act III of 1872 in part as a mere "Hindu Wives' Right to Divorce Act."

Section 2-A, as proposed by the Bill says: "A man and a woman described in section 2 who are already married to each other under any other mode of contracting marriage may get their such marriage registered under this Act if both the parties are agreed to have it registered." Section 2 referred to above comprehends not only those who profess the Hindu or other allied religion of India but even those who do not profess any religion. Section 2-A which is the first implementing section of the Bill is thus wider in scope than the preamble which it is supposed to implement. But it is welcome. It will enable even Brahmoe who have first married with Brahmoe ritual to marry later under the Act without having to declare that they are yet unmarried. The preamble of the Bill is not meant to be incorporated into the Act of 1872 as the new section 2-A will be. There will, therefore, be no conflict or discrepancy on this point. But a new form of declaration must be provided for this new category of married cou-

ples. It will perhaps do to add in schedule 2 clause of the Bridegroom's declaration, after the words "I am at the present moment unmarried" the alternative words "or (as the case may be) I was married to the present bride C.D. at (place), on or about (date) in another mode of contracting marriage and have no other wife living"; and similarly 'mutatis mutandis' in the bride's declaration. The said schedule 2 was framed in 1872 to implement section 10 which says that, "before the marriage is solemnised the parties shall sign the declaration in the form contained in the second schedule." The Bill proposes only that after the word "solemnised" quoted above in section 10 the words "or registered" shall be inserted but proposes no alternative to the declaration in schedule 2, "I am at present unmarried," which is surely inappropriate under the new scheme of the Bill being flagrantly false.

The expressions, "who are already married" and "may get their such marriage registered under this Act," used in the new section 2-A above quoted, surely convey the idea that even by such registration the marriage, though changed into a civil marriage, would date back to the original marriage contracted in "another mode". The words "may have such marriage registered" were used in that sense in the repeated section 20 of the original Act III of 1872. The optional registration of a sacramental marriage as a civil marriage proposed by the Rau Committee in part IV section 18 of their Draft Hindu Code was similarly

conceived and worded in the same sense. But Dr. Deshmukh's second implementing section, section 15-A, makes his intentions quite clear in the opposite sense. It runs thus: "On the marriage being registered under this Act the previous marriage between the parties shall be deemed to be dissolved and the parties shall be deemed to be married under this Act as from the date of such registration." This is the only wise course under the circumstances. The lacking on of sections 22 and 24 makes such "deeming" absolutely essential, so that any sons born already to the Hindu couple by the Hindu marriage thus "registered" years later may not be deprived of their Mitakshara rights under Hindu law to share in the ancestral property to the exclusion of the daughters and also to a further share in the remainder along with the after-born sons and daughters and widowed mother under the Indian Succession Act when the father dies intestate. Whether the words "may have such marriage registered under this Act" are apt when the recalled registration dissolves the past marriage and starts a new one of a different quality and different consequences, is a matter for a competent draftsman of the legislature to tackle. So far as the lay public is concerned it can see nothing wrong in the intention and should gladly support the Bill provided sections 15, 16 and 21 too are brought into action to ensure monogamy. Otherwise we can wait patiently for the fruition of the Rau Committee's labours.

UNIONIZATION AMONG WHITE COLLAR WORKERS

Just about two years ago a canopy with the words "White Collar Hall" newly inscribed on it was unrolled in front of a building in New York City, and the rapidly expanding United Office and Professional Workers of America, a Congress of Industrial Organizations affiliate, moved into its new headquarters.

About this time, under the aegis of the American Federation of Labour, the International Council of Office Employees' Unions, organized in 1942, was making tremendous gains. The rate of increase of its new members was reaching 1,900 per month and active locals were mushrooming throughout the United States, Canada and the Hawaiian Islands.

The term "white collar" worker has been loosely applied to any number of occupations, ranging from actors, doctors and lawyers to file clerks, salesmen, and stock boys. A more accurate definition of white collar workers has been given by Dr. Alba M. Edwards of the United States Bureau of the Census.

"White collar workers," Dr. Edwards states, "are the clerical assistants to our executives, our officials and our business and professional men. They do the office work, type the letters, keep the records and accounts and answer the telephones. They tend the stores and shops, sell insurance and real estate, carry the mail and transmit messages by telegraph, telephone and radio."

One of the biggest reasons for the slow and unyielding development of white collar movement before the war was that these workers felt closer to management than to ma-

nual workers. "Unions belong to the plant, not to the office," was the attitude typical among professionals and office workers who believed that opportunity was always ripe for advancement.

These workers were more dependent on the personal evaluation of the boss than were manual workers. Then, too, general office conditions were cleaner, more comfortable and less dangerous than factory conditions. So that in the long run white collar workers were willing to overlook their generally low wages for the sake of their working surroundings.

Although attempts to organize white collar workers were made as early as 1904, when the American Federation of Labour chartered the first local union of office and clerical workers, no significant headway in white collar unionization was made until the depression of the thirties. And as late as 1944, the United States Bureau of Labour Statistics found that only 13 per cent. of an estimated seven million clerical, technical and professional workers in private industry (about half the white collar and professional workers) were employed under union agreements, as compared with sixty per cent. for manufacturing wage earners. But the movement had got under way.

'Management Review,' a magazine published by Industry, recognized the "phenomenal success" of the CIO in organizing office and professional workers in 1936. By 1937 the United Office and Professional Workers of America (UOPWA) had become the backbone of the CIO in

the white collar field. The American Newspaper Guild also is an outstanding example of white unionization, and has done in the professional field.

With the mechanization of office procedures and the demand for new office skills, office workers had begun to feel no more secure than manual workers. Electric bookkeeping and posting machines, the addressograph, billing, addressing, calculation, mimeograph, key-punching, sorting and mailing machines, comptometers and typewriters, replaced older methods and demanded a high degree of skill from their operators.

Noticing the gains made by organized production workers during the war, and caught in the tight squeeze of upward living costs, and wholly inadequate and fixed wages, unorganized white collar workers were faced with the choice of abandoning office jobs for factories or finding means of improving their earnings through the medium of unionization.

Figures seem to indicate that white collar workers chose to follow the second course. From a total of 600,000 in 1938, white collar unions today boast a membership approaching two million, with an additional several million workers employed in offices and plants under union contracts.

Although these figures still represent but a small percentage of the total number of workers currently holding white collar positions, the impetus given the white collar movement during the war, and the gain made by these unions since then, cannot be overestimated.

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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

Ahmedabad Riots:—The riots in Ahmedabad which suddenly blazed out early this week have been described officially as communal. There seems to be no justification for this description except habit. No music before mosques or cows-slaughter in public, nor mishandling of the Holy Koran nor desecration of a Hindu temple, is reported to have preceded and provoked the riots. Unless we assume that a part of the population of the historic city had gone mad all of a sudden, we must try to trace them to some antecedent circumstance. This unfortunately is readily available. Muslim League leaders, including Mr. Jinnah, have indulged in intemperate language in denunciation of the action of the Cabinet Ministers' delegation and the Viceroy in abandoning their idea of an Interim Coalition Government. It takes at least two parties to make a coalition. The Congress having declined to join the Interim Government, there was only the Muslim League and the Coalition idea automatically dropped out of the programme. Mr. Jinnah in his anger declared that statesmen should not eat their own words; apparently others can. The Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan went much further. He referred ominously to Muslims being

ready for bloodshed if British statesmen understood only that as justifying Muslim demands. It is difficult to avoid, particularly in the absence of any other circumstances, believing that words like these lightly spoken might have some effect in inflaming the mind of the masses. The occurrence of the outbreak in the capital of Gujarat may also have a significance. A distinguished British administrator held that the riots often called communal are really demonstrations against the authority of Government. In the United Provinces and Bihar Muslim League leaders have openly declared their hostility to the Congress Governments. Is it too rash to conclude that the Ahmedabad riots in default of any other conceivable reason are intended as a demonstration against the Bombay Government? If this is correct even partially, the routine measures such as forming conciliation committees consisting of representatives of the communities are of themselves not likely to prove more than a temporary palliative. Gandhiji's condemnation of the use of the military is obviously more to ease his own conscience than to help the Home Minister in his exceedingly delicate and difficult task. To proclaim to men of violence

that the use of the Police and the Military against them does not meet with the approval of important leaders, is not exactly the best way of ensuring their abandonment of their violent propensities.

Mr. Jinnah in a Temper:—The decision of the Viceroy to form a Caretaker Government of officials has thrown Mr. Jinnah into a paroxysm of fury. This is not difficult to understand. The Congress Working Committee had rejected the proposals of the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy for a Coalition Government and a Constitution-Making Assembly. The Muslim League Working Committee had accepted them. There could be no Coalition. The Viceroy then issued invitations personally to fourteen gentlemen, five of whom were leading members of the Muslim League and five of the Congress in their individual capacity. These men, however, did not feel that they as individuals could act in a matter which had previously been decided upon by their respective parties. They submitted the invitation to their party leaders. The latter placed the matter before their respective Working Committees. The League Working Committee decided that the members invited should accept the invitations. The Congress would not join the Interim Government. But the Working Committee also decided to accept the proposals for the Constitution-making body. We expressed last week surprise at this decision. The point is cleared up by the assurance given to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad by the Viceroy—that the "grouping" proposals were not compulsory and that the provinces will be free to join or keep out of the groups,—which was pub-

lished along with the letters which passed between the Viceroy and the party leaders after the decision to form a Caretaker Government. A day after the Congress Working Committee's decision to reject the interim proposals and to accept those for the Constitution-making body was announced, the Muslim League Committee with but a few dissentients accepted both sets of proposals. Mr. Jinnah and his colleagues did not apprehend that the Congress acceptance of the proposals for the Constitution-making body, was a new factor which had a vital bearing on the constitution of the Interim Government. The Cabinet Ministers and the Viceroy, on the other hand, would seem to have felt that it had and that, in the face of it, they could not implement their proposals for the Interim Government which Congress had rejected. It was intended to be a Coalition Government which had become impossible. The course adopted of a Caretaker Government until negotiations could be restarted, rests on the assumption that the way to collaboration between the two parties would become smoother. It does not look as if it would. But we should wait and see.

Trusteeship for Colonies:—

The Foreign Ministers Conference in Paris, it was reported last week, have postponed discussion of the question of the disposal of Italian Colonies, pending the instruction of their Governments on the proposal of the American State Secretary, Mr. Byrnes, to place them under international control. This would suggest that Mr. Byrnes' proposal was sprung on the Conference at a late stage of its deliberations. This is not the case. Mr. Byrnes had brought forward his proposal last year. This was indeed "the stunning surprise" of the Foreign Ministers Conference in London in September last year. Mr. Byrnes' idea was presented as an alternative to Italian control of the Colonies. Moscow has put forward its claims on the ground that "Russian experience in dealing with racial and religious problems showed that it was best qualified to administer the disputed colonies." Britain, as usual, adopted an ambiguous attitude. Mr. Churchill had declared that Italy had irrevocably lost her colonies. So Britain cannot support the proposal to return the colonies to Italian control. She

was in general agreement with the plan of international trusteeship but she could not be enthusiastic about it as she would not like international trusteeship to be extended to her own colonies. We reprint from Kernon McKay's Foreign Policy Report the part relating to the advantages and disadvantages of international trusteeship as well as individual trusteeship. It is of general interest as it applies equally to such trusteeship everywhere, in Trieste for instance. The case for international fellowship is that it would safeguard a territory from being transformed for all practical purposes into a colony of a particular power. The argument against it is experience which, in the places where it had been tried, shows that national rivalries have led administering authorities to do more to advance the interests of their respective nations than to promote the welfare of the people of the Colonies. McKay notes that some Colonials prefer individual trusteeship on the ground that seven devils are more to be feared than one. But individual trusteeship raises the question, who should be trustees? Egypt, Ethiopia and the Arab League are ruled out on the ground that they do not have the financial and other resources to fulfil the economic and social role of the trustee. Britain, France and Russia are not proper candidates "in view of war-time commitments opposing territorial aggrandisement." Where did these commitments come in the way of actual aggrandisement? In Burma, Malaya, Hongkong? The United States has apparently no commitment, but no one wants her to become trustee. Italy is thus left without a competitor. The only argument against her is that she fought against the Allies. The question of leaving the Colonies to manage their own affair with the help and protection of the United Nations does not seem to strike McKay as a practical proposition.

Comrade Reborn.—We welcome the first number of the "Comrade," a weekly English review started in Calcutta to advance the cause of Indian Muslims by way of Pakistan. The title of the journal recalls the intrepid weekly edited by the redoubtable Maulana Mahomed Ali. It is surprising but significant that in the editorial introducing itself there is not a

word in recognition of its meteoric precursor. The reason is plain. Sir Frederick Puckle whose article in "Foreign Affairs" was noticed in the "Reformer" (June 22) quotes Maulana Mahomed Ali's saying at the Round Table Conference in London. "I belong to two circles of equal size, but which are not concentric. One is India and the other is the Muslim world. . . We are not nationalists, but super-nationalists." The Maulana repudiated the idea of Indian Muslims being a nation, the sheet-anchor of Pakistan propagandists. He spoke of two centres: Pakistan was not one of them. India was. On both these questions, the just-born "Comrade" is at issue with its famous ancestor. That explains why it does not refer to its fore-runner. We do not wish to qualify our welcome to the Calcutta "Comrade" by a critical examination of its introductory editorial. But there is one sentiment in it which will excite surprise and not a little amusement in those acquainted with the history of Indian politics during the last forty years. "In India," we read, "a decadent Imperialism and moribund Brahminism are assisting each other for mutual rehabilitation." Decadent Imperialism which sponsored the Muslim League at birth is now struggling bravely to cast off the unsavoury features which it had borrowed from its Teutonic cousins. Britain will emerge purified out of the ordeals which she is facing in her endeavour to return to her traditional ideals of freedom and peace. As for Brahminism, it is also casting off its impediments to the realisation of universality. Neither is in any way antagonistic to Muslim expansion. Since, however, the "Comrade" insists on regarding them as enemies, it will do well to remember that it is not wise to under-rate the strength of your opponent. The "Comrade" by putting the case for which it stands forcibly week after week, will be of value to those who wish to understand the League point of view and are baffled because, as the "Comrade" admits, the few organs it has in the Indian Press have their limitations. The "Comrade" is right in its remark that the "effervescence of some enthusiasts" had done more harm than good to the cause which they have sought to befriend. The address of the "Comrade" is, Prinsep's Street, Calcutta.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, July 6, 1946

INDIA AND THE U. S. A.

President Truman gave his assent on Tuesday to the Bill, introduced by Mr. Emmanuel Celler, which had been passed by both Houses of the Congress of the United States, entitling Indians to enter, settle and be naturalised as American citizens on the same quota basis as the European nations. A similar measure was passed some three years ago admitting the Chinese. Under this Act 75 Indians will be allowed to enter the States every year as immigrants qualified for citizenship. The three thousand Indians already in the States will become naturalised citizens. In a pamphlet on "Indian Immigration to America" (Oxford University Press, price 6 annas), published under the auspices of the Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, Dr. S. Chandrasekhar, now Lecturer in the University of Pennsylvania, traces the history of the emigration of Indians to America, refers to the decisions of the Courts on the subject and surveys the occupations followed by the few thousands of Indians who live in the Western Hemisphere. Until 1899 immigrants into the States were not classified on the basis of racial origin. The number of Indian immigrants rose to about 1,800 in 1910 but soon fell off as American policy became first one of selection, later of restriction and finally of exclusion. Sikhs who served in China, Hongkong and Singapore furnished the first stream of pioneers to Canada and the United States. Canada initiated the restriction policy. The Komagata Maru incident followed. Indian immigration to Canada ceased. "Indian emigration to the United States" writes Dr. Chandrasekhar "is a by-product of emigration to Canada. Many of the Sikhs who went to the United States, went from Canada. They were known as "rag-heads" from the turbans they wore. Indians are mostly agriculturists. Indians introduced rice cultivation in California. They have made valuable contributions to the agricultural economy of the Pacific States. They have made good. By their thrift, they have saved considerable sums of money. But their social

life is still unstable owing to the disabilities they have to struggle against. Dr. Chandrasekhar writes:

The life of these Indian workers and peasants presented an almost identical pattern of 'immigrant living' all along the Pacific border. A few families with children were scattered here and there but there were scarcely any Indian (Hindu) women. Some men had married Mexican girls from both sides of the border. A few married American girls of comparable economic and social status. But those who hoped to get brides from India could not do so, because of the difficulties of immigration. None the less a small and stable Indian community had grown up with Indian men, Mexican and American wives, and American-born children. Men who had been on the move in search of jobs now settled down as heads of families, with improved economic status. Then began acclimatization and Americanization. The children began to attend the local public schools and learn to speak only English, although the parents spoke Hindustani at home. India, to the children, is unreal and far away and attracts them only as the land of their parents and grandparents.

Although the community of Indians and their American-born children have proved to be useful, self-sustaining and law-abiding, they are isolated and hemmed in by legal restrictions. Some would like to go to India, marry, and return to their adopted land; some would like relatives in India to come here and share the American way of life. Difficulties are also faced in commercial transactions, for the inevitable question, "Are you a citizen?" comes up. Their cultural ties to India are cut asunder, new blood cannot be introduced, and India's nationals, in spite of their important contributions, are still ineligible for citizenship in the United States.

The passing of the Immigration Bill will relieve them of these and, says Dr. Chandrasekhar,

Indians may be expected to thrive under traditional conditions of American freedom and free enterprise where everybody can work his way up to the top.

Intellectual and spiritual links between India and the United States are of far longer duration than the physical movement of population. The Mayflower in which the Pilgrim Fathers sailed to the New World, was probably built in an Indian shipyard. It certainly floundered off the Coromandal coast. Yale University derived its name from Governor Yale who made a fortune in Madras. Indian religious literature influenced American poets and philosophers. Four years ago Adrienne Moore of Columbia University brought together much interesting information regarding the early connection of American unitarians with the Brahmo Samaj under the title, "Rammohan Roy and America."

American Universities have always been sympathetic to Indian students. In fact, it is not too much to say that opinion in American academic circles has for long felt that the ban on Indian immigration was a slur not only on India but also on American Statesmanship.

The spiritual and cultural grounds has thus been long clear for the repeal of the ban on Indian immigration to the United States. Mr. Emmanuel Celler who sponsored the present Bill and whose friendliness to the Indian people is much appreciated here, conveniently mentioned India's contribution to the victory in the World War as the most important reason for admitting Indians to citizenship on the same terms as China. This is perhaps the argument which is likely to appeal to the American man in the street. But we dislike India's war contribution being exploited either for getting more goods or franchise. India's contribution was not made of her own free will. It was made under political duress. She had absolutely no voice in the matter. She was dragged into the war without even the formality of approval in the Indian Legislature. India had no motive nor desire to vanquish Germany or Japan. She felt instinctively that war would not solve any problem, but that it would, on the other hand, create more baffling pro-

blems and events are justifying her instinct. Anti-Semitism blazes more fiercely than before the war in Europe and the Palestine dispute threatens to develop into a breach between Britain and the United States. In Asia, anti-Europeanism has attained continental dimensions. The only Power which seems to have benefited by the war is

Russia, and she too may find that her triumph is a deadly illusion.

We do not underestimate the importance of the American legislation. We have only tried to base it on grounds which satisfy mind and conscience more than India's enforced contribution to the war, whose ugly aftermath has already ap-

peared, and will become increasingly 'distressing' as the years pass. Unborn generations will reap the whirlwind from the wind that has been sown. India will be whole-heartedly with the United States in every endeavour to ensure true world peace, not the peace of Hiroshima where "they made a solitude and called it Peace."

INTERNATIONAL TRUSTEESHIP FOR ITALIAN COLONIES

Despite all conflicting claims, Secretary of State Byrnes, in his report to the nation on the results of the London Meeting, declared the Foreign Ministers had come to "general agreement" in favour of trusteeship for the Italian colonies, and that the directive to the deputies who were to carry on negotiations "called for special consideration of the American proposal for a truly international administration." It may or may not be significant that Foreign Secretary Bevin's report to the House of Commons differed slightly, he stated that the deputies had been instructed to "make the widest possible use of the American proposal," but that they were "to take into account also the alternative proposal of a single state trusteeship."

What are the respective merits of collective trusteeship (international administration) and individual trusteeship? Those who advocate international administration urge that if the new world is to be a better world, the United Nations must courageously proceed to put the high ideals of wartime into practice. This means, they contend, that we must go beyond the traditional concept of the white man's burden, and also beyond the stage of League mandates to the more advanced idea of trusteeship, which must be an international trusteeship if it is to be a real improvement over the mandates system. According to this argument, an international administration would safeguard a territory from being transformed for all practical purposes into a colony of a particular power, would make possible the acquisition of capital on an international scale for colonial development, and would assure the execution of the trusteeship in a truly international spirit. Not only native welfare but also international peace and security would be promoted by the elimination of national jealousies and rivalries over division of the spoils, and by the provision for day-to-day routine study and deliberation concerning a problem involving the vital interests of many nations.

Critics of international administration for their part have a strong case, as is shown in a recent study of how the system worked in Schleswig-Holstein (Prussia and Austria, 1864-66); Samoa (Great Britain, United States and Germany, 1880-1900); New Hebrides (Great Britain and France, 1906-); Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (1889-); Tangier (Great Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, the Netherlands and Italy (1923-); Albania (1913-14); the Saar (1919-34); Leticia (1933-34); and Memel (1919-23). This comparative analysis concludes that international administration furnishes a long record of failures for many reasons. It is ineffective because of the absence of a satisfactory final authority—complications have too many jurisdic-

tional disputes among their officers. The record shows that national rivalries have led administering authorities to do more to advance the interests of their respective nations than to promote native welfare.

Disputes also develop, it is said, as to which power should contribute the most money for development of dependent areas. Suitable administrative personnel for a truly international administration is definitely lacking and usually the administrative machinery has been too complex for efficiency—in some cases several different administrative systems have been used at the same time. Finally, competition has ordinarily resulted in one power becoming dominant in the administration, thereby minimizing the benefits anticipated from joint control. Although it is true that other states checked the dominant power, the value of this system "should be balanced against the unquestionable advantage of efficient, harmonious, and constructive administration by a single state from the beginning." From this measured judgment, the opponents of international administration conclude that the best trusteeship would be one in the hands of "a single responsible state held to account by a general international organisation."

It should be recalled again that with the end of the war, leaders of colonial thought have become more and more outspoken in denouncing the idea of turning their own colonies over even to their own trusteeship. They appear to feel sincerely that both native welfare and world security will be better promoted by retention of colonies within the existing empires. Lord Hailey has explained the British view, and Jean de la Roche is among those stating the French case. For Italy, Luigi Sturzo has pointed out that we "have nations' will not turn their colonies over to trusteeship and are therefore hypocritical in maintaining Italy's colonies would be better off with a trustee. If the international spirit is so lacking that enlightened colonial thinkers refuse to accept trusteeship for their own colonies, it may not prove strong enough to insure good international administration.

Unfortunately, individual trusteeship raises the very awkward question of who should be the trustee. If the concept of trusteeship is valid, trustees like Egypt, Ethiopia and the Arab League are out of the question because they do not have the financial and other resources to fulfil the economic and social role of the trustee. Nor are Britain, France and Russia proper candidates in view of wartime commitments opposing territorial aggrandizement. Suggestions that the United States assume the

role of trustee have no appreciable support either in public opinion or in the State Department. This leaves Italy, which only makes the problem more difficult. Certainly indignation at proposals to return the colonies to Italy, is justified by the very fact that Allied soldiers died in the war against Italy. However much we may admire the courageous anti-Fascists who seek to build a new democratic Italy, it must be recognized that a majority of the Italian people did not actively oppose Mussolini during most of his career and did go to war against the Allies. It is therefore perfectly legitimate according to this view, to punish Italy by depriving it of its colonies.

(From Vernon McKay's *Foreign Policy Report*, January 1, 1945.)

BILL OF RIGHTS FOR BRAZIL

RIO DE JANEIRO

Liberal forces in Brazil's Constituent Assembly are working to get a specific Bill of Rights for "men of all classes and faces", in the new constitution.

Brazil is one of the world's outstanding examples of racial tolerance. Her 45,000,000 people are an interesting amalgamation of the white, black and Indian races. Yet even here, where there is hardly a family from the *granfinos* down, without some dark-skinned ancestry, racism does from time to time raise its head.

"Does Brazil have a racial question?" asked Prof. Hamilton Nogueira, senator for the Federal district, in a recent session of the Assembly. "Possibly it does not exist in law," he said, "but it does exist in fact, not only in relation to our black brothers but in relation to our Israelite brothers as well." He urged that the "definition of the rights of men of all conditions and races" be made a permanent part of the new constitution.

Senator Nogueira's party, Union Democratic Nacional, is the strongest minority party in the Constituent Assembly. It supported the defeated Brigadier Eduardo Gomes in the recent presidential election. An interesting sidelight on the racial question here is that one of the elements in Gomes' defeat, was a whispering campaign to the effect that he did not like blacks. Despite Gomes' repeated denial of the charge most voters who considered themselves members of the Negro race, voted for his opponent, now President Eurico Gaspar Dutra.—*World-over Press*.

ROBERT OWEN—A MESSAGE FOR OUR TIMES.

(BY RAMAN K. DESAI)

More than ever satisfied that his schemes of communal living were sound in principle lacking only capital and suitable men, Robert Owen set out on fresh ventures. Under his influence, though not always under his control, his followers started numerous co-operative societies. By 1832, there were five hundred of these and he presided at the annual Congresses. The basis was, capital raised in small sums, production and distribution according to capacity, with limited profits to shareholders. This early experiment in co-operation was nearly ruined by a venture in Labour Exchanges to which the societies were connected. This venture was based on ideas Owen had expounded in 1820 in his "Report to the county of Lanark."

The war had necessitated the use of paper currency and the resulting inflation had artificially stimulated industry. The notes depreciated by 20 per cent, prices rising, real wages declining. When in 1819 it was proposed to return to the metallic standard, which Owen opposed, it was clear that the deflation would lead to depression in industry causing unemployment among the workers. Owen maintained that one of the reasons of unemployment was defective distribution of wealth; the standard of value, or the means of exchange, hitherto gold and silver, had acted imperfectly and needed a change into a standard based on human labour. Apart from raw materials, value is the labour, physical and mental, put into it. The average physical power of men can be calculated as well as that of horses; the value in an article of produce and its exchangeable values can be fixed for a certain period. He devised labour notes, warrants based on one hour's labour, authorising the holder to goods from the issuing store to the value stated therein in terms of hours of labour. By this means, he argued that real wages would be stabilized and, as scientific production increased, the value of labour increased. He hoped to eliminate both capital with its interest and the middleman with his profit. Since a note represented goods, the notes could be issued only to the extent of public demand for goods; and the depreciation due to inflation, as in the case of currency notes based on a fiat, would be eliminated. But, apart from the question of rent, an hour's labour cannot equally represent the value of skilled and unskilled labour and the value is obviously something more than cost. In any case to relate this system to the existing order something much more complicated than a bill of exchange authorising conversion of goods stated in terms of hours of labour was necessary. Owen seemed to appreciate the defect but persuaded himself into the experiment of "The National Equitable Labour Exchange" which collapsed dragging with it a considerable number of supporting societies.

Without supporting the reasons or the methods adopted by Owen, one may say that the idea is not valueless. Actually there is no reason why currency controlled to meet the needs of producers and consumers in metal or in inconvertible paper, cannot be made to serve its essential function as a common denomination of values or a stable

medium of exchange. But equally, if currency becomes the means of appropriating supplies for anti-social or political ends, there is no reason why labour notes cannot be made to function provided a vast range of goods are produced and distributed by a scheme of co-operative societies.

Gradually it seemed that, if capital had to be raised, it must be raised in small sums and interest paid on it. Ten years later, the Rochdale Pioneers started a consumer's store on a small scale. But such a store even as a precursor of a society of producers was not Owen's ideal; he was now over 70 and he had other ideas to promote.

Owen did not regard interest or profit as legitimate. He did not look upon profits as reward for abstinence nor remuneration for skill and superintendence nor as compensation for risks. He would not agree that in a society freed from restrictions where perfect competition would be permitted, self-interest of all individuals would mutually cancel profits so that the sole price of a commodity would equal the cost of production. He would not regard competition as a self-centering device.

In nothing does Owen disagree more with the economists of the day than in this outcome of competition. He emphasised its evils and stressed that competition must lead to monopoly on the one hand, and association on the other. Competition was war and it can only lead to further wars. In modern language, means long employed become themselves the end, whatever the original intent. Thus if society is to live in peace, members must form associations, small or large, where they may act in co-operation. Assuming that the motive for profit is the incentive to industry or saving, profits should be returned to the producer according to his work.

In the existing state of society labour is deprived of the major share of produce by the capitalist, the middleman and the landlord. A new society must replace the present and he called on the workers for initiative and self-reliance; the object was self-sufficiency in economic life. Because a new society must be born, he placed at the forefront of his programme, education and enlightenment.

Starting with the same hypothesis, others came to different and violent conclusions. Karl Marx adopted some of these ideas regarding what he called the surplus value as the source of capitalist income.

Marx stated that the capitalist bought labour but returned to him only subsistence wages, he being the stronger, and pocketed the difference from the market value of the produce. That, as society progressed and labour became more efficient, the surplus value accruing to the capitalist tended to increase. Competition between the various capitalists will lead to crises of overproduction and unemployment, inducing capitalists to form trusts and cartels, thus production being concentrated in a few hands; leading on the other hand to association of workers as a counterpoise.

Upto this point the argument may be accepted but here is the point of divergence. Marx proceeds, the changes in social order are the results of economic forces. The manner in which the economic life of a so-

ciety is organised determines its civilization, law, literature, religion are mere reflections of the material forces. He argued that new methods of economic production brought forth new economic classes in society, that each class was superseded in due course of another; just as the bourgeois replaced the feudal lords, so inevitably, by the use of political power, the workers would overthrow the capitalists. In this final stage when the workers of the world are united, there would be a classless society.

Whether the overthrow by the workers is to be achieved by revolution or gradual acquiring of political power, it is clear that the emphasis is on state action; on the Continent, it was argued that only the state could "hold out" or compete against the powerful capital. The emphasis on conflict between classes, the inevitable struggle for political power and the equally inevitable final victory of the proletariat, has been the main tenet of the Marxian School.

Owen would have none of this. His means for a co-operative state, was co-operation. If the producers themselves contributed capital and labour and shared the profits, the whole basis of exploitation would crumble. Political reform, which Cobbett imagined in a vague manner would lead to social changes, was secondary to co-operative ownership of industry. Reformers in the working class movement who believed in the limited functions of a Trade Union achievement, wages and hours of work, considered Owen's doctrines "nonsensical" and a "jumble of ordinary Trade Union aims and communist aspirations." The conflict of ideas persisting to this day, between Trade Unionists concerned only with higher standard of living and socialists who aim at a new world of common ownership of the means of production, dates from the days of Owen. Circumstances have compelled the practical unionists to recognise the ideal of socialism as a 'sine qua non' of achievement of industrial democracy.

It seemed to Owen that all these industrial and political movements touched only the fringe of the larger question and remedied evils only partially. He dissociated himself from the Chartist Movement on the ground that a movement for political reform was not enough, an ethical movement was needed. He held that man could not fathom moral laws but our faculties could comprehend the laws of matter and by material changes bring about moral reform. Religion he rejected as unnecessary speculation and though he used the word "God, it was without any definite idea and the doctrines of religion he simply treated as fables. He hoped to create a body of men who would propagate these views and by education bring about a change of opinion. Lectures were to be given, tracts published, societies started, to propagate a sort of new religion. Missionaries were appointed, Sunday-services of a rational religion started and within three years there were 62 branches with a large membership of an "Association of all classes of all nations." Owen thus was the founder of the group of Rationalists.

Owen had seen the misery of marriages indissoluble in any cir-

circumstances. He advocated marriages under attestation of state and easier conditions for divorce. Divorce in those days was granted only under an Act of Parliament and was available only to a few of the rich.

The clergymen in those days were used to more vigorous ways than debating metaphysics. Owen had been a great friend of the Queen's father and she had even dutifully repaid him the loans he had made to the Royal Duke. When he was presented at the Court of Queen Victoria, the Bishops thought it impudent of him to present his ideas to her, so virginal in her innocence and he so immoral. One Reverend called Owen "Incestuous Profligate" and still another at a public debate made a motion indicating that he proposed to sneeze in Owen's face. But these were merely social courtesies. He was

once barely saved from personal violence. A clergyman refused to bury a socialist's child and another declared, "Socialism was a union of all practices, save those of chastity and virtue."

An Old Act of Parliament aimed at sedition was invoked against these missionaries, the Act forbade a charge for entrance to meetings and a penny was charged as entrance to Sunday services. The whole movement was split into those who sought submission and others who turned violent anti-clerics.

Owen was now over 70 and it seemed as if his public career was over. In 1844 he left for America to join his sons. There never was any rest for him till the end of his days. He travelled incessantly, lectured over the continent, wrote articles in periodicals. The National Workshop in Paris in 1843

drew him to Paris but the experiment collapsed and he returned to England. He lived on 30 shillings a week. In his last three years he took great interest in the new mesmerism for table rappers and mediums and spirits but it was a passing phase. Till the end he was actively associated with the reformist movements of his times. In his last two weeks he went to the town where he was born. He wished to die there. But he must needs set about planning a scheme of education for the town! He wrote out a scheme and arranged public meetings. A clergyman at the very end came to read him the Bible but Owen rejected the proposal and wished instead to discuss his schemes of education. At the age of 87, he died on November 17, 1858.

(This is the fourth article in a series of six.)

DID WE FIGHT IN VAIN?

(BY QUINCY HOWE)

The past seven years have destroyed the three main foundations on which the policy-makers of the United States used to assume that our security and welfare rested. The Peron revolution in Argentina threatens to finish off the Monroe Doctrine. The Russians and the rival Chinese factions have broken up the remains of China's political and administrative integrity, and have closed China's Open Door. And the British can no longer control the balance of power in Europe or hold their overseas empire.

Debunkers of the First World War dwell on the failure of the victorious Allies to make the world safe for democracy or to set up a workable League of Nations. But those who nevertheless insist that we did not fight the First World War in vain point out that the Monroe Doctrine and the Western Hemisphere came through intact; that the Washington Conference of 1922 strengthened the political and administrative integrity of China and reasserted the principle of the Open Door. And the defeat of Germany in 1918 not only left Britain better able than ever to control the balance of power in Europe; the British Empire actually enlarged its territories.

In other words, the First World War may have proved an ideological flop, but it strengthened the world power of the United States by strengthening the three foundations on which that power rested; the Monroe Doctrine in the Western Hemisphere; the Open Door in Asia; and a British-controlled balance of power in Europe.

Few of the apologists for the Second World War even pretend that it achieved its ideological aims. The Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter have already become dead letters. But the Second World War not only proved as much of an ideological flop as the First. It is also becoming apparent that the Second World War—unlike the First—undermined and destroyed the very foundations of our traditional foreign policy.

The Roosevelt Good Neighbour policy culminated in the 1945 Act of Chapultepec whereby the United States, in effect, scrapped the Monroe Doctrine. At Chapultepec we dropped our unilateral pledge to de-

fend the Hemisphere against outside attacks. Instead, we joined the other American Republics in exchanging common guarantees against aggression from any quarter—inside or outside the Hemisphere. The Act of Chapultepec had a wider purpose than the Monroe Doctrine. In addition to regarding the Hemisphere as a single unit for the purpose of defence against outside attack, the Act of Chapultepec also proclaimed the sovereign equality of all the American Republics.

United States policy toward Argentina, however, quickly violated the letter and spirit of the Act of Chapultepec, in the eyes of many Latin Americans. Our State Department, having committed itself not to intervene unilaterally in the internal affairs of any American Republic, proceeded to bring various forms of pressure against the Argentine Government, without securing the support or consent of the other American Republics in advance. This looked—to most Latin Americans—like the Big Stick policy, but with this difference; it didn't work. Juan Peron won the Argentine presidency hands down, after the State Department tried to defeat him through outside pressure and propaganda.

Time and skill may repair the State Department's blunders in Argentina. But forces beyond our control in Europe and Asia have produced far greater changes overseas. In Europe, the Second World War began where the First World War left off. Germany finally destroyed France as a major power, only to suffer a far more crushing defeat in its turn at the hands of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition. But the Second World War destroyed more than Germany. It eliminated Western Europe as a centre of world power; it left the British Isles weak and exposed to the attacks of new weapons. The United States and the Soviet Union emerged as the only two remaining major powers on earth.

Every argument, however, used to persuade us of the German menace during the 1930's, makes the Russian menace look twice as formidable today. For it has now become almost treason to believe that the United States could survive the liquidation of the British Empire,

just as it is also accepted doctrine that one nation, one party, even one man can dominate the entire world. All of which makes Stalin's Russia appear to many Americans even more appalling than Hitler's Germany.

Stalin's Russia has not only shattered the European balance of power. It has closed the Open Door to Manchuria, the richest part of China. During the 19th century, the United States shared—as a sort of junior, sleeping partner—the benefits of the British Empire. During the 20th century, more and more of our policy-makers counted on making the United States the dominant member of that partnership. They assumed that we required British support to hold the Atlantic and Pacific approaches to our hemisphere. They also assumed that Britain and America, between them, could largely control the world through control of the seas.

But when we look eastward now across the Atlantic, we see the Russian land-based colossus dominating Europe. When we look westward across the Pacific, we see the Russian land-based colossus dominating eastern Asia.

Twice in the present century, the threat that Germany might permanently upset the European balance of power to the disadvantage of Britain, has involved us in war. And our determination to preserve a similar balance of power against Japanese encroachment in Asia involved us in war there, too. But the defeat of both Germany and Japan has also destroyed the European and Asiatic balance of power on which our policy-makers had assumed that our security and welfare depended.

All this does not mean that we fought the Second World War in vain. Neither does it mean that we must prepare to fight a Third World War against Russia. It does mean that we must recognize how radically the Second World War has changed the world balance of power—how much more radically than the first. It also means we must recognize that Russian-American co-operation has become even more necessary—in this atomic age of continental development—than Anglo-American co-operation ever was.

—WORLD OVER PRESS.

THE JAPANESE-AMERICANS AND CANADIANS

By HENSLEY C. WOODBRIDGE

The problem of minorities is a burning one in the United States and no better example of their treatment during wartime crisis and hysteria can be found than the means adopted by the civil and military authorities of the United States and Canada (acting separately) to cope with what they believed would be the menace on the west coast of these two nations of the minute population of Japanese ancestry.

Americans of liberal ideas and principles will long blush in shame at the attitude adopted by its government; indeed learned lawyers and students of our constitutional procedures will continue to debate the legality of the proceedings. Prof. Harrop Freeman has presented in the *Cornell Law Review* his views based on his vast knowledge of the underlying legal issues that the evacuation of the Japanese-Americans from the West coast—even in times of supposedly forthcoming military invasion—was unconstitutional.

At the end of 1941 there were in the United States some 127,000 Japanese-Americans, two-thirds of which were born in the United States and who, therefore, by reason of their birth, were citizens of this country. Early in 1942, 110,000 persons of Japanese descent were placed in protective custody and were, under directions of the army, removed from the coast and lodged in temporary assembly centres. This mass evacuation has been described as "the largest single forced migration in American history." Gen. DeWitt, the commanding general of the Western Defence Command, based his reasons for removal from the coast of the Japanese-Americans on the assumption that military events of early 1942 were such as to place the west coast in imminent danger of invasion and that every step should be taken to prevent the occurrence of sabotage and espionage. Gen. DeWitt further stated: "the continued presence of a large, unassimilated tightly-knit racial group, bound to the enemy by strong ties of race, culture, custom, and religion constituted a menace which had to be dealt with." Later government-released reports showed the utter futility of the general's racial remarks, for according to these reports "no Japanese-Americans, either in Hawaii" (where they were far more numerous) "or on the mainland, have been convicted of either sabotage or espionage." Other motives seemingly influenced the decision to remove this racial group from the West coast. Among these were economic motives, for the removal of the Japanese-Americans, who were especially interested in the farming and fishing industries, had long been demanded by certain groups of white Californians who feared the competition; it was also claimed that their removal prevented anti-Japanese mob violence and certainly for a period of time isolated examples of such violence did appear.

The War Relocation Authority by November 1, 1942, had lodged these 110,000 Japanese-Americans in ten relocation camps; attempts have been made and were constantly made by the WRA to obtain employment and settlement of these evacuees outside of the camps. While true that occasional disturbances broke out in

certain of the camps the Japanese-Americans, under the circumstances in which they were hastily uprooted from their homes and occupations reacted with such a degree of cooperation as to gain from former Secretary of War Stimson the not undue praise that "great credit is due to our Japanese population for the manner in which they responded to and complied with the orders for exclusion."

Early in 1943, it was decided to form a Japanese-American combat team on a volunteer basis. More than 8,000 Japanese-Americans have served with the American army and they have played leading roles in the war in the Orient as interpreters and intelligence officers. Carey McWilliams, one of America's most outstanding students of our minorities, has declared that "as a group, the evacuees in the centres have demonstrated their loyalty by every means available to them." He has further stated in a pamphlet published before the end of hostilities: "As long as the relocation centres are full of evacuees, we, as a nation, will be in a strange position: attempting to instill a respect for democracy behind barbed-wire fences; advocating principles that we fear to trust in action; trying to administer democratically a programme that produces, in the centres themselves, anti-democratic cross-currents and tendencies."

The American public, even during the war, did not view the relocation move as completely justifiable; indeed, certain elements of our daily weekly, religious, legal and sociological press condemned the relocation project in no uncertain terms, for it is well-known that a breach in the democratic treatment of any of our minority groups may leave an unhealthy and undesirable precedent. Magazines like the *Commonweal*, the *Christian Century*, *Asia and the Americas*, *Nation*, *New Republic*, *Sunday Graphic* and others led in this battle not only for the rights of our Japanese-American minorities but for human rights as well.

The situation as described by F. E. LaViolette in *The Japanese-Canadians* is in many ways similar to that of the United States. Prof. LaViolette in reduced his study with these words: "The evacuation and resettlement of the people of Japanese ancestry" (chiefly in British Columbia and numbering approximately 23,000 persons) "living along the Pacific coast, carried out at a cost of about \$15,000,000 to date to the Canadian taxpayer, has created unprecedented problems. Although more than half the Canadian-Japanese were born in Canada, and although many of their parents were naturalized citizens, they were moved by arbitrary order of Ottawa, their property was sold without their consent and their rights of citizenship were denied. Domestically, this treatment raises the question of the meaning of citizenship and of racial tolerance in Canada."

It seems that the Japanese immigrated to British Columbia about the same time that they commenced their arrival on the west coast of the United States. As early as 1884 agitation was begun against their continued immigration and as with the United States, this agitation was based primarily on economic reasons as well as the fear that the Japan-

ese birth rate might give the area predominant oriental population. Measures were taken in 1928 to limit the yearly entrance of Japanese into Canada. It is to be noted that persons of Oriental ancestry have never been fully accepted as citizens in British Columbia since they have been denied the right to vote, serving in the armed forces, jury service, etc.

The Canadian Government, though it acted with less haste than that of the United States, ordered the complete evacuation, purely on the basis of race, of all persons of Japanese ancestry, on February 28, 1942. Attempts were made by the British Columbia Security Commission to re-settle the evacuees on "interior settlements" for only partial success was encountered in regard to finding areas on the east coast and in the interior where they could be permanently settled. On August 4, 1944 Prime Minister King announced that the Dominion Government felt that it was desirable for the Japanese to be dispersed across the Dominion; he also stated that none of the Japanese in Canada had been guilty of any offence against the security of the country and that after the war those whom it had thought to be disloyal would be returned to Japan. In the spring of 1945, as a result of a survey undertaken by a group of Royal Canadian Mounted Police officers, it was announced that 9,000 persons, for a variety of reasons, stated their desire to return to Japan.

At the present moment, the position of the Japanese-Canadians is far from clear. Like the Japanese-Americans, the Japanese-Canadians have appealed to the highest courts of the land and it seems that the Privy Council in London will be asked to make a final statement and decision in regard to their status as to their citizenship, right to own property, education and economic opportunities.

Public opinion polls in Canada show clearly that more than half of the people of Canada are favourably disposed to permit citizens of Japanese ancestry to remain in Canada, while Prof. LaViolette concludes that Canadians must assume the following domestic responsibilities: (1) "The correction of citizenship legislation so that it is applicable to all peoples in Canada, regardless of race or country of origin, that they may enjoy complete equality with respect to duties and privileges of being a Canadian." (2) "Redress of grievances with respect to property sales so as to maintain our own sense of justice with respect to property rights and so that no propaganda charges can be used by foreign countries as anti-democratic indoctrination."

(3) "Maintenance of the right of Canadian citizens to live in the residence of choice." (4) "Educational efforts towards eliminating prejudice against Canadians because of race."

In the field of the treatment of minorities Canada seems somewhat still to be ahead of the United States, though signs of great improvement are seen in both countries, both are still from reaching in this regard a moderate degree of perfection that can justifiably be expected of democratic nations.

INDEPENDENT PHILIPPINES

On July 4, American Independence Day, the Philippines became under the law an independent State. The form of Government is Republican, on the pattern of the United States which has governed the country for over sixty years. This is the first and most noteworthy instance of a dependent country attaining independence not by revolution but by an entirely legal process with the goodwill of the dominant country. The Filipinos have during the sixty years been educated and trained on American standards. Their outlook is American, culturally and commercially. The Japanese occupation for about four years has not been allowed to delay the operation of the law. On the contrary, it rather hastened it. The Japanese had granted independence to the Filipinos and President Roosevelt thought it just to promise it immediately after the Japanese were driven out. In the absence of details, except the single one that the United States will retain some naval bases in the island, it is premature to comment usefully on the prospects of independent Philippines. The defence problem, though the defeat of Japan has eliminated danger from that source, is still a serious one as Russian expansion in the Pacific has been facilitated by that very achievement. There is besides the more irresistible pressure of immigration from China and, possibly, also Japan. The economic problem also will demand much readjustment. Until now the Philippines enjoyed free trade with their great friend and guardian. As an independent country, they will lose this privilege unless special reservations have been made by treaty. The most striking feature of the American tutelage was the rapid expansion of education in all stages. The people of the Philippines have the warm good wishes of India for their success in what President Truman has called this first experiment in democracy in the Pacific region.

Congress And Constitution Making

Congress leaders have announced that their nominees to the constitution-making body will not be confined to members of the Party. Eminent non-party lawyers and Liberal leaders are to be included on the quota. This is a statesmanlike as well as patriotic decision. Congress has not many constitutional authorities in its ranks. For twenty-five years it has operated on non-constitutional lines, and constitutionally-minded people, that is, persons who hold that even a bad law should be worked while at the same time efforts should be made without relaxation to improve or change the law, have withdrawn from it. These men should be brought in to help in the future constitution for India. We are sure that they will not be hampered by conditions precluding a free play of ideas. Particularly, in regard to the Centre, most constitu-

tional students stand for a strong Centre with functions covering the full range of national well-being and with residual powers. The Congress position has not been quite consistent. Some leading members fully share this view, but some others are more intent on placating the Muslim League demand for a weak centre—if there is to be a centre at all. Another is the veto power accorded to communities. Where a question is clearly and purely a communal issue, this is reasonable. But few questions in modern government are that. For instance, the proposed death duties. A prominent Muslim League member declared as soon as the proposal was announced that it was opposed to Koranic injunctions which forbid the state laying hands on the property of a dead man. Besides there is no question which ingenuity cannot make out to have an important bearing on communal life. Some concession of the kind was made even by the pro-Gandhian Congress. But the question should be considered now in the light of later developments.

LATE MRS. P. K. RAY

It is a sign of the deterioration of values in Indian public life that the death of Mrs. P. K. Ray on Saturday was not considered worthy of even a short announcement by our News Agencies. We are indebted to the "Hindustan Standard" for the news of the end of a courageous public-spirited woman, a pioneer of higher education of girls, inspirer of many progressive movements, and an ardent and unwearied advocate of social justice. Mrs. Ray and her sister, Lady J. C. Bose, belonged to the generation when Bengal led the way in political, social and religious reform, and of which Gokhale said that what Bengal thinks today, India thinks tomorrow. Mrs. Ray was a great friend of Gokhale's. She founded the Gokhale Girls High School in his name and until her death took keen personal interest in its affairs. It has now developed into a Women's College, one of the best in Calcutta. Her husband, the late Dr. P. K. Ray, was for many years Principal of the Calcutta Presidency College and the hospitality of their house was extended to social workers from all parts of the country. Mrs. Ray's bright intelligence and eager enthusiasm will not fade from the memory of those who had the privilege of her friendship.

DISTORTION OF HISTORY

Sir,—The Punjab University has recently resolved to get the history of India rewritten with a view to remove communal bitterness. The object is no doubt praiseworthy. But the method adopted is defective. Communal harmony cannot be achieved by misrepresenting historical facts. It is like making history a harlot, which prostrates before every powerful aggressor. For instance, history praises Alexander as the World Conqueror because he succeeded in establishing an empire, but denounces Chingiz Khan as a rebel for he failed to do so, although

both of them were equally criminal. Instead of attempting to prove Aurangzeb as an embodiment of religious toleration or the Brahmin Peshwas and Manu as the true benefactors of the Shudras, the history should state facts but make it clear that the result of religious bigotry and the theory of birth-determined superiority of Brahman over Shudra is always a national disaster. Our past history is not the cause of our present-day communal bitterness. Even in England, people have fought seven years and hundred years wars against one another. But now they are all united as one. It is not the past history of India, but the present behaviour of her people towards one another that is responsible for communal bitterness. As long as a Brahman continues to treat a Hindu barber or a Hindu shoemaker as his inferior for reason of his birth and as long as a caste Hindu continues to think that his food is polluted by the mere touch of a Moslem or a Christian, no amount of distortion of historical facts will help in bringing about communal harmony. The history of India should make it clear to our students that the caste system of the Hindus is responsible for the communal bitterness and never ending slavery of her people. Once the root cause of the trouble is realised by the younger generation, the whole thing will be set right in no time.

SANT RAM.

Jat Pat Torak Mandal, Lahore.

CASTE AMONG MUSLIMS

Sir,—A friend of mine related to me the other day a significant but amusing incident in a certain College.

A Hindu student drank water from a pot intended for Muslim students. Some Muslim students objected to it, and immediately communal tempers ran high, a quarrel ensued, and the College authorities had to intervene! When I was a College student some 20 years ago, I knew of certain Muslims (students and non-students) who would not eat food cooked or touched by Hindus. I suspected that this feeling to caste distinction would sooner or later take greater hold of Muslims. I believe that this feeling has been slowly but steadily developing in intensity. The fanatical elements among Muslims openly preach social and economic boycott of Hindus. It is seldom realised that social relationship among Hindus (inter-marriages and inter-dining etc.) was banned or restricted even among the various communities themselves, not to speak of Muslims. The discrimination against the latter was one of degree only.

Among Muslims, however, the "Caste system" is being encouraged purely as a retaliatory measure, and it may, in course of time, assume a rigid character among a certain section of the community. This is an interesting subject and some of your readers will, no doubt, be able to say something more about it in light of their own observations and experience.

—PADAM PRASAD.

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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 All-India Congress Committee:—The speeches at the All-India Congress Committee meeting were diffuse, feeble and mostly irrelevant. The supporters of the resolution confirming the Working Committee resolution, indulged in a good bit of special pleading. The opponents merely repeated the arguments of the Working Committee when it rejected the Cabinet Ministers' proposals a few days before it accepted them although they had been dismissed by the Viceroy as not likely to serve any useful purpose by further discussion. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad claimed that the Constitution-making body was a direct response to the demand of the Congress for over twenty-five years. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru denied that the proposed Constitution-making body was what the Congress had proposed. The Maulana went out of his way to aver that the British offer of Independence to India was not the result of consequence of international happenings, but was entirely due to the political developments in the country due to Congress work and propaganda. This would not have been true even in 1942, much of the activities in the name of the Congress since which date, has been formally repudiated by Congress leaders. The present offer is almost en-

tirely due to the post-war situation which has brought about a complete change in British politics not only in India but also in Egypt. So far as Indian influence is responsible for it, it is Subhas Bose, and his Azad Hind which has moved the people more than the official activities of the Congress. It is altogether creditable to the British people that they have sensed aright the significance of the post-war situation. They rejected Mr. Winston Churchill who was at the zenith of his prestige as the bringer of victory, and installed the Labour Government with a majority strong enough to enable it to carry out a complete reversal of policy at home and abroad. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has recognised in the formation of his Working Committee that new elements in the country have grown up. But the public will look chiefly to the old members whom he has retained to guide the President aright and prevent his revolutionary ardour from outrunning the bounds of commonsense. The change to the new order to be successful, should be gradual. The day-to-day administration must run on the rails laid down in the British regime. We cannot tear up the rails to relay them in other routes. A change at the points by an imperceptible inch may be all that is needed to take the

train to new destinations. That is by the way. Mr. Jinnah has at last realised that the League's acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's proposals, was precipitate and has called a meeting of the League Council at the end of this month to review the whole situation. The two new developments, he specifically mentions, are not new in any sense. The Interim Government fell through because it was to be a Coalition Government and the Congress refusal to join, rendered it impossible. There can be no Coalition with the Muslim League alone. As for the interpretation of the Cabinet Ministers' statement by the Congress, Mr. Jinnah and the League knew before they accepted the proposals that that was Gandhiji's interpretation. Mr. Jinnah surely knows that the forced entry of the Frontier Province and Assam into the two groups, augured ill for the groups. He has not done anything to conciliate them into acceptance of their allotted positions. The charge of "breach of faith" comes with ill-grace from the head of an organisation which is itself a monumental "breach of faith" in as much as it violated the solemn promise of the Queen's Proclamation that no inhabitant of India would be favoured or molested by reason of his religion. What is "the parity" which Mr. Jinnah claims was conceded by the Viceroy but the grave molestation of three-fourths of the population to favour one-fourth? Mr. Jinnah was in a strong position which he forfeited by his intransigence after the first Simla Conference, though his doing so has been of incalculable benefit to India as a whole. The Muslim

League Council accepted the Cabinet Ministers' proposals practically unanimously. We doubt if it could be persuaded to go back on its acceptance.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru spoke at a Press Conference after the A.I.C.C. explaining at length the intention and purpose of the Congress in entering the Constitution-making body. Promising that Congress would do its best to make that body a success, the Pandit proceeded to make this impossible by maintaining that the grouping plan would be demolished and that the Centre in the scheme put forward by the Cabinet Ministers' delegation, will, as incidental to the three subjects specifically named assume control of several others which have been left for the Provinces, such as Currency, Customs and Tariffs. The Pandit said that the opposition of the Frontier Province and Assam to their being grouped with the Punjab and Bengal would make that feature of the proposals inoperative, and that the Central Government whose functions were restricted to three subjects in the Cabinet's skeleton scheme—as also in Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's plan purporting to give to the Muslim League Pakistan without its disadvantages—would, as a matter of fact, have all the functions necessary to a strong Centre, though not expressly by implication from and incidental to the three specified functions. The Pandit's Press Conference observations have alarmed the General Secretary of the Muslim League, and he has anticipated the decision of the League Council to be held at the end of the month and declared that the League will withdraw its acceptance and refrain from participating in the Constitution-making body.

In his capacity of President of the Indian States' People's Conference which met a day after his accession to the Congress gadi, the Pandit declared his views on the future of the States, in terms which were calculated to aggravate rather than to allay their apprehensions. The Conference passed a resolution virtually claiming for its President a charter to enter any State at any time, singly or with hundreds of followers, whatever may be the apprehensions of the authorities regarding the consequences having regard to local conditions. Pandit Jawaharlal, were

he ruler or even Republican President of an Indian State, will be the last man to submit to this demand. In his Press Conference remarks, he declared that the minorities problem was an internal matter, and that Congress would not tolerate outside interventions in its settlement. The place of a leader, it has been said, is not in the van of a movement but just ahead of the central force. Pandit Nehru evidently holds that it is not merely in the van but much ahead of the movement though he runs the risk of being isolated from it by a long interval of space and time.

Sterilising Lepers.—The Government of Sind has introduced into the Provincial Legislature a Bill to control leprosy in the Province. The principal clause in the Bill is one to sterilise male lepers compulsorily. Leprosy is not inherited. It has been abundantly proved that children of parents suffering from this disease, if separated from the afflicted parent and brought up in normal surroundings, are absolutely free of any taint. Many years ago Sir George Pirjwood in an essay on the history and incidence of the disease mentioned the case of an Anglo-Indian family which he knew closely, in which the children had absolutely no trace of the disease from which the father suffered. It is strange that the Hidayatullah Ministry should have thought of sterilising lepers whose malady is not transmitted to progeny while leaving syphilitics and drunkards whose malady is transmitted, free to propagate it. It appears, however, that the suggested measure was not meant by the officer who first conceived the idea, to prevent the spread of leprosy but only to frighten lepers outside the province from entering it. Mr. T. N. Jagadisan, Honorary Publicity Secretary, British Empire Leprosy Research Association (Madras Branch) and Secretary, Kasturba Trust Leprosy Work, prints in a note on the Sind Leprosy Bill, a letter from Mr. S. Ridley, now Commissioner of Allahabad and formerly in Sind, in which Mr. Ridley acknowledges that the suggestion originated from him and for the following reason:

Mr. Ridley writes:

"The Leprosy Problem in Sind is a peculiar one in that, there is

practically no indigenous leprosy, and out of some 180 inmates of the Leper Hospital only 5 or 6 are Sindhis. The remainder come from "black areas" on the east coast and some from beyond the northern boundary of India, Karachi being a first class "begging" centre, naturally attracts crowds which include lepers. I considered that something drastic should be done to prevent leprosy from spreading the disease in Sind. I have always maintained that the Leper Act of the Government of India is quite inadequate for this purpose and that there is no hope of controlling leprosy in India until some form of segregation is achieved. The prohibition against lepers travelling in trains or buses is quite useless because guards and conductors will not remove a leper even if they recognise one. It was my idea that a start might be made by preventing lepers entering those parts of India which are at present unaffected or comparatively slightly affected. I felt that if this was done progressively lepers would be driven back into certain recognised areas where they could be properly controlled. As I have said the prohibitions contained in the Lepers Act could not effect this and it therefore occurred to me that the only practical way to achieve this object was to frighten lepers away from Sind. It was this reason which made me suggest sterilisation."

The idea of sterilising lepers in order to frighten lepers from setting foot on the sacred soil of Sind, is truly Hitlerian!

Russia's Multi-National Problem.—We referred in an editorial note last week to Russia's claim for individual trusteeship of the Italian Colonies on her experience in dealing with racial and religious problems. A very good description of Soviet policy is given by Homer Jack in the "Unity" for May, an exceptionally strong number of Dr. Hobbes Journal, extracts from which are reprinted on another page under the heading "The Racial Policy of Soviet Union." According to the writer, the three basic features of that policy are, a non-competitive economic system of full production, a national policy against prejudice and legislation against discrimination. The writer maintains that the example of Russia proves that State policy and laws can powerfully influence the attitude of component elements of a population to one another. Tsarist Russia persecuted minorities and set them against one another, Soviet Russia by an opposite policy has promoted unity among them,

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

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NEW CONGRESS PRESIDENT

The All-India Congress Committee met last week-end in Bombay. Two hundred and fifty or sixty members attended: about one hundred failed to appear. The resolution of the Working Committee passed at Delhi a fortnight back rejecting the invitations to a Coalition Interim Government and accepting the proposals for a Constitution-making body, after being retouched by the farewell meeting of the outgoing Working Committee, was confirmed by the All-India Congress Committee after two days' debate on Sunday last. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad after six years of office as President (four years in detention at Ahmednagar) vacated the chair which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru immediately occupied. The old Congress constitution provided that the President should be elected by delegates assembled at an open session. In the present constitution, the candidates for Presidentship are nominated by the Provincial branches and he who gets a majority of nominations automatically assumes the office. That at least is the theory. In the present case there were three nominees two of whom withdrew, and left Pandit Nehru the sole survivor in the abandoned field. Those who nominated the two withdrawees, had apparently no means of insisting on the submission of their candidates' names to the decision of the electors. The present Congress claims to represent the masses and this is how it interprets democracy in practice! It is not suggested that the Pandit was not the most eligible candidate for the Presidentship. He has many qualifications for the office. He is a well-read man, a

writer of distinction, has a world outlook, and, above all, he has a true and sincere appreciation of the ethics and philosophy of civil freedom. He is not one of those, not a few in the Congress, who would suppress civil liberties in the name of national independence. He is free from prejudices of caste and community and can deal with men and women on the high plane of human dignity. Next to Gandhiji, he is the one Indian who has an international reputation not only as a leader of his nation but as a man who sees the world problem steadily and as a whole. The Congress and the country have every reason to be proud of him and he enters on his high and responsible office with cordial good wishes of all classes and creeds.

There is one defect, however, in his composition which is serious in one who is placed in the position of leader of the Indian people. He has no appreciation, or only a very inadequate appreciation, of the great principle which is the golden thread running through the age-long history of his country—continuity. No word or thought is more repugnant to the genius of India as "revolution." India, in her long history, has undergone radical ideological and social transformations. The greatest of all is that early in her history her people gave up eating meat and drinking liquor, gave up animal sacrifices, and became a peace-loving people. The Hinduisation of India was accomplished almost entirely by moral means, by pioneers who brought gentle peace in their right hand and in the left the materials of an ordered family and social life. An ancient tra-

dition forbade the overturning of the social customs, and religious beliefs of the native inhabitants. The Indian pioneer went to fulfil not to destroy. The cultural unity of the country from Himalayas to Cape Comorin thus achieved, has stood unimpaired the shocks of many foreign invasions, military conquests, and spiritual assaults. India's power of assimilation has enabled her to survive many other ancient civilisations which, in their day, attained higher material levels. But there have been no revolutions, that is, violent impositions on the ruins of the past. We are obliged to dwell on this point because in his inaugural remarks he bade the country expect revolutionary changes. Such talk can only prejudice his efforts to grapple with the great task before him at the very threshold of his office. India will not reject any good thing because it is foreign; nor will she embrace any alien thing because it is dubbed "modern." "Modern" or "medieval" is not the important thing. What matters is whether it is good or bad, suited or unsuited to the needs and conditions of the country. The life and thought of India flow deep and strong unaffected by the clamour of the groups who are fascinated by the spectacular achievements of the United States or Soviet Russia, and bid us forthwith to transform ourselves overnight to imitation Yankees or Bolsheviks. "Revolutionary slogans" will catch the applause of these groups, but they will constitute insuperable obstacles in the path of one who earnestly wishes to leave the country and the people a little better than he found them. This is the utmost that is given to human effort. True progress, which is progress of the mind, is slow. Quick results are ephemeral and involve much human suffering and tribulation.

CHINA LET DOWN

For nearly eight long years China has been resisting with very meagre resources her powerful Japanese neighbour's attempt to overrun the whole country. For nearly half that period she was not only fighting single-handed. But Japan was being supplied with arms and material by the Allies. The Burma Road through which supplies were reaching China was closed for some time in de-

ference to Japan's susceptibilities. Even after America and Britain entered the war, China's resistance was of considerable help to the Allies, though it could not prevent Japan occupying all their territories in East Asia. Madame Chiang Kai-shek was feted in Washington and was invited to address Congress—the first woman to have the honour. Then the tide turned. Japan's advance was halted.

Suddenly, there was a cooling off towards China on the part of the two great Powers. The American Press began to carp at the Generalissimo's management, to suggest corruption and incompetence. Still China continued to figure as one of the Big Powers and was called in consultation at Casablanca with President Franklin Roosevelt and British Premier Winston Churchill. But her influence was steadily wan-

ing. And now after a show of opposition, the American and British Governments have given way to Russia's insistence that China should not sign the invitation to the Peace Conference to be held at the end of this month. China's protest has been ignored. Although Chinese

troops did not take part in the war in Europe, her resistance undoubtedly weakened the Axis by holding Japan from going to the assistance of Italy and Germany in the crucial stages of the war. Soviet Russia has no race prejudice and her opposition to China participating as a princi-

pal in the European Peace Conference, cannot be imputed to any racial motive. It was obviously due to Russia's belief that China will be obliged in view of her dependence to vote with Britain and America, whose point of view is frequently radically opposed to the Russian.

THE STRIKE MENACE

There has been an epidemic of strikes among us. Almost every month, some body of employees in Government and industries, has either gone on or threatened to strike. The spread of strikes to clerks and what are known as white-collared workers, is especially significant. Schoolmasters, bank clerks, as well as men of the Defence Forces, sweepers, Post and Telegraphmen, Railway workers, have during recent months been drawn into the vortex. Worse than the actual experience conditions during strikes, is the effect on pub-

lic morale of constant alarms of impending strikes in key employments. This is not the case only in India, but in India the line of demarcation between political and industrial agitations is vague and is apt to become blurred by irresponsible leadership, that is, when leaders do not themselves belong to the classes which stand most to suffer and have most to endure from cessation of employment. The article reprinted elsewhere from "Unity," by Ernest Caldecott, an American clergyman pointing out, by a clear exposition of the history and present effects of strikes among large classes of

workers, and suggesting a more rational substitute which will avoid widespread dislocation of social life, is of immediate interest to us in India. Postmen's strike which was once averted but a few months ago, has been resuscitated on Thursday, July 11. Mr. Caldecott's alternative is State intervention. Mussolini, it may be recalled, found in the social and economic disorganisation of frequent strikes, his chief argument for State control of factories. The workers, he argued, were entitled to protection from exploitation, but were not entitled themselves to exploit the public.

ROBERT OWEN — A MESSAGE FOR OUR TIMES

By RAMAN K. DESAI

Owen was no recluse engaged in exounding abstract ideas. He was the active type interested in public affairs. He acted in the light of experience without regard to cherished youths. His mode of thought and range of ideas were derived from active interest in and experience of practical affairs. Owen's main contribution was the emphasis he placed in considering social measures, on the ultimate consequences to the personnel involved. He concentrated on the human needs under a scientific revolution. The Science of Wealth was not a science of increased production of goods but of a better standard of living. From the indifference of the privileged classes he turned to the unorganised people for initiative and self-help. The attempt to mould political institutions seemed to him of transient effect. If the society based on competition was inimical to progress a new society was envisaged, evolved by sound education, founded on co-operation in economic enterprise. If profit was the motive of competitive society, then the solution was to abolish the motive itself by parallel institutions based on co-operation. While he assisted all movements for social uplift, he considered the problem as one not so much of immediate relief as of transformation of human character. He emphasised that education should be revised to meet the new needs of humanity.

This emphasis on education had as its purpose not merely the development of the co-operative spirit but also the capacity to use a mechanical civilization for the betterment of the people. He saw the potentialities of the machine age not in terms of providing a vast store of consumer goods, rising wages enabling consumption, nor did he share the zeal which would merely redistribute the goods more equitably, if

necessary by use of political machinery, but he intended that education should instil into the people the uses of scientific knowledge for a more gracious way of living.

The quantitative aspect of goods, emphasised by the leaders of aesthetic movement later on, and the ultimate attainment of culture among the masses, distinguishes his ideas not merely from those of older economists but later socialists. These had no objection to the quantitative methods of production and capitalist use of existing scientific knowledge but through public ownership aspired merely towards distribution of purchasing power, a rise in standard of living in terms of wages and hours of work. The weakness of Trade Union Socialism lies in the narrow conception of community welfare. For if these objects can be realised by a dictatorial government replacing or controlling capitalist institutions, people trailed in the belief that human needs meant increase and even spread of material wealth are likely to be easy prey to the new serfdom of the spirit.

Those who look upon all sciences, including economics and politics, as means for raising the standard of culture of the people and see in the achievement of modern technology an endless potential of human welfare, must judge ideologies and institutions by the measure of fundamental human needs. The problem, thus is not whether Socialism or Co-operation can more efficiently produce or more evenly distribute goods manufactured under the existing capitalist direction of technology but that society should devise means to foster and direct, the entire expert knowledge to meet the material as well as deeper needs for a humane living. Since this concept of society involves a new outlook on the uses of science the urgency and signifi-

cance of education as a means of cultivating a sense of social values becomes clear. Education for building personality and equipping people for civic responsibilities is not enough; there must be training to gauge the potential of a new age of scientific inventions. We must appreciate that, while education has its effects on communal consciousness, these inventions set a tone to the aspirations and evolve groupings of social classes. The people educated in co-operation will fail to achieve their co-operative society unless they are conscious of the impact of technology on the form of society. Conscious and deliberate initiative will be necessary to train the new generation in equipment to direct the force of scientific discoveries.

* * *
There is no doubt that in India industry is organised in a manner which means expropriation by the capitalists of the major share of workers' produce. With the decline of agriculture and the growth of population, wages have tended to remain at the lowest point of subsistence. The whole basis of a series of companies Acts by which the liability of founder capitalists was limited to the shares authorised, was the insurance against risks in undertaking new hazardous enterprises; in actual fact this has only meant the control of a factory without any risk, on small capital, soon repaid by dividends and commission, and fabulous profits. The idea that the capitalist furnishes both initial capital as well as working capital is obsolete in practice. In times of low rates of interest and prosperity he lends working capital at high rates but during the crises of the thirties, there was no evidence of any anxiety to save the textile industry on the part of capitalists. If World

War II had been delayed by a year or so, our industries would have been in a terrible state. The Government on many occasions came to the assistance of our industries by tariffs and protection. As against this, the Government has adopted ameliorative measures for the workers but it cannot be said that Geneva Conventions plus a form of State Socialism have yielded any marked results, either by way of protecting the workers, controlling capitalists or raising the general standard of living.

It is idle to talk of private enterprise. Where capital is protected by the legislation of limited liability, where profits are guaranteed by State Tariffs, where the law permits, by a system of almost irremovable managing agency, the employment of as little capital by the entrepreneur as possible with the maximum protection for his profits for a number of years, there is hardly anything private in the enterprise, and indeed very little enterprise. It is neither private nor enterprise. We are told by theorists that a capitalist directs and superintends labour and is watchful of markets. The fact is that today and for a long time to come markets are provided for him and any industrialist will agree that today his factory involves little direction.

All the evils of early 19th century industrial revolution in England are already upon us. Agriculture has declined and villages as social units are being broken up. The migration of able-bodied men into cities and their factories and slums has created a class of humanity uprooted from the soil and its bearings; the old order is being demolished but there is no sign that a new order of individualism has arisen; in any case the pressure of unemployed cannot possibly keep wages high enough to raise the standard of living; today this standard is indicated by working during the best hours in noisy crowded factories, homes in overcrowded slum dwellings rented at figures which yield profits to landlords higher than ever obtainable in the best class of dwellings, separated from families and their women-folk, without the benefit of health, old age and other insurance schemes, overworked in youth to be discarded in sickness and age. Actually whatever power the worker wields rests on that aspect of his life which is considered the cause of his irregularity and inefficiency, his interest in a plot of land in his village which he considers his permanent interest. This has enabled him to hold out in strikes for periods impossible to the landless proletariat of Europe.

Our climate does not permit sustained labour in crowded factories or cities for 8 or 10 hours a day; apart from the shock to our social structure we do not possess the surplus capital, the continuous demand for products, the capacity of competing, through research and improved method, on equal terms with foreign countries. Consider what a modern city costs in terms of capital and wage, in outlay and maintenance. Consider if it would not be cheaper for us to take industry into the villages and thus restore the balanced economy of a factory worker owning land and a peasant working in a factory. In the U.S.A. Ford has already come to the conclusion that small units of factories can be worked profitably in villages or small towns by electricity, emp-

ploying labour, primarily agricultural, producing accessories and spare parts under central supervision.

I do not desire to sentimentalise—but is it advisable for us to turn our backs on our village civilization, our traditional way of living, in search of a city which must go through its cycle of slums, reform agitation, fight for municipalisation, welfare schemes and perhaps over again the youth movement calling for contact with nature in vacation? Do you remember the plea of Hitler, probably his only good chapter in "Mein Kampf" where he deplored the complete rift between the town dweller and the countryman, the sterile mind of children with no contact with and appreciation of the beauties of nature? That Hitler plagiarised as usual is irrelevant, the point remains that we human beings are products of the earth and of the layer of nine inches of clay which yields cereals and almost all food.

The drab misery of a slum metropolis, with the neurosis of congested living, impressed upon the minds of aesthetes and reformers who followed Owen. We are bound to reflect on the insidious influence of metropolitan congestion on an essentially humane pattern of our social life. A city can be a desert for loneliness. Employment in such an environment alters the character of the people. There is no reason to suppose that our people will not be transformed into sensation-craving, scare-mongering rodents familiar in other continents. But new technique makes decentralisation effective. An entirely new motive power offers a chance for building society on the foundation of qualitative production in an environment of deep-seated

satisfactions, away from neurotic cities. The postulates that a centralized urban community is necessary for high mechanical production and that the mere even distribution of goods will meet the deepest needs of mankind are no longer valid. Whatever may be the causes which led to the growth of large cities in this country, a natural harbour, terminus of railway system, proximity of minerals, it is possible now to urge that new methods of road building, motor vehicles, electrical communications and above all the use of electricity as motive power, make the idea of a small town unit of society feasible.

The accumulation of profits in the hands of capitalists, growing with increased production due to efficiency, and now with the probability of State production is creating a powerful class of capitalists. A growing and expanding economy is creating the problem of centralisation of the resources of production; it is clear that we must prepare for methods of redistribution of the means of production.

Exigencies of war have forced the Government in India to control capitalist industry by means of quotas, price control, taxation, licences for foreign trade. This is only a negative control and it will soon be realised that its effect will be to dissuade private undertakings for state objects on the one hand without any real advancement by the State for its planned economy.

I am unable to accept that part of the scheme formulated in the Bombay Plan generally whereby it seeks to keep capitalism and private enterprise in industry intact for the time being, controlled by the State by means of taxation and general direc-

tion of prices and production, and control of capital issues. Nor do I agree with those who believe that a middle road in which various economic interests, acting in a political democracy may balance each other, is long practicable; such interests lead to conflicts and their reflection on the political structure where the administrative affairs would be in the hands of representatives of the various industries, must call forth a corporate State of the Mussolini pattern. I reject the day dream, which had some popularity recently, of the managerial revolution.

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The disciples of Owen rejected so-called Socialism under a paternal State contemplated by Napoleon III and Bismarck by which the existing order of property would be retained but its defects softened by palliative measures. They castigated it as rank feudalism. While they agreed that railways and water-works and works of general interest may be acquired by the State, they distrusted paternalism as the doctrine of despots. Individuality must be developed in character and even national development in so far as it was the reflection of racial character, may be accepted but they warned against the spirit of nationalism. "The sentiment" said Wyndham, "is lofty, but it may harden into nationalism." We in India are apt to look to a paternal government even to solve our elementary social problems. If we are to heed the warnings of history, we must turn to co-operative enterprise wherever possible and nationalisation if necessary. Eternal vigilance will be needed to secure socialism to democratic foundations; there is no magic in names.

Certain industries by their nature must be nationalised. Even classical economics admitted the nationalisation of industries and services which were too large for joint stock enterprise. Mining industries, air and coastal services, railways, cables, irrigation, public utilities, and basic industries should be state-owned.

The objections to Socialism under State auspices run under several heads. The capitalist, it is argued, provides direction of labour and superintendence; this would not be provided by state officials with the same efficiency. The answer to this is that, actually at present, the control rests in state departments and the forces affecting even one factory are so vast, districts and nations and even the whole world so intricately dependent that a central government is in a better position to judge demand and supply and guide production and sale than the solitary employer. It is also urged that under the stimulus of self-interest and competition, Labour provides maximum efficiency; this incentive would be lacking under the Socialist State. Channels of expression of human nature can be diverted; habits and social customs can be altered by enlightenment. It may be that inflated egotism may be a malaise of present society. John Stuart Mill answered the question long ago. "The objection ordinarily made to a system of community of property and equal distribution of produce—that each person would be incessantly occupied in evading his share of the work—is, I think, in general, considerably overstated. There is a kind of work, that of fighting, which is never conducted on any other than the co-operative system; and neither in a rude nor in a civilised society,

has the supposed difficulty been experienced."

The real problem of Socialism is the control by a centralised authority in a manner which may deprive the workers of any semblance of personal liberty. The experience of the Soviets is relevant. It was found that the management of a workshop or an industry by the workers without regard to the demands of the other sections of the community led to waste and incoherence. In a capitalist society the profit motive looked to the needs of the consumer and production was directed under that object. In a communistic state it was soon found that a Government Department had to direct not only each industry but even each factory in its production and price schedule. The result of this necessarily involved placing more and more power in the Central political authority. This must mean a dictatorship not merely in the political field but even in the economic life of every member of the community. In Russia, the worker must work in the factory and district nominated for him, produce what is allotted to him. There is no question of resignation, no alternative employment open to him and no room for bargaining for wages or conditions of employment. There is no freedom of speech or meeting or organisation permissible where the discontent against the employer becomes as well a case of sabotage against the State. In any case the original conception of communism as a social growth ultimately eliminating the State and legal authorities has not worked in practice. The communist state on the contrary leads to a regimented state.

No method of factory management, workers' council, corporate bodies with workers' representatives will ensure liberty if the political structure is unsound.

This problem is clearly recognised in Britain at the present moment when the state is extending control and ownership over a large number of industries. It is recognised that the final authority must rest not in the council of workers nor in state departments run by civil servants. It is proposed to set up public corporations, through Parliament, in charge of Boards composed of men qualified for the technical job, capable of running the industry with efficiency and enterprise and in the public interest; the head of the board would be a Minister of the Crown. It is thus recognised that the whole community, rather than sectional interests, whether of the workers or of the employers, is the final arbiter in the economic life of the nation.

But it cannot be emphasised too often that neither economic arrangements nor political machinery can by themselves safeguard the interests of the people. For, as political machinery can only reflect the temper, the mind and the knowledge of the electorate, and function as its instrument, so the economic plan depends in its execution on the vigilance of the citizen. History does not warrant the hope that by merely decentralising industry or framing legislative and political devices, exploitation can be eliminated. Unavoidable as it may be, the profit motive, a sense of property, and even competitive wage level persist even in the co-operative movement. The need for communal consciousness based on a high level of civic education is urgent as ever. If we therefore revert to the central

theme of Owen that education must mould character and foster a generation which would create a suitable environment, the very absence of finality in social processes call for the maximum of initiative on our part.

The earlier economists urged that by competitive production a form of division of labour would result among localities and even among nations in specialisation of industries, in areas naturally situated. This form of specialisation has led to a lop-sided and ill-balanced development in the social organism of each community—just as in a private individual excessive concentration on one aspect of personality results in a stunted growth, so must suffer a community motivated solely by the competitive impulse, to the exclusion of more valuable springs of activity. But it would be an error to regard a dispersal of industry as decentralisation; this is not the same thing as founding organic social units. The division of a metropolis into industrial and residential areas, segregating social and economic life, in working areas for the day and recreational suburban homes thereafter, leads to a monotonous, disorganised communal living.

Both in agriculture as in the growth of industries, markets, sources of supply, labour, communications, the natural wealth of the district, will assert themselves as predominant factors. We must develop industries in areas economically feasible bearing in mind the paramount emphasis on a well-rounded economy in small communities. The industry should become a part of the economic and social life of the district. It is only thus that decentralisation can benefit the surrounding agricultural area; favoured industries and agriculture subsidised to maintain uneconomic holdings can only result in a drain on the resources of the State.

If we agree that industry should be decentralised as far as possible, and small factories allied to village or small towns economy, we must consider the method by which the producers could associate themselves into a volunteer body, providing their capital and labour, in other words by consumers and producers co-operative association. A large field is still left for co-operative enterprise. Electricity which appealed for its possibilities even to Ruskin, who objected to steam power, bids fair to supply the small decentralised industries with a motive power which ensures production greater than that of handicrafts, reduced drudgery and at the same time brings the alliance of machinery into village or small towns economy. The small industries, as well as cottage industries, run by electricity can provide employment during slack season. Here is a field of production where the individual can exercise his will, initiative, retain freedom of labour, and own in part the means of production; in the beginning the range of production will be the entire consumer goods, standardised and meant for common use, and standardised machine parts. Private enterprise would have a scope in fancy and ornamental products.

Elements of co-operation may be extended to farming. We think in terms of peasant proprietorship; it may well happen that extensive use

of fertilisers may make land a less important part of capital equipment in farming; but, granting the ownership of land in individual hands, the State or the Co-operative can direct the method of cultivation, the nature of crops the marketing of produce and provide credit for seeds machinery, and storage.

It has been said that a great book is significant not so much in what it teaches as in its power of suggestion. Like a majestic river which, overflowing, leaves vast areas of alluvial soil, Owen's ideas have left widening themes for later generations. One may call them what Carlyle termed Ruskin's "Fors Clavigera", "ferce lightning bolts poured into the black world of anarchy around him." Of the value of his character one may state in Mill's words, "A person of strong conviction is a social power equal to ninety-nine who have only interests." His suggestive thoughts broke over a dark world like the splinters of a diamond, gathered to adorn the earnest minds of diverse climes, cut and polished to suit the moods and fashions of the day. His ideas have validity for us in this country and more than ever today, when we stand on the edge of a new era of political and social initiative. With the content of the new society before us, gathering the facts and materials available to us, we must evolve the general principles on which the social structure must be based. It is for us to choose whether we adopt the tortured slogans of an age bewildered by the cataclysm of a mechanical revolution and its resultant mass of metropolitans or adopt the ideas of gracious living in human fellowship, the means for the achievement of which, under a new technology, along with an unprecedented opportunity, are in our own hands.

(This article is the fifth and sixth instalments of Mr. Raman K. Desai's article on Robert Owen, published together as they are of topical interest today. Mr. Desai is a keen student of Owen. Readers of the REFORMER are invited to contribute their views on the article.)

CITIZEN POLICE

One of the urgent duties of the popular Government is to bring about rapidly a complete change in the relations between the Police and the population. Under the bureaucracy, it was inevitable that the Police as, indeed, all officials should be looked upon as agents to keep the people in a state of subjection. All officials, and policemen in particular were to be avoided and feared. This state of the public mind was rather fostered than discouraged by authority which was suspicious of any close contact between officials and the public. Ranade once came under surveillance because he was one of the active workers of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha. Even social reform movements have not escaped the suspicious vigilance of the bureaucracy. All this has to be changed. The people must be encouraged and persuaded to look upon all officials and policemen in particular, as helpers. Where such a feeling exists the task of maintaining peace will be much easier than where it is conspicuous by its absence. Every citizen has a legal duty to aid in keeping the peace. The existence of a Police force does not absolve the citizen of this duty. The Police in an emergency can call upon any citizen or group of them to help it in maintaining order.

THE RACIAL POLICIES OF THE SOVIET UNION

Before discussing the racial policy of the Soviet Union, we should note Russia's problem. And it is—or was—the problem of somehow finding a method by which almost 200 million people, comprising 189 races and peoples of almost every colour and shade; can live amicably in a region comprising almost one-sixth of the land surface of the earth. There are the White Russians, the Ukrainians or Little Russians, the Armenians, the Georgians, the Kabardins, the Abkhazians, the Circassians, the Khevsurs, the Svans, the Azerbaijanians, the Negroes, the Turco-Tatars, the Uzbeks, the Kazakhs, the three million Jews, the Kurghiz, the Bashkirs, the Finno-Urgians, the Mongols, the Buriats and the Ajarians.

In fact, in the Abkhazian Republic of the Caucasians, there is a Negro Soviet. Sydney and Beatrice Webb, in their comprehensive study of "Soviet Communism," describe it.

These 189 peoples constitute the raw materials out of which Soviet Russia has made her policy. What is this policy? The Webbs—a non-partisan source—explain it:

All sections of the community—apart from those legally deprived of citizenship on grounds unconnected with either race or nationality—enjoy, through the U.S.S.R., according to law, equal rights and duties, equal privileges and equal opportunities. Nor is this merely a formal equality under the law and the federal constitution. Nowhere in the world do habit and custom and public opinion approach nearer to a like equality. In fact over the whole area between the Arctic Ocean and the Black Sea, and the Central Asian mountains, containing vastly different races and nationalities; men and women, irrespective of conformation of skull or pigmentation of skin, even including the occasional African Negro admitted from the United States, may associate freely with whom they please; travel in the same public vehicles and frequent the same restaurants and hotels; sit next to each other in the same colleges and places of amusement; marry wherever there is mutual liking; engage on equal terms in any craft or profession for which they are qualified; join the same churches or other societies; pay the same taxes and be elected or appointed to any office or position without exception. Above all, these men and women of the U.S.S.R., to whatever race or nationality they belong, can and do participate—it is even said that the smaller nationalities do so in more than their due proportion—in the highest offices of government and in the organised vocation of leadership. . . . The Bolsheviks have thus some justification for their challenging question: Of what other area containing an analogous diversity of races and nationalities can a similar assertion be made?

As excellent as the racial policy of the Soviet Union and equally commendable is the speed with which Soviet Russia has been able to attain the position as undisputed leader of the nations in her treatment of racial, religious and ethnic minorities. History records that several decades ago Russia was among the most bigoted countries in the world. Russia was the home of the pogrom—the mass lynching of the Jew. Russia was the home of active animosity toward other minority peoples. Then came the revolution and in two decades almost a magical reversal of position. The change has been so swift, so breathtaking that one no longer dares ask: Does human nature change? But now one asks with great curiosity: How does one make human nature change almost overnight in this very difficult field of prejudice and discrimination?

From my study of the racial policy of the Soviet Union and a short visit there in 1937, I would suggest three reasons for the lack of racism in Russia: (1) a non-competitive economic system of full production, (2)

a national policy against prejudice, and (3) legislation against discrimination. These three points can be adapted to contribute to the solution of our racial problem here in America.

First of all, Russia has an excellent racial policy because, in peace as in war, she has an economy of full production. Russia has no scarcity economy, but a co-operative economy, with jobs for all. And with a co-operative economy, there is no need for management or for society as a whole to pit—for sheer survival—black against white, gentile against Jew, European against Oriental.

One must be an expert economist to understand the details of Russia's economy. But without being an expert, I think we can point out a distinct implication here for America if she is to treat with justice her minorities—and that is that she must give up forever her competitive economy. We must maintain and indeed increase our present high level of national income, we must provide 60,000,000 jobs; and we must even look to Russia to realise that a good number of these jobs will only come by increased public ownership and by increased co-operative developments. Full employment is the best insurance to prevent majorities from using minorities as economic scapegoats and playing one racial or religious minority against the other. And so the maintenance of full production through a co-operative economy is lesson number one from Russia, and more important for the minorities of our country than any single so-called "race" item.

Secondly, Russia has an excellent racial policy because she has a national policy against prejudice toward minority peoples. The revolution with one bold stroke wiped out the suppression of nationality, racial and religious groups—the arrogant policy of so-called Russification.

This policy was reflected in the Soviet Constitution of 1924.

The implication can obviously be drawn for a policy for our own country. Americans must take this business of minority tensions seriously. Nineteenth century laissez-faire will not solve our twentieth century minority problems any more than it will solve our twentieth century economic problems. It goes without saying that in the United States we cannot quite use the Russian formula of cultural autonomy. There was a time, in America, when perhaps we could have had a forty-ninth state for Negroes, a fiftyth state for Mexican-Americans, and a fifty-first state of Japanese-Americans. But today we are too mixed up—even if we wanted to do this. As Carey McWilliams said recently, the war has accelerated this jumble and migration of American peoples. So we do not want the Russian policy of the autonomy of minorities, although we very much do want a national policy which will welcome differences and most important, consciously

work on American prejudices and stereotypes through all kinds of voluntary societies—the school system, the church, the labour movement, political parties, mayor's committees, and citizens' councils. And to do this effectively we need a national policy, a national will.

Lastly, Russia has an excellent racial policy because she has enacted laws against discrimination. Article 123 of the present Soviet constitution, adopted in 1936, indicates:

Equality of rights of citizens of the U.S.S.R., irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, is the law. Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights or, conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt, is punishable by law.

But even before this article was adopted, there were severe laws against discriminations. Here is a well-known case which received attention in 1930:

Two white American workers took exception to the presence of an American Negro in a special dining hall for foreign technicians in Stalingrad. In expressing their antipathy they first insulted and then assaulted the Negro. The case was at once taken up by the Soviet authorities and was reported by *Pravda* (August 28, 1930), as follows: "Upon securing proof that Lewis and Brown had attacked Robinson because of race hatred, the court first recommended that the two offenders be deprived of their freedom for two years. However, after taking into consideration the fact that they had been inoculated with race hatred by the capitalist system of exploiting the lower races, the court softened the sentence to deportation and exclusion from the Soviet Union for a period of ten years."

This experience of the Soviets, of legislating against discrimination, of using laws—well-prepared and well-administered—calls the lie to those people who say that laws cannot change hearts. Even the professors have said that laws cannot change the habits of a nation. Ever since William Graham Sumner's view that the law represents "a sort of crystallisation of the mores," social scientists have said that state laws cannot change folkways. Ellsworth Faris, the famous sociologist, said that racial prejudice is "a matter of the mores and not of the laws." Ruth Benedict, co-author of *The Races of Mankind*, is quoted elsewhere as saying that "legislation is piffing as a functional measure to end racial prejudice." Carey McWilliams, in a paper on "Race Discrimination and the Law" which appeared in the Winter, 1943, issue of *Science and Society*, magnificently shows that discriminations can be reduced by laws, as—in the South—discriminations are enforced and intensified by laws.

That much-quoted authority, Gunnar Myrdal, in *An American Dilemma* says the same thing:

When the foolish attempts to suppress symptoms of ills while leaving the causes untouched become censured; and when law-making increasingly becomes an important task of scientific social engineering, and when, further, administration be-

comes independent, better laws will be made and they will be better enforced even in America. What is the Soviet formula? A non-competitive economic system of full production, a national policy against prejudice, and legislation against discrimination. Perhaps the most valuable commodity Soviet Russia could have given America by

reverse lend-lease is this formula by which, in a generation, she has so successfully turned a country of pagans and general race hatred into a land where racial and religious minorities experience relative brotherhood. And the irony is that it took this so-called and self-styled "atheistic" nation to show the Christian world the way.

WAY TO AVOID STRIKES

By ERNEST CALDECOTT

For many years the strike has been recognised as a lawful means whereby working people may effectively register a protest against some phase of their condition of employment.

Let me say, at once, I am opposed to "striking." Nor am I basically concerned as to whether an act is legal or illegal. The real question is whether it is right or wrong in the sense of being helpful or harmful to the common good.

For the moment, however, we must accept the right to strike as legally defensible. Through history, workers have had to fight for decent wages, better working conditions, and shorter hours. Very rarely, since the beginning of the industrial era, have employers of large numbers of persons on their own account—improved the lot of their workers. Indeed, it is only within the lifetime of many of us that the person known as the "working man," and now, also, the "working woman," has had reasonable conditions of labour. This period happens to coincide with the existence of organised labour. In this connection, it is significant to note that while everyone now agrees that labour ought to have the right to organise, relatively few of those outside the rank and file agree that organised labour has always conducted its business properly. Yet historical evidence on the coincidence of organised labour and improved conditions is both enormous and convincing.

It is but twenty-five years ago that a President of the United States called in the Chairman of the Board of Directors of one of the largest industrial corporations and urged him to shorten the working hours of his employees—and without reducing their wages. It was largely reported at the time that the employer informed the President that his corporation would acquiesce, but only because it was the President making the request.

This employer is said to have declared that the working man would not know what to do with the extra hours at his disposal and would soon be back asking for additional employment. Up to now this has not happened in his corporation or any other known to me. Here again it will be noted that improvement came only as the result of pressure.

The fact should be stated that, of course, the worker does not own his job in the sense in which he owns the clothes he wears. He comes to it by a contract usually recognised in law. If either he or his employer is dissatisfied, the contract may be terminated and the worker is free to seek employment elsewhere. However, with social growth and our changed views of industrial rights and obligations, the strike has become a recognised and accepted method wherewith to force from the employer what could not be secured by conference or simple request. It is to be noted that before labour organised, the employer generally had the advantage in the bargaining.

because both he and his employees knew there were others outside the gates ready to do the work, and often for less money.

At this point, it is to be remembered that corporations are as much "organised capital" as labour groups are "organised labour." The President or employing agent of most corporations does not own the business. He merely represents those who hold claim to that title through their shares of stock. In tens of thousands of cases, those who are legal part-owners know nothing at all about the workings in which their money is invested. Thus, the person acting as an employer has a great advantage over the unorganised worker who represents only himself. Clearly, then, the right of labour to organise is axiomatic.

Because my major emphasis here is on "striking," as such, I shall call attention to the present misunderstanding readily created in the minds of returning military men. While most of them come from the ranks and might be supposed to have a natural sympathy for their kind, actually most of them resent strikes now as they did during active war-time. They call our attention to the fact that as long as they were in uniform they were not permitted to strike and their conditions were usually more severe than those imposed on men in industry. They also remind us of shortage of materials from strike-affected plants. This redounds now to the benefit of the employer, who may or may not be right in his argument with the strikers.

We are in constant need of improving our social convictions and putting them into practice by means of social machinery. The strike as a means of expressing dissatisfaction was once a considerable advance over always losing in an argument with the employer. By this time we should be in a position to introduce more modern procedures. There is nothing pleasant about a strike, especially one such as I witnessed recently, and about which I shall comment later. Let me then suggest what seems to me to be a better way of dealing with dissatisfaction, in employment:

1. Organised labour should be incorporated.

2. It should have a higher type of leadership.

3. Industrial courts should be set up by Federal law.

Let me explain these three points. If labour were incorporated as well as organised, it would then be subject to the scrutiny of the Corporation Commissions as is the case with incorporated capital. While it is true in the case of labour, that we are dealing with human beings who cannot by any means be classed with any amount of money, since the members of the labour organisations pay dues and their officers control funds and enact what practically amounts to legislation their financial affairs should be open to the same

inspection as any other corporation.

As to the wisdom of organised labour's securing a higher type of leadership, the reason for this suggestion is obvious. A labour leader must do business with the employing agent. He should be the equal of the employing agent. If by dint of intelligence and industry he rises from the ranks, so much the better, for many an employer started at the bottom. What is important is that his integrity, intelligence, department, and information shall at once command respect in the finest sense. Obviously, all employers do not meet the highest requirements either. A number of years ago I was called upon to serve with others as an arbitrator in a strike. When we gathered about the table, there were present the employer and his attorney, the labour leader and his attorney, and the several arbitrators. Within a few minutes, it became apparent that we would have great difficulty in bringing the opposing forces to a mutual understanding. The labour leader was rough, uncouth, and foul in his language. Within half an hour, we discovered that the man was what is commonly known as "a walking delegate," who had been sent in from a distant place in order to foment trouble. The following week another case arose where the labour leader was a man of dignity and refinement and of equal intellectual standing with the employer. They met without handicaps. Each man was aware that he was so close to the woods he could not see the trees, and as a consequence asked the arbitrators to review the situation objectively and impersonally. The result was mutual understanding, respect, and a common agreement in which labour won all its points.

Perhaps the most delicate of the suggestions has to do with the establishment of industrial courts set up by law. I am not recommending the present type of judges in our civil and criminal courts: men who are frequently expected to adjudicate on many and varied matters, even though they secured their positions through political preference. Rather, I have in mind a court composed of sociologists, psychologists, leaders of industry, and leaders of labour, with a court counsel to advise on purely legal matters. There would, of course, be lower and higher courts to which to appeal, and their verdicts would rank with our present courts in enforcement authority. As a last resort, of course, the Supreme Court of the United States would be the final authority, and it, too, should include other professions besides the legal. A time-limit should be set for the rendering of verdicts.

Under such a plan, instead of a strike, complaining workers unable to adjust their differences could file suits in the industrial court, which would be empowered to render a verdict, retroactive to the date of formal filing. This industrial court would be equitably available to employers.

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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

Parliament and the Cabinet Mission:—The statement made by Lord Pethick-Lawrence in the House of Lords and by Sir Stafford Cripps in the House of Commons have only added to the confusion regarding every thing connected with the work of the Cabinet Mission in India. Even the claim that belief in the sincerity of the British Government regarding the grant of independence is now universal in this country, needs qualification in the light of the sulphurous comments of Mr. Jinnah and other leaders of the Muslim League on the Viceroy's decision to have a caretakers Government. Gandhiji has no doubt been loud in his tributes to the honesty and sincerity of the Mission. His very insistence, however, shows that he felt that Congressmen generally were apt to be distrustful of the Mission. He has since declared that the Mission has been grossly unjust to the Sikhs and has criticised other features of their proposals in terms which reflect on their judgment since their motives are absolved of suspicion. For the rest, the Cabinet Mission throughout have failed to see the wood for the trees. Lord Pethick-Lawrence's statement faithfully reflected this defect of his Mission. He was so full of the details of the Mission's

work that he failed to convey to the House the central issue on which the difference between the two "major parties" turns, namely, the constitution of the Federal centre and its relation to the provinces and States. It will be fortunate if the statements do not create more secessions and dissensions in this country.

Monogamy In Bombay:—The Government of Bombay is bringing in a Bill to make monogamy the only legal marriage among Hindus in Bombay province. Public opinion all over India has for some years been ripe for such legislation. The draft Hindu Code of the Rau Committee makes provision for it. But owing to various causes, the Indian Legislative Assembly has been encountering obstacles in enacting it. Bombay province does well, therefore, not to wait for an all-India measure. The text of the Bill has not yet been published but we understand that it makes void a second marriage when a first wife is living. The offending husband will probably be liable to be proceeded against for bigamy.

A Backward Glance:—Looking back at the declaration made by Prime Minister Attlee in the House of Commons on March 15, on the Cabinet Mission's departure to India, one is

impressed by the professions of good faith and the anxiety to implement promises revealed by the head of the British Labour Government. Little attention has been paid to the speech with which Mr. Attlee launched the Mission. That perhaps has been one of the causes of the disaster that has overtaken the Mission. It was a clear statement of policy from which there seemed no possible way of retreat and certainly no opportunity for undermining. Yet the Cabinet Mission soon found itself involved in the deep seas of communal politics and floundered on the rock of the Muslim League. For this result, it has to be admitted that a good measure of responsibility rests with the Congress. By its vacillation, by its labouring at points that might have been set aside for consideration at a later date, by its feeble grasp of the political conception of unity, the Congress failed to give a clear lead to the Mission. The British Labour leader, Mr. Cove, had uttered a warning before the Mission set out on its task which should have been heeded. He observed that the difficulties that beset the Indian political scene, were apt to confuse outside observers and he stressed the need for the Congress to form a lucid picture of the situation and of the demands of the future. The result has been that the path India has travelled in the past four months has been totally different from the path Mr. Attlee indicated in his speech. It is interesting to revert back to Prime Minister's declaration amid the chaos of discordant voices. We reprint his speech on another page.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, July 20, 1946.

THE POLITICAL SCENE

Three principal political events of the week are the withdrawal of the Sikhs from the Constituent Assembly elections after having nominated candidates from among Akalis and Congress Sikhs, a declaration of policy by the Maharaja of Kashmir at a Special Durbar of citizens and the visit after several years of the President of the Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah, to Hyderabad where he was received officially and had an interview with His Exalted Highness the Nizam for over an hour and several political engagements with Muslim representatives. In his inaugural speech as President of the Indian National Congress Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had invited the Sikhs to reverse their decision to boycott the Constituent Assembly and to elect representatives to that body in conformity with the decision of the All-India Congress Committee. In compliance with his request, the Sikhs nominated tentatively and made a reference to the Pandit in reply to which he is reported to have assured them that his suggestion was not mandatory and that they might exercise their own judgment and act in accordance with it. Thereupon the Sikhs at the last moment, withdrew the candidates and thanked the Pandit for releasing the Congress Sikhs from the obligation to elect delegates in pursuance of the Congress resolution. Gandhiji, meanwhile, had strongly condemned the Cabinet Ministers' proposals as a grave injustice to the Sikh community. No doubt this had also some influence in the Sikhs' withdrawal of their candidates. The Pandit has since explained that owing to disturbance of postal and telegraphic services due to the strike, he was not able to get a full view of the situation among the Sikhs and was therefore obliged to tell them to use their own discretion but that it was not his intention to allow Congress Sikhs to act otherwise than in conformity with Congress policy which, he observed, was framed in the interests of the Sikhs and all other communities. The Pandit does not seem to appreciate the special position of the Sikhs

as it is affected by their grouping along with Muslims of the Punjab and Sind. Gandhiji clearly recognises this. The Pandit hopes that the knot may be unravelled. We do not see how. The time for nominations is past. The Sikhs have already been made the shuttlecock of Congress politics and their leaders may not care to execute another somersault. We think that the Sikh case has been totally ignored by the Cabinet Ministers and the Congress and that the Sikhs have every reason to resent it and to refuse to make themselves the instrument of their undoing. The Sikhs fear that five years in the group may mean the extinction of the community, is exaggerated but not more than that of the Muslim League that the Muslims of India would cease to exist if Pakistan was not created.

The Maharaja of Kashmir in his Durbar speech declared that while his State would cooperate fully with the country as a whole in fulfilling its destiny as an independent power, he would not tolerate any interference from outside in internal affairs. His Highness in this declaration was merely echoing almost in his very words Pandit Jawaharlal's declaration a few days ago about the minorities' problem in India. While the objection to external interference in domestic matters has considerable force in respect of organised intervention, both the Maharaja and the President of the Congress will no doubt admit that ideas are all pervasive and cannot be kept out by tariff barriers. No treatment of minorities is satisfactory unless it approves itself to the world conscience

of adequate and efficient. In the same way the internal affairs of Kashmir are not only an All-India but a world concern. Kashmir has played a dominant part in the religious and cultural history of India and may do so again. It is impossible for any Indian with a historical feeling to disinterest himself in the fortunes of Kashmir.

The third event, Mr. Jinnah's visit to Hyderabad was made in circumstances which preclude belief that it had and was meant not to have a political significance. The first of these is that Sir Mirza Ismail, whose views on the position and future of Indian States are not probably identical with those of Mr. Jinnah is to take over the Chief Ministership of the State in about a fortnight. There seems to be some reason for the apprehension that the reform proposals with some retrograde features are being rushed through without waiting for the consideration of the new Chief Minister. It is also rumoured that Mr. Jinnah has been consulted about them. Although Mr. Jinnah's schemes do not touch the Indian States at present, there is room to think that his views would be such as to facilitate the agitation for Pakistan. On the other hand it is also possible that His Exalted Highness would have represented to the President of the Muslim League the repercussions which his continued agitation may have in Hyderabad. This would have been in the family tradition, His late Exalted Highness, it will be remembered, at a critical time in British India took on himself to advise the Viceroy, Lord Minto, to pay due heed to the trends of public feeling in the country. The approval or disapproval of His Exalted Highness cannot but have a decisive influence on the policies of the Muslim League.

SATYAGRAHA AGAINST SATYAGRAHI

When the Americans dropped their Atom Bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, they might have had secret apprehensions that some day some one will repeat the performance on their own cities but they gulped them down and hoped and prayed that their sin might be either overlooked or forgiven in consideration of their great service to humanity in destroying the two thousand year old Empire of the Mikados.

The Father and Founder of Satyagraha had no such misgivings. He never dreamt that one day he might himself be the object of satyagraha. That, however, is what has happened. Mr. Rajbhoj, a leader of the Harijans in Poona, with a posse of followers announced his intention to offer Satyagraha before Gandhiji's Nature Cure Ashram near Poona City. He was persuaded to desist by Gandhiji agreeing to receive a

deputation headed by him. The outcome of the interview was that Gandhiji will meet Dr. Ambedkar on his (Gandhiji's) return from Panchgani a fortnight hence. During the interval the followers of Mr. Rajbhoj have sought diversion by organising demonstrations before the Legislative Assembly which met on Monday to elect delegates to the Constitution-Making Body. The Poona Magistrate banned the demonstration but Mr. Gaekwad who had specially come to lead the demonstrators, paid no more heed to the ban than did Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to the ban on

his entry into Kashmir. The Pandit's conduct has been applauded and Mr. Gaekwad is no doubt surprised that for following the next example he is being execrated by the Congress Press. But this is nothing new. What in the Captain is a scholaric mood, in the private soldier is rank blasphemy. That apart, it is not clear what Mr. Gaekwad and his satyagrahis hope to gain by making themselves a public nuisance. Their disabilities are mostly social. Politically, they are at an advantage as compared with their Caste Hindu brethren. They

enjoy many special concessions which may be envied by Caste Hindus, many of whom are economically no better off than themselves, besides having to maintain at least to outward seeming a standard of life entailing expenditure from which they are immune. Today, as the result of the combined effect of Governmental concessions, the benefits of the Harijan Sangh with its large resources, and the proselytising caresses of foreign missions, Harijans occupy a much stronger position politically and economically than Caste Hindus.

WHERE IS THE VILLAGER?

Congress Governments in several provinces are making plans for reconstruction of national life on a rural basis. This is, of course, Gandhiji's great idea. That Congress Governments have not wholeheartedly adopted the idea is evident from the fact that it is also their main concern to start modern machine industries, to industrialise the country and the countryside. The old saying that God made the country and man made the town, has ceased to have any meaning. The difference between town and country was the expression of a difference between the psychology of the villager and the townsman. That difference is steadily on the decline. The villager today wants the same

things as the townsman and he is able increasingly to have them. Railways, buses, air-planes are breaking down geographical isolation. Some twenty years ago, an English Civilian writing on village administration in Bengal recommended that no rural administrative area should exceed what the village officer can cover on foot in a couple of hours. He did not anticipate the bicycle which in the same time can cover ten times the area. Theories of administration have undergone radical changes in the wake of practice which improved means of travel has not merely facilitated but actually imposed. And this has been further accelerated by the extension of posts and telegraphs;

and radio stations hourly pour into the rural mind ideas which the cinemas interpret in visible form. Besides travelling cinemas, cinema halls are increasing in the countryside. The number and proportion of people who are content to be village-minded in the gram-udyoga sense are rapidly dwindling. The process cannot be arrested. The villager of the old type will soon be extinct. You may recreate the village but you will have new villagers to breathe life into it. The difference between rural and urban is antiquated. It must go and the planner for the future should aim at combining the best amenities of both to satisfy the needs of the coming generations, physical, mental, and aesthetic.

MR. ATTLEE'S DECLARATION

Speech delivered in the House of Commons on March 15, 1946, by the Prime Minister (Mr. Attlee.)

I find from my friends in this House who have been out to India and returned, from letters received from Indians, and from Englishmen in India of all points of view, complete agreement on the fact that India is today in a state of great tension and that this is indeed a critical moment. I am quite sure that everyone in this House realises the difficulties of the task which my right Hon. Friends (the Cabinet Mission) have undertaken in conjunction with the Viceroy, and that no one will desire to say anything whatever that will make their task more difficult. The Mission should go out in a positive mood. I entirely agree and that, indeed, is the mood in which my right Hon. Friends are undertaking this Mission. It is a time emphatically for very definite and clear action.

In particular, I think it would be most unhelpful to review the past. It is so easy to go back over the past and, in accordance with one's predilections, apportion the blame for past failure in the long drawn out discussions there have been on

this extraordinarily difficult problem—the problem of the development of India into a completely self-governing nation. Over such a long period of the past it is easy to say that at this stage or that stage opportunities were missed by the faults of one side or the other. I think also it would be a great mistake to stake out the claims of rival communities; we may be quite sure that will be done any way.

I have had a fairly close connection with this problem now for nearly 20 years, and I would say there have been faults on all sides, but at this time we should be looking to the future rather than harking back to the past. This alone I would say that it is no good applying the formula of the past to the present position. The temperature of 1946 is not the temperature of 1920 or of 1930 or even of 1942. The slogans of an earlier days are discarded. Indeed, sometimes words that seemed at that time to Indians to express the height of their aspirations are now set on one side, and other words, other ideas, are substituted. Nothing increases more the pace of the movement of public opinion than a great war. Every one who had anything to do with

this question in the early days between the wars knows what an effect the war of 1914-18 had on Indian aspirations and Indian ideals. A tide which runs slowly in peace becomes in war-time vastly accelerated, and especially directly after a war, because that tide is to some extent banked up during the war.

I am quite certain that at the present time the tide of nationalism is running very fast in India and, indeed, all over Asia. One always has to remember that India is affected by what happens elsewhere in Asia. I remember so well, when I was on the Simon Commission, how it was borne in upon us what an effect the challenge that had been thrown out by Japan at that time had had on the Asiatic people. The tide of nationalism that at one time seemed to be canalised among a comparatively small proportion of the people of India—mainly a few of the educated classes—has tended to spread wider and wider. I remember so well, indeed, I think we put it in the Simon Commission Report, that although there was great differences in the expression of nationalist sentiment between what are called the extremists and the moderates, and al-

though in many circumstances there might be such a stress on communal claims as might seem almost to exclude the conception of nationalism, yet we found that Hindu, Muslim, Sikh or Mahratta, the politician or civil servant—among all of them that conception of nationalism had been growing stronger and stronger. Today I think that national idea has spread right through and not least perhaps, among some of those soldiers who have given such wonderful service in the war. I should like today, therefore, not to stress too much the differences between Indians. Let us all realise that whatever the difficulties, whatever the divisions may be, there is this underlying demand among all the Indian peoples.

We have set out the general purpose, and it is our intention that they should be given as free a hand as possible. There will be matters, undoubtedly, on which it will be necessary to refer back for a Cabinet decision, but in the rather fluid position at the present time when we desire to get the utmost co-operation and goodwill between all the leaders of Indian opinion, it would be unwise to try to tie down those who are going out too rigidly. Indeed, the obvious reason for sending out Cabinet Ministers is that we send out persons of responsibility who are able to take decisions. Of course, there must be an area in which there may have to be a reference back.

It is worthwhile recording that twice in 25 years India has played a great part in the defeat of tyranny. Is it any wonder that today she claims—as a nation of 400,000,000 people that has twice sent her sons herself have freedom—that she should herself have freedom to decide her own destiny? My colleagues are going to India, with the intention of using their utmost endeavours to help her to attain that freedom as speedily and fully as possible. What form of Government is to replace the present regime is for India to decide; but our desire is to help her to set up forthwith the machinery for making that decision. There we are met sometimes with the initial difficulty of getting that machinery set up. We are resolved that machinery shall be set up and we seek the utmost co-operation of all Indian leaders to do so.

India herself must choose what will be her future constitution; what will be her position in the world. I hope that the Indian people may elect to remain within the British Commonwealth. I am certain that she will find great advantages in doing so. In these days that demand for complete, isolated, nationhood apart from the rest of the world, is really outdated. Unity may come through the United Nations, or through the Commonwealth, but no great nation can stand alone without sharing in what is happening in the world. But if she does so elect, it must be by her own free will. The British Commonwealth and Empire is not bound together by chains of external compulsion. It is a free association of free peoples. If, on the other hand, she elects for independence, in our view she has a right to do so. It will be for us to help to make that transition as smooth and easy as possible.

We should be conscious that the British have done a great work in India. We have united India and given her that sense of nationality

which she so very largely lacked over the previous centuries. She has learnt from us principles of democracy and justice. When Indians attack our rule, they base their attack, not on Indian principles, but on the basis of standards derived from Britain. I was very struck the other day in the United States, at a dinner where I met a number of distinguished Americans, including a very distinguished Indian, where the talk was turning on the way in which principles worked out here have been applied on the continent of America. It was pointed out that America had a great heritage from Britain. My Indian friend said to me, "You know, the Americans sometimes forget there is another great nation that has also inherited these principles and traditions, and that is India. We feel that we have a duty, a right and a privilege because we also bring to the world and work those very principles that you evolved in Britain."

I am well aware, when I speak of India, that I speak of a country containing a congeries of races, religions and languages, and I know well all the difficulties thereby created. But those difficulties can only be overcome by Indians. We are very mindful of the rights of minorities and minorities should be able to live free from fear. On the other hand, we cannot allow a minority to place a veto on the advance of the majority.

We cannot dictate how these difficulties may be overcome. Our first duty is to get the machinery of decision set up. That is the main purpose of my hon. friends and the Viceroy. We also want to see set up an Interim Government. One of the purposes of the Bill which has been discussed today is to give the Viceroy a greater freedom in order that in the period that shall elapse while this constitution is being worked out, we may have a Government commanding the greatest possible support in India. I would not like to fetter the Viceroy's discretion in any way with regard to the allocation of portfolios.

There were a number of points with which I should like to deal. There is the problem of the Indian States. In many Indian States great advances have been made in democratic institutions, and a most interesting experiment is now going forward in Travancore, under the guidance of the distinguished statesman Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayer. Of course, the feelings in British India in regard to nationalism and the Unity of India cannot be confined by the boundaries that separate these States from the Provinces. I hope

that the statesmen of British India and of princely India will be able to work out a solution of the problem of bringing together, in one great polity, these disparate constituent parts. There again, we must see that the Indian States find their due place; there can be no positive veto on advance, and I do not believe for a moment that the Indian Princes would desire to be a bar to the forward march of India. But, as in the case of any other problems, that is a matter that Indians will settle themselves.

I am very well aware as we all are of the minority problems in India, and I think that Indian leaders are more and more realising the need for settling them if India is to have a smooth passage in future years. I believe that due provision will be made for that in the Constitution, and my right hon. Friends, in their conversations, will certainly not neglect the point. We must, however, recognise that we cannot make Indians responsible for governing themselves and, at the same time, retain over here responsibility for the treatment of minorities and the power to intervene on their behalf. We are mindful too of the position of the Services—the men who have done great service to India—and the position of their families. I think India should be sensible of the responsibility she has towards those who have served her, and I think that a Government which takes over, so to speak, the assets of our Government will also have to take over the liabilities. There again, that is a point to be dealt with later on. It does not concern the immediate purpose of setting up what I have called the instrument of decision. With regard to the Treaty, we are not going to hang out for anything for our own advantage which would be a disadvantage to India.

In conclusion, may I stress again the crucial nature of the task before us. This problem is of vital importance not only to India and the British Commonwealth and Empire, but to the world. There is this immense nation, set in the midst of Asia, an Asia which has been ravaged by war. Here we have the one great country that has been seeking to apply the principles of democracy. I have always hoped myself that politically India might be the light of Asia. I believe that economic and social difficulties can only be solved by the Indians themselves, because they are so closely bound up with the whole Indian way of life and outlook. Whatever we can do to assist, we shall do. My right hon. Friends are going out to India resolved to succeed and I am sure everyone will wish them 'God speed.'

INTERIM SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

Sir.—The English language has revolutionised the whole country and brought about a synthesis and an unity which were not before. The conception of India as a Geographical unity was due to the English language which at the same time aroused and awakened people to ideas of freedom, democracy and independence. I should like to know which leaders, if any, were the product of Sanskrit culture and knowledge. Probably hardly any. It is, therefore, disheartening to note that despite this, Sardar Vallabhbhai speaking at the opening of The Meghaji Mathradas Arts College and Naron-

das Manordas Science Institute observed that "colleges of the present day were nothing but prisons and that present day education was making a man blind and was most reactionary." The whole progress of social reform can be directly traced to the modern system of education and any one who is saying that it was 'reactionary' must be speaking with his tongue in his cheek. It is surprising that Mr. K. M. Munshi, who himself is a brilliant product of the same system should have used a similar terminology some days back when he got these institutions formally opened.

If it is reactionary and slave producing, why add to the number of institutions which are spreading English language in one form or another? We are brought into contact with all the international forces and international literature through the medium of the English language. We shall be ungrateful if we do not acknowledge that it is the English language, which has played a great and unforgettable part in the re-

vivalist movement even in this country and Mr. Munshi's *Bhartya Vidya Bhuvan* is as much a product of English language as any modern college. Education of women, their forward march and their freedom movement, emancipation of women, freedom of submerged castes and classes—all these and more which have almost changed the face of India are directly traceable to the modern system of education and the

English language. The best thing is not to abuse these but to make use of them in a rational manner and to weave these in the multi-coloured rich tapestry which an ever-watchful Providence is weaving for this country.

Yours,—
A NATIONALIST.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN PROBLEM

(By K. NATARAJAN.)

At the risk of drawing upon myself opprobrious epithets, I would repeat what I said in my article in the "Reformer" of June 8, that the South African Indian problem should be approached from a new angle. The "satyagraha" has been in action for some weeks now. The only true satyagrahi so far has been the Rev. Michael Scott. He joined the Indians because he believed that their cause was just. He had nothing personally to gain by courting arrest. The Indians in South Africa are struggling for their rights, which, in the last analysis, means bread and butter. The Whites there believe that they are also acting as they do to save their bread and butter. This is euphemistically termed in the economic jargon of the day, "standard of life." That the Indians by their labour have contributed largely to enable the Whites to reach their present standard of life, is forgotten. The prevailing feeling among the Whites in South Africa seems to be that the Indians are no longer necessary to support the country's economy. India has tried her best to allay the fear of Whites being swamped by Indian labour by voluntarily agreeing to stop Indian immigration into South Africa. We also agreed to have Indians repatriated by a scheme of assisted emigration. The scheme failed. South African Indians who came under the provisions of that scheme, could not accommodate themselves to conditions of life in the mother country. Most of them took the earliest opportunity of returning to South Africa. Next, we agreed to Indians being expatriated to other countries, Borneo and Sumatra. There was not the least chance of this proving a solution, among others, of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, accepted it. The scheme was never tried. Then, we agreed that Indians should qualify themselves for citizenship by adopting Western "standards of life". Mr. Sarat Bose in a recent speech at Calcutta said that the Indians have fulfilled this condition. But instead of conciliating, it would seem to have increased the White people's apprehensions.

Satyagraha is not the White Man's way of securing rights. When Kruger refused to extend the franchise to British settlers in this country, the British Government managed to work up a war and Transvaal was conquered. Incidentally, the treatment of Indians in the Transvaal, much less onerous than it became, was one of the causes recited in the British ultimatum to Kruger. The conquest proved very costly in men and money according to the standards at the beginning of the century. Even more costly seemed

the prospect of administering the conquered country. The Boers had self-government granted in a few years. The British accepted the Boer policy towards Indians in preference to the "equal rights for every civilised man" policy of Cecil Rhodes. The Boer journalists and members of Parliament who came to India on deputation moved very freely and were extremely friendly to Indians. They were apologetic about the policy towards Indians and one of them assured me that they had no quarrel with Indians, but that they were engaged in a life and death struggle with the British and they feared that the Indians were likely to help the British in a crisis. General Smuts has been working hard to help the assimilation of his people and the British, and any weakening in his policy towards Indians will seriously impede his efforts in this direction. To understand the point of view of your opponent it is essential to find a peaceful solution of differences with him. Without it, the only course to settle a dispute is to fight it out, that is, to force upon him a settlement by physical violence or economic pressure. Non-violence which provokes your opponent to violence, is constructive violence. The existence of the Indian community in South Africa depends on the ability of the Government there to maintain law and order. The impunity with which the White mobs attack the satyagrahis shows that this ability has been seriously impaired.

The British Government has formally washed its hands for the treatment of Indians in South Africa. Even in the days when the Imperial Government had technically control of treatment of the coloured population, this was not of much help to Indians. Gokhale, when he pleaded that as British subjects Indians had a right to expect good treatment from their fellow-subjects in South Africa, was bluntly told that that kind of talk might do in London; but in South Africa, it was out of place. They had been dragged into the Empire against their wishes and did not set store by common citizenship. Trade between the two countries, not of much importance to either, has ceased, as announced this week. The same day came also the announcement of a new agreement between Britain and South Africa about the purchase of gold. If Britain offered to pay some part of the sterling balance with gold should we insist that the gold should not have had its origin in South Africa? These trade bans merely mean a diversion of routes by which goods pass from country to country. If South Africa must have gunny bags

and cannot get them elsewhere more cheaply, she will get them all the same, though it meant a contribution to the Portuguese customs in Delagoa Bay. The satyagraha, it has been declared, is intended to nullify the recently passed law specifying the areas where Indians may live and trade and consequently those also on which the Whites may live and trade. The Act is as much a restriction on the Whites as on the Indians. If I were in South Africa, I would accept the position and strive to make the Indian area so healthy, pure and culturally attractive as to make the Whites want to come to me. I was surprised to see Americans in New York taking us to shops in the non-European quarter in preference to the great stores in the city as offering goods quite as good at lower rates. The European Stores in Hornby Road have perhaps more Indian customers than Europeans who prefer to bargain with the Borahs in Lohar Chawl. If the Indians cannot go to the Whitemen, the Whitemen will have to come to Indians if the latter show greater enterprise and enlightenment. At the most, as the result of the satyagraha, the Act may be left in abeyance or may even be withdrawn. But if Gandhi's technique on previous occasions be followed there will be "a gentleman's agreement" that Indians will observe the restrictions voluntarily. In practice the obligation to observe the restrictions will be transferred to Indians. I have never been able to see that the difference between statutory prohibition and prohibition under "a gentleman's agreement" was much of a difference. But the real difficulty in such agreements is that differences continually crop up about the interpretation of terms. And there are always satyagrahi spirits on either side to violate them. Dr. Khare in his anxiety to show that he, an ex-Congressman, is not less sensible of the position of the South African Indians, has rather forced the pace. A Congress Government, I think, would have walked more warily. It is necessary but it is difficult to see a way out of the blind alley into which both sides have drifted. May I suggest that the honour of India may not be dragged into this controversy? The honour of a nation, as of an individual, cannot be sullied by the misdeeds of any other. India's honour is not in the keeping of South Africa. It may be that I am lacking in sensibility but the references to India's honour as being affected by South Africa's stupidity strike me as wholly untenable. Let us keep the argument strictly on the rational plane.

THE UTOPIA OF JESUS

(By Alva W. Taylor*)

The Kingdom of God was the utopia of Jesus but he was no mere utopian. He did not sketch out in detail all the machinery of a new social order. Indeed he made no programme, wrote no constitution, delivered no codes, but planted the principles of brotherly love in the hearts of men and left them, like leaven, to work their way out in all the relations of men to both God and their fellows. He took the old Jewish commandment that a man must love the Lord his God with all his heart and mind and soul and added to it "and his neighbour as himself." John, the Apostle of love, in his letters lays it down that no man can love and serve God unless he loves and serves his fellowmen. Jesus made forgiveness conditional upon men forgiving one another. He also prayed that his followers might be one as he and the Father were one. In other words, the Kingdom of God was to be a Kingdom of right relations based on brotherly love and guided by the Golden Rule. Humanity was to be one great family with a common Father in which every member considered every other his brother, and as each in a good family gives more than he receives, each is to consider the things of the other as if they were his own.

The most imaginative and daring utopian has scarce undertaken to sketch so vast and comprehensive and perfect a commonwealth of common good as did Jesus in this vision of the Kingdom of God among men. It is the negation of all selfishness, greed, and love of power. It would make of business enterprise one vast undertaking in which men sought first to serve one another and only secondarily to profit themselves. It would make politics a means of ministry quite as much as school teaching, nursing and missionary work. It would erase all the lines of prejudice between men of different colour and make the strong actually carry the burden of the weak instead of compelling the weak to carry the burden of the strong. It would abolish war and strong nations would no longer exploit the weak but give vicariously of their wealth, culture, and progress. It would rebuild a world on the spirit of service rather than gain for self and make greatest those who serve most. Unless its lofty principles are kept, no other schemes of men, howsoever well laid will work effectively. It has been truly said that the teachings of Jesus are the most revolutionary principles ever enunciated, but it should also be said that because they are to be administered through love and in the spirit of service and sacrifice they, like the leaven, work in peace and not by violence.

THE CHURCH: INSTITUTIONAL NOT PROPHETIC

The church is not, as it exists today, organized to promote social reform. It is more a school in Christian living than the advance guard of new and untried ideas. Its membership is made up of all classes from babes in Christ to apostles of the Lord. It operates very successfully upon the functions involved in its formularies. Its primary task is that of cultivating Christian character in its individual membership and the organizing of this membership for the promotion of accepted standards. It can and does promote

philanthropy and social amelioration, but the pew is divided on reform.

The term "the social gospel" implies the making of those moral readjustments involved in our modern organized life. It means the application of the principles taught by Jesus to our impersonal relationships to things of custom, law and the mechanics of civilization. Its preaching constitutes an effort to Christianize community, industrial and international relationships, as well as to apply the moral law to the means used in acquiring material goods.

What we know as the social problem in our times has emerged with our times. The historic churches were organized on bases that belonged to the time in which they were organized. Most of these bases are rooted in an individualistic age. The complex of our rapidly developing social period was not contemplated when their creeds and formularies were fixed. It thus requires a rather thorough-going revision of those creeds and standards of moral action to apply them to our social problems.

Institutions are, sociologically considered, conservators. Their vested interests consist not only in property and programmes but in traditions and in glories of accomplishment. They stand for the faith once delivered much more than for any new articles in the faith that ought to be delivered. Thus it often comes about that causes entirely won are still battled for, and causes that need winning go without battle.

In this regard the church is no different from other great historic organizations. It is neither more conservative nor more progressive than is government or the school or the industrial system or any other fixed and going organization. In fact, its membership is made up from all these other organizations and they react in about the same manner within the church as they do within those complex interests under which they practice the making of a living, their social life and their political franchise.

The readjustments which will fit the fundamental principles of the gospel into the problems of a social period, depend upon a leadership within the church, or upon free lance leaders without a pastorate. The social conscience must lay the pulpit under requisition for an exposition of the meaning of the principles taught by the gospel to the problems of our time. This exposition cannot be given without difficulty by a man who is also the pastor of a congregation. He may preach a fortnight social gospel and lose all his privileges as a pastor. He may accept the limitations of his pastoral office and fail to lead his people into those readjustments in moral and social life required by the changing times. Or he may establish his right as a specialist in the realms of moral interpretation and leadership and insist upon making social applications of the gospel. If successful he may retain the support of men who are well pleased with a social order out of which flows plenty for themselves but which his conscience leads him to criticize.

The great need within the church in the present day is for a prophetic ministry. When a preacher of the gospel sits in council with his

church leaders on matters of institutional policy and practice he should become one of them, but when he enters his pulpit he should then speak the truth as God gives him to see the truth and without reference to the self-interest of those who sit in his pews. Jesus spoke more emphatically upon the temptations in acquiring and using material goods than on any other ethical problem. Institutions dependent upon material support speak upon it less. It is less a question of giving than of using.

GOD, GOOD AND GOODS

There is much more than alliteration in God-Good and Goods; there is a generic rootage in them. To be good is to be God-like and goods are a gift of God through which life is made possible; we do not live by bread alone nor can we live at all without bread; the sin of the successful farmer of the parable was not in his successful business or his thrift but in his living for that alone.

It is only the rare soul that can turn poverty into virtue. Poverty is, next to greed, perhaps the greatest evil in the world; it is the prolific source of all evils; it drives men to crime, debilitates all the best in human nature, gives little children the slum, ignorance, superstition and low living standards as an inheritance. Francis Willard said that poverty was a more prolific source of drunkenness than drink was of poverty. Christian America has registered no failure quite so great as the failure to abolish poverty; teachers of Christianity all too often fail to put the "inasmuch" teaching of Jesus at the heart of their message. That saying of the Master was not a demand for charity merely; it was a fundamental in brotherhood.

Jesus came to give abundant life. The marginal reading in the American revision is, "I come that they might have life and abundance." It makes no difference which reading is used—they mean the same thing; few can enjoy an abundant life without an abundance of the things that make life livable. Material equipment is the nurturing material of the good life as surely as soil and sunlight are the nurturing material of plant life; it is not the life, but without it life perishes. To make the acquisition of material goods the chief aim of life is to grow all leaves and little fruit; it is primitive in the field of ethics and spiritual living, as primitive as a Caliban among saints. The money lover is an ethical troglodyte even though, like Goethe's Faust, he wears the habiliments of culture.

Ruskin wrote incisively on economic ethics; he put "illth" (sic) over against "wealth" in our laissez faire, competitive society. Here in America we have "poverty in the midst of plenty"—a few multimillionaires possessing as much as several million of their fellows and clinging to their millions while their fellows perish, answering the cry of need with a dole to charity, building luxurious churches within sight of their underpaid neighbours, hating those who guide society into more equitable ways of living and clinging to their security while denying it to those

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who have greater need. The Christian character of a society is to be judged more by its "illth" than by its "wealth" if what Jesus said about "Inasmuch" is the criterion of judgment.

On no ethical question did Jesus put so much emphasis as on that of the love of and use of material goods; on none, perhaps, does the modern church put less. To the Master, as to the Apostle Paul, the love of money is a root of all evil; a man could not serve both God and Mammon. Yet in our day, many a man serves Mammon most of his days, then turns, like sinners of old turned to monasteries in their old age, to "doing good" with the fruits of his money lust. The elder Rockefeller garnered hundreds of millions, often through a ruthless destruction of his competitors, then became almost a saint in his latter days by bestowing it on philanthropy; his career as a monopolist is cloaked by his career as a philanthropist. A one-time U.S. senator was unseated by his colleagues for political crookedness but when he donated a beautiful church it was accepted with praise and dedicated with solemnity.

The temptations and evils in money getting are, like prostitution

to love, great because the good in the right use of material things is so great. Jesus had no criticism of material things as such; the first petition in the Lord's Prayer is for our daily bread. An unforgettable memory of the writer is the way in which his father always spoke of God as Providence.

It is not enough to do good. To be good is enough because it will always do good as well. To make money at the expense of others, then to give it to the church is to whiten sepulchers. Christianity brings culture wherever it goes but the institutions of Christianity all too often substitute culture, success, good luck in money making and the virtues of institutionalism for brotherhood, the golden rule and the building of the Kingdom of God within.

The most generous church is not the one that gives the most, else Jesus would have commended the rich givers rather than the poor widow. The most appropriately built church is not the most expensive; the simple, symmetrical old Quaker meeting house may be a much better symbol of the temple the Master declared greater than Jerusalem's. The little church college that makes it possible for the

industrious, aspiring youth from the homes of the poor to get an education may represent both democracy and Christianity better than the richly endowed university that up-tuition fees, clings to outworn curricula, surrounds its campus with socially exclusive frat houses and devotes its millions to "pure learning" to the exclusion of purity in righteous human relationships. Christianity begets culture, sobriety, thrift and all the elements of success; the institutions of Christianity may then substitute these things for the building of the Kingdom of God in society. The Kingdom of God is built on the brotherhood, sacrifice and the Golden Rule. It is built on the earth by men of goodwill, and all the providences of God are built into it, including so-called "worldly goods". A certain Christian leader asked friends what he should do with his inheritance. He earned none of it so felt his duty was to use it for the Kingdom. He gave it away and thus missed a great opportunity to show how it could be made to work for the Kingdom through a genuinely Christian business—a thing all too rare.

—Social Questions Bulletin.

FAST AND ITS ABUSE

(By N. V. VARMA, B.A.)

Fast is a universal custom practised by mankind from time immemorial. On account of its universality, it has come to be recognised as a beneficial act. To decline it—it is a self-inflicted sacrifice of a natural necessity for life, a self-decided fight against an irresistible physical craving, a striving against an urge of the flesh. In its original purpose and setting, it is intended purely and solely for the correction of a temporary fault or defect in the physiological working of the human body, that is to say, for the purification of the body.

Since, in ancient India, every human activity was exalted to the dignity of a religious injunction, the science of health came to be known as Ayurveda. Hence, fast came to be treated with religious sanctity and became a content of Upaveda.

Ancient seers and teachers who were known as *trikalagnanes* (those who could see through the Past, the Present and the Future) whose main theme of contemplation was the welfare of mankind, knew by virtue of their possessing the power of 'seeing' that in the long run of the history of the world, mankind is sure to lapse from its duty of maintaining the physique in sound condition and suffer in consequence. In order to save mankind from the misery of suffering, they ordained that it is a sin to take food on certain days, and enjoined on all, including the sick, the aged and children, to abstain from food on those days.

Every religion has imposed this injunction on its followers. The Hindus are enjoined to take only one meal on the New Moon day, Full Moon day and *ashvini* (the sixth day after the New Moon or Full Moon day) and to abstain from food altogether on *Ekadasi* (the 11th day after the Full Moon or the New Moon day). Besides, there is a ban on taking food twice a day on ever so many occasions such as *Caturmas*, *Shravanmas*, etc. During Lent, Christians and during the day time

of the whole month of Ramazan, Mahomedans, are forbidden to take food. Since the scheme of fast of the Hindus runs through the whole year, that that is the most rationalistic, scientific, practicable and accommodating scheme will be admitted by all unbiassed observers. This is why fast has become, as a matter of course, a rule of conduct in the life of Hindus. To them, it has no special significance.

Fasting began to acquire a special significance only when it began to be abused. There have been rare instances of its abuse in the past. It is recorded that more than 150 years ago there was a mass fasting in front of the Koodalmanikkam temple at Irinjalakuda (Cochin State) for the redress of a grievance. In recent times, these instances are not a few. Mahatma Gandhi has a good number to his credit, and there are several others.

There is no gainsaying the fact that all recent instances of fast are utter, deliberate abuse of the religious injunction. As these have taken place in our living memory before our very eyes as it were, we know what the motive underlying them was. Taking only Gandhi's fasts, we know every one of them was to compel others to agree to do what he wanted them to do and to force them to agree to his view and line of action. In simple words, the motive of Gandhi's fasts was coercion. Taking a leaf from Gandhi's fasts, several others also have fasted with the same motive but with much less pomp and publicity. Now, it has almost become a mania to fast for the redress of any grievance, real or imaginary, personal or public. Even though it has not become yet a nuisance to the society, it has become sufficiently selfish to create some stir. More, it has become an easy excellent device for popularity-hunting persons to become well-known.

That the motive of fasters is coercion is clear from their *modus operandi*. First of all, they make

a public announcement of their decision to fast. If their intention is pure and motiveless, why should they publish that; they can quietly observe fast and die peacefully? Secondly, they tell the public that they intend to fast for the redress of a particular public grievance. In the words of the poet, what is *Hecuba* to them or they to *Hecuba*? Granting that the poet is wrong, the right method for one who is stricken with grief at a public grievance for the redress of it is to take concerted action against the grievance, with the support of the public instead of humiliating himself or herself. Arguing rationally and logically, the public announcement of the fast is a crystal clear indication of the intention of the faster and, that is, the faster has not even the remotest idea or desire to perish by fast. Gandhi's 'fast unto death' is a typical illustration. Were it not so, the elaborate preparations, the most efficient and up-to-date precautionary arrangements to meet every possible contingency, constant attendance of expert and eminent doctors, timely intake of most sustaining, easily assimilable food products, etc., should not find a place in the fast programme.

We need not pause to examine whether these fasts are or are not a fraud on the society. This is too obvious. Therefore, it is high time that society does not countenance them at all but leave the fasters severely alone. If society does not take notice of publicly announced fasts, it will hear no more of such fasts. Since the death of MacSwiney in an Irish jail after 64 days' fast, Ireland has not heard of a political fast.

It is said, and very wrongly too, that fast purifies the soul. The expression 'purifies the soul' is a philosophical inexactitude, because the soul can never become impure to require any purification. It is a case of inverted logic. No one who has any conception or understanding of what the soul is will talk about the

purification of the soul. We can as well talk of pure God and impure God or good God or bad God. Those who believe with faith that fasts will purify the soul, deserve our sympathy.

If one follows the fast scheme of the Hindus—fasts at regular intervals—he or she will enjoy long life without any disease. Mahatma Gandhi is a living proof of this dictum, despite the fact that the motive and purpose of his fast used to be

political rather than personal.

When there are people in plenty ready to pauper fasters, fasters need have no apprehension about their life. If every faster is assured of the attention that is given to Gandhiji perhaps, the whole Hindu population of India will be ready to fast.

We have been seeing prominent public men intervening officially with the view of dissuading a faster from the fast without taking the trouble to inquire into the justifica-

tion for the fast. Such intervention, considered from the standpoint of stern logic, is unwarranted, unreasonable and impertinent since that interferes with the freedom of action in a purely personal matter. If one wants to fast, he must be absolutely free to do it, no matter what the reason be or what the result will be. Probably, the fear of absolute non-interference and non-intervention from others will vapourise even the very thought of fasting, if anyone contemplates it.

LABOUR PROBLEM IN U.S.A.

George Ericson writes in "The Christian Science Monitor":—

The nation is certainly in the midst of what has been termed by Donald R. Richberg, former National Recovery Administrator, as a "strange era of legalized industrial warfare." The situation calls for a law or laws which will protect the public interest against the disasters which ensue when powerful groups fight it out to the finish over differences which seemingly do not yield to around-the-table conferences. Of course, laws do not always exile or injustices, but they make it possible for men of judgment and good will to inaugurate measures or to try to bring about a sort of business climate which will speed the way to accord.

Today, the question is more insistent than ever: Shall there be any restrictions on the right to strike? The labour leaders, certain members of Congress and various publicists hold that the right to strike cannot be abridged. Harold E. Stassen said in a recent article in a nationally distributed magazine: "The right to strike must remain inviolate." On the other hand, in addition to the industrialists, there are Congressmen and educators who assert that the right to strike has no greater validity than the right to work, that the strike weapon cannot legitimately be defended when it deprives communities of those facilities necessary to maintain life and health, such as light, heat, power, vital transportation, food, etc.

It has been said repeatedly that there are certain types of occupation which are in a separate category and that such workers have, by the public nature of their work, relinquished what labour leaders call an "inalienable" right to strike. This category includes, soldiers, policemen, firemen and other public servants.

Then there are public utilities, which, though privately owned and managed, have a special status because they operate under a public franchise. These furnish vital services, and, since they are publicly regulated, surely no inalienable right to strike against them exists. For it can be shown that a strike for higher wages or changed working conditions which deprives a community of its necessities creates so much harm that the community itself is entitled to take steps for self-protection. Such steps may include compulsory arbitration where conciliation has failed.

In the present instance, where a coal strike has been slowly paralyz-

ing many of the most important industrial processes of the country, it cannot be said that the industry struck against is a utility. That fact, however, becomes a technicality when the results are such as to endanger the functioning of the whole economy.

When the welfare of the millions of non-participants in the strike is being damaged to an extent far outweighing the immediate objectives of the opposing parties, then it is time for the majesty of the nation to move. In upon the fields of battle and say: "No more of this nonsense!" Neither the obstinacy of the mine owners nor the demands of the mine workers funneled through the personality of ambitious leaders should delay the application of commonsense embodied in law.

Just what the nature of new legislation to protect the American public from irrational, dangerous, costly strikes should be, is a most controversial question. It is perfectly evident that our present legislation is inadequate and ineffective.

That there are some labour laws on the books today which are receiving wide condemnation is beyond dispute. One of these is the so-called Wagner Act; another is the Smith-Connolly law. The former was inaugurated at a time when labour unions were regarded as weak and in need of protection from the might of industry. It is now regarded by many experts and legislators as discriminating against industry. The latter was passed in haste as a deterrent to strikes, but labour leaders assert that it has provoked the greatest strike wave in history.

Of course, the right to strike is today part of the law. There is hardly any instance in which strikes can be enjoined. As compared with the robust right to strike, together with the prerogatives that go with such a right, such as mass picketing, for instance, the right to work is but a feeble shadow.

The fellow who, by some chance is not a joiner, who is a holdout, who feels a union to be restrictive, is then likely to be called by union members a "scab", a "free-rider", a "stooge", or even a "traitor." When this is how unionism protects itself, the right to work becomes merely a tag for contumely or ostracism.

But "rights" have a way of changing either in appearance or substance as the years roll by. There is a growing insistence today upon

demanding from unions that they regard responsibilities as equal with rights. Such insistence is fitting testimony in the demand for revision of the National Labour Relations Act, the administration of which industry feels has been decidedly one-sided and has placed labour in the position of a favoured party. There is a call for the elimination of "wildcat", "quickie" and "sit-down" strikes and the imposition of sanctions or penalties applicable to either party. As it is today, the term "unfair labour practice" is applied to the employer only.

That Congress is fully aware of the breakdown in labour-management relations and the failure of the Wagner Act is evidenced by the various proposals that have come up for consideration, such as the Case bill, the Ford bill, the Burton-Ball-Hatch bill, and others. The danger is that anger will pass through a bill that may do as much damage as benefit.

Outlawing all strikes is not feasible. But when mediation and voluntary arbitration fail, then bringing the power of public opinion to bear on the matter under dispute has always had effect. If the public is given the facts, then the disputants must bow to the court of last resort. These facts must necessarily be gathered by some competent fact-finding panel and they must then be weighed by an impartial group representing the workers, the management and the consumers or public, whose judgment should be final.

The time has come when the public can no longer wait for either or both of the disputing parties to listen to reason or compromise. The President, whether reluctant or not, may have to order seizure of the coal mines—and later the railroads. The alternative is widespread disorder and stagnation of the nation's economic life. The fight to the finish—the law of the jungle—must become legally the anachronism it is socially.

Crimes by individuals against society are dealt with by courts. A strike which has the effect of a conspiracy against national welfare, must be dealt with by all the power of Government. Then arises the necessity for a long-range consideration by Congress of all the factors that enter into a thorough-going attempt to bring about industrial peace.

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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

Hyderabad Reforms: His Exalted Highness the Nizam in a firman promulgating reforms observes that Hindus and Muslims are two eyes of the State. Without a big squint in one's eyes it is impossible to discover the significance of this complacent assurance in the Reforms. The scheme as it emerged from the Aiyangar Committee was deliberately designed to avoid communalism in the Legislature. Functional representation was agreed to by the Committee solely because it would obviate communal franchise. At the final stage by a stroke of the pen or pencil communalism in a full-blooded form was interpolated into the scheme which consequently fell still-born. The present scheme would be hardly recognised by its original sponsors. It has been mauled and mangled with the sole object of bolstering up "parity" between three million Muslims and 13 million Hindus in the population. It is impossible for a modern mind to understand how such a wide disparity can seem fit material for parity in a serious constitution. The functional part has been reduced to insignificance. Territorial constituencies have been substituted. This in itself is not bad. Joint electorates are kept but they have been made worse than frank communal electorates by the proviso that a Hindu or a Muslim elected by

them should have received 51 per cent of the votes of electors professing his particular faith. The rolls will necessarily therefore be framed on a communal basis. While professing to shut out communalism by the front door it has been smuggled in by the back door. We are unable to take the scheme seriously. It is highly complicated and lends itself to much manipulation. The "Bombay Chronicle" published the other day what purported to be a secret assurance to the effect that the provisions even of this scheme will be further safeguarded so as to ensure Muslim predominance apart from the Council of Ministers. We daresay the Hyderabad reforms are being closely studied in another important State where Hindus are in the same proportion to Muslims as Muslims to Hindus in the Deccan State. Separate communal electorates after the British Indian pattern would have been less of an affront to the Hindus than this scheme where practice mocks profession. The parity formula has sent some reputations to untimely graves in British India. It will not do better in Hyderabad.

What is more appalling even than the ingenuity of these arithmetical tricks in making a political constitution, are the utter unawareness of the import of world events and the

shortsightedness of religious bigotry. Taxation is correlated to representation in every constitutional system. If you insist on parity in representation between two aggregates which widely diverge, it is inevitable that the principle of parity should be extended to taxation as well. The thirteen million Hindus will claim that no more should be taken from them than what is taken from three million Muslims. In other words the constitution based on parity is a provocation to a no-tax campaign in the not distant future in which almost certainly the Muslims who have a keen sense of justice will take the lead.

Satyagraha in Durban and Poona: India is deeply hurt by the arrests of satyagrahis in Durban. But satyagrahis by the hundreds have been arrested and imprisoned in Poona. The Bombay Government could not help it. It cannot allow rowdy crowds to break into the Legislature but it certainly makes one pause before waxing wroth over the proceedings in Durban. Dr. Ambedkar who is in Poona and presumably in control, says that the satyagraha is designed to draw a declaration from the Congress regarding its policy to the scheduled castes. That policy is, of course, to eradicate untouchability from Hindu social life. The scheduled castes are not single caste or community and so far we are aware Dr. Ambedkar has not done anything to break down the social barriers which separate the castes more rigidly than caste Hindus. We are glad nevertheless to note that Dr. Ambedkar's Siddhartha College seems to be totally uninfluenced by his political prejudices.

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BOMBAY, July 27, 1946

CONSTITUTION-MAKING PROSPECTS

The elections to the Constitution-making body are now nearly complete. The Congress which is in an overwhelming majority in the main A group of provinces, has been manoeuvred or has manoeuvred itself into entering the body, but has done so with its own interpretation of almost all the main proposals. This interpretation is totally different from that of the Muslim League. So much so that the League which practically unanimously decided to accept the Cabinet Ministers' short and long-term proposals, on coming to know the Congress acceptance of only the long-term plan, got alarmed and slanged the Viceroy in vehement terms, and has called a meeting of its Council this week-end to reconsider its acceptance. The statements of Lord Pethick-Lawrence in the House of Lords and of Sir Stafford Cripps in the House of Commons—Sir Stafford spoke for over six hours—evoked appreciative comments from Muslim League leaders. But Congress leaders have not withdrawn their interpretation. Not only that, but Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who is now the full-fledged President of that body has interpreted the allocation of subjects to the Union centre as practically covering every important subject which advocates of unitary government would have included in it. The Centre in the Cabinet Ministers' plan, is to have Defence, Foreign policy and Communications with power to raise the finance necessary to administer the three departments. The League had objected to the last provision. Its idea is that the centre should be financed by the provinces. The Pandit has expanded the three as necessarily including Currency, Customs, Foreign Trade, Industries and other subjects inseparable from them. He argues, quite reasonably, that modern military efficiency is dependent on industrial expansion, that currency differences would impede commerce and that foreign policy is closely related to foreign trade. It is better, however, to mention these specifically as central subjects than leave them to be inferred. This will be another difficulty which the Constitution-making body will have to

overcome. In the main A group the Congress Party will easily have its way. But in the B and C groups the League and non-League sections are precariously placed with Dr. Ambedkar and a Communist holding the scales in the Bengal-Assam group and the Sikhs and to some extent, the Sindhis holding it in the C group. But the whole grouping plan may have to be scrapped at the very outset owing to irreconcilable differences among the member provinces.

Congress has included some non-Congressmen of note among the candidates elected on its ticket. Prominent among them are Sir S. Radhakrishnan from the United Provinces and Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar and Sir N. Gopalaswami Aiyangar from Madras. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari has been returned from Madras on the nomination of the Congress High Command. Bakshi Sir Tek Chand has been elected on the Congress ticket from the Punjab. The Right Hon. M. R. Jayakar was expected to be included in the Bombay Congress list but he is now in London in connection with his work as Member of the Judicial Committee and his nomination paper did not reach Bombay in time for the election. The Sikhs have been wobbling. First, they rejected the Plan, then they accepted, then rejected again, and are once again reconsidering their deci-

sion in response to Lord Pethick-Lawrence's appeal in the course of his statement in the House of Lords. If they decide to join four members will be added to the opposition to the Muslim League in the Punjab group. Meanwhile, the Congress President has made a swash-buckling speech threatening to wreck the Constitution-making body if the Congress does not get its way.

Another factor is the Indian States which are entitled to send 93 members to the body at a later stage. Whether that stage would be reached is doubtful. There is a demand on the part of the people of the States that their representatives should participate in the Body from the start. The entrance of the States would create a new crisis. The recent pronouncements and proceedings of the Congress President have not predisposed the Princes, notwithstanding Sardar Patel's assurances, to walk confidently into the Congress parlour. Many people in British India who are not party politicians regard the Pandit's excursion into State politics as indiscreet or at least inopportune. There will have to be negotiations between the Princes and the British Indian parties.

In the circumstances it is wise not to indulge in over-optimism as to the outcome of the complicated Constitution-making process. We are not without hope that as the result of conflicting interests and issues the country may finally reach a unitary solution which would be the best for us and the world.

THE STRIKE EPIDEMIC

Some months ago the Sweepers strike left Bombay stinking for several days. Then came the threat of the Railwaymen's strike. It was temporarily averted by the intervention of political leaders. For more than ten days now the postmen's strike has left us destitute of letters and papers. Such is the adaptability of human nature that if the strike lasts a few days more, we shall come to regard the postman's knock as an unwelcome intrusion. From the figures given officially—and they have not been questioned—postmen are already or will soon be getting about seventy rupees in Bombay as their basic monthly minimum. In a few months there is

bound to be a rush of failed matriculates from ration offices to the postal service. Further increases will entail greater burdens on the public. The reduction in the post card rate will have to be revoked and the rate may have to be increased. If as the Government spokesman implied in a broadcast the strike has been engineered because the leader of the Postal Union, Mr. V. G. Dalvi was not put on the Pay Commission, it is stupid not to have put him on it and avert all the hardship and excitement of the last several days.

ZEMINDARI AND CAPITALISM

Congress Governments in Bihar, the United Provinces and Madras have announced their intention to abolish the zemindari system in their provinces. The system varies in details in different parts of the country but the common feature is that they are impartible and the rent is taken by the landlord who holds on a permanent tenure. A preliminary difference among Congress members is whether the zemindars should be compensated or not for deprivation of their proprietary rights. A minority is for expropriation without compensation. But the official Congress view is that there should be fair and adequate compensation. Government spokesmen have urged that the measure will bring much-needed additional revenue to the provinces. This it will do. But the belief that it will lead also to doubling production may prove wrong. At the beginning of the Bolshevik revolution, Lenin expropriated the big estates and distributed the land to peasants. He too had hoped that this will increase production. But to his surprise and disappointment he found that the effect was the reverse. Production fell. Then came the New Economic Plan. The darkest chapter in the history of the Russian Revolution, even according to its sympathetic interpreters, the Webbs, was the "liquidation" of the kulaks, the peasants who had prospered, to make way for collective farming. Congress Governments would do well if they declare what they intend to do with the lands of the zemindars. Presumably, they want to introduce the ryotwari system which is in operation in Bombay and Madras. Would the peasants of Oudh who are notoriously the most depressed in the country, develop at once the qualities of initiative and self-reliance of the peasant in the old ryotwari tracts? Curiously Communist ideas have their stronghold in the United Provinces where one should have least expected it. A considerable proportion of the intelligentsia would seem to be affected by them. Some recent Muslim writers have enlarged on the common features of Islam and Communism. One of them says that, except for belief in God and private property, Marxism has much in

common with Islam. Do the Governments intend to introduce collective farming under state control?

In the United Provinces Legislative Assembly, a Muslim League Member, proposed an amendment to the Government resolution for abolition of zemindari. He accepted the principle but urged that capitalism should also be abolished simultaneously. Otherwise, he urged, not without reason, the abolition of landlords would make the capitalists' monopoly supreme. This it may do in two ways. First, it will add to the number of capitalists. The zemindars, turned bondholders and annuitants, will take to capitalism. Secondly, many of the peasants, instead of continuing to cultivate their lands as free peasants, will prefer to become wage-earners in factories. There is much talk of independence but the activating force in the modern world is search for security. People prefer posts where they are assured of pay and pension. This tendency is growing in Britain and will increase everywhere. The numerous controls in almost every walk of life established in war-time, are being continued and an increasing section of the population has become a part of bureaucracy. The peasants may likewise prefer to work for wages in a factory to facing the vicissitudes of cultivating land as free agents because cultivation depends upon seasons and world prices. Besides the villager also wants to enjoy the amenities of town life, the radio, the cinema, political agitation and the excitement of incessant strikes and hartals. Agriculture is the only occupation in which strikes mean starvation and, what is worse loss of self-esteem. A speaker opposing the amendment said that capitalism has done some good to the workers but zemindars were unrelieved oppressors. Proletarians of the city are hardly an improvement on the peasant of the most oppressive landlordism. In Bombay at any rate the millhands have steadfastly refused to become proletarians. They cling to their small uneconomic holdings in Rabargiri and Malvan and that gives them an independence which the proletarians do not have. An English author some years ago watching the Mahratta women com-

ing out of the mills at sunset, contrasted their queenly gait and gesture with the shambling of factory girls in his own country. Seeking for the reason, he found it in the brooding of the unseen everywhere in Indian life and thought amidst much outward squalor. This is no doubt true. But if Heaven be not far away from their mind, their connection with earth in the shape of their ancestral land is also contributory to their poise and inward security. Abolition of zemindari unless accompanied by measures to keep the peasant on his land, may aggravate instead of improving the position of agriculture as the basic industry of—human well-being.

Residual Powers: Almost every event during the last five years has pointed to the inexorable necessity for a strong centre with ample powers delegated to the provinces, but holding in its hands the right to intervene and enforce compliance in common matters to the mandates from the centre. The war brought home sharply this lesson. The food shortage underlined it many times. Even the strikes teach the same lesson. As it happens the most recalcitrant of strikes has been in communications, one of the three subjects reserved for the centre in the Muslim and Cabinet Minister's scheme to which the Congress has given its consent, though now there is a tendency to interpret it by indirect inference. We publish elsewhere an account of the deadlock which has ensued in Canada between the centre and the provinces over questions of taxation. The Canadian constitution like the American is based on sovereign States delegating powers to the centre instead of the centre delegating them to the provinces.

BRIHADARANYAKA UPANISHAD

By: K. NATARAJAN

Some eight years ago, the Advaita Ashram, Mayavati, published an English translation of the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad with text in Devanagari characters, by Swami Madhavananda. It had a learned introduction by the late Mahamahopadhyaya Professor Kuppuswami Sastry in the course of which the Mahamahopadhyaya indicated as the central idea of the Upanishad that it is just as possible for a householder to lead the religious life as for a sanyasin. The Sri Ramakrishna Math, Myslapore, Madras, has brought out in its Upanishad series another English translation of the Upanishad with the text in Sanskrit. The work would seem to have been done by more than one translator as no name is given as in the rest of the series. The need for this translation, it is explained, arises from the fact that though there are several good translations of the Upanishad, "none of these contains a word by

word rendering into English in order to help readers who are not good scholars in Sanskrit and who wish to follow the sacred text in the original". The work is done with the thoroughness and accuracy characteristic of the Math's publications. The volume is priced Rs. 5.

The towering figure in this Upanishad is Yagnavalkya, householder, philosopher, jurist. He lived at a time when the search for Brahman was intense. Janaka, the philosopher king of Videha was himself a knower and expounder of Brahman. He was a Kshatriya but Brahmins did not hesitate to go to him for instruction in Brahman, some of them reluctantly and under protest, as it were. Janaka had regular philosophical congresses at his court. In one of them, the ablest questioner whom Yagnavalkya had to face, was Gargi, a lady of much learning and pertinacity. When she pressed Yagnavalkya with question

after question, he lost his temper and adjured her not to press him too far, otherwise she would lose her head. She was silenced for a while but returned to the charge with redoubled vehemence. Yagnavalkya, however, was more than a match for her and she had to acknowledge his superiority to her and the other philosophers assembled in the Conference. There was a younger man in the Congress Artabhaga whom Yagnavalkya could not shake off. His questions were so pointed and pertinent that Yagnavalkya did not want to carry on the discussion in the Assembly. He suggested to the young philosopher that they had better withdraw from the Assembly and have a talk by themselves. They went out together and had a quiet talk under a tree. At the end Yagnavalkya took his young friend by the hand and told him that what really mattered was Work. Gargi is not the only woman

philosopher who figures in this Upanishad. Yagnavalkya had two wives, Maitreyi and Katyayani. "Maitreyi was conversant with discussions on Brahman while Katyayani was wise in feminine duties", the Mary and Martha of Indian scripture. When, according to the ordinance, Yagnavalkya was about to enjoy the sanyas ashrama he wanted to divide his possessions, consisting of immense herds of cows with gold tied round their horns which he had won at philosophical contests, between his two wives, and not among his sons, be it noted. Maitreyi declined her share. She asked her husband if possessions would lead her to the knowledge of Brahman. "No," replied Yagnavalkya, "your life will be just like the life of people enriched with abundance of objects. But there is no hope of immortality by wealth." Then follows the famous passage in his instruction to Maitreyi:

Verily the husband is dear not for the sake of husband, Maitreyi, but for the sake of the self that he is dear. Verily, the wife is dear not for the sake of the wife, Maitreyi, but for the sake of the self that she is dear. Verily, the sons are dear not for the sake of the sons, Maitreyi, but for the sake of the self they are dear. Verily, wealth is dear not for the sake of wealth but for the sake of self it is dear.....

Yagnavalkya was a philosopher but he was also a realist. When King Janaka asked him on one occasion whether he had come to discuss philosophy or to get a present of cows, Yagnavalkya promptly replied, "For both, your Majesty." He was also not burdened with too much modesty. He ordered his disciples to drive to his home the thousand cows and gold on their horns, which had been provided as the prize in a philosophical competition before the discus-

sion began and was unmoved by the angry protests of his competitors.

It is curious that while meeting women philosophers on an equal footing, Yagnavalkya advises husbands to beat their wives with hand or stick if they are irresponsible to their attentions.

The origin of the caste system, according to the Brihadaranyaka is quite different from that described in the famous Purusha Sukta verse, that Brahman was born from the mouth, Kshatriya from the arms, Vaishya from the thighs, and Shudra from the feet of Brahma. According to this Upanishad originally all were Brahmans. The three other castes were evolved by differentiation of occupations in later times. A vedic bard states that his father was a doctor, his mother ground corn on stones while he was a composer of hymns. "We follow our desires like kine."

AMERICA WANTS A LABOUR CODE

What can America do to lay some sound foundation stones for a much-needed code of Federal labour laws? Ill-advised measures might castigate some ambitious labour leaders and a few irresponsible unions, but render industrial peace still more difficult to attain, writes the "Christian Science Monitor."

Congress can:

1. Make a clear-cut declaration of national policy affirming that the public safety and welfare must prevail over all private issues which may be at stake in industrial disputes—qualifying even the right to organise and the right to strike. The "principle" of public interest has been well established and defined with respect to ownership and management. Labour unions have grown to a size and strength which demand like establishment and definition with respect to them.

2. Consistent with such a declaration, Congress can limit, almost to the vanishing point, the right to strike in public utilities and other services and industries vital to public safety and welfare, and, at the same time, set up safeguards which would not leave the workers helpless against the self-interest of ownership and management.

To achieve these certainly indivisible objectives Congress can make mandatory the inclusion in all labour contracts in such industries, (a) a specified minimum of grievance machinery, (b) mediation of new contracts or contract changes, (c) arbitration, should mediation fail, by arbiters named by both parties, (d) should this fail, compulsory arbitration, under auspices of a permanent national board of arbitration and mediation, to be appointed by the President for supervision and final settlement of disputes in the field of vital public services.

Recent experience has shown, however, that even such a thorough-going system for the settlement of disputes must be backed up by powers and penalties. The Lucas bill calling for criminal prosecution and penalties against anyone who conspires to provoke or promote a concerted work stoppage which imperils the national safety, health, or welfare, may seem drastic. But America may just as well face the fact that it is necessary.

The only clear-cut authority the the large-heartedness of a lover,

President has to seize and operate a private industry now rests upon his temporary war powers. Congress can give him permanent statutory power to act in any future emergency—power to seize, to operate, to give full protection to workers, and, if necessary, to operate with personnel of the Armed Forces.

Measures such as these would assert the rights of the Nation against those of special interests in the special situations created by strikes in vital production and services. Congress might be tempted to stop at this point. But these are largely measures of restriction and control. What can Congress do toward moulding conditions less likely to generate further national emergencies? Will it do anything until another great emergency arises, unless it acts now?

For one thing, Congress can extend on a voluntary basis, the kind of mediation and arbitration facilities here proposed for utilities and near-utilities, to all of industry. Labour experts are unanimous in saying that the greatest hope lies in resolving small disputes quickly before they build resentment and flame into strikes. Congress can strengthen the present Federal con-

dition service, as called for in the McMahon Bill—long pigeon-holed—or it can set up a National Mediation Board, with district offices staffed to move in upon invitation anywhere and quickly, as proposed by William Leiserson.

On a plane more fundamental than any device of settlement, Congress by properly amending the Wagner Act, can stimulate a healthy development of the forces of self-discipline within labour itself. The gradual squeezing out of vigorous minority opposition from within the labour ranks is an alarming trend. It is a trend aided by undue muzzleing of management in "bargaining agency" elections, by too-easy achievement of sole bargaining rights by big unions, by mass picketing, and by other means.

This is no brief for the return of employer coercion, organised strike-breaking with "plug-uglies," nor private armies of "company police." The Nation faces, however, a desperate need to reassert the right to work—bona fide, legitimate work—as vigorously as the right to strike; to re-affirm, not only the right, but the functional necessity, of free and effective minority disagreement.

A WARPED OUTLOOK

Sir—It appears that your esteemed correspondent is on the war-path. But this crusade against what he has termed as "European Christianity" might have been waged on a better cause. Anyway, the chapters and verses quoted by him—and these divorced from the context—will fail to convince—those of us at least who are in the know of the state of things here at St. Mary's. These might give an appearance of truth—or at best the dressing of truth—but not the whole truth—truth distorted, maimed and mangled. I do not think any useful purpose will be served by arguing with a man who would not listen to reason and whose whole mental vision is tainted by a narrow racial bias.

It is significant that he prefers to remain anonymous. And, his intolerant invectives go to show that he hardly deserves the appellation of the "Christian lover of Hinduism." For, he has neither the lofty charity of the Christian religion nor

and regarding Hinduism, the less said the better. Maybe, lovers and poets are sometimes in compact with a certain set of people about whom I do not wish to make any mention.

Regarding some of the Catholic Fathers at St. Mary's, who represent the great Institution, and with whom I had, and still have, the privilege of coming in close contact—I should say—they are men practising religion in the proper sense of the term. There is the luxury of doing good to the people around them. To quote the English Poet—

"Far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife
Their sober wishes never learned to stray,
Along the cool sequestered vale
of life

They kept the noiseless tenor
of their way."

The writer of this happens to belong to the Hindu fold and he is proud of it; but that is no reason why he should be blind to what is good in other people or institutions.
Kurseong. P. ROY.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

(By A-Z)

Political ideas and methods in India have almost always depended upon British Imperialist policy. There is no harm in admitting this, provided we make sincere effort hereafter not to allow our thought and action to be restricted by that policy. We must understand the new British system of domination in India. Our only interest is to overthrow it.

Let us see if there is any actual change in the system by which Britain maintains her authority. Before the beginning of the present war Britain was mainly under the influence of nineteenth century Liberal Ideas. The most important of these were:—

(a) That Government which interferes least in the private lives of the people is the best Government; and

(b) that economic system is the healthiest when it is least interfered with, by the state.

Britain's imperial policy also reflected these beliefs. As a result, a degree of civil liberty and economic freedom was permitted to us because it profited the British even more than it helped us. Using these methods our political struggle became agitational. We got used to the political framework and our agitation was mainly directed against the working of the machinery of administration. This made us extremely constitutional in outlook. Britain tolerated this agitation as it did not constitute a menace to British authority.

British liberalism in England as well as in India had its roots in a sense of military security. The Empire was safe as long as the army of occupation was strong enough to hold it. The threat of rival military power was absent. Political discussions were, therefore, permitted to mock parliaments with severely restricted powers.

Constitutionalism served a useful purpose for Imperialism. It was deliberately used to:—(1) encourage communalism, and (2) to divert the intelligentsia from actual and effective forms of political action. Instead it offered high-sounding and spectacular substitutes of legitimate and peaceful agitation. There was no danger to British power.

In spite of the influence of constitutionalism, agitation deepened political consciousness. Satyagraha utilised this consciousness to spread this psychology of non-cooperation. Even when Satyagraha was found ineffective in achieving its objective it intensified popular support to nationalism. Satyagraha reverses became stepping stones to election victories. Therefore, we came more and more constitutional in outlook.

The Congress organisation was alternately used for satyagraha and electioneering. It was of little use for anything else. It never developed a capacity to 'launch' an all out attack. When Mahatma Gandhi threw the challenge of "Quit India," the Congress did not have the necessary organisation to put it into effect.

The war changed Britain greatly. Her terrible defeats at Dunkirk and Singapore forced her to realise that if she were to survive and retain her Empire she must copy not only the German military machine but also the fascist method of

civilian administration. Behind her parliamentary system a new pattern of Government was built up. This new system has curtailed acute differences between capital and labour in Britain.

Britain must export twice the quantity of goods she did before the war if her workers are to earn at least what they earned before the war. The capitalists who have invested in existing industries must sell their goods or go bankrupt. Both together seek exports. Imperial policy makes this its first objective. Behind this policy all British classes are united.

This export policy of Britain is antagonistic to the primary needs of India. India needs, above all things, to triple the capacity of each village to produce goods as also the power to purchase such goods. Mere development of industries which will further impoverish the village at the cost of the town will not help us. If the towns grow rich, they will buy British goods. So Britain wants bigger towns in India. We want more prosperous villages.

A British Government which wants to increase her exports will be supported both by the workers and capitalists of Britain. Both these classes unite to exploit the village masses of India. If Britain is allowed to have her way, she will see that the post-war Indian political structure will be such that it can be used by fascist imperialism for its own purposes.

At present Britain is ruling India directly through a number of autocrats. Before the end of the war she may attempt to replace them with a number of Indian stooges (collaborators).

Britain would like to have as collaborators, men who have a reputation of being nationalists. She also wants Indian Big Business on her side, as she does not want rivalries between Indian and British capitalists for some time to come. For this purpose, she has begun canvassing certain Congressmen as well as Indian millionaires. The Fifteen-Year Plan, on the one side, and efforts of those who are attempting a settlement under the present framework on the other, indicate that her efforts are not wholly without success.

Those Congressmen who refuse to countenance any other forms of political action except parliamentary election campaigns and symbolic protest satyagraha, have already disowned the August Revolt as unauthorized. They dare not condemn it openly because they hope to cash in on these 'sacrifices' as a trump card in their next election campaign. All the same, they are anxious to beat a hasty retreat to the old and familiar atmosphere of the Assembly Lobbies. Many released Congressmen refuse to face the necessity of changing our methods of political organisation and action. It is easier to take recourse to pseudo-solutions of ministry-making.

At such a juncture what should be our attitude? To have a clear mind we will have to make the following admissions. The political strategy practised by the nationalist forces cannot lead us any further, because a totalitarian regime based on economic controls will not permit organised opposition to function

openly. Agitation has ceased to have its old importance except as an auxiliary support.

Neither is the constructive programme sufficient. To most people who swear by the constructive programme it is a means of putting the electoral machinery into proper shape so that it can be used to our advantage in the next phase of constitutionalism. To a small minority of Gandhites constructive work is preparation for another mass struggle. It is because there is no unified motive inspiring everyone who expresses his faith in the constructive programme that it becomes ineffective.

Is the Constructive Programme a complementary part of parliamentary activity? Or is it a preparation for struggle? It cannot be both and Gandhiji has latterly not stressed this contradiction. He hopes that the present state will itself wither away, as a result of the constructive programme. This is extremely unlikely. The present structure of the state must be shattered before a new order can come into being. Constructive work is a part of this shattering. It is not, yet, a part of the picture of the future order.

The Communists of India have declared themselves incapable of understanding the significance of the developments in India. They have been acting as mere agents of Russian foreign policy, without realising that class struggle today means the struggle between Indian masses and the British Fascist state and its agents. Their lack of perception has led to their being used by British imperialism.

We must examine the causes that were responsible for the setback in our struggle of 1942. The love of profits lured away a section of Indian Big Business. Flooding the country with artificially created money inflations, the British Government in India attracted the wage-earners away from the national struggle. We had no plan of action to combat this. Our organisation was inadequate to implement our non-co-operation. The main strength of the British army remained in India, when it was expected to be fighting in the Middle East, North Africa or Burma. Besides, there was no uniform and clear-cut picture of revolt including strikes and similar deadlocks, which had been placed before the people, before the struggle began.

An insurrection can be successful, only if there is a strong organisation ready to guide and direct the masses, when they rise against oppression. Our task is, then single-mindedly to prepare for the next opportunity and perfect our organisation so that it is ready when the opportunity arises. In 1942 the masses rose but our plans and our organisation were not in battle-trim. We were found wanting. We lost our opportunity.

The peace that has followed the war, cannot usher in a long period of world stability. There is every likelihood of growing tension between the Big Three. Controlled economics, strained to produce the utmost for war effort cannot immediately be put on a peace-time footing.

But the capacity to use the opportunity depends upon the degree of our preparedness to act as individuals and groups.

To prepare for such tasks a new technique of working and planning is necessary. Agitation does not offer the necessary scope for preparing such tasks. We must, therefore, resort to a man-to-man approach, in the selection and training of individuals, for specific tasks.

Our country is very large; and in an emergency it may not be possible for a central body to issue directions to leaders and workers, in different parts of the country. It is, therefore, our duty to train, during the time at our disposal, local leaders who will know how to act, in a moment of national crisis, even without central direction. Our duty should be to build the will to resist among our young men and women and among industrial labourers and peasants. For this a willingness to take up a special job and persist in it undemonstratively, resisting the temptation to resort to agitational politics, is essential. We must be no more content with mere obstruction but must think in terms of exercising our sovereign will.

Workers must pay their attention first and foremost to the problem of developing closer personal association with large numbers of people. Such contact has for them a value transcending the usefulness of the type of work which brings them together with large numbers of men. Not that they should ignore the particular medium of contact as of no importance. Yet contact in itself is a means to an end and that end is different in the present political epoch from what it was in 1929-39 phase of our organisation. Thus outwardly our activity may seem to move in the same familiar grooves, yet we have begun to demand from ourselves different type of results.

The nation-wide response to our past struggle is no small tribute to the success of mass agitational organisation and effort. But we failed to recognise that the success would not be ours, unless we had simultaneously trained a core of stalwarts, who have developed both physical fearlessness and the toughness of body and spirit which would enable them to bear the brunt of assault. The revolutionary movements of 1907 type did set this objective before themselves. But they grew out of a social settling in which they had no deep root among the common people. Their manner of work was exclusively conspiratorial. Hence they were isolated from the people.

We must use every available means of putting ourselves in close association with the different sections of our countrymen and women.

It should be our main motive to select men with a flare for action, men of outstanding zeal and devotion to corporate well-being. They should be gradually familiarised with our political outlook and convinced of the necessity of discipline in group efforts. Trade union work provides a useful medium of effort among the industrial working classes of the towns. But they can also be approached through such other forms of social work as Adult Literacy, Physical Training Centres, Entertainment Groups, Medical Assistance Units.

Our political objectives should be presented as far as possible in a

non-controversial manner. It should be a matter of strengthening certain social urges rather than of spreading a special brand of political theory. No progress in the field of national life without political independence. Our picture of freedom is not the substitution of white tyranny by an indigenous ruling caste. It is a state in which power is held by the workers of the fields and factories.

Our activities will throw up the go-ahead elements from among those we work with. For such natural leaders we must provide study circles for political instruction, so that they may understand and implement the tasks of the revolt with their natural zest. Many times their improvisations are of outstanding value. But study circles must not become vague and debating clubs for doctrinaire dogmatists.

We must not isolate ourselves from open legal educative type of Kisan Sabha work. We must not try to convert the Sabha, as a whole into a separate party. It should be open to welcome all Congressmen who stand by the political and social creed of the Congress. It must be remembered that the effectiveness of our work is not to be measured by figures of enrolled membership or the number of branches or sub-branches. Our strict criteria is the number of selected young men who are prepared to impress upon themselves a rigorous course of training. A special effort must be made to interest primary and middle school teachers in our work.

Our concept of freedom should be made clear as a Kisan Mazdoor Praja-Raj. Our loyalty to the struggle leadership should be stressed. The anti-front should include an attack on the zamindari system. Political literacy of our cadres and other forms of necessary training according to plan and curriculum should be separately provided. In the rural setting, problems of grain control excesses and mal-administration should be attended to and utilised, for finding out the more robust and go-ahead elements. We must remember that our task demands, not only the recruitment and general training of those we select, but we have also to build a special cadre for advanced type of organisation and training. With this end in view, our attention should be rivetted unflinchingly upon specified tasks.

There is too much of vagueness and lack of specialised efficiency among our ranks. This is the main

reason why we, as a nation, are incapable of acting with effect. The purpose of a new effort is to remedy this defect. We must get together men who mean business and are prepared to act, even when action may today consist of tiring self-preparation. Our emphasis should be upon significant information rather than upon profound ideas.

We need, not only, study circles which should chiefly concentrate on political literacy, but must also organise hiking clubs and entertainment groups or even medical relief groups. Thus the man who craves for action and adventure, the man who thirsts for knowledge and also those who spontaneously respond to the social service impulse should find in our organisation a requisite medium of self-expression. But watch for the man who floats from action group to information centre and thence to the social service unit gracing each of these activities to quench his love of sensation. He is the enemy in our camp.

We must therefore find out individually who is a worker willing to specialise in a specified type of activity and as to whether he is a part-time or a full-time worker.

Apart from token programmes we must specialise in three specific types of efforts.

(a) Those who cultivate toughness endurance tests and physical fearlessness;

(b) Those who run a small group for public instruction through fact finding surveys, wall paper and poster instructions and small information groups;

(c) Out of these two we must select an advanced section who will undertake the responsibility for training itself for effective underground activity; In this matter our present efficiency is almost negligible. But we have a fund of experience of some limited jobs done well and many ambitious projects bungled for lack of technical efficiency. It should be the self-chosen task of a select section of organisers to rear this new type of activist and instil in him the necessary capacity for discipline. Our capacity to build this nucleus will be a decisive test of our effectiveness.

Students Organisations:—Students Unions have developed a world of their own. But they still continue to imitate the forms of the older type of political agitation. Our present system trains us to be good and contented slaves; we want to rear boys who are non-careerists and love adventure.

EGYPT AND THE SUDAN

The future of the Sudan is, perhaps, the most difficult of all questions still to be answered in these discussions. The Sudan presents a problem at once complex and heavily charged with national sentiment. The ambition of Egypt—most clearly expressed by the Wafd but common to all Parties—is for unity of the Nile Valley, that is, for replacement of the present Anglo-Egyptian Condominium in the Sudan by a purely Egyptian (or rather Egyptian-Sudanese) administration.

To say that the Sudanese are making more progress with British help than they would under purely Egyptian leadership may be true, but does not reassure the Egyptians; it

sharpens their fears. One condition underlies any satisfactory political settlement—more water. If the effective flow of the Nile can be permanently increased, the prospect of water famine and the fears it engenders would recede into the remote distance. Supply might be augmented in two ways. One is to build another dam higher up the Blue Nile at the outlet to Lake Tana: This would require agreement of the Abyssinians. The other is to cut a straight channel for the White Nile through the vast reedy swamps or sudd of Bahr el Ghazal. Both these plans would be costly to carry out; a channel through the sudd would be laborious to maintain, and

THE CONGRESS GOVERNMENTS AND SOCIAL REFORMS

By: R. V. V. TATACHARIAR

Now that Congress Government has come back to power and our own Swaraj or national government is soon to be born, it is time to consider some of the urgent social reforms to be effected in the light of our common experience. They are inter-caste marriage, widow-remarriage, polygamy, inter-caste adoption, removal of untouchability, temple entry, elevation of the depressed classes, etc.

The age of the Smritikarta-rishis favoured the first four aforesaid items and opinion was divided as regards the others. The later age of the Acharyas was more puritan and the cosmopolitan smritis were re-written. Yajnyavalkya-Yoge set the ball rolling by disapproving Dwijas' marriage with Sudra women. The rest of the puritan ideas gained ground rather rapidly in the peculiar political condition of the times. Muslim inroads and contact and government were responsible therefor as also the decline of Hindu ruling power. Self-help and self-protection contributed to the rigour of the caste-system and rapid march of puritan ideas. Though hereditary occupations gained in intense specialisation, the social fabric lost much in the free flow of blood across caste-barriers. Healthy growth of society stopped and cancer and canker set in. Vaishnavite teachers converted lower orders and sometimes elevated their caste-ranks. But more could not be done that way owing to opposition from within. Now we remain hide-bound though we might be anxious to go back to the age of rishis.

Let us see what can be done by our own national government in this behalf. We know how rigorous was the ban on sea-voyage till recently, at least in South India. Malavyaji took with him Ganges-water sufficient to last him till he set foot in England. But others that have been going there had not his scruples. Official necessity or preference or better chances of Government service as Collector or Judge or other drove many men and even women of all ages across the seas to Europe and America or other parts of the world with the least social opprobrium. Now prominent men were greeted on return with purnakumbham and Veda-parayanam and led into the sanctum sanctorum of great temples. None compelled them to undertake sea-voyage and yet we see how its ban vanished long before air-travel came into vogue. And very orthodox families have bowed to the inevitable, nay have run a race to enter into marital alliance with such England-returned men or their children. That was the thin end of the wedge: where compulsion would fail or breed trouble, freedom broke the orthodox citadel. Here is a lesson for the cautious reformers to proceed in other directions. In Madras, Bombay and Bengal provinces where the craze for Government service is great this cue may be taken up and reform attempted with success.

The Widow-remarriage Act has all along remained very dull. Its permissive character has not worked wonders that were dreamt of. If only higher grade Government officials as well as those of Railway

and other flourishing bodies are tempted with preferment, promotion and other advantages of a secular kind on proof of actual reform-marriages aforesaid, there would be fresh life put into the above dull Act. A Widows' Relief Act may also be useful in this direction. Not only widowers but even husbands with wife and children may be called upon to wed helpless young widows in addition to giving them relief in national interests. A special bonus or an additional increment in salary might go to help forward the widow or her issue, without even touching the man's ancestral estate or his previous earnings or savings.

Similar treatment may also be given to those inclined to inter-caste alliances. Children of such marriages may be deemed born in father's caste, family, gotra, etc., as was the case in Vyasa's times.

Monogamy will have to wait long in India before being enforced by law. The Muslim proportion of the population is ever increasing while the Hindu is decreasing or making little progress. Sri Maha Vishnu, Lord Subramanya and other Hindu Deities have been depicted to own more than one wife. The rishis have allowed as many as four for a Brahmin, caste-war in order of rank. The first being of the same caste as the man was meant for religious duties. The rest were for pleasure, profit and policy. Until we Hindus are able to outnumber the Muslim element heavily we shall have to adopt ways and means to improve our society. Before national urgency or emergency the individual citizen's domestic harmony or happiness should not count at least for a due and necessary period. During pregnancy of one wife the other may be resorted to with relief and advantage all-round. The drudgery of house-keeping may also be shared by several wives instead of taxing the same lady. The law may fix their status and rank and their issue's quantum of inheritance as was in the ancient sages' times. After all monogamy is not sacrosanct per se. It does not per se breed quarrel or unhappiness, if several wives should marry the same man. That depends on character and temperament. There are quarrels and unhappiness in monogamous marriages, just as there is harmony and peace in polygamous ones. Higher interests alone should govern and the State should also ensure by suitable legislation the peaceful atmosphere of families. If denunciation of people by Maha Bharata War might be the reason of polygamy in ancient times as well as other considerations of equality of caste etc., we are faced with national difficulties of a different order to adopt polygamy.

Mahatma Gandhi talks of higher castes marrying or adopting Harijans. Of course he can do so, being the originator of the Harijan uplift movement. He may be justified in putting heart and soul into the matter and go to any lengths. But how many chelas of his and how many Congressmen would be prepared to take his advice and put it into practice in their own homes? They would have to walk out of the Legislatures and Cabinets if only Gandhiji should insist on

such a condition precedent for belonging to the Congress ranks. Much less would the people in general be prepared to act by his words. Strong public opinion was to be created in this behalf; otherwise indifference or trouble would result.

Similarly untouchability should go and temple entry come. But these cannot be forced upon the people. The law may be enacted that untouchability is dead and that no action will lie on the ground of continuance of untouchability or of temple entry by the hitherto untouchables. But the Government should as a matter of wise policy see to it that though individual Harijans are free to enter temples or private houses of caste-Hindus bonafide for worship or service, they do not adopt a violent or irritating attitude by a show or congregational march into temples or houses in assertion of their newly acquired right. Even today, while Brahmin crowds chanting the Vedas or Prabandhas enter into inner precincts of temples, non-Brahmin Bhajana parties dissolve or disperse before individually entering for worship. They fear to offend the sentiment of other people. That must be the attitude of the Harijans also. Or else they would court trouble and Congress Governments would have to act the part of Hitler in trying to put it down with a high hand. Secret or general instructions may be given to the Executive officers of temples not to hamper Harijan entry but to aid it as far as possible. Just as war-service bonds were generally obtained from military recruits in respect of raising no objections to foreign travel or camp-life including forbidden food, indiscriminate grouping of all classes of people, and so on. Just as war-returned people are freely welcomed by their orthodox relations and friends without scruple, Harijans will be quietly welcomed in temples if only they do not offensively exhibit an aggressive or obtrusive temperament. We know how their entry into cities, towns and big villages for scavenging and other useful purposes has been first tolerated and then welcomed and now insisted on by the higher castes.

In the same way our Congressmen in their fresh enthusiasm of office should not start with a bad beginning. They should not compel Harijans to live in the compact area of caste-Hindus. From time immemorial castes and sub-castes have taken to live exclusively together in compact confines without let or hindrance from strangers. Brahmins in their own agraharams, Vaisnavas in their shrenis, Sudras in their pallis, and Harijans in their cherais have been from a variety of reasons and motives living gregariously in isolated tracts in every village or town or city. From economic, hygienic, professional or trade or calling point of view, not to say higher moral, social and human aspects, this ancient form of gregarious life is eminently suited to the genius of the people. It would be short-sighted and even foolish to meddle with the ancient tenor of the people in this behalf. Let not the Congress Government throw Harijans into the calm waters of the castemen's quarters. Harijans must have their own quarters.

clean if not more clean. One drop of sour liquid will do to curdle good milk; so also one family of Harijan or Muslim or European or Eurasian origin will do to thwart or spoil the even tenor of castemen or their purity of blood or traditions.

Such reforms may stand over to a distant future. Economic contentment or betterment will alone do for the masses of Indian people. Democracy and Universal suffrage have done havoc in the west and have yet to breed another world war. What has mass education in the West done to avert the last two wars? Where are their culture and civili-

sation how? Let us not walk in their footsteps. Contentment, peace and happiness of the greatest number have been the aim of the past Hindu empires and kingdoms. Academic education was confined to the few Brahmins as may be said of the 18th century clergy, in England. Western ideas and ideals have not yet gone beyond the empirical stage. We must draw our inspiration from our own long and glorious past that has seen several thousands of years crystallized in Sukranitisara and other works on Indian politics. Has the west anywise improved on them? If kings and emperors were ambitious in the past and were guilty of costly

and deadly wars, our modern democracies or governments of the people by the people for the people have fared no better and equal tight over other nations, whose life-blood they draw on.

So then we must dread to imitate the west blindly and foolishly. Let us march forward with our own God-given light in all trust and faith in him in a way most congenial to the genius of the Indian people. From Buddha to Gandhi is a long and glorious chapter in world's history. We need not go all the way to the West to borrow anything now. God guide our footsteps gently and slowly.

"STATES' RIGHTS" BLOCK UNITY IN CANADA

By W. S. EDGAR

Worldover Press Correspondent

How far Canada is yet from being a united nation, was made clear by the failure of the recent Dominion-Provincial Conference. It had met in high hope of settling for good the conflict between the nine provinces and the Dominion Government over the right to tax. But despite the feeling that none of the parties to it could afford to fail again, as they had in 1941, the only thing gained was an airing of views. The main contributors to the upset were Premiers Drew of Ontario and Duplessis of Quebec; the rock on which the Conference split was the incompatibility of Mr. Duplessis' theory of Confederation with the philosophy of the Dominion Government's post-war programme.

Mr. Duplessis argued that the British North America Act of 1867, Canada's constitution was a pact between sovereign States recorded at London, with the British Parliament acting merely as the notary in drawing it up. This Act, he argued, gives the provinces the right of priority in direct taxation. In this, he is in conflict, with all qualified students of the B.N.A., who agree that the Fathers of Confederation sought a strong federal government with the residue of power accruing to it, so as to avoid the principle of reversionary States rights which resulted in the American Civil War. With this in mind, the Dominion Government has always reserved its unlimited rights of taxation.

Since the last century, the Dominion Government has granted some subsidies to the provinces. But in 1939, as a war measure and in order to avoid the tax duplication that has be-devilled Canada for more than 50 years, the Dominion assumed in practice, the exclusive right to tax incomes, inheritance and corporations—paying increased subsidies as "rent" to the provinces for this taxing power.

At the recent conference Ottawa was ready to pay \$12, and later \$15, per head of population as "rent" to the provinces. This subsidy would have given the prairie provinces more than they could have got from their own taxes—at the expense of the wealthier Ontario and Quebec, which refused to accept the proposal. Though the vote was seven provinces to two, the King Government decided that it must have an agreement with all the provinces or none.

Mr. Drew's counter-proposal called for \$134,000,000 more in subsidies than Ottawa was willing to pay. Mr. Duplessis, who professed

to find the autonomy of his province, Quebec, in danger at the hands of Ottawa, was willing to "rent" his province's taxing authority, but he did not deign to indicate the price other than that it should be much higher than Ottawa had offered.

The conferences are now, back at home with the problems of the provinces still unsolved. Another conference may be called, although Hon. J. L. Halsey, Minister of Finance, refused to commit himself. Meantime the provinces must carry the responsibilities assigned them by the B. N. A. Act in matters like roads, education, highways, unemployment relief and public health—burdens which have increased steadily during the years—with quite inadequate tax resources in several

The demand of Mr. Duplessis that no unholy hands be laid on the sacred ark of the B. N. A. Act is calculated to hurt no province more than Quebec. But all provinces are placed in an impossible position by the failure to bring the constitution

into line with the social and economic development of Canada. They are dependent on revenues collected by Ottawa, exercising taxation rights shared by the provinces.

The agreement of 1939 will end this summer. But, meanwhile the Government has promised greater sums for hospitalization, veterans' rehabilitation and the like. Where is the money to come from, unless the provinces are willing to extend the war-time agreement for another three years, with the likelihood of making it permanent? Premier Douglas of Saskatchewan has announced that, in default of an early agreement with Ottawa, his Government will be compelled to institute double taxation by superimposing a provincial corporation tax—allowed it by the constitution—on that of the Dominion Government.

Since now conversations are effective, Canada will soon be back in the condition of the depression years, when patchwork adjustments and subsidies were made from time to time, as one province after another sank into the slough of financial despond.

A QUESTION OF PREJUDICES

Writing in a review of a recently published volume of Poems "Poems from India", Sushil Kumar Bose observes: "According to writers of the Preface the book aimed at increasing understanding between British and Indian." It would, however, be difficult to say that it has completely succeeded in this particular mission. For, the poets, except a few of them do not give any evidence of any appreciation of Indian traditions, her political ills and aspirations. Writing physically in India the poets are mentally far away from her deeper existence." The situation in which some of these soldier-poets were placed had not unfortunately calculated to make them real lovers of the country. On the other hand the Indians who met them here did not or could not appreciate what they said about the political and social situation. It is the misfortune of this country that whatever is said or done by the Britishers as representatives of the ruling class or in their individual capacity is looked at from the point of view of their being British rulers and we cannot desist ourselves of this prejudice nor can the Britishers desist themselves of the idea of the "Indians" being considered as "natives." Their political education so to speak begins with Aden when their compatriots of Great Britain, resident in India and mem-

bers of clubs and gymkhanas, inoculate their minds with all the racial poison they can have with them. At the same time I do not want to be pessimistic. There were meetings of the International Fellowship and other bodies where some of us came into contact with poet-soldiers, politician-soldiers, pacifist-soldiers and it must be said that they represented the best elements in their race. Unfortunately they were few and far between and the feeling they had for this country and its people was not shared by many. There is recently a "Penguin" volume (New Writing) where the first article is "Squadron Move" by John Sommerfeld. While his pen is literary, it can at once be seen that he does not like India and her people, in fact he frankly admits that he hated the country and the way we had to live. He writes with contempt of Indian men, women and children and has no eyes for the scenes through which their trains or boats had to pass.

When will these foreigners learn that Indians have a great culture, have traditions of a great civilisation behind them and are not now prepared to put up with all the filthy and humiliating treatment which it was the fashion and the convention to mete out to all the dark and coloured races of the earth? —J.K.M.

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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

Arabs and Jews in Palestine:—The Peel Commission recommended the partition of Palestine between Jews and Arabs with a piece reserved for the British broker. The British Government under Mr. Neville Chamberlain announced in Parliament that they accepted the recommendation. Mr. Churchill then in opposition vehemently protested citing King Solomon's decision on the dispute about the maternity of a new born child. The Arabs threatened armed revolt if the proposal was carried out. Government gave in and issued the White Paper of 1939 to end Jewish immigration after five years. These five years were years of war and while Britain was fighting Germany the Jews consolidated their position in Palestine and when the five years ended refused to cease pouring into the country. Illegal immigration continued. American influence was thrown in the scale on behalf of the Jews. President Truman demanded the admission of 100,000 Europeans immediately and offered to bear the cost and to provide the ships necessary. Britain seems to favour the idea of handing over Palestine with its perplexing problems to Allied international control. A Conference of Arabs is considering the subject and Jews are indulging in organised terrorism on a tremendous scale.

The blowing up of the British offices in King David Hotel has been effected with scientific precision. The Jews are said to have a large Army equipped and trained on the latest military standards. American pressure is not relaxing. We are afraid that the outlook for the Arabs is not too bright. The Partition idea has been resuscitated by the Anglo-American Commission. As an alternative Federation has been suggested, that is, first partition and then an artificial combination under a paper constitution. The Arabs are, of course, opposed to partition but what is more, the Jews also seem determined to have the Holy Land maintained intact. From a purely secular point of view, the conversion of Palestine into a Jewish National State might find favour among many members of the United Nations' Organisations. There is also doubt if the unity among Arab nations in opposition to Zionist Propaganda will endure for any length of time.

The Red Shirt Fashion:—Congress Ministers know their business best but it is difficult for the non-party observer to understand why they put on the Red Shirt while passing measures which approve themselves to many conservatives. Take for instance, the zamindaries. Many of the most-power-

ful Bengali novels including some short stories of Rabindranath Tagore have for their theme the disintegration of the old family estates. Many of the Zamindars are absentee landowners. They live permanently in Calcutta or Lucknow and take little interest in their estates. They would be happy if Congress Governments give them Government bonds or annuities and take over the responsibility of the tenants on their estates. Instead of the frightening title of abolition it would be truer and more acceptable to the general public to call the measure Zamindari Relief. It is significant that the Zamindars themselves seem to have taken the proposals for their abolition with astonishing complacency. They are on very good terms with their executioners in many places.

Marriage Legislation in Bombay:—Mrs. K. M. Munshi had introduced two Bills bearing on Hindu marriage five years ago in Bombay Legislative Assembly. They lapsed when the Assembly ceased to function on the resignation of the Congress Ministry. In the recent General Elections she was returned again for the Bombay city constituency which may be understood to mean that the constituency approved of her efforts in social legislation. She reintroduced one of the Bills in the present Assembly a few days ago; that relating to the prohibition of marriages of elderly husbands with women yet in their teens. The second Bill for preventing bigamous marriages among Hindus was withdrawn on the assurance of the Home Minister that Government themselves would bring forward a more comprehensive Bill for the same purpose. This bill was

introduced and referred to a Select Committee before the Assembly adjourned for the Ramzan. Mr. Morarji Desai in his introductory remarks rightly claimed that Hindu opinion was in favour of monogamy. But he was wrong in representing that legislation to prevent bigamy was a revolutionary measure. The Rau Committee on the other hand was perfectly right in declaring that monogamy was the ideal of Hindu marriage and, in recommending that Hindu marriages should be declared monogamous by statute, the Committee was merely recommending the removal of abuses which have detracted from the ideal. The Census Report of 1941 while giving statistics of several matters of less importance from a social point of view, has omitted the tables for civil condition, included in previous Censuses, on the ground of economy. There is no reason to think, however, that there has been any appreciable increase in bigamous marriages which has always been less than 6 per-cent for the entire population. Not only therefore the ideal but the actual social pattern has been overwhelmingly monogamous. In recent years, the taking of second wives during the lifetime of their first wives and even more that initiative taken in such marriages by educated women has created a public scandal. While endorsing Mr. Desai's tribute to Indian women for the part they have played in stimulating public opinion against the scandal, we have often felt that it might and should have been much greater. Indeed there have been occasions when educated women openly defended these marriages and on one such the "Reformer" became a target for the attack. Mr. Desai repeated the hackneyed charge about men having selfishly depressed the position of women; he might in fairness have added that it is to men also that the great advances made in the last fifty years, of which his own Bill is flower and fruit, in the position of Hindu women is largely due. And these men for a time had actually to encounter and overcome the opposition of women. You cannot indict whole nation, much less a whole sex, as deliberately oppressing the other sex. It would be false in all countries. It is much more so here. What has happened is that the emancipating spirit which for a thou-

sand years were released by the impact of modern influences permeating Indian thought; the most direct means being English education. No better proof of this can be thought of than that the extension of franchise to women which had a hard struggle in Britain was accepted as a matter of course in India. We have not seen the text of the Government Bill. If it merely penalises bigamous marriages on the lines of the Sarda Act, it will be as ineffective as that measure. Bigamous marriages must be declared void.

Sardar Patel Reacts:—In a characteristic speech on Tilak Day, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel replied to Mr. Jinnah's diatribes against the Congress. He urged that, if anything, it was the Congress that had reason to complain about the conduct of the Muslim League. Much of what the veteran Congressman gave out as the Congress view was in actual fact his own conviction. Sardar Patel was generally acclaimed as the strong man of the Congress during the negotiations. It is the accepted opinion that after having become entangled in the formula of optional lists of Maulana Azad, the Congress was pulled out by the Sardar almost single-handed. There has been a certain uneasy atmosphere among the first rank Congress politicians and Gandhiji's sudden adoption of detached distrust has not added to harmony. Sardar Patel went out of his way to disown Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's explanations and interpretations with his customary brusqueness. The strangest part, however, was his contemptuous reference to the League's decision to renounce titles. He said that it was nothing and that all who had titles would soon go to jail for two years. This picturesque crudeness is out of place in view of the fact that the Congress has nominated one or two titled persons to the Constituent Assembly. It is a part of politics, however, never to place a favourable interpretation on the actions of opponents, even when they follow your example. Sardar Patel's reaction is interesting. It is coloured by the thought that the Congress is now about to succeed to the British gaddi and that the League is protesting in order to prevent a peaceful transition. It is this confidence that makes him talk in supercilious tones of the Lea-

gue's action. Returning tit for tat to Mr. Jinnah, Sardar Patel accused him of launching, or rather threatening, direct action not against the Government but against the Congress. Mr. Jinnah in his letters to Gandhiji had similarly argued that the civil disobedience of the Congress was directed against the League and not against the Congress. There are clear indications that the Congress hopes to carry through in the Constitution-making body and even to win the interim Government. Its new attitude is a definite revulsion from the old methods it had pursued.

The Strike Problem:—In the face of increasing strikes, the official attitude leaves much to be desired. In the last analysis, the theory of a trust relationship between employer and employee generally ends in some outside force functioning as the employer's conscience, which no industrialist will tolerate. The weakness of the Congress is beginning to make itself felt. The collection of various funds for all manner of activities has become a cardinal principle with Congressmen. This, in turn, involves obligations to the well-to-do which cannot easily be discharged without harm to society. In the many strikes that have presented themselves for solution, the Government has had to bring in the question of legality. To declare that a strike is illegal, neither ends the dispute nor deprives the workers of public sympathy. On the other hand, in countries where the chief executive has declared a strike illegal, the next step has been promptly taken. The military has taken charge. This is ruled out of court in India, even for the Central Government. For provincial administrations, dependent on popular support, this action might easily have far-reaching repercussions. What is called for is a survey of living conditions in the country and an adjustment of wages in keeping with costs of living. As a matter of fact, strikes generally occur among better-paid workers. The men and women who are really badly off, cannot afford the luxury of strikes, and their claims go unheeded. This is an unhealthy condition and only a wide-awake administration can rectify it.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

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THE MUSLIM LEAGUE AND THE CABINET PROPOSALS

The Muslim League Council after a three days' sitting in Bombay resolved on Sunday to withdraw its acceptance of the proposals of the Cabinet Council and the Viceroy. These proposals fall under three heads. The central part is that relating to the constitution of the Constitution-making body; the second, a sketch of the main lines on which the future constitution of India may be based; and the third related to the formation of a coalition interim Government at the centre during the transition period. The ground on which the League Council has decided to withdraw its acceptance of the proposal is that the Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission have departed from the proposals in a manner detrimental to the Muslim League. So far as the proposals for the Constitution-making body are concerned, the Cabinet Ministers in their statements in Parliament adhered closely to the terms of their proposals. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has given his own interpretation of these terms, as also to the proposals for the Constitution. The Pandit's opinions are not binding on the Cabinet or the Viceroy. Moreover, the Pandit's views rest on a serious misconception. A State Paper is an act of State and not a statute. The Federal Court has no jurisdiction over it. The Federal judges may have their personal opinions but they are no more authoritative than the Pandit's opinions because the Court as such is not competent to interpret a State Paper. When Gandhiji published his own interpretation of the Cabinet Ministers' proposals, Sir Stafford Cripps promptly said that Gandhiji's interpretation was not in accord with the intentions of the Mission. The authority which issues a State Paper can modify or even withdraw it of its own motion. The statement is not a treaty. It is a purely unilateral expression of what should be done, and can be unilaterally revoked or modified. Even if the Chairman of the Constitution-making body rules otherwise, the Cabinet can overrule his ruling or even dissolve the Constitution-making body. The Pandit has since explained what

he meant by claiming that the Constitution-making body was a sovereign body. The explanation in plain terms is that it was merely wishful thinking. He thinks that a sovereign body cannot be dispersed by a regiment. This, however, is exactly what Cromwell did to Parliament which admittedly was a sovereign body even in his time. And the Protector was very careful about doing everything in a legal way. In the case of Ireland, Parliament was exhorted not to change a word or coma in the agreement reached between British and Irish representatives. The British Government might do the same with the decisions of the Constitution-making body. But it will be a voluntary abnegation of a right on their part, which can take place only after the Constitution-making body had finished its work and ceased to exist. As for the Interim Government, it was made clear from the first and at every stage that it was to be a coalition Government of the two major parties with a few odd representatives of minorities. When one of the two declined to join, the idea of coalition automatically dropped. Lord Wavell could not have possibly formed a coalition Cabinet with representatives of the League alone even if such Government had a chance of surviving the first session of the Legislature.

The Muslim League Council did not stop at withdrawing its acceptance of the League proposals. It passed a resolution announcing the immediate formulation of measures of "direct action" whatever that may mean. As an earnest of what it might be, several members announced their resolve to give up titles conferred on them by the British Government. The General Secretary, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, having no titles conferred on him by Government to renounce announced that he would no more be known as Nawabzada, that is, son of a Nawab, and would be content to be plain Mister. Perhaps some Persian title equivalent to Lokabandhu or Lokasevak may be found to maintain the rhythm of the dropped titles. The animus ex-

hibited by this resolution and in several of the speeches against the British and the Congress, is clearly, due to the feeling that there is a secret understanding between them to destroy the Muslim League, such as has been long suspected to exist between the British Government and the League. It is the nature of a conspirator to suspect everybody else of being a conspirator. Still it is surprising to see the Viceroy and the Cabinet Ministers who have devised the parity between three crore Hindus and one crore Muslims and forced a Hindu majority province into one of the pro-Pakistan groups, accused of being actuated by a feeling of undue partiality for Hindus.

As against the Pandit's declaration that the Congress is not committed to anything except electing members to attend the Constitution-making body, must be placed the statement made on Tuesday by the Maulana who as President of the Congress negotiated with the Mission that the Congress has accepted all the fundamental principles implied or expressed in the Mission's proposals. What are the fundamental principles? Is grouping a fundamental principle or the Parity formula?

What is the British Government going to do? The situation created by the withdrawal of the Muslim League is not altogether unexpected. We were much more surprised when the League accepted the proposals than we are at its withdrawing its acceptance. The proposals of the Cabinet Ministers involved compulsion at the start and would have required compulsion at the end. It is easy to put down on paper that thirty and three are the same but it is immensely difficult to work it out in practice. The conscience of the world would have revolted against the arithmetical atrocity. The Constitution-making body cannot be dropped at this stage, neither can it carry on the work for which it has been convened. More negotiations will probably follow. More concessions may be made and the Congress may then withdraw and the whole process will have to be repeated. The British Cabinet is now busy with the Peace Treaties with the German satellites and with the Palestine terrorists. India can wait.

THE MUSLIM LEAGUE'S ATTITUDE — I

(By K. NATARAJAN)

The world at large thinks of the Muslim League as a political party with a political programme. This is a mistake. The League comprises theological and sociological patterns. Indian Information, the periodical published by the Information Department of the Government of India, has collected the correspondence which passed between the Ministers' Mission and the Congress and Muslim League leaders. As an enclosure in one of Mr. Jinnah's letters to the Mission, appears a resolution of the Council of the Muslim League from which I take the preamble:

Whereas in this vast sub-continent of India a hundred million Muslims are the adherents of a Faith which regulates every department of their life (educational, social, economic and political), whose code is not confined merely to spiritual doctrines and tenets or rituals and ceremonies and which stands in sharp contrast to the exclusive nature of Hindu Dharma and Philosophy which has fostered and maintained for thousands of years a rigid Caste System resulting in the degradation of 60 million human beings to the position of untouchables, creation of unnatural barriers between man and man and superimposition of social and economic inequalities on a large body of the people of this country, and which threatens to reduce Muslims, Christians and other minorities to the status of irredeemable helots, socially and economically;

Whereas, the Hindu Caste System is a direct negation of nationalism, equality, democracy and all the noble ideals that Islam stands for;

I do not propose to examine these reflections on Hindu Dharma and Philosophy, I will only remark that a system which, according to the League Council's admission, has endured for thousands of years must possess a vitality peculiarly its own, especially as it has had as handicaps a rigid scale of

castes and outcastes. Islam with its great merits has had to modify profoundly its policy which carried it unchallenged to the banks of the Loire. Its influence in India too has been important but so has the influence of the Indian Dharma and philosophy on it. More than anything else, Islam deserves high praise for the success with which it has eliminated racial distinctions among its adherents, which Christianity, its predecessor in point of time and competitor for world acceptance, has failed woefully to do. Muslims are legitimately proud of this achievement but to talk of it as equality in the sense in which the French Revolutionaries understood the term, is palpably wrong. Islamic equality is only for those who accept its creed. That this equality is consistent with intolerance of other creeds, is attested by the League Council. If one were inclined to enter into a religious controversy, one may maintain that caste and outcaste is less an integral part of the Hindu Dharma than purdah and polygamy of the Islamic Dharma, that Muslims in India are themselves divided into many castes, and that economic inequality is as great among Muslims as among Hindus. But this is far from my purpose. What is relevant to the present discussion, is what the attitude is to be of Muslims in Pakistan to the considerable minorities who observe caste and worship idols. Idolatrous Hindus and non-idolatrous Muslims have lived together in this country for several centuries. Islam has not only been unable to break up castes but has had itself accepted it as its

social pattern. A Sunni friend who had married a Shia girl when he went to see his father in another province preferred to leave his wife with a Hindu family as he could not take her to his Sunni parental home, to leaving her with her Shia relatives. This was by no means a solitary instance. Muslim women and Hindu women have the same ideas as regards what constitutes a good woman, wife and mother. Mr. Jinnah perhaps, remembers his surprise when a Muslim member in the Legislative Assembly spoke of Muslim marriages as sacramental. If the Government of Bombay had framed their anti-bi-gamy Bill to apply to Muslims as to Hindus, it would have gained wide support from amongst Muslim women as did the Sarda Act which some leading Muslims, tried hard to get amended so as to exclude Muslims from its provisions.

The caste system has not struck Englishmen who had spent many years in India as such an unmitigated curse or sin as it is made out to be in the resolution of the League. I can quote many writers who formed their opinion after considerable experience of the working of Indian institutions as students and administrators. But that would take me far from my present purpose. It may be said, however, that they all agree that but for the system Hindu society and civilisation would have gone the way of other ancient civilisations. Hindu Dharma should be credited with at least having helped Hindus to survive as Hindus.

And that is something.

THE MUSLIM LEAGUE — II

(By Observer)

The three-day session of the Council of the Muslim League, over last week-end ended, in certain decisions which cannot be ignored or treated lightly. Mr. Jinnah as usual played the dominant role. But in the final voting the extremist elements of the League shook off the control of the landlord, official, section and forced a decision for direct action. Mr. Jinnah, owing to his feeling that in the Tripartite Conference and talks the League had come off worst, was inclined to shake free from a life-time of constitutional-

ism. A realisation that constitutionalism had yielded the most it could yield, was no doubt behind his conversion. But all motives apart the fact of his changing over was decisive. It took the League out of the Constituent Assembly. The attitude adopted by the League in reverting to its demand for Pakistan makes further discussion under British auspices impossible. There must be an end to concessions made under threats.

The Congress cannot altogether be absolved from the re-

sponsibility for the situation that has developed. Its refusal to take the League demands seriously resulted in a series of approaches from 1944 which made the League leadership pitch its demands higher and higher, whilst at every stage the unity of India was jeopardised by the concessions made by the Congress leadership. The discussions begun by Gandhi in 1944 led from one retreat to another, until, at the Simla-Delhi meetings of the Cabinet Mission with leaders of the two parties, the Congress was plac-

ed in a difficult position. The Cabinet Mission's two plans, short-term and long-term, were ambiguous, leaving most of the points of dispute undecided. The short-term plan broke down when the Congress almost at a second thought, insisted on having a Nationalist Muslim. The long-term plan threatens to collapse with the growing realisation on both sides that their demands have been bridged by a platform rather than a link.

The revelations that Mr. Jinnah made at the Council session, could have been matched by revelations that the Congress could have made had its leaders so desired. The charges of having played both sides against one another have held the field for some weeks. There has been no answer to them. Evidently, the Mission and the Viceroy formed a poor opinion of Indian leadership. Very often, on the same day, an interpretation was put on the Mission's intentions in addressing the Congress which was directly denied in talking to the League. Had the Mission wished to play fair, they should have seen to it that, in order to avoid future misunderstanding, every letter addressed to Mr. Jinnah went in copy to the Congress President, every letter to the Congress President was communicated instantly to Mr. Jinnah, and all correspondence coming to the Mission was conveyed to the other party in the discussions. The failure to do this helped to achieve a patched-up truce, a pretence at agreement. The Cabinet Mission solved all problems by shelving them. The outcome was an eruption the moment the Mission went back to Britain and rendered account to Parliament.

As a result of tortuous ways of the British negotiators, the Indian political situation has deteriorated. The differences that exist between the political parties are basic; every effort to gloss over them merely brings them out more acutely. They cannot be evaded. The technique of superficial agreement which has proved successful in Big Three Conferences, has no relevancy in India. The reason is obvious: In Big Power politics, each power departs from the Conference table determined to push his point of view with the rest of the world, either by persuasion or compulsion. The surface agreement

leaves wide scope for under-current activities. In India that is not the case. The only party that has a neutral field to work on, is the British and the field is all India, not excluding the two parties.

Mr. Jinnah has made his position clear. His call to action has two inspiring causes. First, he wants to approach the negotiations of the future "with a pistol in his hand." Second, he feels that only direct action will give the Muslims Pakistan. Direct action can be used as a technique for securing better conditions though from the experience of the Congress this assumption is somewhat overconfident. It is difficult to judge accurately between the virtues of constitutional protest and of resort to direct action, since once any action is decided upon, the alternative is ruled out. It can, however, be asserted confidently that direct action on abstract issues generally ends in a compromise. It is usually overlooked that Gandhiji was pushed into making his campaign of satyagraha a fight on the issue of freedom for India. Originally, it was proposed as action directed to remedy specific evils. Mr. Jinnah has misread the situation when he says that the Congress used the weapon of civil disobedience to press their demands. On the contrary, the Congress has studiously put down even constitutional expression of dissent from its policy of meeting the Cabinet Mission and the League half-way.

Apart from the decisions of the Muslim League, considerable interest attaches to the proceedings and the manner in which the three-day session was conducted. There is a curious resemblance to the Congress organisation. The League volunteers don a uniform which is made of the grey cloth familiarised by use in Government departments; their caps are mottled wool. The higher rank volunteers carried short sticks in their hand. The turn-out is smart and the bearing of the volunteers is confident and important. There is no uniform for office-bearers but Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan has practically made his pea-green achkhan the badge of office of the General Secretary.

The day's session begins with a recitation from the Koran by a moulvi who also took part later in the discussions. Invariably the proceedings were de-

layed by at least a half-hour. The arrival of leaders is announced sporadically by a man at the microphone. A raised dais with a table and two chairs is reserved for the President and the General Secretary who sits to the left of the President at the side of the table. As important as the General Secretary whose main function seems to be to keep the President posted with facts, dates and files, is the official cheer-leader who sits just in front of the press section to the right of the President. On the first two days, the cheer-leader played a prominent and ear-splitting part, being singularly gifted with a stentorian voice. After the President's opening speech, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan grasped the microphone in his hand and shouted slogans into it to which the House responded. On all subsequent occasions, the official cheers were led by the formidable cheer-leader whose appearance suggested that he could, at need, function as a chucker-out. On the second day, there was something in Mr. Jinnah's attitude to indicate that the efforts of the cheer-leader might be more restrained. It was successful. On the third day, the House itself took over with cheer on rousing cheer and the official shouter was out of the picture. The crescendo of enthusiasm was reached with the announcement of the decision calling on title-holders to give up their titles. Mr. Jinnah had to check the audience several times, demanding greater discipline.

The renunciation of titles was carried out with spectacular effect. Speaker after speaker stepped up to the microphone, out of the single file formed round the President's chair, and announced his titles with a wistful air, and gave them up. Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Sir Feroze Khan Noon and Sir Mahomed Saadullah made the greatest sacrifices, the last two drawing attention to the value of what they gave up. Each announcement was cheered vociferously. It is easy to be cynical about the whole thing afterwards but the scene was moving.

The other decisions of the League were for withdrawal from the Constituent Assembly and for direct action. Except Mr. Jinnah, few of the others seemed to realise exactly what they had been let in for. Mr. Jinnah was grave. His politics hitherto

had been cast in the quieter field of constitutional protest. To turn the decision was a verdict for a radical change not only in ways of action but even in ways of thinking. It is not an easy change at seventy.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani was one of the few who thought that the League could venture further in its escape into direct action. Possibly he was one of few in the League who thinks in terms of boycott and civil disobedience. Certainly he was the only one who demanded guerilla warfare. Mr. Jinnah put him down brusquely. It was not only a matter of temperamental antipathy, though that probably was present. It was a step taken with the express intent of checking the Council from a too precipitate a descent from constitutionalism. Mr. Jinnah's subsequent Press Conference bore this

out; he was inclined to regard the direct action resolution as a weapon rather than as a programme. And it was essential that he kept the roused following under control. The undemocratic nature of modern public speaking, giving the speaker on the dais the advantage of the microphone over interrupters, was amply borne out in the exchanges between Maulana Hasrat Mohani and Mr. Jinnah.

On the whole, it was an instructive session—this first adventure of Mr. Jinnah in the field of mass agitation, with opposing elements. He won a triumph but it is a short-lived one. It is very unlikely that Mr. Jinnah will be able to hold the reins for a period even a third as long as Gandhiji has done. He is working with a more impetuous material, he has not

behind him the essential constitutional force of non-violence, and he is by nature uneasy in crowds.

In an informal talk before the Council, meant to keep the audience quiet until the Secretary arrived with the files, Mr. Jinnah gave a characteristic self-revelation. He told the crowds not to press too much upon him. If it was meant as a proof of their love and affection, he would ask them to love him a little less. Similarly he did not want people to seek interviews with them except on essential business. He said all this with much charm, with some wistfulness. Yet his attitude was significant. He stressed discipline, order and patience. It is all very well, said Gogol, to like the Russian peasant who is clean but who cares for him when he is dirty? Mr. Jinnah likes his peasant clean.

THE CO-OPERATIVE WORLD

(By WILLIAM A. KNOX)

Let us look at some significant scenes in co-operative fields around the world:

BRAZIL: A co-operative credit bank was recently founded in Rio de Janeiro with capital not only from co-operatives but also from the government and from gifts. With branches in many large cities it will serve all kinds of co-operatives everywhere.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: In Prague on October 6, representatives of 85,000,000 members of affiliated co-operatives in 37 countries, will convene for the 16th Congress of the International Co-operative Alliance.

CHINA: In the following verses from the song of the workers in Gung Ho (Chinese Industrial Co-operatives) see how they lighten their strenuous labours for progress by chanting their ideals:

There can be no end
To blood and sweat in the
Struggle for freedom. Produce
more.

Make things better. Thru our
democracy

We will bring back prosperity.
So co-operate, friend, together
Make our country new.

Chorus:

Our new Livelihood, our new
road to life

Depends on you and me; on
Our co-operative of friends
together

So long live Gung Ho—May it
live

As long as Heaven and Earth.

An interesting example of Chinese societies is the Euryuen-Teng-chwang Dairy Products Co-operative, near Likiang in Yunnan Province. Unique in China, that area has 40,000 cows. The making of milk products is the chief occupation of the 500 members of the co-op. The modernisation programme calls for strainers, churns, scales, milk cans, etc., which will be made by the industrial co-operatives. They need financial help to buy the

first models from the United States. The money need is now acute, for the prices of their milk products have fallen to one-tenth what they were on VJ day.

EGYPT: During the war the co-operatives increased more than ten times, from 75,200 members to 753,000.

ITALY: "Twenty years of dictatorship have taken a great toll of the Italian people, and the young people don't know what co-operation is," reported Rt. Rev. L. G. Ligutti, Executive Secretary, National Catholic Rural Life Conference, in America. Commissioned by the Co-operative League of the U.S.A. and the Freedom Fund, he took a surveying trip thru Italy, observing all sorts of co-operatives in more than 100 communities. At the moment of liberation various party heads captured the larger co-operatives. Such groups are used for party purposes and are not true co-operatives. Many new so-called co-operatives have sprung up, but they are really private affairs with the name "co-operative" added for advantages in government relations. The small co-operatives are usually real ones. Rev. Ligutti arranged a convention of leaders from all co-operatives, who promised to work together for unity in the movement according to co-operative principles. He urges that every effort be made to increase commercial and cultural relations between co-operatives of United States and Italy.

UNITED STATES: Mr. Murray D. Lincoln, President of the Co-operative League of the U.S.A. was appointed by the International Co-operative Alliance to represent it at the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, which met on May 25 in New York, U.S.A.

The Co-operative World consists of ordinary people who unite in groups to more effectively improve their living by working mutually, and together. In that large sense,

say many great co-operators, this brotherly movement embraces every life purpose that can be better fulfilled in groups of people than separately.

—World Goodwill Service.

JUDICIARY AND THE EXECUTIVE

Sir,—The Government of Madras have now appointed an expert committee of officials and non-officials to prepare details of the scheme of separation of the judiciary from the executive. It is understood that U.P. Government is also thinking likewise. One wonders why the Bombay Government should not think of this very urgent reform specially when it is thinking of introducing so many bills hastily. In this connection the remarks of no less a person than the Rt. Hon. Sir John Beaumont P.C. deserved careful and urgent consideration. He says "The District Magistrate is the Collector the principle executive officer and most of the lower Magistrates are the Revenue Officers. This is a thoroughly vicious system placing the Magistrates directly under the control of executive. Separation of the judiciary from the executive was one of the main plans in the programme of the Congress Party. Congress Governments made no real attempt to separate the judiciary from the executive. For much of the work of Governments I had sincere admiration and my relation with the Ministers concerned with Law and Order were most friendly but I regarded the failure to tackle the problem of magistracy as a cynical sacrifice of principle to expediency." (Bombay Law Reporter 1946 journal Section page 17). Will the Bombay Ministry pay immediate attention to these weighty observations of the authoritative persons?

K. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR,
Pleader.

A GUIDE TO PALESTINE

Emery Barnes writes in the 'Daily Telegraph', Sydney:—

Palestine, that short narrow strip of land in the Eastern Mediterranean, has become one of the hottest problems of international relations.

What began as an argument between the Jews and Arabs who inhabit it, has been turned into a full-fledged battle of power politics, camouflaged behind emotional motives and political catchphrases.

For different reasons each of the Big Four—Britain, America, France and Russia—is interested in the future of the Holy Land.

For both the Democrats and Republicans of America Palestine is a foremost election issue. About 1,500,000 Jewish votes may be swung to the side which advocates the case of the Jews more fervently.

Russia sees in the Jewish-Arab struggle an opportunity to establish a comfortable political foothold in the Arab World. She seeks to jeoparden British influence in the Middle East by supporting extreme Arab nationalism, although during the war she advocated the Jewish cause against the "reactionary, Fascist Arab landlords."

France still resents the way the British helped Arabs to oust her from Syria and Lebanon. For her the Middle East is almost as important a base as it is for the British. The direct air route to Indo-China traverses the Arab countries; the French branch of the Irak oil pipeline ends in Lebanese Tripoli. An Arab nationalist victory in Palestine would end French hopes of returning to her pre-war bases.

For Britain, control of the Middle East is vital. If she loses it, air routes to India, Malaya and Australia, and the oil of Irak and Iran are lost as well. As Haushofer, apostle of Nazi geopolitics, said: "Britain and the British Commonwealth can be finished off in one place only—in the Middle East."

Palestine, the country which interests each of the Big Four so much is 10,250 square miles in area.

It has a narrow, populated coastal plain which rises to a block of mountains. The coastal plain is fertile, but in the lowlands and valleys, swamp areas, which breed widespread malaria, abound.

Palestine has a population of about 1,800,000, of whom 990,000 are Moslem Arabs, 126,000 Christians and about 500,000 Jews.

The agriculture of Palestine is on two levels. That of the Arabs is backward. Jews, with modern methods, have arrested erosion, conquered malaria, and greatly increased the arable area. About 15,000,000 cases of citrus fruits were exported from Palestine before the war.

Before 1914 Palestine was a sanjak (sub-province) of the Turkish Empire, which fought with Germany against the Allies in World War I. In 1918 Lord Allenby, the British Commander, wrested Palestine from the Turks.

Since 1920 Palestine has been a British mandate.

The idea of establishing a Jewish national home in Palestine arose at the end of the last century.

The idea of Jewish nationalism—called Zionism—was born, not of a sudden outburst of religious or racial fervour, but of sheer despair following repeated massacres of Jews.

It was the idea of black-bearded, mild-mannered, middle-aged Theodore Herzl, a Viennese journalist, to give a country to the persecuted Jews. His first adherents came from Russia and Rumania, where persecution was most rampant.

Herzl died in 1905, and did not see the development of Zionism, which has become the most important but also the most controversial issue of world Jewry. Before Hitler came to power and organised his Jewish massacres, fewer than 2,000,000 of the world's 16,000,000 Jews belonged to the Zionist movement.

Most of the others condemned any separation from their fellow Britishers, Frenchmen, Americans, or Australians on mere racial or religious grounds.

But Nazism and the horrible massacres of more than two-thirds of European Jewry swung the few hundreds of thousands of Jews who escaped Hitler's lethal chambers fanatically behind the idea of a national home.

Outside Europe, Jews who had lost relatives in the ghetto massacres, and who feared, wherever they were, that it might happen to them, also supported Zionism.

A clamour arose from Jews all over the world that Britain should fulfil her promise of 1917 of setting up that national home where they could find refuge from persecution.

When in 1916 the distinguished Jewish-British scientist, Chaim Weizmann, synthesised acetone, a substance necessary in producing smokeless powder, he enabled the Allies to continue World War I. For this service Lloyd George recommended that he be given any honour he wished.

"There is only one thing I want," said Weizmann. "a national home for my people."

In November, 1917, the British Foreign Secretary, Arthur Balfour, wrote a letter to Lord Rothschild, Chairman of the British Zionist Federation, in which he promised the establishment of this Jewish National Home in Palestine.

The Jews interpreted this as a promise for an independent Jewish State, and, although the British Government refused to accept this interpretation as early as 1922, the Zionists have never ceased to press for it.

The issue became even more complicated when it turned out that two years before the Balfour declaration, in 1915, the British Government had also promised complete territorial independence to all Arab countries—including Palestine—in the event of their co-operation against the Turks.

Arabic anti-Jewish disturbances began in 1821, were repeated in 1929, 1933, 1936 and 1938. From 1935 onward they were encouraged and financed by Italy and Germany.

The first opposition to Jewish immigration arose among the feudal Arab landowners.

Some of them saw the stone deserts they had sold to the Jews being turned into rich farmlands, yielding good crops. They claimed they had been despoiled by the Jews.

Others feared that the inevitable social changes that go with a higher standard of living would end their hold on the fellahin (peasants).

Helped by the growing spirit of Arab nationalism, they organised

themselves into armed bands to stop Jewish immigration lest a Jewish majority should outnumber the Arabs and to get back "the land of their fathers."

Most Jews in Palestine belong to or support the Zionist Organisation. Important political groups are the Labour Party, known as Poalim, the Right Wing Revisionists, founded by Vladimir Jabotinsky, who are against any policy of moderation, and the religious faction, the Agudath Israel.

Jewish affairs in Palestine are administered by the so-called Jewish Agency. It has considerable powers. Not only does it carry on all Jewish negotiations with the Palestine Government, it also controls very largely the work of colonisation and settlement. During the war, the Jewish Agency helped to rally all Jewish forces in Palestine on the side of the Allies.

The agency has under its control Haganah (defence), the Jewish army trained during the war by the British to repel an Axis invasion. It has a force of about 80,000 men. The picked corps of Haganah is Palmach, which watches the conduct of rank and file. It is a kind of S.S. within the Jewish army.

Extreme organisations are the Hatzohar (New Zionist Organisation), which wants the whole of Palestine, plus Transjordan, for the Jews. Its armed guard of about 7000 men is called Irgun Zvai Leumi (National Military Organisation).

The Stern gang is a fanatical brotherhood of between 500 to 600. It is a terrorist band which carries out wholesale murders and outrages. It is outlawed by the Jewish Agency.

Since the end of World War I the Jewish population has increased by 400,000, but, in the same period, better working conditions and higher wages have attracted 500,000 Arabs from Transjordan, Irak, Syria and other Arabic countries to Palestine.

Jewish immigration to Palestine was a steady 5000 a year until 1933, when Hitlerism in Germany compelled many Jews to seek a new home. In that year it rose to 9553, but it jumped to 42,359 in 1934 and 61,854 in 1935, not counting a substantial number of illegal immigrants.

In 1939 a British White Paper stopped legal Jewish immigration by making it subject to Arab approval.

During the war about 45,000 refugees were admitted to Palestine, but since Germany's surrender the British forces have tried to enforce the White Paper, and have tightened the control on illegal immigration.

Criticism of British policy in Palestine has come mainly from the United States. A joint British-American committee of inquiry was set up at the beginning of this year. Its findings were published on May 1.

The report suggested the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews to Palestine. But the British Government feels that such a number of Jewish immigrants would set the Arab world ablaze.

Mr. Attlee asked President Truman for armed help to prevent trouble in the Middle East. The President refused the help, but emphasised his determination of pressing the immediate admission of the 100,000 Jews.

ASSAM

Assam emerged from obscurity into fierce limelight when Japan invaded Manipur. It has continued in the limelight since it was claimed as a part of Pakistan and was grouped with Bengal in the Cabinet Mission's proposals for the Constitution-making body. A very timely and readable account of Assam is published in the Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs series, (price As. six) written by Alban Ali and Eric Lambert, both of whom had served many years in the provincial administration. Assam has the heaviest annual rainfall in the world; Cherrapunji, 400 inches; it has the largest village in the world, Baniyachang, with a population of 12,000; it has also the largest fresh water island in the world, Majuli, in the Brahmaputra, 56 miles long and 10 miles broad. The great Indian rhinoceros, now almost extinct, is still to be found in Assam. Wild elephants are

numerous in the jungles. The longest stalked and fastest growing paddy in the world is grown in the water fields of Sythet district. It has been known to reach the height of 20 feet and to grow at the rate of 6 inches in 24 hours. The smallest pig in the world, only 18 inches in length, the yellow primula and the bat with red wings are other specialities to Assam. The province has an area of 67,300 square miles including the Manipur State and a population of 11 million, of which 4.5 millions are Hindus and 3.5 millions are Muslims. Over a hundred dialects are spoken, the two chief languages being Assamese and Bengali. The authors quote the testimony of Sir Andrew Clow, Governor of the province, soon to act as Governor of Bombay that "nowhere else in India has there been such a mixture of races as in the Assam valley and nowhere have the peoples lived

more in harmony." The authors show that there is great scope for industrial development in the province. They conclude:

It seems to the writers that economically the people of Assam stand at the parting of the ways: with the great possibilities of development of the Province's resources in the coming years, they must decide whether they will take their share in its business and industry, or pursue the will-o'-the-wisp of barren degrees and petty gentility, while outsiders grasp the fruits that should be theirs. Political power alone will not protect them: behind the specious excitements of politics loom the inexorable facts of economics, which have raised nations to greatness and plunged them to their fall.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA

The Imperial Indian Citizenship Association in a letter to the Government of India writes:—

Were the Government of India informed of the intention of the East African Governments and was an opinion sought of them before the Immigration Control Bill was drafted? Since 1944 this Association and other public bodies have repeatedly warned the Government of the need to watch events in East Africa where a growing tendency to restrict the entry of Indians was asserting itself. In August, 1944, this Association warned the Government of India that, unless they took serious notice of the East African situation, India would be presented with a 'fait accompli'. The Immigration (Control) Bill 1946 of East Africa is witness to the fact that the Government of India failed to influence either His Majesty's Government or the East African Governments to a broader policy. The country has a right to ask for all material information bearing on the part played by the Government of India towards attempting to avert the mischief of discriminatory laws.

The proposed Bill flagrantly violates the assurances given by the Duke of Devonshire on behalf of His Majesty's Government in 1923, that "only under extreme circumstances could His Majesty's Government contemplate legislation designed to exclude from a British Colony, immigration from any other part of the British Empire." In 1927, Lord Irwin, the then Viceroy of India had assured a deputation led by Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas that "the Government of India are both anxious and determined to leave nothing undone which it is in their power to do to uphold the status and honour of the Indian community in East Africa." How far the promise has been acted upon in the present crisis?

When restriction on immigration was introduced during the war, the Government of India were assured that the measure was intended to be purely a temporary one to be terminated with war. The proposed Bill, however, aims at permanent restriction of Indian immigration and eventual elimination of the Indian community in East Africa.

The conditions laid down for securing residential certificates are so

harsh and unreasonable that a large number of Indians who have spent most of their lives in East Africa will not be able to qualify for them. Although these measures are 'Prima facie' framed for application to all races, in fact and for all practical purposes they will, by executive action, seriously restrict Indian immigration to East Africa.

The proposed Bill, if passed, will cause great hardship to Indian concerns now operating in East Africa. They will not be able to import any personnel either technical, mechanical, clerical or administrative unless a declaration from the Employment Board is obtained to the effect that "no suitably qualified residents of the Colony are available or likely to be available in the near future for employment of a similar nature." The Employment Board which is to issue this certificate will obviously be a White Board with its prejudices against Indians. Apart from this it is very unreasonable to expect a business concern to have to consult such a Board every time it wants to recruit or replace a member of its staff. The operation of this Section will slowly but surely drive Indian business concerns from East Africa in course of time.

The Territories of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika are yet in the initial stages of development. The scope for the development of their agricultural, mineral and industrial resources is so vast that any restriction of immigration from India will retard the progress of these territories. The resources of a country like East Africa cannot be developed without the influx of suitable human material from outside.

It is idle to pretend that the proposed Bill will not be racial in its application. The Bill is obviously designed to exclude Indians from East Africa and embarrass Indians already settled there. It must be strenuously resisted both in Africa and in India. The Government of India should intensify their efforts with His Majesty's Government and the various Governments in East Africa and should mobilise Indian opinion in this country in order to safeguard Indian rights in East Africa. There must be unceasing agitation until the Bill is withdrawn.

ISLAM THROUGH ESPERANTO

Colin Evans, 10, St. Phillips Place; London, W. 2, England, is busy organising circle whose aims are:

1. To spread a truer knowledge of the Islamic religion among Esperantists of all religions and of none.

2. To propagandize the Esperanto movement among Moslems in all lands.

3. To help Moslem-Esperantists in all lands to become acquainted and to use our language to better effectuate the Moslem world-wide brotherhood by Esperanto-language correspondence.

Mr. Evans begs the following to write to him:

1. All non-Moslems who desire information about the Islamic religion in Esperanto, English, or any European language.

2. Moslems in all countries who are able to write in Esperanto and who will be willing to correspond about the Islamic religion and related ideas with non-Moslem Esperantists who desire such correspondents.

3. Esperantists, whether Moslems or not, who live in places where Moslems are at all numerous, and are willing to distribute propaganda literature about Esperanto from a specially Islamic viewpoint, or to translate it into the languages of localities where Moslems are numerous.

In a new Esperanto language booklet, "Islam Esperantiste Rigardata" ("Islam thru Esperantist Eyes"), published by Islamic Correspondence Circle and obtainable from it or from the International Esperanto League, Heronsgate, Rickmansworth, Herts, England (32-page; prepaid 10 English pence or 20 Canadian or USA cents or 3 international reply coupons) Mr. Evans makes a comparative study of the "Prayer under the Green Flag" and the "Manifesto of Humanism" (both by Zamenhof, creator of Esperanto) with passages from the Koran, to show how parallel the basic ideals and "inner idea" of Esperanto are with the teaching that distinguishes Islam from other religions. It also contains a detailed account of Islamic doctrine and laws, and deals with popular errors about Polygamy, Fatalism, Paradise, etc.

—"WORLD GOODWILL SERVICE"

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

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No. 50

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

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Arbitration: Arbitration is a highly useful method in resolving disputes which do not involve matters of principle. Its most suitable sphere is trade commerce and business. But it is a most unsuitable method to apply to religious, intellectual and political affairs in so far as politics is based on principle. The question, whether India should be cut up into two or more parts because a section of the population does not like the religious beliefs and social customs of other sections, involves all three spheres; Mr. Jinnah is right in refusing to submit his demand for Pakistan to arbitration. Even more than to Mr. Jinnah, the unity of India from the true national point of view is to those who have a spark of historical feeling positively not a matter for argument or arbitration. You may as well submit to arbitration whether two sides of a triangle are greater than the third. Congress leaders in their avidity to grasp power have unfortunately spoken with many voices on this question. By so doing they have involved themselves in much unsavoury controversy. If they had taken up the position that India is one and indivisible and that no useful discussion is possible except on the basis of that article of faith, they would not have laid themselves open to the charge now urged against them

of playing fast and loose with the future of India.

Strikes and Public Services: The strike of post office employees after lasting for over three weeks was called off on Monday. During the period, the postal service was completely paralysed. Newspapers came sporadically several days later than they were normally due. Letters were even more restricted. Money orders and registered articles entirely stopped. Local banks refused to receive cheques on banks outside Bombay until the strike ended. All the time there was haggling between higher officials and the strikers. A feature of the episode likely to prove embarrassing to future Governments, was the intervention of political leaders in what should be a purely industrial dispute. Political parties, as such in other countries, seldom interest themselves in industrial strikes. The strikers practically got all their principal demands. Government have so far declined to pay their wages during the period of the strike. This is straining at a gnat while swallowing a camel. The obvious reason for the refusal is that payment of strike pay would be an incentive to further strikes. But this is hardly convincing. The postal employees are poor men dependent entirely on their jobs for

maintaining themselves and their families. They belong rather more to the clerical than to the cooly class. Thousands of them would not readily consent to incur the hardships of being out of work and without wages if their grievances were not real and pressing. That matters were allowed to reach the point of an All-India strike lasting for three weeks, clearly shows that there has been considerable mismanagement in the higher grades in the Department. The refusal of strike pay is, therefore, penalising the poorer employees for the incompetence of those in control of the Department. The larger question of employees in the public services going on strike, should receive immediate attention from the authorities and the leaders of opinion. A point to be borne in mind is that these employees, except at entrance, are not subject to the chances of competitive occupations like workers in private factories. They are to a large extent secured from the vicissitudes to which non-Government employees are exposed.

Primary Teachers' Salaries: The Government of Bombay have announced their decision on the question of primary school teachers' salaries. The minimum emoluments of a trained teacher will be Rs. 50, including Rs. 20 dearness allowance. The maximum to which he can rise has been raised. Promotions to the administrative grades have also been liberalised. The untrained teacher will get Rs. 24 pay with the same dearness allowance, but Government intend to increase facilities for training with a view to facilitate his absorption in the trained ranks. The dis-

tion is artificial. So long as the untrained teacher is indispensable, he should be paid the same pay as the trained man because the hardships of inadequate pay are independent of training. The importance of training in a teacher is also much exaggerated. Some of the greatest educationists—nearly all the original thinkers in educational history—were untrained men. Very little of the theory of education which is taught in training colleges, is utilised in the practice of his vocation by the average trained teacher. In the first place, the routine of the Department leaves no scope for original thinking. In the next place amidst much loud profession of freedom and independence there is very little to inspire youth to improve upon existing methods. The trained teacher in education is the custodian of routine. The very suggestion which has been acclaimed by political leaders, of conscription for teaching, shows how ignorant the leaders are of the vital necessity of freedom in education. Government if they looked beyond the reports of training schools will find not a few trained teachers are employed in occupations where their training is of no practical or theoretical value. A man or woman who sticks to the teaching line for five years, gives proof of his vocation for it than one who goes through the training without the feeling of vocation for teaching. The whole system of training itself needs overhauling in the light of the great strides that have been made and are being made in psychology, especially child psychology. Primary teaching should be wholly in the hands of women. That is the first step in reorganising Indian education though immediately it may seem a distant goal.

Antyaja Children in Schools: The Government of Bombay in a Press Note reiterate previous orders regarding the admission and treatment of children of the antyaja classes in schools on terms of equality with other children in view of the imperfect compliance with those orders in some parts of the province, mentioning Gujarat by name. The orders of Government are perhaps much less observed at any rate in spirit in the districts than the Press Note presumes. The reason is simple. The orders are much in

advance of public sentiment. The older reformers were careful to take the public along with them in carrying out reforms. They set the example themselves. Caste Hindus sent their children by preference to a school conducted by the Depressed Classes Mission for the antyaja children. There is no people in the world who can be more easily led to adopt new ideas than the Hindus, as the experience of the last half a century amply proves. But they, like other peoples, do not care to be scolded or driven into ways which sharply conflict with existing practice. Neither do the antyajias themselves appreciate coercion. Dr. Besant when she established the first school for antyajias in Adyar, provided that every child before attending class should have its personal cleanliness attended to by a special staff. However fervent a professor of Democracy a man may be, he may not care to send his children to an institution where they have to sit with children from homes where the standard of cleanliness is much lower than his. The establishment of separate schools for scheduled castes is a mistake. They should attend the same schools as the generality of children and there will be no difficulty in their doing so provided the children were admitted after preliminary preparation such as that provided by the Besant school. Common schools are a fundamental factor in promoting the sentiment of national unity. Separate schools for different communities is the worst obstacle to the evolution of a common national sentiment. Empirical methods in pursuance of programmes framed on largely political considerations defeat their purpose and breed ill-will where goodwill is most desired.

Ranganadan at the Peace Conference: The Indian Delegation to the Paris Peace Conference, if the plans of the British Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy for an Interim Government had not fallen through, would have been nominated by that Government and would have consisted of representatives of the political parties on communal lines. In the circumstances, the Delegation had to

be improvised and the choice had to be made from Indians in London. The High Commissioner Sir Samuel Ranganadan, the Punjab Prime Minister, Sir Khizr Hyat Khan who had recently received an Honorary Degree at Oxford University and Sir N. Wadia a retired judge of the Bombay High Court, were nominated. The last named was not in London. Sir Mahomed Zaffarullah, Judge of the Federal Court, was in London and was waiting to go to Paris as a delegate from India. He is an outstanding figure in Indian public life not merely because he has held high appointments and is holding one, but because of his intellectual and cultural eminence. The Government of India—was it the Caretaker Government?—however, preferred to send one less known to the public. Sir Samuel Ranganadan's speech at the Peace Conference was, having regard to his official position a notable one. The American and the Russian leaders were not present to hear him. Perhaps they thought, that he would merely echo the sentiments of the British Government and that no particular importance need be attached to him. If so, they were mistaken. Sir Samuel of course, accepted the position that India's contributions to the war were voluntarily made. This, of course, is not true. India had no option in the matter. The choice if there was one was of the kind indicated by the phrase "No compulsion but you must". On the basis of fact, India had no place in the Conference and whatever claims she has are on the British Government. Allowing for his position, Sir Samuel managed to voice India's sentiments about the kind of Peace she favoured and particularly the moderation and sympathy which she wanted shown towards the defeated. He had a difficult task and had to perform it at short notice. There was no word or phrase in his speech which might not have been used by a leader of a national delegation to the Conference. There were both wisdom and humanity in Sir Samuel's address.

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PARTIES AND POLITICS IN INDIA

During the six war years and the year of peace that have passed, political life in India has undergone a complete change. The "constitutional" parties of the first two decades which were flickering at the outset of the war, have died out completely. Mr. Jinnah asserted at the meeting of the Muslim League Council that his party had in the past followed strictly constitutional methods. In a broad sense he was right. But, on the other hand, the League ceased to be constitutional when it fixed on Pakistan as its goal. The means cannot be constitutional when the end is extra-constitutional. The League, it was clear from the very start, would turn to unconstitutional means when it had exhausted the possibilities of constitutional action. It is, however, equally evident that the leaders of the League are by no means convinced that their end cannot be achieved by pressure politics is within the framework of the political machine. The Muslim League is today halted at the crossroads. The decision will rest not on the initiative of League leaders but on developments in the next month. Owing to the unstable equilibrium of present-day conditions, the League leadership is finding it useful to rouse the masses, whilst holding the reins tightly in its hands.

The Congress, on the other hand, has been transformed in the opposite direction. In the eight provincial ministries it has set up and the one it controls, and in the hopes it has of gaining power in the remaining two, the Congress has given hostages to constitutionalism. The veterans of the Congress all feel that the next stages lie in keeping assiduously within the law. They are little disposed to tolerate any restlessness among the rank and file of the party or in the general public. Their best efforts are directed to checking the tide of public agitation. Gandhiji has given broad hints about the inadvisability of satyagraha and strikes under popular governments; he has underlined the supreme necessity of accepting the advice of the Congress leaders. He has objected to the intrusion of politics in the economic sphere. And political intrusion is only seen when the advice of Congress leaders is not implicitly followed. The Congress is preparing for taking over the responsibilities of office. In the process, it tends to pass by the very principles it had propagated whilst in opposition. The saving grace lies

greatly in 'rebels' in the fold who cling to old principles with fanatic zeal and try to keep the Congressmen in authority on the straight and narrow path. For instance, Rajagopalachari has practically forced the Madras Ministry to pursue prohibition. There are Labour leaders in the various provinces who resort to fasts in order to keep Labour problems alive and before the Congress. In the political suspense that is sedulously fostered, social measures gain precedence. The Bombay Legislature is busy considering anti-bigamy laws with a new-found vigour and the Bombay Ministry has turned its attention to educational needs, both in personnel and teaching quality. The Congress realises the dangers of inactivity but it has difficulty in finding paths of action that are free from pitfalls. Its progress along the lines of least resistance leads to curious anomalies. After much thundering against the evils of gambling, particularly on the race-course, the Bombay Ministry has resolved to exact a share in the profits of the turf. The Congress scored over other parties because under Gandhiji's leadership it put forward an all round programme. It is now going through the difficult phase of studying that programme from the point of view of practicability. The general impression left is that the Congress Ministries are somewhat reluctant to initiate reforms. On the other hand, the conservative bureaucracy does not take kindly to change and it is through the bureaucracy that policies have to be given effect to. There is thus a tension between the Ministries and the permanent services which might in the near future find expression in open demonstration. In the final result, the Congress has become ultra-constitutional and tends to be irritable with symptoms of public impatience. For some time to come, the Congress will have its hands full in administering the country in the face of difficulties created by its own too-apt pupils. Believing, as its veterans do, that its present rise to power is the direct result of its technique of civil disobedience, the Congress administrator will naturally be somewhat less tolerant of other parties resorting to the same technique.

A third party, the Communists, has emerged full-fledged from the war years as an influential political party. It occupies today a position analogous to that of the Gandhian Congress in 1921-34. Every trouble in the country is attributed to Communist machinations. There are few strikes or industrial disputes in which the workers do not seek the aid of the Communists and receive it fully. The Communists broke the Government crust of displeasure when, after Russia's entry into the Second World War, they threw themselves whole-heartedly into rousing the country for support of the war; but they incurred at the same time the odium of nationalist opinion which still feels sore about the Communist's war policy. Bitter exchanges have left scars that will

not easily be effaced. Nevertheless, openly and covertly the Communists have persevered and achieved a signal success. From small beginnings the party has swelled up during eight years to 30,000; the Central Executive of the party in its latest resolution claimed 50,000 membership. The strength of the Party rests largely in organisation, in its enforcement of discipline, in its exaction of work from all its members. But it derives the greater part of its force from the existence of a large section of the much-abused middle-class which suffers from an acute feeling of dissatisfaction at conditions in the economic sphere.

The long delay in effecting the transition from war to peace has produced widespread discontent. There is growing impatience at the dilatoriness of the political parties to come to a settlement, there is growing apathy to political issues that have been advocated half-heartedly, there is confusion and eagerness to see things settled. All this has helped the Communists; there are few business offices which do not contain their quota of Communist sympathisers. There are "fellow-travellers" in the newspaper offices who have a subtle effect in influencing policy. The corruption prevalent throughout the business world is known in all its ramifications to the employees of big business. And familiarity has certainly not created respect.

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STRAY THOUGHTS

BY RAMBLER

The introduction of the term "Caste Hindus" in the vocabulary of Indian politics, is the contribution of Lord Wavell to the confusion in which it has wallowed for nearly forty years since Lord Minto injected into it the virus of communalism. The late Mr. Bhulabhai Desai with Nawabzada now Mr. Liaquat Khan, had devised a formula of parity between Congress and League representation in the centre. This he had done with the cognisance of Lord Wavell. He also declared that Gandhiji was kept in touch with the negotiations with the League leader at every stage. This was the origin of the first Simla Conference. Lord Wavell, however, changed the formula from one of Congress-League to Caste Hindu-Muslim parity. Mr. Desai declared this to be an improvement on his formula. The change was an innovation of far-reaching import. Even the term "Hindu" does not appear in the franchise regulations. Hindus there are grouped as "non-Mahomedans" along with other religious communities. The latter, however, get recognition as separate communities. But the "Hindus" never. It was rumoured at the time of the Round Table Conferences that Sir Samuel Hoare had promised some Muslim leaders that Britain would not quit India until the glories of Cordova were reproduced in a Muslim India. At any rate, there was for several years afterwards—it has not yet completely disappeared—a tendency to nominate non-Hindus to the leadership of international delegations. But for the fact that culturally the name most familiar to the world outside Britain is Hindu, the administrative device might have implied that Hindus were a negligible element in the Indian population. In Europe and America every Indian whatever his creed is known as a Hindu, which is the etymologically

correct term. What is more, Indians abroad themselves prefer this description. A Christian young man, student in a Theological Seminary, told me that, if an Indian is known as a convert, the Americans took no interest in him.

It is believed all over Europe and in the United States that Britain is using the Muslims in India, as it is doing the Muslims in the Middle East to maintain its own dominance in Asia. Mr. Jinnah's charge that Hindus and the British are in League against Muslims will be taken everywhere as part of the Anglo-Muslim strategy.

Lord Wavell's object in changing the formula from Congress-League to Caste Hindu-Muslim, was, of course, to give an additional seat to Dr. Ambedkar as representative of the Scheduled Castes. In the Census Report for 1941, Hindus are divided into Scheduled Castes and others. In relation to Scheduled Castes as to Muslims, Hindus figure as a negligible factor. But the Viceroy had overlooked the effect of the change. Congress-League parity did not shock anybody. The Congress has perhaps three million members and the League might claim the same. There was no reliable statistics of the numbers of members in the parties. But Hindu-Muslim parity! The arithmetical conscience in every school boy and even in the unlettered masses, reeled under the blow. The demand of the Congress President to be allowed to reduce the Caste Hindu proportion further by including other minorities in keeping with the nationalist claim of the Congress, made matters worse. The Viceroy did not yield. Congress bowed and was prepared to accept the Wavell plan. I do not think that the nationalist Muslim issue was pressed or even raised then. Mr. Jinnah's claim that the League alone represented Muslims was tacitly

acquiesced in. When at the beginning of the last general elections, Dr. Ambedkar's followers lost heavily, in some provinces, he declared that Bombay was his stronghold and that, if the failure was repeated there, he would take his cap off to the Congress. He lost every seat in Bombay. His first reaction was to think of emigrating to the United States under the quota then under discussion and now in force. On second thoughts which every one is entitled to, he seems to have decided against physical emigration. He seems to be contemplating spiritual emigration. He has warned the Congress that if his demands (whatever they may be) are not satisfied he would lead his 60 million Scheduled Castes to the fold of Islam. And he claims that he is entitled to the gratitude of Hindus for not having done so already. He gives them one last chance to retain the Scheduled Castes out of the Muslim fold. Has Dr. Ambedkar forgotten that when he made the same suggestion some years ago Mahar women declared at a mass meeting that they had no intention of going into purdah which they will have to do as Muslims? And why is Dr. Ambedkar so indifferent to his Christian Missionary admirers who have been warmly applauding his invectives against Hinduism? Dr. Ambedkar's threat has left the Hindus unmoved. Nor are they contemplating a memorial to him for having so far abstained from leading the Scheduled Castes out of reach of their Hindu fellows. Before he carries out his threat, however, Dr. Ambedkar would do well to ascertain from Muslim leaders whether they are prepared to receive the sixty million Harijans and on what terms if they are. And are the Harijans willing?

SON'S APOSTACY AND FATHER'S RIGHT TO ADOPT

SIR.—I feel I owe an explanation to the Reformer and its readers. In its issue of 15th June, in the course of my second article on "Dr. Deshmukh's Latest Bill," I pointed out in the third paragraph the glaring anomaly caused by Sections 22 to 26 of the Special Marriage Act, as between those who declared their faith in the Hindu religion when marrying under the Act and those who declared that they did not profess that religion. It is inherent in the Act itself and needed no argument.

But I went further and remarked at the end of that paragraph with special reference to Section 26 that it gave to a Hindu father the right to ignore the existing son and make an adoption if the latter married under the Act declaring his profession of the Hindu religion, whereas he would have no such right if the son became a Christian or Muhammadan. In saying so I had in mind of course the Caste Disabilities Removal Act of 1850 (known also as the Freedom of Religious Act), and I relied implicitly on the opinion of Mr. John D. Mayne whose classic work on "Hindu Law and Usage" was regarded in our college days as "nearly one of the sources of Hindu Law," as testified by its

latest Editor, Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyangar of honoured memory. Mr. Mayne's opinion is to be found at the end of paragraph 108 in the editions previous to 1938 and is as follows:

"Since Act XXI of 1850, a son would not forfeit any legal right by loss of caste. Therefore an adopted son could not, by virtue of his adoption, step into his place on the ground that he had lost his caste. If the question were to arise, it is possible the courts would refuse to recognise an adoption which would confer no legal rights."

I am sorry, Mr. Mulla's book was silent on the point and Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar's edition of Mayne (1938) was not available to me at the time of writing. But I now find in it the following passage substitutes for the one above quoted:

Since the Caste Disabilities Removal Act XXI of 1850, the outcast son will not forfeit any legal right by loss of caste, but he will not retain the religious capacity to perform the obsequial rites, and the father's right as it stood under the Hindu Law to make an adoption when his son becomes an outcast is not taken away." (Page 203).

Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar is of opinion that the doctrine of religious

efficacy of sonship emphasised by the Privy Council in 1933, in connection with a case of adoption (made by a widowed mother under different circumstances, i.e. after the death of her competent son, on the authority to adopt given by her husband before the birth of that son), lends support to the position that where an only son is a *patria*, the father will be entitled to adopt. He also refers with approval to a Madras case of 1931 where it has been held that the existence of a son, who, owing to virulent leprosy, was incompetent to perform ceremonies, besides being disqualified from inheritance under the *Smritis*, is no bar to an adoption by his father.

There is no direct ruling yet bearing on the question of an apostate son, but we may take it that his existence will not be held by our courts to be a bar to an adoption by the father. This point however does not affect the main argument that Section 26 and its four preceding Section were anomalously, illogically and spitefully tacked on, in 1923, to the Special Marriage Act of 1872, to deter Hindus from availing themselves of its provisions.

—KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL QUARREL

The essential points involved in the endless unseemly quarrel between the leaders of the land—or the leading parties in the land—may be set down as under, in order of merit:—

I—What (has to be done).

II—How (it is to be done).

III—Who (is to do).

If the two contending parties—or even a third party or individual—would take the trouble of thinking a little as to what it is that is really needed and how they would provide for it if they had the necessary power; put their ideas in concise, concrete, intelligent form and place them before the public; they are bound to get the necessary power or the requisite support—irrespective of whether they belong to the National Congress or the Muslim League, whether they wear the badge of socialists or communists.

But these "major" political parties seem to have no idea of the real want—no idea of the real cause of unrest and strife in the land, as in the world. They are eager for power and freedom more than for the welfare of the people—as if freedom is the end of the struggle and power the end of existence; as if the free and powerful countries in the world are happy, care-free, flourishing; as if the two world wars were not waged between free and powerful countries, or the coming III world war is not going to be so waged! The crying need of the hour, according to these worthies, is not bread and room for the starving and shivering masses, but FREEDOM—freedom of speech and freedom of act; that is to say, freedom to quarrel and freedom to fight—more freely.

What are the primary needs of a

society, which would form the basis of peace and progress of humanity?

They are:—

(1) Bread.

(2) Comfort.

(3) Freedom to develop one's merit.

(4) Scope to express one's merit.

How many of the Congressites or Muslim Leaguers, Mahasabhaites or Labourites, Ambedkarites or Harijanites, have pondered scientifically or systematically over these questions? How many of them have got clear, detailed, working theories of them? How many of them have tried to tackle them, with earnestness and doggedness—with the enthusiasm of "Fight for Freedom," with the valour of "Do or Die?"

Unless and until these questions are satisfactorily answered—until "Bread for the Masses" is made the war-cry of the struggle, in place of the braver or grander "Fight for Freedom"; until it is clearly realised that unless the masses are made to live an easy, happy, comfortable, pleasurable life, there will be no want of fodder for the cannon—soldiers for wars, workers for strikes, mavalies, for fights—and any stray Hitler or Monster, Fascist or Nazist, Imperialist or Communalist, fanatic or lunatic, scoundrel or rascal, can easily set the ocean on fire—the necessary power will not be forthcoming, and the "Fight for Freedom" bound to be continuing—just as the waging of wars, to end wars, and the invention of anti-bombs to counter-act atom bombs are bound to be continuing.

It seems necessary to emphasise the fact that, measures like:—

(1) The campaign of "Grow

More Food"—with a capital G, M and F—by the exhibition of posters of a stooping woman sowing seeds in tea-cups, flower-pots, or hut-compounds;

(2) The campaign against "Illiteracy"—of teaching the half-fed and quarter-clad dust-collectors and load-carriers, the 26 alphabets and the 10 numbers, so as to enable them to scrawl their names in place of putting thumb-impressions, and correctly count the finger-tips of both hands;

(3) The campaign of "Prohibition" of drink—by closing the toddy shops in Bombay and keeping them open at Kalyan;

(4) The "Industrialisation" of the country—by the replacement of factories and machinery by char-khas and taklies, handlooms and handmills;

(5) The development of agriculture, by the grant of "Tagai" advances to langot-wearing farmers owning broken ploughs and skeleton bullocks, for digging shallow tanks or mending bottomless wells; and improvement of cattle-wealth, by the Viceroy making presentation of stud-bulls and the Municipalities encouraging slaughter of milch-cows.

(6) Overflowing compassion, defiant of military bayonets, for the irresponsible agitators of Kashmir; and "carte blanche" to the Ruler of the wailing subjects of Hyderabad; are childish pranks—if not stupid stunts or clumsy fads—rather than earnest efforts, thoughtfully or scientifically planned to meet the enormous pressing needs of the times.

—V. S. MUDVEDKAR.

VIRAMGAM CUSTOMS CORDON

Sir, The finally approved Rules of the Central Government have been published in the Western India States Agency Gazette of July 25, 1946 under the heading "Rules governing the Import of passengers' baggage across Viramgam Land Customs Frontier."

The Rules place the passengers at the mercy of the Officers of the Customs Naka at Viramgam.

It passes one's understanding to find why the population of non-maritime States of Kathiawar and other bona-fide passengers from such States should suffer this Customs frontier although the Port-owning States are reported to have agreed that they shall charge Customs duty at tariff rates. It is possible that the Central Government have their own reasons for maintaining the frontier in spite of the agreement abovementioned; but there is no reason why the Central Government should impose a barrier against the population of the non-maritime States. These latter do not derive any benefit from the Customs revenues of the maritime States. Even if a few merchant monopolists profit by the import of goods at Kathiawar Ports, the general public derives no benefit. The customs frontiers against the non-maritime States people would only be justifiable if there was a customs union by which the maritime customs revenues were proportionately shared by the Kathiawar States maritime and non-maritime for public purposes. There is no such known union and it is doubtful whe-

ther under the present arrangement such agreements between States were to be allowed openly by the Political Department. Under the present circumstances the Political Department and the Customs Authorities of British India should make their own arrangements for a cordon around the maritime States, so that the people of non-maritime States may not be sacrificed for the facility of maritime States.

By the Rules published British India has protected its own interests, but what has the Crown Department done to protect the non-maritime State people from the rigours of the cordon? The exemption of articles on which more than 10 rupees duty cannot be claimed is hardly sufficient to alleviate the distress in these days of high customs duties.

An illustration of the hardship that will be caused to a bona-fide passenger can well be imagined from the fact that one of the Rules, viz., Rule 5 provides that a passenger who arrives at the same land customs frontier a second time within a month, may or may not be allowed to pass his bona-fide baggage free at the discretion of the officer of the Customs Station. This is a large discretion.

It is also said in the Rules that wearing apparel including boots and shoes purchased in Kathiawar less than six months before the date of import will not be regarded as bona-fide baggage.

Under this Rule any Customs Officer finding a pair of shoes and some

costly wearing apparel with a passenger (may be even on his body) may demand duty, if the passenger has no means of showing that it was purchased more than six months before his arriving at the Customs Station.

The Rule has merely to be stated to show how hard it is for every man to carry a certificate with him for every article of his wearing apparel to show when it was purchased, even though it may be his personal kit.

Whatever the justification for such a thing, why should the public of non-maritime States suffer for the collusion between the Political Department and the maritime States allowing the latter to make the non-maritime States their market?

The remedy against this is clear. For British India this remedy is found by restricting the trade of maritime States to British India by fixing a limit. Let some such arrangement be made with the maritime States but the non-maritime States and the public bona-fide passengers should be relieved of this great hardship.

Perhaps there is hardly a parallel in international customs barriers of checking the bona-fide luggage of bona-fide passengers by passengers having to let every article of their baggage scrutinized and suspected.

Is there any public body in Kathiawar or outside who would care to investigate this matter and get it redressed?

B. M. BUCK.

A EUROPEAN MISCELLANY

(By DEVERE ALLEN)

Anti-War Japanese constitute 70 per cent of the 2,000 readers who took part in a limited public opinion poll conducted by the newspaper Mainichi. That sizeable majority favoured the clause outlawing war for any purpose, as set forth in the draft of the new constitution. Only two per cent wanted the right to wage war, while 28 per cent considered the clause unnecessary, in view of Japan's post-war condition.

Population figures are startling, and reveal why many Japanese could feel that way. The death rate has outstripped the birth rate. In 1945 there were about two million deaths and one million births. The Ministry of Public Welfare expects that in the next twenty years the population will drop from 74 million to about 50 million. Wartime causes are responsible. Hunger produces many stillborn children. Families believe the food shortage may last for years. Other factors are the discouragement of marriages under such conditions; the breakup of families during the conflict; unemployment; and the dire housing lack in bomb-wrecked cities.

Walter Lippmann is out on a long and shaky limb. His famous series on Germany contained many blunders, of which a few are worth noting. He gave the distinct impression that he had visited the British zone, over which, he charged, there was a "silken curtain." The British pointed out that numerous correspondents were moving about freely, and that Lippmann would have been welcome to explore, instead of going on hearsay. He said that in the British area "there is... a German army, a large and good one, which surrendered to the British." The British proved the "army" had been disarmed and put to work on constructive labour.

When asked by the writer if it were true that he could have failed to visit the British zone and not explicitly say so, Lippmann replied in

a masterpiece of evasion. "I made it quite explicit," he wrote, "that I would not disclose the sources of my information... This was a clear warning to the reader to make such discount as he saw fit..." To the point I raised, he made no reference. He insisted the British Foreign Office denied things he had never said. The fact, easily demonstrated, is that he made specific charges, which the British concretely disproved.

Subtly anti-British, Lippmann has since come out with an amazing discovery—to him. The Labour Government, he asserts, followed the Churchill line for ten months, but has just now abandoned it. Mr. Lippmann should come out from behind his calico curtain and see the world. One of his main theses is that in Germany both Britain and Russia are acting as though war were certain, and preparing for it. On the contrary, the British have been criticised by labour journals, for example "The New Statesman and Nation," precisely because it has done nothing to evolve a policy in Germany, and is weak and confused. Though British Labour is supposedly depending on the German Social Democrats, for example, to rebuild the nation, it sent to the recent Socialist Congress at Hanover not one delegate or adviser, either from the London Government or the trade unions.

Big Bits: Ernest Bevin, according to the Leopoldville radio in a broadcast filled with impressive detail, is sending a personal appeal to Stalin, over Molotov's head, for more co-operation at meetings of Foreign Ministers. Bearer of the message is Sir Maurice Peterson, British Ambassador to Moscow.

President Peron is moving to consolidate Argentina's weight in world affairs through a new immigration programme that will bring to the country, it is hoped, ten to fifteen million Europeans. They will be

selected by nationalities, and colonised if possible outside Buenos Aires.

Generally overlooked was the speech of Philip Noel-Baker, British Labour Minister, to the recent Spanish Socialist Congress at Toulouse. Stating that he was authorised to make the statement, he declared: "The world is not large enough to hold simultaneously Labour on the one hand and Franco on the other."

Italy's Monarchist Vote, more substantial than many expected, was not only due to Humbert's popularity, but to the fact—hard for some anti-Fascists to realise—that Italians opposed to Mussolini have long clung to the monarchy as a means of expressing their hostility to Fascism, yet with a measure of safety. When I was in Italy the last time, just before Mussolini took his people unwillingly into the war, it was a common experience to have Italians say, "I don't think the royal house will let Il Duce go too far." You soon learned that this was not a real conviction, but a signal—with a glance over the shoulder to discern a possible government spy—that the speaker was an anti-Fascist and wanted you to know it. It was not very smart. It was, however, understandable. For many, royalty represents an island of stability amid a bewildering confusion.

Italians merit praise for the way they conducted their election. For the women, it was a unique privilege, not always clearly comprehended. A worker for the World Student Service Fund found one woman who said she was going to vote for the Americans, they had done so much to help. "See their jeeps with the five-pointed stars on the side? That's how I'm going to cast my ballot—for the five-pointed star!" The five-pointed star was the emblem of the Communist Party.—WORLD OVER PRESS.

WORLD FOOD SHORTAGES

In a review of the world food shortage in a White Paper issued by the British Government attention is drawn to the grave outlook for the latter part of the 1945-46 crop year. The White Paper observes that, though in some respects the position has worsened, in Europe it has been possible by economy measures to maintain with minor reductions the low calorie levels of April and to avoid major disaster. In India and the Far East the most dangerous time will be the period immediately prior to the next rice harvest—November and December.

The White Paper goes on to discuss consumption levels and gives the figure of average consumption in calories per head per day from April to June this year. Compared with the levels current last April quoted in the former White Paper later figures show a noticeable drop in many countries. The United Kingdom figure has fallen somewhat below the 2,850 of April. The U.S.A. has dropped by 50 calories to 3,100. Denmark and Sweden show a reduction of 50 daily. France, Belgium, Holland and Norway remain at 2,800 to 2,500. The UNRRA countries exhibit another range—1,700 to 2,400 and Germany remains at 1,600 to 1,800. Canada remains at the 3,000 level and Australia has

risen from 2,900 to 3,000.

The basic bread ration in the United Kingdom of 63 ounces a week is below that of all European countries except Sweden, Italy and Germany. But the White Paper points out that great caution is necessary in making comparisons as some people are far more dependent on bread in their diet than others. In spite of successive sacrifices and lack of variety compared with pre-war standards the average consumption in the United Kingdom of the more desirable foods as meat, fats and sugar is considerably above the general European level and closer to that of the overseas exporting countries. Current U.K. consumption is 80 per cent of the pre-war for meat and fats and 70 per cent for sugar. Comparative percentages are:—

U.S.A.: Meat 120, fats and sugar 90; Canada: Meat 110, fats 90, sugar 70; Australia: Meat and fats 80, sugar 90; France: Meat 80, fats and sugar 70; Sweden: Meat 100, fats 70, sugar 90; Greece: Meat 50, fats 80, sugar 70; Germany: Meat 30, fats 25, sugar 40.

Tribute is paid to the equitable distribution of food in the United Kingdom, compared with some of the other countries. Not only has luxury feeding been greatly restricted but many families in the

United Kingdom have now a better diet than they could afford in the days of apparent plenty before the war. Though average reduction in supplies has been 15 to 20 per cent, it has been smaller for the less well-off sections of the community.

The White Paper gives Britain's contributions towards meeting the urgent needs of hungry countries. From D-Day to the end of June this year nearly 2,000,000 tons of food-stuffs were sent to Continental Europe from stocks to the United Kingdom and by diversion of supplies enroute to the United Kingdom. Wheat and flour accounted for 893,000 tons and fats and syrups for over 800,000, canned meat with fish and dairy produce etc. for over 200,000 and potatoes for 305,000 tons. The total includes 130,000 tons of cereals from the emergency loan made by the U.K. Government subject to replacement from the U.S.A. Further 70,000 tons from this loan went to India and South Africa.

At the beginning of this year the U.K. wheat and flour import programme was reduced by 215,000 tons for the first 6 months of the year. More recently, the U.K. Government agreed to the reduction of 200,000 tons in wheat and flour imports requirements for May to September.

CONFLICT OVER PALESTINE

Since the British Government issued its "White Paper" in May, 1939, controversy has sharpened over the Zionist-Arab conflict in Palestine. Its settlement will doubtless rank high among post-war problems.

During the first World War the British Government, finding Turkish aid to Germany imminent and American aid to Allies still doubtful, made certain promises to Arab Nationalists and so Jewish leaders of the Zionist movement. Out of the diametrically opposed aims of the recipients of those pledges the conflict in Palestine arises. The Zionist aim is the conversion of the land of Judaism's origin into a national home for the Jewish people. The Palestinian Arabs' objective is independent sovereignty in their ancestral home, preferably as part of a reunited Syria.

In Palestine 1,200,000 Arabs and 500,000 Jews face each other, practically en bloc, in bitter enmity. The Palestine Royal Commission, sent from London in 1936 to "ascertain the underlying causes" of Arab-Jewish disturbances, reported:

"There is no common ground between them. The Arab community is predominantly Asiatic in character, the Jewish character is predominantly European. They differ in religion and in language. Their cultural and social life, their ways of thought and conduct, are as incompatible as their national aspirations. These last are the greatest bar to peace. . . . Neither Arab nor Jew has any sense of service to a single State."

The application of the Mandate System to Palestine and the stated objectives of the Palestine Mandate indicate a belief on the part of the British Government, and presumably of the League of Nations Council which approved the Mandate, that the building of a Jewish homeland and the fostering of Arab national independence were objectives not mutually incompatible in Palestine. They seem to have expected much from the conciliatory effect of the material prosperity which Jewish immigration would bring to the country, and from the impetus offered to general Arab development by Jewish enterprise, technology and intellectual achievement. In consequence of the inclusion of the Balfour Declaration, the text of which will be quoted later, in its preamble the Palestine Mandate differed from the other Class A Mandates for ex-Turkish territories in the omission of that "provisional independence" which was specified by the League of Nations Covenant. The British construe the Covenant in this respect to be permissive rather than obligatory.

The Crown Colony type of government under the Mandate is admittedly unsuitable for governing either educated Arabs or democratic Jews, each separately capable of full self-government. It cannot evolve into self-government without co-operation between the two elements of the population. With the close of world hostilities only force is likely to keep the uneasy balance between these two communities. The dilemma of the British Government is a very real one.

The first of the British promises already referred to was made early in 1916 to leaders of the Arab Nationalist Movement, which was seeking possible assistance in turning

account the opportunity for successful revolt offered by Turkey's imminent involvement in the war as an ally of Germany. The Arabs were to strike at Turkish power in conjunction with the Allied attack. In return Britain agreed to support the claim to national independence of the Arab peoples within a specified area. The pledge consisted mainly of correspondence between Sir Henry McMahon, High Commissioner of Egypt, acting for the British Government, and the Grand Sheriff of Mecca, later King Hussein of the Hejaz, acting for the Arab Nationalists.

The Zionist Organization was established in 1897 by the first Jewish Congress held at Basle under the leadership of Theodor Herzl. The Basle Programme stated: "The aim of Zionism is to create for the Jewish people a publicly recognised and legally secured home in Palestine."

In accordance with Herzl's plan for colonial development an "appropriate Jewish agency" was authorised by the Palestine Mandate to advise and co-operate with the Administration of Palestine "in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine," and "to assist and take part in the development of the country." "Close settlement by Jews on the land" was to be encouraged; the Administration might arrange with the Jewish agency to construct or operate public works, services and utilities, and to develop any of the natural resources of the country. English, Arabic and Hebrew were to be official languages. Each community might maintain its own schools.

The Zionist Organization was later superseded as the colonizing agent in Palestine for the Jewish people by the Jewish Agency in whose membership Non-Zionists were included, although they have been inactive in recent years. The Jewish Agency represents the Jewish people in all matters affecting the National Home, and the National Council of Jews in Palestine acts for Jews in that country in all phases of Jewish relationships with the Administration. The elected General Assembly and the National Executive Council (Va'ad Leumi) chosen by the Assembly constitute the responsible government of the National Home, and its religious affairs are administered by the Rabbinical Council. The Royal Commission states that the Va'ad Leumi and the elected Committees of towns and villages were entitled by law to levy taxation by annual budgets and to maintain social services, especially in the fields of public health and education. The regulations provided, of course, for their control by the Government of Palestine, especially with regard to finance.

A Jewish population of nine per cent in 1919 has risen in October, 1943, to 35 per cent of Palestine's total. Zionist colonization was characterised by extensive successful soil reclamation and crop substitution as well as industrial expansion, and development of commerce and shipping. One-third of the Jewish population is organized in co-operatives of one kind or another. The Jewish National Fund has invested \$30,000,000 in land acquisition, land improvement, afforestation and wa-

Fund is inalienable and is leased, never sold, to Jewish settlers, who must agree to cultivate it themselves. The total Jewish investment since the end of World War I has been \$400,000,000. The social services have made a magnificent and successful attack upon ignorance, poverty, and especially disease. The whole project has called forth the most extraordinary devotion and enduring labour.

Concessions for development of the power resources of the two main rivers of Palestine were awarded to Zionist enterprise, and projects of electrification and irrigation are in some cases completed, in others still in plan. Use of the mineral resources of the Dead Sea is already fairly well developed. Sustained immigration is the crucial feature of the programme. It is of the essence of the Zionist concept that Palestine shall offer a permanent solution for the Jews, marked by an integration of physical, psychological and social factors.

The Arabs' case is fundamentally that of the right of an indigenous population to its home soil. Since the Arab conquest in 640 A.D. Arabs have been settled in Palestine. They claim uninterrupted occupation by their fathers from times antedating the Hebrew invasion which is related in the "Old Testament".

For the past 20 years Arab representatives have made unremitting appeal to the right of self-determination as publicized by President Wilson and authenticated in the Covenant of the League of Nations. With the British Government and before world opinion they argue that Article 22 of the Covenant specifically applied this right to them. It reads in part:

"Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be the principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory." By this clause the Turkish territories were differentiated from other, less advanced, mandated areas. Article 20 of the same document required that

"The Members of the League severally agree that this Covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings 'inter se' which are inconsistent with the terms thereof. . . ."

and the Arabs are convinced that the Balfour Declaration and the Sykes-Picot Agreement—are thus inconsistent and should therefore have been cancelled.

The Arabs argue that the Mandate itself is an injustice and a betrayal; that it contravenes the stated purpose of the League by first depriving them of control of immigration and then imposing alien settlement with privileged status which aims at eventual control by majority rule, reducing them to a minority in their own land. No machinery exists for appeal from the Mandate by a mandated population. The Permanent Mandates Commission's supervisory role is advisory only. There is no court before which the Arab case can be brought except by the Man-

datory itself. The British Government has refused to go back of the Mandate in response to appeals. The disillusion, exasperation and bitterness engendered in the Arab population of Palestine by this situation developed into violence against the Jews and at length, in 1933, into attack upon the Government, and in 1936 into open rebellion.

Beyond the fundamental injustice which they charge, the Arabs contend (1) that a remote historical connection terminated over 18 centuries ago cannot now confer any right to territory; (2) that, except for an 80-year period of the reigns of Kings David and Solomon, during Israel's existence as a nation in Palestine its territory was confined to the hill country, whereas the main Zionist settlement is in the fertile coastal plain; (3) that the land cannot support such heavy immigration, and that Arabs are being and increasingly will be dispossessed; (4) that Arab prosperity is due largely to the release of Arab initiative following the removal of Turkish domination. Possible material benefit has no weight in the balance against their independence and desire to determine their own culture pattern. They recall the "golden age" of the Arab peoples and they intensely desire to share the Arabic renaissance. They claim that Islam has shown religious tolerance towards the Jews throughout its history. And they resent what they consider a Western attempt to right at Moslem expense a situation originally created by Christian intolerance.

The Zionist argument that the Emir Faisal committed the Arabs to co-operation with reference to the Jewish Homeland is rejected on the ground that the pact with Dr. Weizmann signed in January, 1917, was invalidated by the Emir's proviso making its implementation contingent on full realization of Arab independence; and further that he had no authority to sign away Palestine's independence. The General Syrian Congress on July 2, 1919, with Palestinian delegates participating, adopted its Damascus programme which repudiated the Sykes-Picot Agreement, the Balfour Declaration, and any plan for partition of Syria or for a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine.

There seems to be no doubt that Axis encouragement and aid were accepted by Arab Nationalist leaders. Such action was, of course, exceedingly objectionable to the British Government and constituted a serious danger to United Nations' interests. However, the part played by Axis interests in the present Palestine situation, can be over-emphasized.

The Christian Arabs of Palestine have taken the side of their Moslem brethren, with certain reservations. Other sects in the country are, on the whole, willing to accept a Moslem state. To some extent this is due to their weakness as small minorities. A prominent member of the Protestant community, since deceased, stated that his people felt the economic and cultural pressure of Zionism and feared a materialistic domination unsympathetic to Christianity.

In May, 1939, the British Government made a public Statement of

Policy (popularly called "The White Paper"). The three "main obligations" under the Mandate were reviewed; (1) to cultivate "such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people," facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions, and encourage close settlement by Jews on the land; (2) to safeguard the civil and religious rights of all inhabitants and ensure that the rights and position of other sections are not prejudiced; and (3) to advance the development of self-governing institutions. The Government stated its belief that "the framers of the Mandate . . . could not have intended that Palestine should be converted into a Jewish State against the will of the Arab population of the country" and declared "unequivocally that it is not part of their policy that Palestine should become a Jewish State" or "that the Arab population should be made the subjects of a Jewish State against their will." Since the Government could "not agree that the McMahon correspondence forms a just basis for the claim that Palestine should be converted into an Arab State" and since a Jewish National Home had been definitely established, an independent Palestine State would be established, within ten years, Arabs and Jews sharing in the government, Jewish immigration must cease on March 31, 1944, and would not be resumed, except with Arab consent. (An indefinite time extension has been given for the uncompleted immigration quota of Jews and an extra 25,000 European refugees). Transfer of Arab land to Jews was prohibited in some areas; in others it was restricted. It was pointed out that for the establishment of an independent State and relinquishment of the Mandatory the first requisite was such relations between Arabs and Jews as would make good government possible.

Several of the numerous investigating commissions sent to Palestine by the British Government have reported on the economic absorptive capacity of the land. Concentration of land ownership was already a cause for concern prior to Jewish settlement. Land surveys have been and are being made, together with extensive search for subsoil water and study of possible reform of the land tenure system, preparatory to planned agricultural development under Government auspices.

The shortage of land was attributed by the Partition Commission not so much to the sale of land to Jews, in view of their extensive reclamation of areas held to be uncultivable, as to the high Arab birth rate, the cessation of Turkish conscription and growing restrictions abroad on immigration—particularly in the Western countries. It would, however, be increasingly aggravated by the rapid natural increase of the indigenous population. The 1931 Report of the Census of Palestine pointed out that "nearly a quarter of the agriculturists would be unable to maintain their present standard of life if they were unable to find a secondary means of subsistence." The Commission concluded that if the Arab rural population continues to increase at its present rate, the demand for such supple-

mentary employment, and even the pressure to leave the land and seek for whole-time employment in the towns, will be intensified—quite apart from any further acquisition of land by the Jews. The future for the Arab population is therefore already menacing and since, in the main, available capital is Jewish, they would be faced with the prospect of greater economic hardship if Jewish immigration should be completely closed down. The Commission recommended that alienation of land be permitted only in districts where extensive cultivation could be replaced by intensive farming. The only basis for expansion was found to be in the coastal plain, where land transfer is still permitted.

In considering the Zionist problem it is well to keep in mind that the welfare and economic health of Palestine and of the Jewish colonies there are separate questions from the rescue of war refugees. It has been urged that a slower and steadier expansion might produce a more stable future.

In view of Arab predominance in the region it would seem that Arab compliance in the Zionist plan is a prerequisite to be secured at any cost. The Royal Commission noted that the Arabs "detected, too, in some of those young newcomers an arrogance which seemed to suggest that they felt themselves to be members of a superior race, destined before long to be masters of the country."

Raphael Straus, a Jewish social historian for some years resident in Palestine, speaks of a "preponderant" urban population which "obviously upsets the entire programme of agricultural colonization" and exaggerates the cost of public works, education and public security. Further comment on the economic phase appears in the following passage from the Report of the Royal Commission:

"Much of the expenditure has been uneconomic. For some of the capital provided no return could be expected; for the rest only a small and possibly long-delayed return. . . . But, if it was to realise its promoters' dreams within measurable time, it would need a more normal economic basis; it would need to be regarded as a 'sound proposition', and attract investment in the usual way of business."

For that purpose the welding of the population into a unit, and the lessening of the economic, social and intellectual distance between groups is primary. An obstacle to effective government action toward reconciliation was erected in the sanctioning of separate systems of education on different levels of financial support and supply of trained personnel. As was inevitable, both are schools of nationalism which perpetuate the conflict. The Jews have hoped to see a greater part of the Jewish population cultivate the land and a larger part of the Arab population engage in trade and industry. Although recent trends show increased industrial occupation among Arabs, a heavy proportion of urban workers appears among Jewish immigrants.

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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 retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Labour and Strikes:—It is in keeping with Congress tradition to rely on the strength of organisation for good works. Experience in political work has communicated a fictitious importance to mass movements and there is a tendency to overlook the importance of right policies. Nevertheless, the Harijan Movement is a standing warning and it should not be ignored. Here, a centralised organisation was set up, funds were collected, workers were marshalled together, and an able organiser and cautious spender was put in charge in the person of Mr. A. V. Thakkar. Few organisations started under better auspices. But antagonisms were roused and the very persons who were to be helped, turned against it. There is every reason for thinking that work in the Labour Movement will follow the same pattern. What is necessary is not adding to the strength and numbers and influence of the Mazdoor Sangh but evolving a definite Labour policy. It is useless to ask Congressmen to follow the lead of the Mazdoor Sangh. There are Congress Ministers who are answerable to their public for Labour policies. These surely cannot be asked to be guided by members of the Mazdoor Sangh who have not the same respon-

sibility. A Minister is called upon to answer questions in the legislature; he must have a policy that he can defend, not a programme taken over from others. The Congress Ministries have to decide for themselves questions relating to the working class, to strikes, to problems furnished by a tardy transition from war to peace. There is far too often a tendency to shirk vital issues to avoid pronouncing opinion on industrial disputes. There is at several points an anxiety to avoid unpopular decisions, a reluctance to tell the workers that they are going beyond their rights. On the other hand, there is too much sermonising. It is absurd to harangue workers for whom their daily tasks are matters of bread on the virtues of a trusteeship relation between employer and employed. Moreover, it is not enough to convince oneself that one's policy and practice are directed to helping the workers. It is necessary to convince the worker himself. With a vigorous Labour policy, it might be feasible to place a ban on strikes in certain essential services. Without it the industrial life of the country is bound to be muddled. The Congress Ministries are now in the saddle. They are fortunate in having a patient public to deal

with. But forceful policies ought not to be delayed, depending on public tolerance.

Drawbacks of "Direct Action":—The illusion that "direct action" can produce results, dies hard. The Congress has learnt its lesson after three decades. On specific issues, it is possible to obtain results through satyagraha. In fact, it is here that the weapon can be used to best effect. In striking a blow for abstract principles, "direct action" invariably implies paving the way to compromise and abandonment of the principle. Gandhiji has been acutely aware of this position. Unfortunately both his opponents and followers often fail to see it. The recent studied conciliation of Gandhiji almost indicates an anxiety to restore national life to the normal ways of legal agitation at the earliest stage. Mr. Jinnah's League at the very moment when the arch-apostle of non-co-operation is retracing his steps has revealed an attraction to "direct action" for Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah will eventually have to compromise on a few seats in the Central Government but the process will be hard and the reversion to legalism painful. In Bengal already the trouble has begun with terrific momentum. The Muslim League too has not the restraint which Gandhiji imposed on the Congress, when he made non-violence a basic factor of civil disobedience. Non-violence made it possible to drag on the dispute for nearly three decades with intervals of suspension. Without this self-imposed restraint, there can be no easing of tensions, no alternations of tranquillity and disquiet. The objective, Pakis-

tan, is impossible of achievement. It will only result in spending the energies of those who seek to achieve it through "direct action." That is one reason why Mr. Jinnah is insistent that the movement has not been launched yet. The place of non-violence in the Congress strategy is evidently to be taken by keeping "direct action" in a state of threat. But events, like those which marred the August 16 hartal in Bengal, will topple the carefully poised menace into reality.

Peace Progress:—The peace conference at Paris is moving from crisis to crisis. There is a desire on the part of all the Big Powers to test their strength and the tempers of their rivals. But none of them is prepared to go to the extent of provoking a final break. In this dilemma, the small powers have both their opportunity and their trial. In the struggle for a hold, the Big Powers invariably close their hands over small nations. Iran, Yugoslavia, Turkey are some victims. Even when the other rivals are roused to protest, the agony still goes to the small nation. It has been aptly said that when small nations are found entangled in war, it is invariably because they lay across the path of one Big Power's approach to another. Now it is proving equally true of peace. The peace-making at Paris is proving quite strenuous. What is significant is the uncertain alignment of nations in much of the voting. The Russian team is solid—the U.S.S.R., Belo-Russia, Ukraine, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. Norway and Abyssinia seem to hold a middle-of-the-path stand, both being cultivated by Russia as well as the Anglo-Americans. M. Molotov's insistence on a two-thirds majority for decisions was evidently inspired by a feeling that the Russian could be enlarged to defeat forced decisions by winning just one more supporter. There is far greater caution at Paris than there was in Versailles. The Big Powers are keenly conscious of the rivalry between them. They have no intention of losing sight of this in planning the control and exploitation of the defeated nations. On the contrary, even the work of spoliation proceeds with an eye to the main chance. The consequence will be that harder bargains will be driven now than were struck in 1920, and the recovery period will be more arduous and prolonged. There is a possibility that the

defeated nations may gain by the jealousy of the Big Powers, but it is remote. The defeat this time has been more devastating.

Congress Labour Policy:—The Congress Working Committee at Wardha adopted a resolution on Labour and the Working Class. The central idea was the necessity of according a status to the Mazdoor Sevak Sangh which has been functioning as the Labour Department of the Congress Party. The Sangh accepted the politics of the Congress but eschewed politics in its Labour work. It had among its office-bearers Congressmen like Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda. Its greatest success was in the Ahmedabad Textile mill industry where it reconciled Labour and Capital to the benefit of the industry and of both parties. Since 1942, however, it has been out of the workers' field owing to first the incarceration and later the political preoccupations of its most distinguished members. It trains Labour workers and organises trades unions but as a rule keeps out of unions itself. During its eclipse, other parties stepped forward, notably the Communists. The Royists tried hard to win the Labour movement and succeeded for a while. Now with the return of the Congress to office in the provinces, it is found that there are great difficulties in industrial matters. Strikes are threatening the economic system and it is realised that only organised work can keep out the political effects of repeated strikes. The Communists have made no secret of their dependence on the strike weapon. The Indian Peoples Theatre, functioning under Communist auspices and with Communist inspiration, staged a play, Clifford Odets' "Waiting for Lefty," some weeks back. The play was adapted from the American to suit Indian conditions. It was a clear and provoking call to strike as the only way of winning workers' rights. It was surprising that the Bombay Government permitted its performance; the more surprising as the air was thick with threats of strike in several industries and services. The Congress Resolution declaring the party's intention to centralise and co-ordinate the activities of its members in the Labour sphere, coupled with the freedom allowed by the Bombay Congress Ministry, indicates that, at the moment at any rate, the party is confident of

winning in free competition. The method of working through an unofficial organisation associated with the Congress is, however, based on Western techniques which have met with little success. Should the Congress by any chance fall from favour with the public, the Mazdoor Sangh workers will be left high and dry. The Nazi Party in Germany had many interests which were developed when it came to power. With its fall, the entire work has been shattered. It would have been wiser had the Congress made an appeal to the public by adopting a progressive Labour policy instead of just asserting that workers of the Mazdoor Sangh will guide Congressmen on Labour questions. There is another point stressed by the Congress resolution: It promises to raise standards of living. Unfortunately, the teachings of Gandhiji which are central to the Mazdoor Sangh, centre on a rural economy as the standard base for workers. To the urbanised worker, this must mean a lowering of the standard rather than a raising of it. How is this anomaly to be reconciled?

Pandit Nehru's Versatility:—It is a striking tribute to the versatile Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that there is hardly any position of importance mentioned without his being named for it. Regardless of the fact that he is today Congress President and prospective Prime Minister in the Interim Government, reports have got busy associating his name with the Peace Conference. Pandit Nehru has indicated by asserting that the work in the Congress is more important than the Interim Government that he himself might stay out of the Government which he has been virtually asked to form. It is even more likely that he will hesitate to go out of the country during a critical period. There is moreover the Constitution-making body where he will have to play a prominent part, since Mr. Jinnah seems more friendly to him than to other Congress leaders. The pushing forward of Pandit Nehru for all occasions and openings also conveys the impression that there is a dearth of men of vision and knowledge in the Congress. What will transpire is that the Congress will, apart from a few key posts, have to seek personnel from outside the party. Gandhiji has already hinted that office should not be regarded as rewards for national service or for jail-going.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, August 17, 1946.

PANDIT NEHRU TO FORM INTERIM GOVERNMENT

When the Muslim League withdrew its acceptance of the Cabinet Minister's proposals mainly on the ground that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, on assuming office as President of the Indian National Congress, had declared that Congress had agreed only to enter the Constituent Assembly and that it will hold itself free to deal with all matters as they arose in the way it thought best, there was much speculation as to what the next move on the part of the Viceroy who had reiterated his resolve to form an Interim Government to replace the Care-Takers as soon as possible, would be. Lord Wavell has set it at rest by inviting the President of the Congress, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to submit proposals for an Interim Government. This is not the same thing as forming a Ministry but it is as far as the Viceroy can go in that direction within the framework of the Government of India Act, 1935. In the interval, the Working Committee of the Congress met at Wardha and declared by a resolution that it accepted the Cabinet Ministers' proposals in their entirety. The Pandit who attended the Working Committee meeting, has accepted this view which, of course, is totally opposed to his own declared some days ago. He has accepted the Viceroy's invitation to submit proposals for an interim Ministry. The first thing he did on acceptance, is to write to the President of the Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah, to co-operate with him in formulating proposals for an interim Ministry. The Council of the Muslim League in its resolution withdrawing its previous acceptance of Cabinet Mission's proposals had declared that it would now agitate for Pakistan as the only solution of the Muslim problem. Would Congress agree if Mr. Jinnah makes it a condition of his co-operating with it that it should accept the principle of Pakistan? If it does, how would it affect the proposals for the Constitution-making body? If Mr. Jinnah does not agree to the Pandit's request, the Pandit it is said, will find five nationalist Muslims and make up his list for submission to the Viceroy. This is the only course open now. It

is fraught with difficulties but the Congress if it goes about it in the right way will quite easily find capable men even outside the Congress to support it in a national policy.

When Lord Wavell invited Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to submit proposals for the Interim Government, the Congress Working Committee at Wardha apparently authorised the Congress President to accept the invitation. Pandit Nehru with considerably more difficulty secured permission for another approach to Mr. Jinnah with a view to winning the goodwill and, if possible, co-operation of all Indian parties to the new provisional Government. The approach was made at Bombay this Thursday and Mr. Jinnah with his characteristic bluntness refused to consider any Interim Government proposals about which he had not been directly consulted by the Viceroy. He was willing, however, to talk over problems affecting Hindu-Muslim relations if Pandit Nehru so desired. The Congress President grasped the opportunity for another meeting but proceeded to the discussions without much hope. The talks proved fruitless. Statements made by Pandit Nehru after the failure suggest that the Congress has given up hopes of winning over the League and is concerned about the Interim Government which it has undertaken to establish. On the whole, the breakdown of plans to bring into being a coalition administration is a national gain. Coalitions have rarely achieved much for any country. A Congress-League Coalition would mean not only a brake on all progress but even a setback for civil liberties since sharing of power by the two major parties must inevitably lead to suppression of dissenting views. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his Press Conference on August 16 was inclined to be somewhat pessimistic about the Interim Government. In his letter to Mr. Jinnah he had expressly stated that it was not mere acceptance of seats on the Viceroy's Executive Council but a full-fledged Interim Government with the Viceroy functioning as a constitutional head. At the Press Conference, he

seemed to suggest that the point had yet to be decided at Delhi. Presumably either Pandit Nehru was impressed by doubts raised by Mr. Jinnah during their discussion about the Viceroy's invitation or he was practising unusual diplomacy in view of the League having selected August 16 for their hartal. There is no meaning otherwise in his doubts. The Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, in his letter to the Viceroy dated June 25, had expressly stated that the Congress had accepted Lord Wavell's assurance and would not press the matter any further. Presumably when the Viceroy invited Pandit Jawaharlal—and the offer was accepted—to assist in forming the Interim Government, it was assumed that past commitments were binding on both sides. The second thought which seems to have puzzled the Congress President is either Jinnah-sown or is an amateur attempt to restrain enthusiasm in Congressmen.

SOUTH AFRICAN RELATIONS

There is still a great deal of make-believe in international politics. The Government of India have adopted economic sanctions against the South African Union. To many, these restrictions suggest that there is to be no trade with South Africa. Yet the terms of the laws passed reveal that many gaps which traders can escape through. For example, there are clauses which allow South African products, if they are not completely finished in the Union, to enter India. These defeat the restrictive laws. What is more, they place a premium on other countries taking up certain stages of manufacture. As a matter of fact, there are several industries in which Indians handle both the Indian and South African sides of the business—textiles, for instance. The restrictions affect the Indian communities here and in the Union and they do not inflict any hardship on the South African Whites against whom the main grievance is. With the growing certainty of an Indian National Government functioning at New Delhi, it is likely that there will be an increase in emotional gestures. It is necessary that the overseas department should rest in able hands.

THE PROBLEM OF CZECH GERMANS

BY LEON DENNEN
(Worldover Press Correspondent)

Having lived in many parts of Europe and speaking a number of its languages, Mr. Dennen has written frequently on European affairs for American magazines, and is the author of two books: *Where the Ghetto Ends*, and *Trouble Zone*, a recent study of the Middle East and the Balkans.

Tirschenreuth is a picturesque Bavarian town on the Czech border which miraculously escaped the ravages of war. Outwardly it seems normal. One would hardly know that the neighbouring cities of Regensburg and Munich are little more than fantastic heaps of twisted steel and rubble. Yet in this little town, set in fertile and scenic farmland, the spiritual drama of post-Nazi Europe is being enacted in miniature. At Tirschenreuth many Jewish survivors of nearby Nazi concentration camps now assemble to begin their long journey to new lands. Here, too, many of the new exiles, the Sudeten Germans now being expelled from Czechoslovakia, first face an uncertain future in a devastated, defeated foreign land.

As seen from here, the indiscriminate expulsion from Czechoslovakia of 2,500,000 Sudeten Germans is less an act of political punishment of Nazis than a perpetuation of Nazi race theories. "I spent 18 months in combat," a young, much decorated American lieutenant in charge of one of the Bavarian refugee camps told me, "and I thought I had seen human misery at its worst. But this job of handling the Sudeten expellees is the toughest assignment I've had yet."

Pointing to a long row of bewildered, shabby and hungry-looking Sudeten Germans, who had just crossed the Czech border in boxcars, the lieutenant continued: "They call it a transfer of population but it is more like a planless stampede. People are being removed from their ancestral homes and shipped against their will and, what is even more important, against the will of those who will eventually have to absorb them into a foreign land. They are stripped bare by the time they arrive here, first by the Czechs and then by the Russian guards. And now we have no houses for them and hardly any food. Local inhabitants, hungry themselves, refuse to contri-

bute to their temporary support. They treat them with hostility.

"The entire process of shifting these refugees is largely uncontrolled and in a complete state of chaos. Wuerttemberg-Baden, for example—has been apportioned 517,000 expellees. Of these 202,000 have already reached their destination but no one knows when and how. Trains starting out with 1,200 expellees, arrive with many absentees and many additions. Others simply filter in. Control of war criminals and contagious disease is made impossible. The whole thing is a mess."

Last April, the Catholic bishops of Western Germany protested bitterly in a pastoral letter against "the revolting proceedings in East Germany, especially in Silesia and the Sudeten regions, where more than 10,000,000 Germans are most brutally driven out from their ancestral homes without any investigation whether personally guilty or not." At the "request" of American military officials the letter has since been "withdrawn". But no censorship can obscure the fate of the expellees; no iron curtain hide the lacerated bodies of the children now being made to suffer for crimes their fathers ostensibly committed.

The most pitiful victims of this Twentieth Century dispersion are the Sudeten German anti-Fascists. The correspondent of the *Neue Zeitung* must have had a grim sense of humour when he reported the other day that "120,000 anti-Fascists are to be expelled from Czechoslovakia." This is literally true. Several hundred thousand Social Democrats and trade unionists from the Sudeten region are now waiting their turn to be shipped "back home". Screening and re-screening by the Czech security police and the Russian NKVD found them free of all Nazi taint. Many of them fought heroically in the anti-Nazi underground movements when some of the present-day Czech leaders were making

speeches from their havens of exile. But because these anti-Fascists are of German origin, they are being forced to emigrate of their own "free will."

The position of the Sudeten German Socialists and trade unionists in Czechoslovakia today bears a striking resemblance to the status of the Jews in the Nazi-occupied countries. Because they represent the core of Czechoslovakia's skilled labour, they have become the slave-labourers of the post-Nazi era. Any Czechoslovak citizen of German stock, regardless of his past services to the anti-Nazi cause, is in daily danger of having his home and belongings confiscated by the Czech counterpart of the NKVD and of being sent to forced labour in the mines or glass factories where the labour shortage is acute. At the same time his family, including the aged and infirm, are loaded into cattle cars and shipped to the nearest transfer point in Bavaria. At Tirschenreuth seven out of 10 expellees were either women or children.

Czech trade unions have recently protested to the Government against this practice of separating families. The Glassworkers Union has even petitioned the Ministry of Interior to allow anti-Nazi German workers to remain in the country. Protests have also been lodged with the Czechs and the Russians by the American authorities, who are now returning all incomplete family units to Czechoslovakia. In Furtim-Wald alone, 300 such families have already been sent back. Thus far there has been no reply either from the Czechs or the Russians but the future does not seem promising.

As one prominent Czech official told me: "I know that Czechoslovakia will pay dearly for the expulsion of these Sudeten Germans, but we are prepared to be rid, once and for all, of this troublesome minority which cost us so dearly in 1938."

A NEW AID TO HEARING

The eye and ear are the two most important senses through which the brain receives impressions of the world outside. It is curious that while the evidence of an eye-witness is regarded as the best evidence hearsay is no evidence. This legal distinction has been reflected in the measures devised and adopted to give relief to defective vision. Defective hearing has practically little attention bestowed on it. Deafness is perhaps more prevalent in the world than blindness. It is estimated that the number of sufferers from defective hearing in the United States is about 15 millions. In Britain, according to the United Kingdom Publicity Service, the incidence of deafness is much higher than ordinary people realise. During the war, both in Britain and America considerable research has been carried out by way of bringing relief

to the deaf. In the States a simple "painless and bloodless" operation has been perfected to make the deaf to hear. The technique of this very delicate operation is taught in many important institutions in the States and the operation itself is performed in many hospitals and has been attended with much success. The U.K.P.S gives particulars of which has been invented under Government auspices in Britain and which will be soon available to the public under the Health scheme free of charge like spectacles and the new aid measures 3" by 1" and has three amplifying valves inside. The batteries cost less than a penny an hour to operate. Lord Robert Cecil, himself a sufferer speaking in the House of Lords gave particulars of the defects of most existing aids to hearing. No great advance he said, has been made in conveying sound.

The best machines were still defective because while they gave the vowel sounds they do not convey the consonant sounds which are much more delicate and much less robust. Another difficulty not overcome at all is to find a machine that can make a distinction between sounds to which you wish to listen and those which you do not. Lord Cecil gave as an example that with an ordinary healthy ear you can listen to a person at the other end of a table and ignore what intervening people may be saying. But with the existing ear-aids you are obliged to hear all that people are saying at the table. The new aid presumably has overcome this difficulty also. The Government of India will no doubt make available in this country this valuable instrument which is a British Government monopoly.

INDIA'S FUTURE

The report of the Cabinet Mission to India, published on May 16th as a White Paper, opens by quoting the Prime Minister's statement in March that the Mission was going out to help India attain her freedom and that, though he hoped she would not do so, free India would have the right to elect to leave the Empire.

The Mission found an "almost universal desire, outside the supporters of the Muslim League, for the unity of India," but recognised "genuine and acute anxiety" amongst Muslims of perpetual Hindu-majority rule. It considered that there must be not "mere paper safeguards" to allay this, but measures to "assure to Muslims a control in all matters vital to their culture, religion, and economic or other interests."

The Mission examined the Muslim League's proposal of an independent sovereign Pakistan state. This state was to consist of two areas. Figures showed that in the North-Western area (the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and British Baluchistan) the population was 62 per cent Muslim, and in the North-East area (Bengal and Assam) 52 per cent Muslim, the latter area including Assam, only 33 per cent Muslim, and the city of Calcutta, only 26 per cent Muslim. Outside the Pakistan state, 20 million Muslims would remain dispersed through the remainder of British India. The plan would thus perpetuate minority problems. A Pakistan state modified to exclude non-Muslim areas would neither be acceptable to the League nor to the inhabitants of the Punjab and Bengal, both of which provinces would then be partitioned. The division of the Punjab would split the Sikh community in two. Any partition into sovereign states would harm communications, which were established on a united India. From the military point of view, the plan was unacceptable because Pakistan contained both the vulnerable frontiers of India, without the depth necessary for defence.

Congress had proposed an India of autonomous states with a central government responsible for subjects such as Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications, each state, in addition, to cede to the central government such additional subjects as it wished. This system, by which different ministers of the central executive would be responsible for varying portions of India and the various members of the central legislature would be restricted in their activities to those subjects which their particular states had ceded, was rejected as unworkable in practice.

Before outlining its own plan, the Muslim League observed that

"It is quite clear that with the attainment of independence by British India, whether inside or outside the British Commonwealth, the relationship which has hitherto existed between the rulers of the States and the British Crown will no longer be possible. Paramountcy can neither be retained by the British Crown nor transferred to the new Government."

The position of the States would be the subject of negotiation during the framing of the new constitution,

and detailed proposals for the States were therefore not now being made.

The Mission proposed:

(1) A Union of India, dealing with Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications, and with appropriate money-raising powers.

(2) A central executive and legislative constituted from British India and the States. To pass the legislature, any measure on a communal issue would require a majority of all members who voted and also individual majorities both of Hindu and Muslim votes cast.

(3) All subjects not listed in para (1) to rest with the provinces and states.

(4) Provinces to be free to form groups, with executives and legislatures, and cede to them what subjects they wished.

(5) Any province, by a majority vote of its legislature, might call for revision of the Union constitution after an initial period of ten years and at ten-yearly intervals thereafter.

A Constituent Assembly was proposed to decide the details. Election to this by adult suffrage was recognised as desirable, but rejected as too slow. Instead, the existing Provincial Legislative Assemblies were to elect the members on the basis of one per million of population, seats for each province being divided between the main communities (Muslim, Sikh and General) in proportion to population and votes to be cast by communities. In this way, British India was to elect 292 members; 93 seats were allotted, on a population ratio, to the States.

All members of the Constituent Assembly were to meet to elect officers and set up an Advisory Committee on rights of citizens, minorities and tribal and excluded areas. The provincial representatives would then split up into three groups, composed roughly of (A) Central and South, (B) North-West, and (C) North-East, and decide on constitutions for the provinces in the group, whether any group of those provinces should be set up under the new constitution, and what subjects it should deal with. All members would then reassemble and decide the Union Constitution. Major communal issues or amendments to the Mission's White Paper proposals would require individual majorities of Hindu and Muslim votes cast, the Chairman to decide what constituted a communal issue and consult the Federal Court if required. Provinces, after the first General Election held under the new constitution, would be free to opt out of any group in which they had been placed. A treaty would be negotiated between the Union Constituent Assembly and the United Kingdom on issues raised by the transfer of power.

Meanwhile, an interim government was proposed, in which all posts, including that of War Member, would be held by Indians. In conclusion, the mission asked for the co-operation of India's leaders and people. It saw "small hope for a peaceful settlement by agreement of the Indian parties alone" and, as an alternative, danger of "violence, chaos, and even civil war."

The Cabinet Mission's proposals for India were received in the Press in this country as a big attempt to solve the Indian deadlock, and, in particular, the declaration that India would be free to leave the Empire was quoted by the Government

Press as showing that India was being offered complete freedom. The mixed reception of the Plan in India and the prolonged discussion which has followed there may have surprised those who felt this view to be correct. It is therefore useful to examine some of the grounds on which criticism has been made.

In the White Paper there is no mention of the future suffrage of India. The Mission says that the time factor prevents the election of the Constituent Assembly by universal suffrage, recognising by implication that this would be desirable. But it would seem that if the Constituent Assembly itself is not to be democratically elected, then it is all the more essential that its terms of reference, which the Mission's Plan form, should commit it to the principle of universal suffrage.

An outstanding feature of the Mission's Plan is the deferential treatment accorded to the Princes who at present rule the Indian States. Before detailing their proposals, the Mission safeguard the Princes by a declaration that the paramountcy over the States now vested in the British Crown cannot be transferred to the new Union Government, though no reason is given for this statement. The Princes are a survival of feudalism, they are autocrats. Their permanent retention in the new constitutional framework is already causing unrest in India. Under the procedure proposed for the Constituent Assembly, while constitutions are to be framed for the Provinces that now form British India, there is no mention of constitutions for the Indian States. Whether a Prince consents or not is left to his own affair. In effect, apart from the Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications, the Princes may continue to rule as autocratically as they please, employing, as now, their own private armies. Nearly a hundred million people who live in the Indian States, a quarter of India's population, inhabiting 44 per cent of her territory, are thus debarred from the right to elect their own Government.

India's greatest immediate problems are economic, but neither immediate famine relief nor long-term economic planning figure in the White Paper. Economic planning and development is not one of the subjects reserved for the Central Union Government; it rests, therefore, with the Province or State, or, maybe, with the Province-Group. Without powers in the economic field, the control of foreign affairs allotted to the Central Government will, in fact, tend to be limited. In the Plan, Provinces may be grouped together—this is in order to satisfy, in part, the League's Communal Pakistan demand—but grouping of States (economically vital, in view of the small size of many of them) is not decreed—it would infringe the Princes' sovereignty.

Communal and tribal minorities are considered by the Mission, and safeguarded, but class minorities are not mentioned—the industrial working class, for example, are an important minority, much in need of protection. Yet the Indian Trade Union Movement were apparently not consulted nor asked for their views and help. The Mission have accepted the old India Office division of India into Hindu and Muslim, Congress and League, and not look-

ed for other groupings or representatives.

In the details of the proposed procedure for setting up the new constitution there are other undemocratic trends which we have not the space to examine. The general tendency will be for the new regime to be weighted permanently in fav-

our of those landed and moneyed interests which will predominate in the Constituent Assembly. A makeshift, cumbersome state, such as the Mission proposes, can hardly be envisaged taking the prominent and independent place amongst the world's nations to which India's huge population entitles her. Rather is there a danger that such a state

will be permanently tied to the apron strings of a Power which can take quick decisions. British capitalism, wielding the power of her large Indian investments, unmentioned in the White Paper and unaffected by it, will be in the strongest position to assume this role.

—LABOUR RESEARCH

MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION IN INDIA

Sir,—India started losing her independence several hundred years ago. With political freedom is lost freedom of thought. This is an axiom. It is a fundamental law of life.

The rule of the Moghuls was replaced by the rule of British. The English created a system of westernising India and in a century they have produced a vast hierarchy of men and women who are English in their outlook of life, in their tastes and in their manners. They do not exactly despise Indian things. They are simply ignorant of them. The English have made Indians strangers in their own land. Indians have lost their self-confidence. Our intellectual advancement almost came to a standstill with the loss of our freedom.

Now that we begin to dream and aspire for our own air and sun, we find that our wings are clipped off and our tongues are tied. We can neither sing in joy nor can we call the future nearer to ourselves. The future where we are makers of our own destiny and where we are once again become the leaders of thought and Science, where we are the givers of gifts to the world: gifts of beauty, utility and plenitude. We have misinterpreted peace. We have sown death and so we are reaping death. But we shall rise from our slumber.

Our conquerors call us semi-civilised. That is a polite expression. Among themselves they refer to us as uncivilised, as barbarians. Their reasons are many but the one with which we are concerned most is "that we can express nothing but our animal hopes and desires with our own words, we have no Sciences." They say, Science is impersonal. That phrase is limited to the world of West. In India no such phrase can be used. In India, science is western and superstition alone is eastern.

For us education means acquiring knowledge of the English tongue, because that alone opens the portals to the mysteries of the Universe. Many young men spend the best part of their lives in trying to understand the intricacies and erratic ways of the English tongue. This is a waste. It definitely tends to demoralise our youth, re-nationalises them. Does the average educated Indian not understand? Yes, he does but of course very vaguely.

After learning English, the portals of Science still remain closed. The language of Science is not confined to English, but Greek, Latin, German and French also enter into scientific vocabulary. Hence it is only the more intelligent and sturdy brains who have to approach Chemistry and Zoology or Botany and Mechanics. The technical terms are mouth filling nonsense which conveys nothing to the teacher or the taught. In the minds of the student the word cannot have any relationship

with the idea denoted by it. It is only under great pressure that words are crammed into our brains. They do not create much impression and hence with release in pressure the words pass out leaving faint traces.

The question is: Shall we be Anglicised, shall we be turned into Greeks and Latins and shall we then alone pick up the few crumbs, thrown to us? We have a grain of sense. We have our respect to attend to. We have to stand up. Let us then have our own words, words of literature, technical words, semi-technical words, words covering every special branch of knowledge. When this is done, Indians will be free from the thralldom of European languages. We shall have our own thinkers, our own technicians and our own discoverers. The most precious time of our youths will be more usefully spent in vital activities, in true pursuit of knowledge. Sciences will not remain western, they will be as much eastern. Our students will understand what they are reading. Technical language will not be gibberish but a helpful guide into the meandering by-paths of scientific detail.

In the words of Sir S. S. Bhatnagar "Educationalists all over India have agreed that the major obstacle for the spread of the knowledge of modern sciences in the country is the absence of appropriate terminology of technical terms in the regional vernaculars. The importance of and the urgency for introducing vernacular as the medium of instruction in nonlanguage subjects in the schools and colleges of India has been repeatedly stressed. The Great English-Indian Dictionary is an instrument of education which will be of immense assistance in the spread of scientific knowledge in the country. Students and teachers of present and future generations will have cause to feel profoundly grateful to the editor of this prodigious compilation."

The easiest path is not always the most desirable path. In keeping English as the medium of instruction, we will not only waste the cream of our youth, but we will be subservient to another nation's thought. The age of 8 to 15 years

has been claimed by some to be the age when the child can assimilate a maximum number of new thoughts, new ideas, new maxims. If we waste a significant portion of this energy in teaching the youngsters the erratic ways of English language; we waste national energy. How can we avoid this catastrophe which is gripping our modern youth with greater and greater intensity? We can avoid this by imparting to our youth, technical and semi-technical knowledge in ten regional vernaculars. It is of course a nation-building task.

India has contributed a good deal to the world's sum total of knowledge. Her contribution has not been duly recognised. It is not even fully known. Much of it has yet to be discovered. Still with whatever study and research has been done, we can be proud of the Indian element in the European terminology. It is not my object here to bring forth Indian element in European terminology, yet it has been discovered that various English words conceal within themselves Sanskrit words that were borrowed centuries or a millenium ago. The number of such borrowed words is not small. Why not then accept the words in their original shape, we are familiar with, rather than take distorted ones.

Approximately ninety-nine per cent or more of the population of the country speaks in one of the regional vernaculars. We think in Indian languages. By forcing a foreign language we cannot make others think in that language. The English language of secretaries, offices, universities, colleges and schools is divorced from Indian languages of the home. The technical language embodied in the Great English-Indian dictionary is not separated by any distance from the general literary language. Hence boys and girls of India will grasp quicker and retain more than in any country, of the West; because nowhere else do the two languages, those of literature and science, come so near to each other.

—MADAN LAL DEWAN,
Ithaca, N.Y.

"RESEARCH" AT BIKINI — OR IN JAPAN ?

Ostensibly to probe the effects of atomic bombing on animal tissue and nervous organisms, goats, pigs, rats and a great variety of other animals will be used in the test at Bikini Atoll. Meanwhile, virtually nothing is heard of the detailed results, available in Japanese hospitals and medical centres, of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bomb effects on human beings.

Dr. Tsuzuki, for example, widely known professor of medicine at the Tokyo Imperial University, has recently reported on his study of bomb victims during ten months

following the release of atom bombs over the two Japanese cities.

Tsuzuki divides into two types the burns produced by the bombs. One type results in a repulsive-looking swelling of the flesh, in which patients feel as though worms were writhing under the skin and about to emerge. In cases of the other type, there are extensive muscle distortions of arms, fingers, mouths and eyes, accompanied with excruciating pain. It is believed that this pain may decline next autumn, fifteen months after the injuries were received.

—Worldover Press.

CAN ECONOMIC UNION SAVE WESTERN EUROPE?

(By H. FEHLINGER)

Many questions implicit in the discussions of the Foreign Ministers' Conference at Paris are dealt with in the following article, which is released by Worldover Press. The author was for 15 years a member of the Intelligence Section of the International Labour Office (League of Nations) at Geneva. For 40 years his articles and books on problems of economics, labour and population have appeared in Europe, America, Africa and Australia.

A recent meeting of Belgian, Dutch and Luxembourg Ministers at The Hague agreed on a customs union that can be a deeply significant event for all of Western Europe. By the end of 1946, all customs tariffs of the three countries will be unified. At the end of 1947 their customs frontiers will disappear.

With a combined population of 16 million, these nations will greatly enhance their bargaining power in world trade negotiations. They believe their own free association will help to increase co-operation in the United Nations. The agreement further suggests the only approach that can now be made to the ideal of a freely federated Europe. Western Europe must be more closely integrated, and for the sake of stability and prosperity the task must be begun without delay.

A start can be made by forming an economic union of countries in the Atlantic region, with the aim of eliminating trade barriers and increasing economic collaboration. This does not imply any closed bloc. At its minimum the union should include France, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg. Switzerland may find that her interests lie in this direction, and the Iberian Peninsula might join as soon as Spain and Portugal have democratic governments, though not before. A democratic Italy would also be a welcome member.

This federated area would comprise at its minimum a population

of over 57 million; with the Mediterranean countries, about 135 million. It would be a prosperous market and a stable trading partner for the U.S.A. The desire for co-operation is most noticeable among the smaller western nations. In France public opinion favours the idea of economic integration of the western nations, but the government is at present preoccupied with the question of the Rhine boundary and the future status of the Ruhr, which, in its opinion, must never be in Germany's possession again.

In numerous fields, from transport to supplies of raw materials, the needs of Western Europe can be met in an adequate way only if they are considered jointly. The nations are all highly dependent on international trade, and eager to expand it. They are all committed to the avoidance of the mass unemployment from which all suffered before the war. They all accept that degree of economic planning which full employment involves. Yet they recognise the major danger of such planning—the growth of economic rigidity which would prevent reorganisation of industries and shifts in production factors when these are desirable.

An economic union of Western Europe would mean restrictions of sovereignty in certain fields. Powers of decision would have to be granted to the group as a whole, concerning movements of commodities, of capital, and of populations.

Common policies would have to be adopted for meeting trade depressions and other problems. But none of the obstacles to such an economic union are insuperable. Indeed, the only alternative would be economic isolation, ending in failure and the most poverty-inducing autarchy.

The Russians oppose a political integration of Western Europe for their own reasons. Most of all, perhaps, they fear that a "western bloc" might include Germany or at least that part of Germany occupied by the western powers. But the Russians could not justly oppose an economic union. Nor is a closer economic integration of a group of states a case of regionalism versus universalism in the post-war world. Regional arrangements for matters of peace and security are provided for in the United Nations charter, and may be made either on the initiative of the states concerned or by reference from the Security Council.

True, in the chapter dealing with economic and social co-operation, no reference is made to regional activities. But the approach here is functional, and functional agencies of a regional type have been recognised, such as the Central European Transport Organisation. The three countries in the new customs union believe they have taken a step which may lead to greater, not less, co-operation among the United Nations member states.

MICROBE WARFARE

BY DEVERE ALLEN

Human contradiction reached its zenith recently when, almost on the same day, the United Nations Economic and Social Council launched by its health programme a "worldwide war on germs," and indiscreet Congressmen let it be known that Navy technicians had developed for future warfare a "germ spray more deadly than the atomic bomb"

The Ghouls March On. Not to the beat of martial music on open-drill grounds, but hunched over witches' cauldrons in secret laboratories. At the end of a disappointing day, when their search for lethal miracles is fruitless, they plod homeward to their families, filled with a sense of failure. Joyous evenings are reserved for those redletter days when they have been successful, when they have found at last the means of spewing pain and death and wrecking grief across the continents.

We have come far in the fight against frustration. When Dr. J. Maly, a Czech scientist residing in Paris, offered a project for biological warfare to the War Department at Washington in 1925, he was turned down. The reason given, however, was merely that "from the practical viewpoint pathogenic organisms could not be used effectively for military purposes." We are more civilised today. We have the know-how.

It took a while to overleap the technical barriers. The idea is far from new. Toward the end of World War I German technicians working in Bucharest tried to infect the horses of Russian cavalrymen with glanders. But then, as pointed out in 1924 by a League of Nations report (of which only a part was published), the difficulties were many. Nutritive media for germs distributed by air transport were hard to find. If infected rats were let loose among enemy peoples, the disease might spread backward to the initiating country. Germs tough enough to withstand the heat from exploding microbe-laden shells were only of the common diseases, against which populations could be immunized.

No longer amateurs, we have found, perhaps by modifying some well-known disease, a deadly sickness against which our own troops might be immunized, while it would go through enemy peoples like a thousand atom bombs over a thousand Hiroshimas. As always when secrets are known to exist, speculation rises. Hence British papers say the new weapon is the virus of infantile paralysis. Such reports are probably mere rumours. It is inconceivable that our disease-developers would be so happy about the whole thing if they had not done a great deal better than that.

The real issue is not what particular form of race suicide the laboratory geniuses have concocted. The real issue is what sort of social disease the race already has, what crawling, squirming, repulsive ideas we have generated in our political test-tubes, that turn out human beings remotely capable of plotting such wholesale assassination. What paralysing numbness has infected the thought of entire peoples, so that they make no revolutionary protest against the originators of such anti-social devices, in whatever country they reside. What generation of mental tissue allows technicians a hundred times worse than any well-poisoners, to mingle with our children at the movies, attend university faculty meetings, eat the scarce meat and bread so desperately needed to save life, receive citations of honour for their homicidal labours.

The old, old answer is, of course, that the discoverers of death are only working for our safety. Or that the very fear of racial immolation will act as a deterrent. The fallacy is that other peoples also have their false security, their germs, their new and deadly weapons. In the grim effort to be first, someone will always lag. The day will come when luck, or even skill, may fail us. Not even the God of War will always place his bloodstained hand upon

our shoulders in selective benediction. Right now, it must be frankly stated, there is a strong belief among the military planning boards that Russia has developed bacterial warfare to a potentially high degree. Else why, they ask themselves, has Moscow been so calm about the vast destructive powers of the atom bomb? That reasoning, applied today to Russia, applied tomorrow somewhere else, boils down to this: the ghouls that march in the parade of

progress are, after all, just privates in the ranks. They are there to save us when the politicians blunder into war. They are there for our protection.

The Pied Piper of Hamelin is the very prototype of those who, in our modern scientific age, would save us by the power of destruction. Having contracted to rid the community of rats, he lured them all away. But then the people refused to pay his

fee. Whereupon the pipes began their irresistible, enchanting tune, and the children marched away for ever, to an unknown doom. It will happen to our children, or our children's children, unless we pay the price through which that fate can be avoided. The price is risk. The price is courage. The price is policy. Policy that abandons single-nation security, invariably spelling insecurity for all.—Worldover Press."

SOCIAL EDUCATION

(By L. A. FOSTER, S.J.)

By the term, social education, we do not mean the study of Sociology in some university or college, but preparing the minds of the ordinary Indian for ordinary social projects which would benefit him, his fellow men and the State. 'You cannot change the people',—'People will not deviate from their old customs',—'The people are not ready for such social projects',—'The obstacles in the way of social progress are insurmountable',—all these remarks have been made by various people who should be interested in promoting the social advancement of the people of India.

The all important formula for socially educating people is some little effort, seasoned with a great deal of time and an abundance of patience. There is always an abundance of time, of course, since we have all the time there is, as a modern philosopher put it, to inaugurate any social reform. People, it is true are not ready for the new thing that is suddenly proposed to them or thrown at them. They have their own customs and intellectual groove and it takes time—that all important element to fit things into their intellectual setting. Where that setting is very narrow, where the groove is very deep as is the case usually with illiterate people, it will take much time and not a little patience to impress them.

Possibly you have more than once proposed a scheme, which you thought would transform the world, at least the little corner of the world you live in, to some government official and instead of proclaiming you a genius of the first rank he rather openly and astonishingly frowned on your project. That was probably the right thing for him to do, for he has had so many hair-brain schemes proposed to him, that were to revolutionise the world of India, or some part of it, that he begins to frown when some new idea is proposed. The psychological mistake you made was, that after you had taken months to think and plan out the idea, growing more and more enthusiastic all the time, you expected the official to jump up to your high spirits the very first time the idea was proposed to him. It will take time to educate the official to the new world beating idea, for he has only the ordinary mental equipment that you have.

Now if this is the case with people who are supposed to have brains, we can apply it to the mind of the illiterate ryot or peasant, and try to think out how long it will take to educate him or her to the plan that will change their way of life and put them on the way to high finance. The idea must be proposed gradually, insisted upon

gently, examples of how it works must be given, a witness or witnesses must be brought forward and then slowly after some months possibly the people will begin to say, 'I see'.

So the objections, 'My people are not prepared for this idea',—'The custom is against it',—are perfectly true and you have to prepare their minds, their background; you have to change their immemorial custom which has held them in distressing misery and poverty. This will take time, just as all education takes time, an abundance of it. To get children to the ordinary Matriculation standard, which is little more than reading, writing and speaking fluently, if it is so much, takes ten to eleven years. It takes patience, as all know who have ever tried to teach. Social workers have a tendency to forget or disregard the rules for education and psychology when they get into the field and are dealing with adults. They should remember that the adult in general, learns even more slowly than the child, and allow proportional time and effort and patience.

Custom, that long continued or immemorial way of acting must be respected. Mostly the customs that people have long respected and lived out in their lives have been beneficial, keeping them in certain behaviour forms and almost instinctive grooves of action. And here in India, where custom is so old, 'The Iron Caste System,' we will not expect to break it down in any point over night. The people are right in holding on to their traditional way of acting, for they know that it produces certain beneficial results. To change their customs, which is necessary in some things, if we are going to benefit them, will take plenty of time, possibly some argument and a heap of patience. A land owner was telling me recently that this season he wanted a group of men in his village to experiment with a ten acre piece of land, working it as unit, and each taking their share at the harvest time. They objected—it was not according to their custom to work such a large piece of land together and they did not do it. However, the owner was not discouraged but realized that more time is necessary to prepare them for that socializing project.

We must begin now to prepare the soil, the minds of the people, for social uplift schemes, which are going to become more and more popular in Our India. We must think out the plan first for our own people; see down into details of how it will work, where the difficulties are or may be, and then gradually implement it. We are not endeavouring to change the nature of the people,

for that cannot be changed.—Munoo Masani in "Socialism Reconsidered," to the contrary,—but some of their customs because we have something better to offer. So we should think about provident funds for our servants; we should see if co-operatives cannot gradually be introduced; unions of one kind or another, whether a bank, a rice bank, a labour union; there is a whole new field open to us.

The right kind of social projects will change the social order of Indians in the right way, by elevating their standard of life, giving them more human and fuller lives. However, they must be educated to the ideas. All knowledge, as we know, is liable to make a bloody entrance, but let there be an entrance, in time, with patience. Making one group of people different by elevating them in the social order; we will probably have the best argument to contact and change others who see what we have done. Let us have faith in and work at, the social reconstruction of India!

CAMPAIGN FOR PEACE

(By RICHARD KENDRICK.)

Worldover Press Correspondent.

Seven Northwestern University students, five of them war veterans, have started a movement to promote the idea of federal world government in schools and colleges throughout the world. Calling themselves "Students for Federal World Government," the first group of men, appointed last March to a committee from the Northwestern veterans' organization, "Anchor and Eagle," has already grown to be an active volunteer force of over 350.

Most of the work of the Students for Federal World Government, however, is directed towards a less spectacular but steady growth. Their headquarters at 626, Library Place, is impressively businesslike, with co-ed secretaries typing letters to students of other colleges throughout the country.

Most of the veteran-leaders of this group have given up everything, cashed in their war bonds and insurance policies, and withdrawn all their personal savings to meet costs. They have worked with the enthusiasm of determined youth and skill of experienced men and women. Whitehouse himself saw combat in Europe and, severely wounded, spent over nine months in foreign hospitals. The horrors of war deeply engraved on his mind, he could not return to a placid student life. Now he and four colleagues have left their classes to devote their full energies to the building of peace.

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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 Bhopal Circular:—Early in the week, the "Bombay Chronicle" published prominently what purported to be a secret circular sent by the Nawab of Bhopal as Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes to his fellow rulers of Indian States. Even if it were of a totally different nature from what it actually is, it would have been a gross abuse of his position on the part of the Chancellor to seek to impose his views on his fellows. The Nawab's approaches to British Indian political parties, have caused some suspicious comment. The Nawab, it has been said, hunts with the hound and runs with the hare. But in this circular he has overreached himself as all persons who adopt this policy invariably do sooner or later. Our first feeling on seeing the letter was that the "Bombay Chronicle" has been the victim of a hoax at the expense of the Nawab. But there has been a repudiation of the document on Thursday. If it was a fake, the repudiation should have come the moment it was brought to the Nawab's notice. We were obliged, therefore, to accept the document as authentic. The most charitable view was to assume that His Highness let the document go with his imprimatur without being fully apprised of

its contents. Briefly, the circular invited the Princes to take with reference to the Cabinet Mission's proposals the line adopted by the Muslim League in opposition to that of the Congress. The chief reason for this alignment appears to be that the President of the Congress, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, has declared himself a root and branch opponent of Indian States. The Pandit's statements about the States have not always been discreet. But it has been made absolutely clear that his personal opinions about the States are not those of the Congress as a body. Whatever may be the views of individual members the Congress, by its very nature as a national institution, cannot be an iconoclastic body. The policy of a body which reflects the genius of the Indian people, is bound to be a policy of evolution. Apart from that, the great Indian States—Bhopal is comparatively of minor importance—are nationalist to the core. The Ministers are of the same texture. Sir Mirza Ismail in Hyderabad, a fervent believer in the fundamental unity of India; Sir Ramaswami Aiyar in Travancore who has repeatedly declared that the States must keep All-India interests in view in all their measures; Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar in Mysore,

whom the United Nations know as an able and uncompromising champion of his country's interests; at Jaipur Sir Krishna-anachary, the veteran administrator who for seventeen long years, worked with the late great Maharaja Sayaji Rao to make Baroda one of India's Premier States and has recently represented India at International Conferences; Sir Binode Mitter, Sir Manubhai Mehta and others together constitute a formidable group to which there is no counterpart in the much larger delegation from British India. British Indians will, no doubt, avail themselves fully of the vast administrative experience of these eminent men. To frame a constitution without administrative knowledge is like building a house without knowledge of the materials, stone, cement, wood, steel and so on, required to sustain the roof and walls besides providing a stable foundation. The Nawab of Bhopal, it was thought, was under an illusion if he really thought that the experienced administrators would support the castle-in-the-air propagandised under the name of Pakistan.

Direct Action:—Step by step the Muslim League has followed the National Congress in its organisation and methods. The adoption of "direct action" is the latest instance. But there is a difference. The Congress method has been variously described at various stages. It was first called non-co-operation and was known by that name for several years. Then it was known as civil disobedience and, lastly, it crystallised under the name of Satyagraha. In all its phases, however, it was closely linked to non-violence. Ahimsa is an

idea ingrained in Hindu religion, philosophy and culture for at least two thousand years. When Hindus resorted to violence as they often did, they did so knowing and feeling that they were departing from their ideal. Truth, the second ingredient in Congress method, greatly reinforced the ideal aspect of the political method. On the whole, this dual principle has had a beneficent influence on Congress propaganda and action. "Direct Action" has no ideal associations. It simply means action over the head of constituted authority. It means simply that the masses took the law into their hands. In other words, any one who had the ear of the mob for the time being, was master of the political situation. There was no idealism about it—Physical violence is more or less in the nature of what in physiology is known as "reflex action." Men in the mass lose the inhibitions which keep their behaviour as individuals within the bounds of law and morals. They behave just like animals. A "slogan" serves the purpose of the bell which in Pavlov's experiments stimulated the flow of saliva in expectation of food in the dog's mouth. Non-payment of taxes, in Gokhale's view, was constitutional. Some Muslim League leaders have spoken of it as falling within "direct action." But it does not. "Grievance before supply" is the sheet-anchor of constitutional action and where there is no machinery in the constitution to present grievances and withhold supply until they are redressed, there is only one course open to the people, to withhold taxes. "Direct Action," therefore, is merely a euphemism for revolutionary violence. At any rate, the common man can find no other meaning for it. The resolution of the Council of the Muslim League, if it excluded violence from its conception of Direct Action, should have taken the greatest care to delimit it in their resolution and speeches. Not only was this not done but in some of their speeches bloodshed and civil war were too freely and frequently prominent. The difference between Satyagraha and Direct Action is fundamental. It is only blind prejudice that can make out that the one is just a variant of the other.

The Interim Government;—
The Interim Government so ardently desired by the Cabinet Mission and the Congress

is long a-coming. The preposterous suggestion has been made that Nationalist Muslims, which is but another-way of saying non-League Muslims, have been asked to accept a stop-gap status. It is not understandable why this absurd condition should be imposed on them. The feeling that Nationalist Muslims can be used and set aside as conditions arise, is an assumption that is offensive to both Nationalist Muslims and to the Congress. The Nationalist Muslim has done well in refusing to be made a pawn of. The Congress is doing itself incalculable harm in the attitude it has adopted on the Muslim question. A mixture of conciliation and opposition tends to encourage the worst elements in the Muslim League. On the other hand, it completely wrecks all chances of getting Congress-minded Muslims together on a common platform with other nationalists and thus intensifies the communal division.

Negro Problem in America;—
On Wednesday news came to India of a horrible case of Negro persecution in the United States of America. In the incident, it is borne in that war veterans among the Negroes have to learn the difficult lesson that now the war is over they must revert to their old status. The Tennessee incident is equally revolting. It has roused American citizens to form themselves into a Committee which publicises such evils and attempts to eradicate racial prejudice in its worst form. The facts contained in the article which we publish this week, are furnished by that Committee. It is difficult to understand the psychology which indulges in such tortures of harmless, law-abiding citizens simply because of colour difference. The South African Indian case is to be considered by UNO. But it is doubtful whether any justice can be hoped for from a tribunal in which one of the leading nations suffers from acute racialism. It is essential that a charter securing equal rights to all human beings be adopted by the world organisation, and that efforts should be made to have it adhered to by all civilised countries. It is for the non-European nations to initiate discussions to this end and to persist in putting through such a charter. The race problem is universal. It has to be dealt with on a world scale.

Pandit Nehru's Indiscretion;—
"Scrutator" writes: "That Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was actuated by high and pure motives in seeking the co-operation of Mr. Jinnah in framing proposals for the Interim Government, it would be absurd to doubt. It is equally plain that the Pandit did not appreciate adequately the significance of the Viceroy's invitation which was not to the Pandit personally but to the Pandit as President of the Indian National Congress, the oldest, largest and most influential political organisation, with eight out of eleven provinces governed by its nominees. The Pandit would seem to have been moved by his sense of being Mr. Jinnah's junior in age and in the legal profession, to overlook what pertained to him in virtue of his position both as Congress President and as the national leader entrusted by the Viceroy with the task of forming a Government. In plain words the Pandit exhibited an inferiority complex in relation to Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Jinnah is not the man to forego a political advantage in consideration of the inexperience and impulsive good nature of an opponent. The Pandit must have been astonished at being told that he wanted Mr. Jinnah and the League to surrender to the Congress. Mr. Jinnah himself has consistently demanded that the Congress, which he identifies with Hindus, should surrender to the League. Even now his demand is in no wise different. The Pandit's comment on Mr. Jinnah's provocative statement shows a meekness which he does not often exhibit in relation to most other people. The Pandit has had his lesson. It is improbable that he will repeat his mistake. If he feels that he cannot stand up to Mr. Jinnah and cannot carry on the Government without the condescending support of the League leader, he would do well to stand aside and let the more seasoned leaders of the Congress to shoulder the burden. The Viceroy's turning to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad who is no longer President of the Congress, in the middle of his efforts to form an Interim Government, is not without significance. The Maulana would never have committed the mistake of invoking the aid of Mr. Jinnah in a task which had been laid upon him."

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, AUGUST 24, 1946

CALCUTTA RIOTS

Friday, August 16, was fixed by Muslim League leaders for an All-India demonstration by their adherents of their resentment at what in the resolutions passed by the Council of the League at its session on July 30 in Bombay was denounced as trickery on the part of the Congress and breach of faith on the part of the British Government, which misled the League Council to accept the Cabinet Ministers' proposals. The day was observed in many places and in all of them except Calcutta no untoward incidents marred its observance. In Calcutta the demonstration became the occasion of an orgy of rioting, looting, arson and murder. Estimates of loss of life vary from a minimum of 500 to a maximum of 3,000. The number of injured runs to several tens of thousands. Property lost and destroyed amounts to crores. The life of the great city was completely paralysed, traffic was completely suspended. Thousands of railway passengers who arrived at Howrah and Sealdah could not get home for lack of transport. Postal, telegraph and telephone services ceased functioning. A reign of terror prevailed for three days and nights. Not until Tuesday, was there any sign of returning sanity among a population mad to the point of fury. Police and military forces were strained to breaking point in getting the situation under some control. Mr. Jinnah and other leaders of the League had repeatedly warned their followers that Friday's demonstration was intended merely to express approval of the withdrawal by the League of its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's proposals and that direct action would only be resorted to if and when it was considered necessary and feasible after other means have been tried and failed. That the resolutions passed by the League Council and the speeches made thereon, exceeded the intentions of the leaders, was clear from the fact that almost the very next day, Mr. Jinnah and others protested that the decision taken by the Council was not irrevocable. But the next move must be made by Government or the Congress. Government did not move but the President of

the Congress, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, on receiving the Viceroy's invitation to make proposals for an Interim Government, surprised many observers by hastening to invite Mr. Jinnah to co-operate with him in formulating proposals for a Provisional Government. Mr. Jinnah has more than once chided Congress for approaching Government and not the League for a settlement of Hindu-Muslim differences. The Pandit might have had this also in mind in seeking Mr. Jinnah's co-operation. Mr. Jinnah has promptly and unreservedly condemned the orgy of violence in Calcutta on the day set apart for demonstrations in support of the withdrawal of the League's acceptance of the Cabinet Ministers' proposals. He has assumed that the violence originated with League partisans. The perpetrators of the crimes in Calcutta, he said, were playing into the hands of the enemies of the League. There is a great deal of force in this estimate of the consequences of the Calcutta outbreak to the political issue. It is difficult to believe, for instance, that the grouping proposals so far as Bengal is concerned can be put into force in face of the terrorism which manifested itself in Calcutta in the past few days. The Hindu minority in Bengal has every reason to demand that it should not be forced to live under the domination of a majority which with full executive power in its hands was unable to control the gruesome excesses of the mob. Assam will find her protest against being yoked to Bengal immensely strengthened by the happenings in Calcutta. Even apart from the grouping, minorities in Bengal are entitled to demand special safeguards against violent attacks on person and property. The whole basis of the Constitution-making body requires radical revision in the light of the happenings in Calcutta. The Muslim League, in its own interests, should take the lead in pressing for it.

The Bengal Ministry has been curiously unconcerned with the various press reports which have appeared, mostly in the "Statesman." It has neither denied nor confirmed them. As a

result, the worst interpretation has been placed on the conduct of the Ministry and official estimates of the riot situation are dismissed as attempts at white-washing. Mr. Hassan Suhrawardy himself has not improved matters by the halting radio broadcast he made on Wednesday night, a broadcast which doubtless had the approval of the Governor and perhaps the Viceroy as well. The Bengal Premier rather unnecessarily remarked that no individual, particularly outside the Government, was in possession of all the facts. In a city-wide disturbance, this is a platitude which hardly needed saying. It is usually the reason for official press notes which supply the necessary information. Having found circumstances too much for him—his administration disgraced, his leader indignant and his people suffering whether less or more than others is immaterial—he is reverting to his old attitude of disapproval of League extremism. Obviously the only course for Mr. Suhrawardy now is to retire from politics and allow abler men to pull the province out of the mess into which his lack of harmony with his party or with the people of his province has plunged Bengal.

KASHIBAI NOWRANGAY

The death of Dr. Kashibai Nowrangay which occurred on Tuesday creates a void in the circle of religious and social reformers. Her father Wasudev Babaji Nowrangay was one of the Founders of the Bombay Prarthana Samaj. He was also a pioneer in practical social reform. Kashibai was one of the first Hindu girls to receive a collegiate education. She also qualified as a doctor and had a very extensive practice among women. She was a founder and zealous worker in several women's institutions such as the Mahila Samaj and a Hostel for girl students. Her social work was done unobtrusively but her influence extended far and wide. Her chief interest, however, was in the Samaj. She was a devout Theist and lived in the light of her faith. She often conducted Divine Service in the Samaj and her sermons were marked by the gracious simplicity which characterised her life.

TERROR IN TENNESSEE

(By OLIVER W. HARRINGTON)

On Monday, February 25, 1946, about 10 a.m. Mrs. Gladys Stephenson went to the Castner-Knot Electric Appliance store in Columbia, Tennessee, to see about a radio which was being repaired. With her went her 19-year old son James, a naval veteran, in spite of his youth, of three years in the Atlantic and the Pacific.

At the store Mrs. Stephenson was disappointed to find that the repair work done was faulty and she told the repairman so. The man, William Fleming, whose brother was a Highway Patrolman, became abusive when Mrs. Stephenson told him that the repair job was certainly not worth the money she was being charged, and when she objected to the abuse he slapped and kicked her. James, seeing his mother assaulted rushed to her defence, hitting Fleming, who fell through the store's plate glass window. Fleming wasn't injured but people in the street immediately surrounded the mother and her son. They were slapped and punched while police officer Frazier rushed into the milling crowd and clubbed the boy. The mother remonstrated with the policeman, telling him that he should first investigate the facts, whereupon she was smashed in the face. Mother and son were then hustled off to the jail. There were witnesses to the incident who would testify to these facts. It is significant, however, that the Negro witnesses asked that they not be named for fear of their lives.

News of the disturbance spread quickly through the town and rumours of impending mob violence assumed ominous proportions as reports of the development of mass public opinion against the Negro community were discussed openly in the street. Sheriff J. J. Underwood called in Saul Blair, Negro businessman, and other Negro citizens for their co-operation in spiriting the Stephensons out of town.

In the courthouse square, which is less than one block from the Negro section of Columbia, groups of white men had been congregating all day. It was from the windows of this same courthouse that a howling, liquor-reeking mob hanged 14-year old Cordie Cheek several years ago. Negroes in the town remembered too well how that boy, declared innocent of a rape charge by the grand jury, had dangled at the end of a rope from the courthouse window and how town officials, several of whom had been identified as members of the lynch-mob, left the rope hanging in the square as a warning.

Quietly the Negro citizens left other sections of the town and retired to the doubtful security of their own segregated community. By six o'clock that evening the mob in the square numbered approximately 75. Sheriff Underwood claims that he approached the men and asked them to disband and go to their homes. He then went into the Negro section where he talked with Mr. James Morton, the Negro undertaker. He assured him that the people had nothing to fear from the mob which they could plainly see only a block away. Yet in spite of the Sheriff's assurances, the Dixie-wise Negroes, grimly watchful in their surrounded community, knew that the mob was hell-bent on another lynch spree. They knew that members of the mob had purchased rope and the purchasers hadn't tried to hide the grisly job they had in mind for that night.

About seven o'clock in the evening the sheriff was aroused by the hooting mob outside the jail. Men were pounding and kicking on the door while muffled voices demanded that the prison doors be opened. The sheriff claims that he opened the door and faced the mob with levelled tommy-gun. The leaders demanded that the Stephensons be turned over to them, refusing to leave until they'd been assured that the boy and his mother were not in the building. Two of the mobbers were in such a drunken state that they were unable to leave with their companions. They were lodged in the jail to sleep it off until morning when they were released. As far as the investigators were able to determine there were no charges against them.

The town's Negro population was certain that the section would be invaded that night. Doors were locked and window shades drawn. The children were swiftly herded into the back rooms or in the attics. There were no lights. The area huddled silent and blacked out except for one feeble street lamp. The families huddled together in their tiny houses and waited. Shots were fired into the Negro community by members of the mob. Bands of white men, fully armed, roamed the adjoining streets. Several cars tore through the darkened area pumping shots into the houses. Then a dark car, carrying a group of city policemen and showing no illumination, drove slowly into the tense, blacked-out section. The Negroes, certain that the mob was finally moving in against them, waited. And then someone shouted hysterically, "Here they come!" Scattered shots rang out. No one knows who fired the shots but they were aimed at the dark car moving through a dark street. Although there were no serious wounds four of the policemen were hit with buckshot. According to the sheriff, a cordon of state patrolmen and helmeted state guardsmen was thrown about the section so that no one could enter or leave.

Zero hour was at dawn on Tuesday morning. State patrolmen and guardsmen in full battle dress, armed with tommy-guns, automatic rifles and machine-guns, lay down a barrage, battle fashion. After a few minutes during which volley after volley crashed into the pitiful, wooden walls of the beleaguered houses, the small army began to advance into the smoke-filled area. Machine-gun bullets whipped into the windows and doors of the silent buildings. Walls disintegrated in the face of the hot machine-gun blasts. Inside their homes Negro citizens—men, women and children—lay flattened against their quivering floors.

In the business section, the police and guardsmen, working in platoons, smashed through the shop windows, chopped down the doors. The streets were soon littered with furniture hurled out of windows. In a poolroom the cloth was slashed on all of the tables. A doctor's office was smashed, the medical furniture chopped beyond repair. Surgical instruments, drugs, and valuable clinical apparatus were wantonly destroyed or stolen. In the offices of the Atlanta Life Insurance Company the uniformed vandals left a hopeless shambles after carefully destroying all files and records. Smashing into a funeral parlour the law enforcement officers and troopers stormed through the chappel. Draperies were cut up, chandeliers and

all other lighting fixtures were ripped from their sockets. The pulpit, with its well-thumbed Bible, was hacked, the light over the Bible smashed with a well-placed gun stock. The hate-ridden orgy was topped off with a huge KKK scrawled in white chalk across one of the chopped caskets. Cash registers in all of these establishments received special treatment as the officers stuffed their pockets with the hard-earned cash of Negro businessmen. With this part of the "riot" operation successfully terminated the armoured patrols swung into the residential streets.

Employing the same storming tactics the troops and police reserves first subjected the house fronts to blasts from their machine and tommy-guns. Then the house were rushed. The frightened people were clubbed and jabbed. Screaming children running wildly for their mothers were sent sprawling. The people, stunned and covered with blood, were pushed and thrown into the streets. Hot guns were jabbed into their stomachs and they raised their hands. Men, women, children, all were ordered to keep their hands raised high. The arms of children too young to understand were jerked up by their terror-stricken mothers. Finally all of the Negroes had been marched into the streets. The unconscious and the maimed were dragged out. The State patrolmen and guards had the rioting Negroes under control. While the streets teemed with uniformed men and civilians, all carrying rifles and pistols, the bloody Negroes were marched off to the jail. Mop-up squads emptied the homes of hunting rifles and ancient relics. The "arsenal" had been captured. Press and radio erupted: Rioting Negroes under control!

It was at this time that word flashed from the national office of the NAACP sent Maurice Weaver, a Chattanooga attorney, rushing to the seething town. He immediately called on Julius Blair, 76-year-old Negro businessman, and with him went to see town officials to determine the exact situation. The sheriff told them there was to be a meeting of "interested officials." These interested officials, three of them—C. H. Denton, town magistrate; Highway Patrol Chief, Lynn Bomar, and District Attorney-General, Paul F. Bumpus—had set themselves up as a "board" to handle the "riot." All three are fearfully known to Tennessee Negroes. According to published accounts in the Cordie Cheek lynching, witnesses carefully jotted down the licence plate numbers of two cars carrying the group of armed hoodlums who captured the youth before he was lynched. One of the numbers tallied exactly with the plates on Denton's car. The other number was traced to Columbia's postmaster. The postmaster was later removed. Denton who was magistrate then, is magistrate now.

During discussion with the sheriff, Mr. Weaver was told that about 70 men were being held although there was no available list of their names. Neither had any exact offence been charged against them. (According to published accounts the number varied from between 75 and 103.) Weaver was finally assured that bonds for the imprisoned men could be made by Mr. Julius Blair. Bumpus assured them that bonds would be fixed at the normal rate for like offence. Relying on word of these officials, Mr. Weaver returned to Chattanooga. Within two hours Mr.

Blair was placed under arrest charged with being an accomplice before the fact! When taken into custody the old man was berated by the arresting officers for daring to associate with white lawyers from Chattanooga. On Wednesday night Mr. Weaver called the sheriff from Chattanooga to ask whether or not bonds had been made. The sheriff advised him over the telephone that various people had been released. He did not tell him that the reign of terror continued for Columbia's Negro population or that new arrests had been made. Nor did he tell that Mr. Blair had been thrown into prison.

Thursday morning Mr. Weaver returned to Maury County and presented himself at the prison where he was told by a deputy that it would be impossible for him to see the sheriff. He also discovered that it would be impossible to see and talk with any of the men. Then the sheriff's office insisted that he show proof that he'd been retained by the men to represent them. This in spite of the fact that they were being held incommunicado. He was then surprised to discover that the prisoners, more than half of whom had but recently returned from the war in Europe and in the Pacific, were slated to appear before a Board of Investigation. This board now consisted of General Paul Bumpus, the county prosecutor, a representative from the State Attorney's office, and Lynn Bomar, chief of the armed band which had pulverized the Negro community.

The room in which the bruised and battered men were to be arraigned before the "board" was filled with the clamour of hard-heeled trooper boots and the metallic noises of Tommy-guns and rifles. Helmeted troopers stood in knots along the walls and in the corridors. The NAACP representative informed Attorney-General Bumpus that in his opinion statements made by any of the men in that room, bristling with men armed to the teeth, would be made under coercion and intimidation. He requested the right to advise them, as a lawyer, of their rights to refuse to make a statement. Mr. Bumpus joined with the sheriff's office in refusing this request. At least 75 citizens were brought before

the board and questioned concerning their involvement in what the "board" was obviously attempting to label an insurrection. Included in the group were all of the town's businessmen, including the aged Mr. Blair.

A few minutes later several volleys were heard in the anteroom where several men were being prepared for the investigation. The thoroughly riddled bodies of two Negroes were later dragged out of the room. Reporters released the "official version," one of the men had seized a confiscated "Japanese rifle," which for some strange reason had been left in the anteroom, filled it with "cartridges which he must have stolen from the sheriff's office." After going through this operation the man is alleged to have shot a deputy in the arm. All of this in a room bristling with armed guards! The press accepted this version along with photographs showing the walls of the anteroom literally covered with slug holes.

Following these murders Mr. Weaver's attempts to see Mr. Julius Blair were unavailing. The sheriff also refused to see the Association's attorney privately. Weaver saw the sheriff as Chief Lynn Bomar stood by. Permission was finally granted to talk with Mr. Blair in the Maury County jail at 9 p.m. that evening. Arriving at the appointed time Weaver passed through a cordon of guards to the sheriff's office where he was casually informed that Mr. Blair and the other men had been transferred to the Davidson County prison!

The NAACP attorneys have been faced with such tactics since they first announced their intentions to defend these victims of rabid race-hate. The Attorney-General declared that the writ of 'habeas corpus' filed by Attorney Looby was pending for thirty or more defendants and would not be heard until March 6, 1946. Meanwhile the NAACP asked U. S. Attorney-General Tom Clark to investigate the situation. The Attorney-General's office wired U. S. Attorney Frierson whose home is in Columbia for information. Frierson, a southerner, notified the Attorney-General's office that there was no evidence of any violation of civil

rights in the affair. The Association continued to insist on a thorough investigation. Frierson finally received word from Attorney-General Clark expressing his deep concern over possible violations of civil rights and other laws. The Columbia official was instructed to ask for a grand jury "at the earliest possible time." In the meantime a total of 28 Negroes, 18 of whom are under bond and 12 of whom were not named, were charged with attempted murder in the first degree, and three others were charged with "attempt to commit a felony." It appears that 4 white men are also to be indicted although their names were not disclosed because they have not yet been arrested.

The events described in this article must seem almost unbelievable today. For this is an America only fresh from a terrible and long war in which Negro and white Americans fought side by side, with white men, brown men, yellow, and black men from all the world, for democracy and the rights of minorities.

In Columbia, Tennessee, and all over the south, men who doggedly continue to believe in the Master Race preachments are marshaling their forces in a desperate attempt to halt the flow of the true American ideal. They are deeply entrenched in the local police, they serve as sheriffs and magistrates, they are the law enforcement officers. And so, when the State Highway Patrolmen and State Guardsmen had finished their job of wrecking, machine-gunning, and terrorizing peaceful citizens who only defended their homes and families, they left their emblem for all to see. That emblem was a bold and proud KKK scrawled across the side of a hacked coffin in the Morton Funeral Home.

Today the klan rides again but it isn't the klan of cowardly hood, shooting and burning from night-flying horse. Today it rides in armoured cars. It wears cap and visor, and shining badge. It spews forth death from machine-gun and Tommy gun. Its face wears the expression of the Nazi storm trooper, terror of helpless Jews. It is the LAW. It arrests its stunned victims, unlisted. It indicts them for "attempted murder."

A PROTEST RENEWED

India is doing much these days to conserve food, but not as much as she could. In "The Daily Post," Bangalore, of June 22, 1946, there is a paragraph on the tightening of austerity measures. I quote: "These austerity measures, which have already been introduced by several administrations, includes restrictions on the total number of guests to twenty four, including host or hosts to be entertained where milk, good grains or eatables are served; prohibition of the use of cereals or their products in the preparation of luxury foods like pastries, cakes and sweetmeats intended for sale, prohibition of making ice-cream and 'khoya,' severe reduction of supply of sugar to aerated water and other mineral water manufacturers," etc.

With famine facing the country we cannot very well quarrel with sincere efforts for combating the menace, but why stop prohibition of the abovementioned food stuffs, which have real food value, and why talk of prohibition or severe reduction of supply of sugar to aerated water and other mineral water manufacturers, yet keep absolutely silent about the prohibition

or severe reduction of cereals and sugar to the distilleries and breweries? Is the drinking of alcoholic liquors any less of a luxury than the eating of pies, pastries and cakes? Can even the most astute and ardent lovers of alcoholic beverages argue that these drinks are so essential to life that no reduction can be made in the amount of cereals and sugar required to make whisky, beer etc?

The President of the United States has ordered a drastic cut in the quota of wheat to be issued to distilleries in the U.S.A. How can we from India plead with America to send us large quantities of grain to save millions from death by starvation, when no published statements assure us that grains, whether imported or grown in this country, will be used for intoxicating drinks?

We give our whole-hearted approval to the Congress Ministry of Madras in their desire to introduce Prohibition as soon as possible. Notwithstanding all that anti-prohibitionists say about the failure of Prohibition in the United States, if they would honestly look at the other side of the picture they would find that the

drinking is far worse now than it was then and the amount of spirituous liquors is increasing year by year.

We read in "The Madras Mail" of July 4 that the New Zealand dockers were holding up butter for the U.S.A. with the question, "Are we placing dollars before the empty stomachs of our fellow-dockers in Britain?" May we not with equal force ask, "Are we placing not only the revenue from liquor, but also the desire for liquor, before the millions of empty stomachs of India?"

What answer have those to give who so far have taken no action with regard to the prohibition or the restriction of cereals and sugar for-use in distilleries and breweries?

* * *
The above article has been written by the Rev. E. Gordon of Bangalore, who has been a very active member of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. I very strongly endorse every statement that he makes and thank him for his help.
SATYAVATI S. CHITAMBAR

(Mrs. J. R.)
.. President, India W.C.T.U..

REFLECTIONS UPON INTER-RACE MARRIAGE-

(By KARL M. CHWOROWSKY)

I know of no issue involved in the general problem of race relations the discussion of which so completely exposes the perversity and hypocrisy of the white man's mind as does the issue of intermarriage. One hardly expects logic, reasonableness, and decent human considerations to govern the white man's thinking on such subjects as economic disabilities, political disfranchisement, and social ostracism as practised against the Negro; but it is when you approach the question of marriage between Negro and white that the full impact of white stupidity, arrogance, and dishonesty smites you.

The argument is usually started by some white sahib with the mind of the traditional southern colonel, posing this question with cunning suddenness: But you do not believe in intermarriage, do you? And if the person thus addressed is caught off guard and begins numbing some half-hearted apology for even giving the impression that he might harbour so terrible a thought, the inevitable sequitur is: And how would you feel if your sister or daughter married a Negro? This question is supposed to apply the 'coup de grace' to anyone so utterly uncivilized, unfeeling, and low-brow as to imagine that any other answer could be given than a shocked "of course not!" Should, however, the unthinkable happen and someone suggest that after all inter-marriage is simply another and somewhat more complicated aspect of marriage and that a discussion of its legitimacy and propriety should not be confused with irrelevant issues of colour and race, the person so reckless as to make these observations will be put down at once as an individual of perverse sexual habits, or as a traitor to the Aryan race (where is it?), or as a Communist, if not all three.

I am never more ashamed of my race than when I hear the average white man and woman discuss inter-marriage; there are, of course, exceptions, but these are so rare that they but emphasize the rule which is that when whites dilate upon intermarriage between their race and the coloured races they utterly forsake reason and logic, forget science and history, disregard morality and religion, and enjoy a Roman Holiday of prejudice and animosity that beggars description. What Mr. White Man seems to forget in his discussion of intermarriage is how completely lacking in ordinary intelligence, how thoroughly devoid of historical perspective, how utterly ignorant of scientific knowledge and relevant facts, how hopelessly unimaginative and irreligious and shamefully hypocritical he is. Of course, his unpardonably stupid attitude towards intermarriage is only part and parcel of his usual inclination towards bias and prejudice in the whole matter of race relations. He has made up his mind that a white God has created the white race to lord it over all other races; and any intimation that he may be wrong in this approach to

a great human problem he resents as a personal insult.

If Mr. White Man used his God-given intelligence towards solving the vexing problem of race relations he would know that as long as civilization has existed on this planet people have practiced intermarriage; he would also know that science has little to say about intermarriage that it does not say about the general proposition of marriage. Surely he should know that the social sciences do not grant the validity of such concepts as "pure blood," "pure race", or "superior race." On the contrary scientists seem pretty well agreed that by and large intermarriage has proved a blessing to mankind rather than a curse and that the only thing that matters in intermarriage is what matters in any marriage, viz., that the individuals involved be well-mated and enjoy physical and mental health. Indeed, there are other problems as well, problems that are bound to be aggravated in the case of intermarriage. Such aggravation is not caused by any considerations of "pure" blood or "better" race or any other similar nonsense, but simply by the fact that human ignorance and prejudice have laid a taboo upon intermarriage that is about as reasonable and logical as any other antiquated superstition and baseless bias of which the white man's culture carries so ample a stock. The issue involved in intermarriage is not fundamentally one of race at all; it is one of social adaptation and personal orientation. When the element of race and colour is stressed, the issue becomes confused and its social implications unnecessarily complicated. As in the case of all important personal problems, let little minds approach the subject of intermarriage with their warped viewpoint and their picayune considerations and the whole matter is lifted out of the realm of clear thinking and reasonable solution into the cloudy regions of emotionalism and petty selfishness. From the historico-scientific point of view, intermarriage is but another phase of marriage, and to treat it as something per se and utterly different is to deny a solution before even attempting to find one.

What a pity that our churches have failed to rise to their opportunity of implementing their gospel of Brotherhood with moral action and social purpose. If they had the courage of their convictions they would speak forth both wisely and boldly upon the issue of intermarriage, and the world would be the better for it. But as long as even the churches either explicitly proclaim or tacitly support the ancient hoax of white supremacy and Aryan superiority, just so long will the whole problem of race relations continue to plague us, and intermarriage will remain what it is: a relationship few will dare to undertake and an area of social relations whose very discussion calls forth bigotry and fanatical demagoguery instead of calm speech and reasonable consideration.

The white man's attitude towards intermarriage is also as hopelessly and blatantly hypocritical as it is stupid and prejudiced. Reading the frequent diatribes that

issue from the pens of editors and the rostrums of politicians, hearing the usual pious mouthings of the run of the mill parson on this theme, one would think that intermarriage had become a terrible threat to the unique and distinctive mission and character of the white populace of this globe. I expect to see one of these days a publication revealing the idiotic pretensions of the infamous 'Protocols of the Elders of Zion' put forth to prove that there is a world conspiracy on foot, engineered and sponsored by the coloured people of the white home and through intermarriage to pollute the "pure" bloodstream of Aryan nations and to "mongrelize" the great and glorious world of the white sahib. This is the impression you get when you hear our Rankins and Bilbos and Eastlands speak about the Negro; this is what you can still read in many of our newspapers and even hear from certain pulpits. "The white race is endangered by intermarriage! White men and women, rally to the defence of the lily-white purity of your altars and your sires! Fight every attempt to pollute the blood stream of the race, and stand against any effort of 'Reds' and 'radicals' that preach racial equality and the brotherhood of man!"

The problem of intermarriage can be settled if approached on the level of scientific objectivity, social morality, true religion, and strict honesty. So far none of these have been allowed to play a major role in trying to solve the problem, and if today our minds are disturbed, if peoples' lives are warped, and if ideas and ideals remain blurred and confused it is only because we have allowed ancient fears, antiquated prejudices, and outworn modes to haunt and depress us. A little straight thinking and a little forthright courage will go a long way to help set things right.

I believe in full economic and political equality for the Negro; I believe in intermarriage as a natural consequence of any normal liberalizing of the relations between the races, and I think it is as inevitable in the fulfilment of any programme of democratic society and free fellowship as is marriage between the members of any given racial or social group. I know also that to proclaim the principle of justice involved in intermarriage is one thing and to assure its practical application in human society is another. But I also believe that the proper 'modus operandi' can, must, and will be found. Having learned to face honestly and fearlessly the fundamental implications of the larger problem of racial equality and human brotherhood, we shall not find the task insuperable that confronts us when we seek to make marriage between members of different racial groups as normal and natural a thing as God has defined it to be. I do not say that the solution of the problem is an easy one. I do say that for earnest men and women of all races working together for the enrichment of the pattern of our common humanity and for the extension of liberty in every area of human existence no task is too hard and no dream impossible of fulfilment.

—UNITY.

CONTRIBUTION OF BENGAL TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE

(By Prof. J. B. CHOWDHURI.)

Bengal poets headed by Satyananda, Gauda-Abhinanda, Sandhyakara Nandin, Jayadeva, Govardhan, Dhoyi, Sridharadasa, Rupa Gosvamin and Kavi Karnapura have contributed substantially to all branches of Sanskrit poetry, viz., Mahakavyas, Kavyas, Khandakavyas, Dutakavyas and Subhasitas. The contribution of Bengal to Lyrical Literature and anthology is superb in every respect. Jayadeva's Gitagovinda, Govardhana's Aryasaptasati Dhoyi's Pavanaduta, Vishnudasa's Manoduta, Krishnanatha's Padamkaduta, Rupa-Gosvami's Hamsaduta and Uddhavaduta are some of the best lyrical gems in Sanskrit. As a matter of fact, the Gitagovinda is simply unparalleled in the whole range of Sanskrit lyrical literature. Bengal has again contributed to the anthological literature the best work namely, viz., the Saduktikarnamrita of Sridharadasa. Rupa-Gosvamin's Padyavali and Jagannath Misra's Sabharanganga, too, are excellent works.

Bhattacharaya, author of the Yonisambhara; Rupa-Gosvamin, author of the Vidagdha-Madhava and Lalita-Madhava; Ramananda Ray, author of Jagannathavallabha-natak; Jagadisvara Tarkalamkara Bhattacharya, author of the Hasyamava, etc., are very powerful writers. The contribution of Bengal to Sanskrit Dramatic Literature is by no means small. Rupa-Gosvamin introduced into literature Bhakti or Devotion as a sentiment and consequently there was a thorough change in general outlook of scholars towards all works of the Bhakti school.

SANSKRIT PROSE-POETRY LITERATURE

Whereas Bengal has contributed little to Sanskrit Prose Literature, Mediaeval Bengal made solid contributions to Sanskrit Prose-Poetry Literature, viz., the Champu and Virud literature. The Gopala-champu of Jiva Gosvamin is not only the most voluminous of all Sanskrit Champus but decidedly one of the best contributions to the Bhakti school of Indian philosophy and thought. In subject-matter as well as form, our Bengal Viruds are quite different from the stereotyped Viruds described in the rhetorical literature.

Regarding the rhetorical and metrical literature, Bengal made some of the best contributions, viz., the Bhakti-rasamrita-Sindhu, Ujjvalanilamani and Natyakchandrika of Rupa-Gosvamin, the Alamkara-Kaustubha of Kavikarnapura, etc. The Chhandomanjari of Gangadasa is the best metrical work in Sanskrit.

Special mention must be made regarding our contribution to Sanskrit Biographical Literature. Headed by Murari Gupta and Kavikarnapura's Chaitanya-Charitamrita, this literature is really very rich in quality as well as quantity. Regarding our Kavya commentaries, Bharata Mallika is certainly the best. He excels Mallinath in his own way; but it is only unfortunate that none of his commentaries except that on the Bhatikavya has as yet been published.

The only Sanskrit Grammar for grammarians, and not for beginners, is the Prayoga-ratnamala of Purusottama and this work was composed by a Bengali scholar at Cooch Behar. It is absolutely undeniable, on the evidence of the MSS. materials in particular, that Bengal made the most substantial contributions to Sanskrit grammatical literature. Bengal is solely responsible for the gradual development of the Kalapa school, and she may really be very proud of her contribution to the gradual development of the Mugdhabodhi school as well. Out of the fourteen important commentaries of the Mugdhabodha, thirteen were contributed by Bengal alone. The Rasavati Vritti by Kayastha Jumara Nandin on the Samkshiptasara Vyakarana and the Nyasa commentary of Jinendrabuddhi on the Rasika Vritti of Vamana and Jayaditya exhibit the real brain-power of Bengali scholars.

Our earliest Smarta is Gautama the Sutrakara. Navya-smriti flourished in our part of the country. Our Smarias headed by Brihaspati, Halayudha, Jimutavahana, Sulapani, Raghunandana, Govindananda, etc., are the best mediaeval India ever produced. Regarding the Prachina Smriti, Kulluka Bhatta of Bengal is regarded to be the best commentator on the Manavadharma-Sastra. Ben-

gal may boast of more than 500 Smartas who have contributed substantially to Smriti Literature.

In these two branches as well, we have contributed not a little. Raghavananda Chakrabarti, Rajnarayan Vidyabhushana, Gauda Bhattacharya, Chiranjiva Bhattacharya and many others of Bengal are regarded as leading Jyotishins.

Regarding Indian Philosophy, it may be stated at the very outset that Navya Nyaya is the special forte of Bengal. Besides this, Bengal contributed most substantially to Uttaramimamsa, Purvamimamsa, Samkhya and Vaisesika as well Sridhara, Bhavadeva Bhatta and Madhusudan Sarasvati of Bengal—to mention only a few—are rightly acclaimed as some of the most outstanding figures in the whole range of Indian philosophy.

Bengal has not produced Charaka and Susruta but their best commentators flourished in Bengal. Madhavakara, Vijaya Rakshita, Srikantha Datta, Bhattacharya Harichandra, Chakrapanidatta, etc., are the greatest authorities on our Ayurvedic Science and they all flourished in Bengal. The importance of Chakradatta, Vangasena and Madhava-Nidana can hardly be overrated.

Sutrakara Palakapya, the greatest authority on Hasty-ayurveda, flourished in Bengal.

Regarding musical science, the Ragamala and the Sanskrit commentary of the Bengali work Padamritasamudra may be acclaimed as important contributions of Bengal to this subject.

It is now high time to make a thorough and systematic investigation into the contributions of Bengal to Sanskrit literature. Right-thinking Bengalees must realise that they have not only been pioneers in many branches of Sanskrit learning but also contributed most substantially to a number of them and not a little to almost all the branches. Educational authorities of Bengal today must, therefore, devise ways and means for the contribution of the same addition in our part of the country.

—MODERN REVIEW.

WHY ARE HINDUS WEAK?

(By T. L. KHURANA)

Before answering this question let us answer: is it bravery to attack innocent men and women, to stab strangers in the back and to molest the women? Decidedly it is not bravery but sheer cowardice, goondaism and fanaticism. If, therefore, the Hindus generally lack these characteristics, they cannot be called cowards. But surely it is cowardice if the Hindus, when attacked, do not defend themselves but run away from the danger. Unfortunately this trait of character is present amongst most of the Hindus. Its causes are the following:—

INDIVIDUALISM

According to the old Rishis the ideal to be pursued in life was four-fold, namely, 'Dharma,' 'Arth,' 'Kam,' and 'Moksh,' i.e., Service or Duty, Wealth, Desires and Salvation, the guiding and the foremost ideal being 'Dharma.' But unfortunately the order appears to have been reversed later and the emphasis shifted from 'Dharma' to 'Moksh.' An average Hindu tries to attain Salva-

tion by individual and not collective effort with the result that the Hindus become strongly individualistic in temperament and ultimately though a few may attain the heights of spiritualism, the majority become selfish or parasites, devoid of all social sense. It is not realised that the real 'Mukti,' if at all, can be assured, just as a by-product only to those, who damn care for it, but rather instead of running away from the scene of activities, sacrifice themselves for the service of their fellow-beings and wish to die and live thousand times for the sake of Humanity.

It is again this perverted ideal of Salvation, which is responsible for the institution of caste-structure and the slavery of Hindu women, the other two causes of our weakness. We are told by religious parasites that the Salvation of 'Shudras' lies in serving the 'Dvijas' (who are supposed to be nearer God due to their good 'Karmas' in their previous lives) and the Salvation of

women lies in serving their husbands, who are, of course, permitted to marry any number of times whether according to their whims or for the sake of a male issue, without whose birth the doors of Heaven are deemed to be shut out to the Hindus.

Individualism means rigidity, which is deadening in its effects, whereas Collectivism lends life and elasticity to the community and its social structure. Contrast the attitude of the Hindus towards the Hindu converts with that of the Muslims towards the Muslim converts, and the vast difference between Individualism and Collectivism becomes obvious.

CASTE-STRUCTURE

Caste-structure is responsible for social exclusiveness and as such it is a disruptive force, which hinders the unity (Sangathan) between the different members of our community and without 'Sangathan' there can be no strength whatever. Really speaking the four castes should be

interpreted as under:—Broadly 'Brahmins' and 'Kshatriyas' represent mental, i.e., vertical division of Society and 'Vaishyas' and 'Shudras' represent its physical, i.e., horizontal division. On the one hand all persons who are calm and non-violent by temperament are 'Brahmans' and those who are aggressive and violent by temperament are 'Kshatriyas' and on the other all capitalists and landlords dealing in commerce, trade or some industry are 'Vaishyas' and all workers whether working in fields, offices or factories are 'Shudras.' Thus a 'Shudra' by occupation may be a 'Brahman' or a 'Kshatriya' by temperament.

SLAVERY OF WOMEN

The slavery of women makes men slaves and cowards. No doubt Muslim women too are not free, being slaves to pernicious Purdah, and vagaries of their husbands, but as they are entitled to inherit property from the estates of their husbands and fathers, they have confidence in themselves, and also as Islam does not make the marriage contract too rigid and inelastic like that of the Hindus, they are free to remarry when they are deserted by their husbands or when they become widows. These relieving features make the Muslims care-free while

the Hindus always remain worried about their widowed sisters, daughters and daughters-in-law.

The remedy, therefore, lies in our modifying the ideals and the institutions as under:—

(i) Our motto as stated above should be Service first and Salvation afterwards and we must imbibe Team Spirit eschewing the deadly Individualism.

(ii) Caste-structure must be pulled down by our granting full freedom to our sons and daughters to marry of their own accord and simultaneously raising the standard of living of the down-trodden. In particular, distasteful occupations like those of the sweepers should be paid very handsomely, so that they are regarded honourable and in due course cease to be hereditary.

(iii) Marriage is a sacred contract, but the sanctity attached to it must not be one-sided. If men have a right to choose their wives or to remarry, why should women be prevented from exercising their right of choosing their husbands or remarrying? In fact, the moment the essentials of sanctity are absent in a marriage, the contract ceases to be sacred but is reduced to that of a prostitution and as such it should be dissolved forthwith. What are

the essentials of sanctity is, of course a matter of opinion. However, under the present circumstances we must make our marriage system less rigid so that hardships to women are avoided and the deserted and the oppressed women and the widows are free to remarry. The evil custom of dowry snacks of a favour degrading to the personality of women and should, therefore, be legally abolished and in its stead property rights be granted to the women. Dr. Deshmukh's Bill recently passed by the Central Legislature grants maintenance allowances and separate residence to Hindu women in certain harsh cases, but that is not enough. Such separated women must not be debarred from remarrying if they choose to remarry, and particularly so if their husbands remarry or keep concubines. But why should the women suffer due to mistakes of their guardians but be asked to curse their own Stars? An urgent reform, therefore, is to abolish the minors' marriages through the guardians legally and to grant full freedom to the women to love and marry of their own accord.

It is only after the re-orientation of our ideals and the introduction of the reforms, as suggested above, that we, the Hindus, can become immeasurably strong.

WHAT HAVE WE GAINED FROM CASTE?

Some people, including Mahatma Gandhi, denounce caste system, as the root cause of untouchability. But the fact is that this baneful system is responsible not only for 60 millions of untouchables but for the deterioration of the whole Hindu society and age-long slavery of our Motherland also. It has made our Brahmins vain and conceited, our Kshatriyas arrogant and indiscreet, our Vaishyas embodiment of cowardice and avarice, and our Shudras worse than beasts, void of all sense of humanity. Hindus lost battles not because their soldiers were inferior but because their commanders were incompetent. The British generals conquered the Sikhs with Purbias of the U.P., but afterwards in the rebellion of 1857, the Sikh soldiers under British command crushed the Purbias. No doubt our Kshatriyas were brave and dauntless, but they lacked discretion and fore-sight of a Brahman which were necessary for winning a war. Had there been inter-caste marriages and mixture of Kshatriya and Brahman bloods, our commanders would have been certainly victorious. Mr. Churchill is a top-most statesman, but at the same time he is a first class general also. He can organise and lead an army. But none of our Congress leaders, including Mahatmajl and Jawahar Lal Ji, can do so. Restriction on inter-caste marriage has kept the different qualities, necessary for a man to be perfect, separate from one another and hence hindered the all round development of Hindus. This one-sided development has been the cause of unnatural accumulation of good and bad qualities in certain castes. For instance, the sense of purity has so much developed in certain Brahmins that they do not burn their fuel even without purifying it with water, and on the other hand, we

find certain Hindu-sweepers who eat with one hand while cleaning night soil with the other. This kind of vast cultural difference is injurious for the harmonious and homogeneous development of a nation. Caste ordained hereditary occupations have marred the skill of our artisans for want of new blood and new impetus from outside in the same way as soil loses its fertility by sowing in it the one and the same thing every time. We deplore communalism in our present-day politics. But this caste system is the worst kind of communalism. It has divided the Hindus into innumerable small groups which would not inter-dine and inter-marry, and which have no economic or political interests in common. A Jat Minister favours Jats and a Bania Minister donates for Bania institutions. A Malaviya Brahman would not inter-dine even with a Saraswat Brahman what to say of a Sudra Hindu. Once the caste system is abolished, the problem of Hindu Muslim unity will be solved by itself without any effort on the part of our leaders.

It is wrong to think that India will be free as soon as the British quit her. We are slaves because we are incompetent to be free. Is it not a fact that Indian Rulers employed European officers before the British Rule in India? Is it not a fact that a Moghal Emperor got his daughter treated by a European doctor? Is it not a fact that the Indian Industry had been over-thrown by the European industry long before India was subdued by the British? Can we be able to manufacture all those things which we import from the west now within ten years after the British quit India? I am not writing all this to create inferiority complex in my countrymen, but my object is to emphasise the necessity of reforming ourselves in every respect

in order to be able to enjoy true independence.

It is not Mr. Jinnah or Dr. Ambedkar alone who is suspicious of the Caste Hindus. Even Non-Brahmins of Madras have the same feeling towards the Congress as the Muslim Leaguers. It is a hundred per cent truth that no country can run the Government unless its constitution is framed by the willing consent of the people concerned. Therefore it is absolutely necessary to take into consideration the social conditions prevailing in the country while framing a constitution for her people.

Our leaders should find out why the Muslims, the Shudras and the untouchables act so differently from the high caste Hindus. What is that thing which separates the interest of the Muslim or the Shudras from those of the high caste Hindus? Certainly it is the caste system or the social barriers. Unless the caste is completely uprooted, India can never be a strong and free nation. Freedom imposed upon her by America, Russia or Britain will not last long if the Indians are themselves unable to enjoy it on account of their clashing interests.

SANT RAM

Jat Pat Torak Mandal, Lahore.

WONDER TYPEWRITER

NEW YORK: A new Chinese typewriter capable of typing 5,400 different ideographs at a rate of forty-five words a minute has been produced in the United States.

The machine depends on good memory for efficient operation and probably will be costly, but Chinese business, Government and communication agencies are now dependent primarily on tedious hand work to inscribe thousands of complex ideographs.

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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 Broadcast:— A few hours after the names of the persons nominated as Members of the Interim Executive Council were announced, His Excellency the Viceroy broadcast a statement dotting the i's and crossing the t's in the arrangement for the benefit, particularly of those who objected that it was inopportune and misconceived. The effect of the statement was to indicate the limits within which the Interim Council was free to function and make it clear that the door was still open to the Muslim League to nominate five men to the Interim Council, that its fears about modifications in the procedure of the Consultation-making body were groundless and that the League might and should send its quota of members to that body and co-operate in framing a constitution. When after the Council of the League withdrew its previous acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's proposals, the Viceroy requested the President of the Congress to formulate proposals for the Interim Council, it was generally understood that Lord Wavell had done with the League and was going ahead without it. When Pandit Jawaharlal, on receiving the Viceroy's invitation, presented himself promptly at Mr. Jin-

nah's doorway, a suppliant for the latter's help in carrying out the commission entrusted to him, it seemed that the Pandit was correcting a mistake made by the Viceroy in having turned to him without the cognisance and consent of Mr. Jinnah. But the Viceroy's broadcast tells a different story. Lord Wavell said that he and the Pandit agreed that, without the co-operation of the League the Interim Government would be inadequate for the tasks before it. It can and was intended only to carry on the day-to-day administration pending the entry of the League. This definition of the scope of the Interim Government constituted last week, is totally at variance with the Congress President's conception of it expressed in his recent speeches. He certainly did not give the impression that the Government constituted on his advice is to be a Caretaker's Government like the one which it supersedes. The Viceroy's definition, of course, carries greater authority. What then was the object in inviting the Congress President to take the initiative in forming the Interim Government? Could Lord Wavell have seriously believed that Mr. Jinnah would be more disposed to accede to the requests of the Pandit than he

was to his own? Mr. Jinnah himself has described the Viceroy's action as adding insult to injury, in his statement issued on Friday. He had earlier spoken of the Pandit's overtures to him as a demand for the League to surrender to the Congress. In the same statement, however, Mr. Jinnah calls upon the Viceroy to put in concrete shape His Excellency's "insult-cum-injury" propositions! The fact is that there is a division of opinion in the League on the non-acceptance of the Interim Government offer. Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan resigned on that issue and several others though they have not resigned would seem to have inclined to that view. Some Muslim League leaders have pronounced the Viceroy's broadcast to contain the essentials of the League's requirements. The dreadful happenings in Calcutta and the stabbing of Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan who has accepted membership of the Interim Council, cannot but suggest to responsible leaders the desirability of finding a way out of the impasse in which they have landed themselves in a moment of excitement.

Mr. Jinnah's Id Message:— The Prophet of Arabia meant Islam as a message to all mankind. The Muslim League under Mr. Jinnah has reduced it to a sectarian cult unconcerned with the large majority of people outside the circle of those who profess it. In keeping with this narrow conception of Islam, Mr. Jinnah's message on Id day was confined to Muslims and, even of them, to those who were on the rolls of the Muslim League. In view of recent happenings, it was expect-

ed that the President of the League would give a clear lead to his followers, as some other leaders have done, warning them against the suicidal course of violence against persons who differed from them in politics. Instead, he contented himself with exhorting them not to engage in fratricidal war among Muslims. Is there no danger of this limited exhortation at the present juncture being understood to permit or, at any rate, not to prohibit, an attitude of war towards non-Muslims? Gandhiji conceived the idea of non-co-operation primarily as a means of weaning the violent practitioners of Bengal, the Punjab and Maharashtra from physical force as a political weapon. Direct Action, on the other hand, is adopted by the League as a substitute for constitutional methods which are supposed to have failed to secure the just claims of the League. The responsibility involved in this substitution is enormous and the belief that this will succeed in securing Pakistan is a grievous hallucination. The important minorities in the Pakistan areas will oppose more strenuously than ever and with less chances of conciliation the handing over of their destinies to an authority too feeble if not disinclined to put down hooliganism against non-Muslims. The immediate task of the responsible League leaders is to ensure against the use of violence to enforce conformity on Muslims and to suppress freedom of thought and appeal among non-Muslims. All the world now knows this and it is mere pretence to speak as if it did not matter. The dagger that struck down Shafaat Khan inflicted mortal injury on the cause for which the assistants might have thought they were working. It has banged and bolted the open door which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had declared he would keep for League nominees to come into the Interim Government whenever they chose.

The Id Day:—Extensive Police and even military precautions were adopted all over India to prevent outbreaks of disorder on Id Day. The dreadful happenings in Calcutta have made people nervous. These precautions have been successful in the only way in which they can be successful. They proved to be unnecessary. Every body heaved a sigh of relief

when the radio announced on Thursday evening that there had been no incidents anywhere during the day. Islam means Peace. It is a religion of Peace and it is a sad irony that the greatest day in its calendar should be regarded as a day of possible disturbance of U.C. public peace. The question demands the earnest consideration of religious-minded people, not only Muslims but Hindus, Christians, Parsis and Jews as well, because Peace is one and indivisible and the consequences of its breach are chiefly felt by people who are absolutely innocent of any share in provoking it. By the way, an authoritative investigation into the causes and consequences of the Calcutta riots is absolutely necessary, most of all in the interests of the Suhrawardy Government which has been the subject of much sharp criticism.

Averted Bank Strike:—In the short period that it has been in office the Bombay Government has established a fine record as conciliator in disputes between workers and employers. The personal intervention of the Prime Minister and later of the President of the Legislative Council, Mr. Mangaldas Patil, was mainly instrumental in bringing the three weeks' old Postal employees' strike to an end. This week, the Labour Minister has been successful in averting the strike of the employees in about forty Banks of which notices had been served by several Unions of Bank clerks. Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda is a veteran in dealing with labour disputes. But so far his experience has been largely in the cause of factory workers. The strike of "white collar" employees is a new development in Indian economy. School masters who are members of the first liberal professions, have been drawn into the vortex. The threatened strike of Bank clerks would have seriously affected the business life of Bombay. Mr. Nanda's service, therefore, has saved the city and the country, because the ramifications of Bombay business extend all over India and beyond, from a catastrophe of the first magnitude. The settlement is not final but there is good reason to hope that it will lead shortly to a satisfactory and permanent settlement.

Peace Delegates:—With the formation of the nucleus of the Interim Government, attention

has turned to the selection of Indian delegates to the Peace Conference which is rapidly degenerating into an international dog-fight. A proposal, dear to the late Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, was that Gandhiji should lead the Indian delegation. Such an act, he said, would be to the resounding credit of India. There is some interest shown now in that idea and the fact that the return to constitutionalism removes the necessity for Gandhiji's presence in India, strengthens its appeal. Yet it cannot be forgotten that the Congress as a disciplined organisation still needs the guiding hand of Gandhiji who has shown an intense anxiety to bring it back to parliamentarism, after a digression of three decades. It is true that Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel are maturer men than they were during the second Round Table Conference. It is true too that, as a whole, the Congress veterans are inclined to look forward to an era of peaceful development within the framework of the constitutional system. Nevertheless, there is no accounting for hotheads and the Congress has its share of them. Besides, old habits of thought still persist and many Congressmen seem to have acquired a new grievance at finding themselves left out of the fruits of struggle. Not all Gandhiji's persuasions and exhortations to the Congress rank and file not to look to office as the reward for suffering have assuaged these personal hurts. It is regrettable but true that there is no second to Gandhiji to control the party. On the other hand, there is not likely to be much doing at Paris. Certainly unless Gandhiji is backed by an able delegation, he is not likely to achieve much in Paris. Gandhiji's contribution will be exclusively in the realm of ideas. Press reports indicate that Gandhiji himself favours Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit as head of the Indian delegation. Mrs. Pandit, no doubt, made quite a mark in America. But greater care must be taken to select the Indian delegation because it has to come up at least to the standard set by the present delegates. It is necessary to choose men who will stand the wear and tear of international discussion rather than spectacular personalities.

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BOMBAY, August 31, 1946.

THE END OF AN ERA

This issue of the *Indian Social Reformer* marks the completion of fifty-six years of its service. The last sixty years have been years of intense spiritual, social and political effort and education. During this period the national life of India has been revived and renovated from top to bottom. Religion means to an Indian much more and at the same time much less than it did to his grandfather. It means less in ceremonial, ritual and social conventions. It means more as a spiritual agency. In this sphere the Ramakrishna Mission and its Founder Swami Vivekananda have been the outstanding factors. The National Social Conference started two years later than the National Congress under the inspired and inspiring guidance of Mahadev Govind Ranade and the *Indian Social Reformer* started three years later, represented the awakening of the Indian social conscience to the urgent need for overhauling social and family life more particularly with a view to the liberation of the womanhood of the country from illiteracy and marriage customs which impeded its functioning as a force, and the most potent force, in social readjustment. The Indian National Congress under the leadership of a band of highly cultured and patriotic men has made the people aware of the decisive part which the Government plays in promoting not only material progress but in the maintenance of standards of public and personal life at the highest level. In all three spheres India was inspired by a great longing for freedom. We wish to stress the point that the change in India's political condition today is not merely a change of personnel at the centre of the political system, but that it is the fruit and flower of a long and arduous process of spiritual and social emancipation. Thus it happens that in the international world India for years prior to her political freedom enjoyed a high reputation as a centre and focus of world culture. India has, therefore, won her political freedom by her own exertions, let it be acknowledged with the inspiration supplied by English history and literature and the example

of its illustrious statesmen, and therefore there is every reason to hope, that that freedom will be permanent and will subserve the good of humanity. When two days hence the Interim Government, composed wholly of Indians except for the Viceroy, assumes authority, the *Reformer* has reason to regard the event as a part of its own history.

The distinction between religion, society and politics as well as economics is purely artificial. All human activities are manifestations of the human spirit. If that spirit is kindly, humane, beneficent, all sects of life will reflect it. The human spirit in India is all this in large measure. On the fundamental civil right, religious freedom, India has a unique record. The people of India whatever their religious creed are essentially and fundamentally tolerant people. Occasional aberrations do not affect this fact. Here we have an asset of great value. Starting from this and with the innate love of peace inherent in their nature, the people of India may hope to avoid the sudden and violent revolutions which in other countries have been attended by confusion and civil strife. This observation may seem extravagant to those who have allowed themselves to be obsessed by the fast and furious controversy regarding the respective shares of the Congress and the Muslim League in the new order. There is much misconception about the influence of a political constitution in moulding the destinies of a people. That influence is precisely proportionate to the degree and extent to which the constitution reflects the composition and character of the people. The founders of the Indian Empire thoroughly understood

this. Lord Minto, a sportsman pitchforked into a position which demanded the highest qualities of statesmanship, sought escape from a situation which he did not understand by a disastrous departure from the principle of even-handed treatment of all irrespective of caste and creed solemnly pledged by Imperial Proclamation and in successive statutes. The poison rapidly spread. Men whose grandfathers professed the same creeds and who still bore names reminiscent of their ancestry suddenly discovered that their culture, civilisation and modes of life were totally different from those of their neighbours. A wise statesman would have recoiled from countenancing this disruptive development. But even those who felt and expressed that unequal citizenship meant the collapse of good government found that the evil had gone too far to be amenable to palliatives. The ship of state had to be dragged out of the shoals in which it had got stuck by drastic means. The Cabinet Ministers' Mission and the Viceroy had an unpleasant task. But it had to be done if the country were to be set on the road to self-rule with a reasonable chance of success. Some part of the process certainly lent itself to be represented as a breach of faith. But the greater breach of faith by Lord Minto had to be rectified by a lesser one. The Interim Government has three-fourths parted company with communal associations. But it is still not out of the wood. The British Government has redeemed itself from its fatal blunder. If they now slip back into it, it will not be the fault of the British Government but to the weakness, wavering and the lack of faith in itself of the Congress High Command. If the Congress keeps firm hold of the principle of equal citizenship and does not yield to what has been its besetting weakness for compromise, all will be well.

THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT

A Press Note issued on Saturday, August 24, announced that

His Majesty the King has accepted the resignation of the present members of the Governor-General's Executive Council. His Majesty has been pleased to appoint the following Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.
Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel.
Dr. Rajendra Prasad.
Mr. M. Asaf Ali.
Mr. C. Rajagopalachari.

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose.
Dr. John Matthai,
Sardar Baldev Singh.
Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan.
Mr. Jagjivan Ram.
Syed Ali Zaheer, and
Mr. Cooverji Hormusji Bhabha.

Two more Muslim members will be appointed later. The Interim Government will take office on September 2.

The Viceroy had invited the President of the Indian National Congress

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to make proposals for the Interim Government. The Pandit, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, and Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya were in the previous lists formulated by the Congress and the Viceroy after the break-up of the second Simla Conference had invited them individually to join an Interim Government. His Excellency had invited Mr. Mehtab, Congress Premier of Orissa but the Working Committee directed Mr. Mehtab to decline the invitation and got Lord Wavell to substitute Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose for him. Mr. Asaf Ali was not invited by the Viceroy. In fact it was His Excellency's disinclination to agree to the Congress including a Nationalist Muslim in its list which led to Congress declining to join the Interim Government. The Congress group also includes Mr. Jagjivan Ram who was elected unopposed by a scheduled caste constituency in Bihar to the Central Legislative Assembly. The Congress six together constitute a strong group and great hopes are entertained of its competence to handle the important issues which may crop up within the next twelve months in addition to those which it will take over from the present Executive Council. Sardar Baldev Singh, the Sikh Member-designate, is the choice of his community—endorsed and accepted by the Congress and included in Pandit Jawaharlal's list. The Congress is also responsible for the choice of representatives for the Christian and Parsi minorities. Dr. Matthal is a Christian but he is known to the public chiefly as the inspirer and part author of the much discussed Bombay scheme for Indian post-war industrial development, of which not much is heard at the present day. Sir Ardeshar Dalal, joint author of the scheme, joined the Government of India as Member for Industrial Development but resigned as he found that he could do very little to advance his project. Dr. Matthal may fare better but he is nominated as an industrial or economic expert whose views may or may not be acceptable to the Indian Christian community which he is specially designated to represent. Dr. Matthal has not associated himself with the nationalist and religious movements within the Indian Christian Community which are of profound significance and have created worldwide interest. "Hitting two birds with one stone" may be a clever feat in the economy of bird slaying, but it is a flagrant evasion of the spirit and purpose of Indian Christian representation, not in keeping with the principles for which Congress stands and should stand. The nomination of the Parsi representative is even more open to criticism. Mr. Cooverji Hormusji Bhabha's record as a public man in any sphere is not available. The Press messages at first gave his initials as J. H. which are those of the eminent scientist who was admitted Fellow of the Royal Society at an unusually early age. The only doubt about him was whether he would abandon his career as a scientist to serve tables as one of fourteen members of the Executive Council. When it was known that it was not he but a namesake who was recommended by the Congress Parliamentary Board, it was felt that the Board owed an explanation to the public for its inexplicable choice which has come more as a shock than as a surprise. Jamshedjee Nusserwanjee of Karachi who was mentioned as the alternative candidate is a man of high principles with a fine

record of public service in the social civic and political life of Karachi. He is in every way the representative of the best type of Parsi and enjoys the high respect of all communities. His inclusion in the Interim Cabinet must be widely appreciated. He represents not only the material eminence but also the spiritual ideals of the Parsi Community.

Of the three Muslim Members, Asaf Ali has been a staunch Nationalist all his life, and it would have been strange if he was not in the Interim Cabinet sponsored by the Congress. Syed Ali Zaheer is a prominent worker of the Shia organisation in Oudh. The Congress was handicapped in its choice of Muslims by the consideration that the persons selected should be ready at short notice to resign their seats in favour of nominees of the Muslim League whenever that body should enter in the door purposely kept open for their convenience. There is nothing to prevent five Muslim Leaguers joining the Council for a few days to spite their non-League interlopers and then resigning in a body. The hatred felt against Muslims who act against the mandates of the League was presumably the motive which actuated the two young men who tried, fortunately without success, to assassinate Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan who dissenting from the League's withdrawal of its acceptance of the Interim Government proposals had accepted a seat in the Executive Council. With all its efforts Congress has been able to get only two Muslims outside its ranks to fill the places, has had to leave vacant two seats for future occupancy. The acceptance of the condition that Muslim members will have to make way for League Members, is an undeserved slur on Nationalist Muslims who through good report and bad report have been steadfast in their adherence to the Congress.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in consultation with the Congress Parliamentary Board proposed to the Viceroy the increase by one of the personnel of the Interim Executive Council and filling it by Mr.

Frank Anthony, leader of the Anglo-Indian community, a man of ability and vision who is intent on making his community realise the destiny as an integral element of the Indian population. The Viceroy did not accept the proposal presumably because it would give Mr. Jinnah another occasion for complaining that the Viceroy had changed his original intention. We do not see why changes should not be made in the light of fresh developments. The League having refused with opprobrious epithets the proposals for an Interim Government after first accepting them, and the Viceroy, having thereafter requested the Congress President to make fresh proposals, would be only doing what is right in acceding to the President's proposal especially as it concerned the interests of a group recognised as a community entitled to separate representation in the central and provincial legislatures. No great disaster would have overtaken anybody if there were fifteen instead of fourteen members in the Executive Council. In addition to the fear of a fresh cause for Mr. Jinnah to taunt the Viceroy, there may be another reason. The British while willing to use the Anglo-Indian, do not want to recognise them as a community deriving inspiration from Indian nationalism. However that may be, the Anglo-Indians can easily extricate themselves from their anomalous position by dropping the designation. They will then be Indians and will be readily absorbed without any change of religion or manners by Hindus as a separate autonomous caste just as Greeks, Scythians and Persians were before the Mahomedan era. As we had said more than once before, the Anglo-Indians are not a community like the Parsis or Jews marked by distinct racial and religious characters. The Congress which is only less concerned than Government to appease Mr. Jinnah acquiesced in the Viceroy's veto on the Anglo-Indian fifteenth Member of the Interim Government. Mr. Frank Anthony would have been a source of more real strength to the Council than Mr. Cooverjee Hormusji Bhabha.

RAJAJI ON VEDANTA

(BY K. NATARAJAN)

On the eve of his assuming office as a member of the Interim Government Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya has produced a booklet on Vedanta which he calls "the basic culture of India." It is a popular study of the philosophy of Brahman-Atman, the theme of the Upanishads. "The Vedanta, in its pure and unfalsified form" to quote Dr. Paul Deussen "is the strongest support of pure morality, is the greatest consolation in the sufferings of life and death—Indians keep it!" Deussen illustrated his observations by comparing the Christian and Vedantic way of conveying precept. "Love thy neighbour as thyself." Deussen pointed out that, while in Christianity, the precept appears as a dogma, in Vedanta it finds its reason. "You should love your neighbour because he is not different from yourself, any wrong done to him is a wrong done to yourself and will have evil reactions on yourself." Hoffding in his "Philosophy of Religion" observes that the process by

which Indian thought came to identify Brahman (Cosmic) with Atman (Individual) Soul, is unique and peculiar to India. In the Upanishads it is a perfectly logical process, there is nothing obscure or erudite about it. As Mr. Rajagopalacharya observes Indian thought does not conflict with modern scientific method. Indian seers speculated freely and fearlessly on the meaning of the Universe but they were not content with speculation. They strove for realisation and succeeded. They speak of the truths which they taught as demonstrable by every one if he followed the right path. They emphatically assert that they know what they are talking about. Their method is the same as the modern scientific method, progress from the known to the unknown. Divine Immanence is illustrated to the student by salt dissolved in water. The illusions of matter is proved by making the pupil split the tiny seed of the mighty banyan tree under whose wide flung shade armies may encamp. The Bhagavad Gita is the synthesis of the Upanishads, condescending only in a few places to comfort humanity.

Hindustan Times, New Delhi. P. Re. one.

But in the Upanishads we have the problem analysed, discussed and solved on the most rigorous principles of logic. The authority of the Sruti, the Vedas, is final but in interpreting the Vedic texts tradition and commonsense should be given weight. No interpretation which conflicts with experience should be accepted as correct. This is what is meant by Vedic infallibility.

Mr. Rajagopalacharya's section on Karma leaves the impression that Karma is inexorable, that there is no way of acting without creating an aftermath in life and character. He writes:

The law of cause and effect is unalterable. The effect lies inherent in the cause, like the tree in the seed. Water dries up when exposed to the sun. This cannot be altered. Every thought and act, good or bad, has at once an effect on oneself, apart from its effect on others or the outside world.

But the Gita does give us the secret of acting without creating an aftermath inward. This, to me, is the greatest gift of the Gita; it is strange that Mr. Rajagopalacharya has missed it. Aldous Huxley sees it as the central teaching of the Gita. In an article in a recent number of the *Horizon*—a chapter from a forthcoming book he refers to it. "As Krishna explains to Arjuna" he writes "the task is to get rid of those fatal accompaniments to the love of action and to work without regard to the fruits of work in a state of complete non-attachment to self." Huxley adds in an aside "Which is, of course, like everything else, a good deal easier said than done." That remark will not be accepted by Indians. Numerous persons in the Puranas and in life have achieved *nishkama karma*.

Huxley himself says that even now in India there are persons who after a full life of material success and enjoyment, will suddenly give up everything in order to devote themselves to the eternal search for Reality.

Another section in the booklet tells of the life of the Vedantin. After hearing an exposition of the philosophy Arjuna wants to know how the harmonised man behaves, how he talks, how he walks. What are the marks by which one may know him. The answer is none. The *Jivanmukta* (liberated in life) behaves outwardly just like any other person of his time and country. He does not wear any distinctive dress or affect any peculiar manners. If you met him in the street you cannot distinguish him in the crowd. He does all things like his neighbours but in doing them he has no thought of the gain or loss to himself. The English poet, Herbert's lines come to mind. Who sweeps the floor in a dedication spirit makes that floor as well as his action fine. The Bhagavad Gita gives subjective meaning to sanyasin, yogi and so on. The state of mind is what matters. The outward garb is nothing. Mr. Rajagopalacharya's little book is evidence that though talking, working squabbling just as any other politician, his heart is elsewhere. His waggon is hitched to the cosmic star. Like the great Indian Statesman of whom Hunter wrote, Mr. Rajagopalacharya has Parabrahma in his heart, and in his head not Herbert Spencer, but Jinnah of Pakistan.

Mr. Rajagopalacharya says that Vedanta, which includes and accepts Yoga, anticipates modern science. This is very clear especially in the studies in the sub-conscious. It is rare to come across a book on

these subjects which does not quote freely and understandingly from the Yogic literature.

Several writers modern and ancient have spoken of the elimination of the fear emotion as a by-product of the study and practice of the Vedanta. It is not gallantry which wins the Victoria Cross, but the fearlessness in the exclamation of the *sadhu* who when bayoneted by a British soldier during the Mutiny days, cried "Thou thou art He." The Gita itself vouches that even a little of *aus Dharma* preserves one from the Mighty Fear.

Mr. Rajagopalacharya likens the ethical life of the Vedanta to walking on a tight rope, requiring perpetual effort and vigilance to keep one's equilibrium. The Upanishad uses an even more excruciating simile, the path of dharma it likens to the edge of razor. Somerset Maugham has borrowed this simile for the title of one of his novels. But surely the great figures in the Upanishads do not appear to be living strained lives. They seem, on the other hand, to be pictures of repose and serenity. The Gita itself says of its dharma that it is easy and light and fool-proof. Jesus said that his yoke was easy and his burden light as compared with ceremonial Judaism. The explanation of this seeming paradox is simple. Hindu dharma is graduated to varying capacity. For the aspirant to spiritual self-mastery the path is upward and toilsome. When he has reached the summit, he is freed from all distractions and his life thenceforth flows like a song. It is at its full tide:

Such a tide as moving seems asleep.

Too full for sound or foam.

or the top at the height of its spin when it seems to be at rest.

DR. KASHIBAI NAORANGE

Dr. Kashibai Naorange who passed away on Wednesday the 21st August after a very painful illness bravely borne, would have been 68 years of age on the 25th October next. She was the first Deccan Woman to graduate from the University of Bombay having taken her B.A. degree in 1901 from the Wilson College. When she passed her B.A. she had numerous tempting offers of service, but she had a higher aim than serving in an institution and she declined the offers. She became the first woman double graduate when she passed the L.M. & S. examination in 1906 from the Grant Medical College, Bombay. Soon after, she opened a dispensary at Bhuleshwar when her father the late Vasudeva Babaji Naorange one of the founders of the Prarthana Samaj of Bombay and a social reformer of no mean repute heaved a sigh of satisfaction when he saw his daughter established in practice because it was his desire to give as much education to his girls as to his boys. Mr. Naorange passed away on June 14, 1906.

Dr. Kashibai's great desire was to do social service. While yet a student she was connected with the Arya Mahila Samaj of Bombay—an institution which under the guidance of Mrs. Ramabai Ranade and afterwards of Lady Luxmibai Chandavarkar was working for the advancement of women. Born in a

Prarthana Samaj family, she had also begun to take interest in that body which she served to the best of her ability for more than 40 years. Her devotion to the cause of the Samaj was whole-hearted and singular. Soon Dr. Kashibai became closely connected with all institutions which had progress for their watch-word and which worked for the uplift of the submerged classes, women and children. She took a great deal of interest in Education, both primary, secondary and higher. She was a member of the schools Committee of the Bombay Municipality, a fellow of the University of Bombay and a Justice of the Peace. She was connected with the Depressed Classes Mission and the Bombay Presidency Social Reformer Association. She founded the D. N. Sirur Home at Vile Parle and a welfare centre for the children of the Depressed Classes at Naigaon, Dadar. She was the founder of the Hindu Women's Hostel for College girls. Dr. Naorange's interest in the Seva Sadan was great and she was a Vice-President of it at the time of her death. She represented the Theistic Church of India at the Fellowship of Religions held in London. There was indeed no institution working for the amelioration of the down-trodden and the ignorant with which Dr. Kashibai was not intimately and usefully connected.

Her heart, however was in the

Prarthana Samaj of Bombay of which she was for long a committee member, the Vice-President, a Trustee and President from 1931 to 1943. She was elected to that position year after year without opposition and she gave up the post when her health would not permit her to do the onerous work.

Dr. Kashibai did not marry, but adopted a number of boys and girls and brought them up and spent for their education. Many a helpless and ignorant woman whom she helped to stand upon her own legs, gratefully remembers the timely assistance given to her by Dr. Kashibai ungrudgingly, without the slightest expectation of its return. Dr. Kashibai's left hand did not know what her right hand gave; such was her silent and unostentatious charity.

Dr. Kashibai is gone but the great work done by her remains behind. She believed with Sir Walter Besant that Philanthropy was "personal service, not money not a cheque; not a subscription written; not speeches on a platform; not tracts; not articles written in Quarterly Reviews; none of the old methods; but personal service—not money but yourselves". At all times and everywhere, she gave her best and her example should be an inspiration to others to do likewise.

V. S. I.

FRANCE MAKES A CREEPING COMEBACK

By HAROLD BING *Worldover Press Correspondent*

The French people are tired, battered, disillusioned, hampered in their comeback not only by the well-known handicaps of food shortage, transport breakdown, etc., but by the still-continuing purge, political manoeuvring, and the fear that in a few years France may once more become the theatre of new war.

Faces are pale and spirits are dull. But the real problem is the uncertainty about the country's future world position. *L'épuration*—the purge of collaborationists—is not yet over, and "collaboration" is an elastic term. To have done no more than acquiesce in regulations imposed by the Nazis may bring one under persecution; yet the vast majority did exactly that. Many are denounced today, not for help to the Germans, but from political hostility or even personal spite. The flimsiest charges often suffice. One senior judge in an important provincial city declares his disgust is so great at the role courts are being obliged to play that he would resign if he had any other way of making a living. The fear of denunciation is having a paralysing effect on reconstruction.

I have made special inquiries into the precise character of the German occupation. On the whole, despite terrible cruelties under brutal administrators, the behaviour of the average German soldier was correct. At least drunkenness was almost unknown among them, a statement which my informants frankly if sadly added, could not

be made about the Americans who followed. There is strong feeling in localities where the people suffered atrocities through unscrupulous Nazi commanders. Yet a French Health Inspector said that in his necessary official contacts with the German authorities, some of the educated ones showed a sincere appreciation of French culture. In many cities institutes were set up to exchange studies of French and German culture, and some, like that at Dijon, were conducted on a genuinely educational basis, though others, notably in Paris, were primarily for propaganda.

THE MIXED ROLE OF THE MAQUIS

It is not popular to point it out, but the activities of the *Maquis* contributed to a number of the atrocities. Some of these men were courageous, self-sacrificing patriots, but not a few were desperadoes, while some were Communists chiefly interested in their political ambitions. Their "achievements" often amounted to the assassination of some highly placed German official, after which they retreated to the woods or mountains, leaving the civilian population to bear the brunt of the inevitable punishment. It is a fact that the reputation of the movement among the French has suffered because some of its members used the situation as an excuse for personal, non-patriotic crimes.

The hatred felt against the Germans makes it hard to join in work for peaceful co-operation, because it has been turned internally into

political antagonisms which are bitter and which absorb much of the energy needed for rebuilding. In the countryside the peasants are busy in their fields, but are short of tools of labour. In the towns, political strife is far too prevalent.

But in addition to her internal problems, France feels uncertain about her world position. She is unable to adjust herself to the fact that she is no longer a great power, that in population and industrial strength she is far below the first rank. She feels too, that the world of today too little recognises her past great service to western civilisation as the heir and preserver through the Dark Ages of the Roman-Christian culture, and the giver to the world of much of its art, science, literature and philosophy.

The people ask, Why is America building all these air bases in France? Are they for civil use, or for use in a coming struggle with Russia? The fear of a conflict between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. is widespread. Stories go around about some American general who has said that the Russians will be caught up in ten years, so America will not wait. The truth or falsity of such stories is less important, perhaps, than the effect they have on French minds and emotions. The cure for France's present ills lies partly in her own hands, but it depends also upon the building of good relations among the great powers, of which present-day France is no longer one.

THE RUSSO-AFGHAN TREATY

The "Christian Science Monitor" writes:

Conclusion of an apparently inoffensive treaty between Soviet Russia and the small Central Asiatic Kingdom of Afghanistan has again aroused British suspicion against the Soviet Union. London fears that this Russian move is just another step aiming at interfering with British interests in the Middle East and in India.

In the new treaty, Afghanistan gives up its former claims to the Kushkah district in Russia which is adjacent to Afghanistan, Iran, and to the Soviet Turkmen Republic. The Afghans, on the other hand, receive frontier rectifications in their favour along the rivers Amudarya and Pyandzh.

There had of course, never been any danger of Afghanistan occupying by force the Kushkah district. But still, since the treaty of 1921, Afghanistan had a nominal claim on Kushkah which was to become Afghan "should the population of the district desire it." These claims are now declared "null and void." The British consider the new treaty as an indication of a considerable improvement in Russo-Afghan relations. The communique, simultaneously published at Moscow and at Kabul, discloses that "other questions" pending between the two countries, have been settled, too.

With the Indian problem still unsolved, the British are looking askance at any development near the Indian border. For more than 50 years, Russia and Britain have

been waging a bitter strife for the political control of Afghanistan.

Russian influence in Afghanistan has been increasing recently, although there has apparently been no cooling off in Anglo-Afghan relations. Russia controls the only air line to Kabul and Russian instructors trained the small Afghan air force.

In a country which consists mostly in mountains, inaccessible by roads, and where the central Government has only remote control over the mountain tribes, the role of the Government air force is particularly important. The Russians are reported of having substantially increased their diplomatic personnel in the Afghan capital.

Their embassy staff is said to number today more than 500 persons, which is of course, out of proportion with the role assigned to the diplomatic representation in a country which has been called "the land of rocks, stones, and sanguinary feuds."

In their treaty with Afghanistan after World War I, the British generously forgave Emir Amanullah his belated intervention in World War I. As late as 1919, when the Central Powers had already been thoroughly defeated, Amanullah had declared war on the victorious "Entente." But Britain insists that all Russian Consulates should be withdrawn from areas outside Russia's "zone of influence" in Afghanistan.

Afghanistan's intervention at the

side of Germany, a country many thousands of miles away, was preposterous, but by no means accidental. During World War II, Axis agents again toured the small country and tried to stir up a new revolt against the "United Nations"—this time however, without success. Afghanistan, nominally a sovereign state, has been torn apart by the jealousies of its powerful neighbours, Russia and Britain. The country has been drawing material advantages from this competition, but the proud Afghans, who consider themselves as the true descendants of the old Hebrews and call themselves "Beni-Israel," have been becoming increasingly weary of foreign intervention in their domestic affairs.

Today their hope of help from the outside has vanished but they hope to keep their semi-independent status by playing out one of the neighbouring powers against the other. Russia is working hard to win the Afghan youth for Communist ideals and has been offering numerous scholarships on Russian universities to the sons and grandsons of Afghan tribal chiefs. So far these attempts of inducing the younger generation among the Afghans have been successful, remains to be seen. From the economic point of view, Afghanistan is not a very interesting object for Soviet penetration. The country is exceeding poor. The national income is estimated at only \$22,000,000 a year or at \$3 per person. However,

there are possibilities of developing the resources of the Afghan soil. Oil has recently been found near Tirpul in northern Afghanistan and—although the present output is negligible—it may be increased by applying modern technical methods. An oil concession was granted to an American firm in 1936 but not exploited. The true extent of Afghanistan's mineral resources is unknown, but deposits of iron ore, copper, and silver have been discovered.

Yet it is from the strategical viewpoint that Afghanistan is really important. The country is the natural invasion road into India. For many years, the British have been keeping relatively numerous forces at the Afghan-Indian border to prevent Afghan warrior tribes from invading the north Indian plains through the Kyber and other mountain passes in the north, or over the Kandahar route in the south. Permanent fortifications have been built along the border.

A strong military power like Russia established in Afghanistan, would be, indeed a serious threat to India's security. The present Emir, Mohammed Zahir Shah and his court have been so far considered as pro-British, but they have also been avoiding antagonising their powerful northern neighbour: Soviet Russia. The Indian Congress Party, too, expressed considerable interest in Afghanistan and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru some time ago suggested a federation consisting of India, China, Iran, and Afghanistan.

SCOTTISH NATIONAL REVIVAL

It is the common belief that Scotland, a conquered country, actually runs the British Empire for the benefit of Scotsmen. This might have been true in the last century but it is no longer the case. Sir R. H. Bruce-Lockhart, writing on "Home Rule for Scotland," in the July number of the American quarterly "Foreign Affairs," maintains that the position of Scotland today is one of all-round deterioration. The period between the two wars, he observes forms one of the darkest chapters in the history of Scotland. Bled white in the first World War, he writes, Scottish manhood lost much of its former vigour and accepted with apathy a rapid national decline to which economic disintegration and the centralising policy of the British Government were the main contributory factors. Scottish railways and Scottish banks were absorbed by English companies. The Scottish shopkeeper was swept aside by multiple stores from the South of England. The transfer of the central control of industry to the south impoverished the Scottish people and increased unemployment. Just before the first World War, one and a half million of a population of five millions were suffering from chronic unemployment. Between 1921 and 1931, Scotland lost by emigration, 80 per thousand of the population as compared with England's five per thousand. The writer frankly owns that the Scots themselves were partly responsible for the deterioration. Hard work and plain living, inculcated and to some extent enforced by Presbyterianism, gave place to easy living. Family discipline was relaxed. Scottish women took to tinned food to avoid the trouble of cooking. Scottish parents sent their children to English Universities partly out of snobbery and partly because they expected to improve their prospects of advancement by the contacts made there. Of two brothers one became Archbishop of Canterbury by joining the Church of England while the other, remaining in his ancestral faith, became Moderator of the Church of Scotland. Ireland and Scotland were conquered by Oliver Cromwell. Ireland remained Catholic and suffered while Scotland threw off the Papal yoke and provided a ruling dynasty for England. Nevertheless, Sir Bruce-Lockhart complains the Englishman's opinion of Scotsmen today is much the same as Dr. Samuel Johnson's who regarded and spoke of them with contempt though Boswell, his biographer and disciple, was a Scotchman. Sir Bruce holds that the Carnegie scholarships did more harm than good to Scottish education which stood at a very high level at the end of the last century. Carnegie

students, he observes, have flooded the universities and the classes have become unwieldy and unteachable. The average student of this type, he complains seeks university education as a means of social security. "His one interest is to pass an examination which will qualify him for a safe job." The humanities are neglected. Scottish employers are engaging Irish labour because they are cheaper and more hard-working. The drift from villages to towns is another sign of degeneracy, mentioned by the writer. Today four-fifths of the population live in towns. The infant mortality in the industrial area between the firths of Clyde and Forth is the highest in Western Europe. There has been an awakening to the dangers of the present decline. The richer Scots have become assimilated to big business in London. But the middle and working classes have been making efforts to resist absorption by the English. There are many difficulties in the way of Scottish nationalism. The first is the individualism of the Scot which makes him an acceptable immigrant but prevents unity at home. The second is that entry into parliament is practically impossible without membership of the political parties with their headquarters in London. "The parliamentary record of Scottish M.P.s is a sorry tale of neglect of Scottish affairs and slavish obedience to the Whips of the great English parties." The Scottish Nationalist Party formed forty years ago had had a chequered career. Its aim as set forth by the writer is about the same as that of the Indian political parties. They are self-government for Scotland, and the restoration of Scottish national sovereignty by the establishment of a democratic Scottish Government whose authority will be limited only by such agreements as will be freely entered into with other nations. The present leader of the Party is Douglas Young who spent twelve months in prison for refusing to be conscripted to the Army except by a Scottish National Government. During

this period he learnt Russian. He is master of several other European languages and is besides a poet. He stands six feet seven in his stocking soles. He had a distinguished career in the Andrews and Oxford Universities. He is uncompromising in his views. Under his leadership the Scottish Nationalist Party, according to Bruce Lockhart, is too radical to attract the average Scotsman.—A non-political party was started by the present Secretary for Scotland, Mr. Johnstone of whom the writer speaks in high terms. It is a Party without a name and its aim is to get a square deal for Scotland. Its members include extreme nationalists as well as advocates of autonomy by devolution. The War has given a fillip to Scottish industry but Mr. Johnstone recognising the ephemeral and illusive nature of War prosperity, is doing his best to provide for the future. In his earlier days he was a fierce Socialist and though he has not given up his Socialism, he has much mellowed in his manner of advocating it.

Bruce Lockhart mentions a third Society, the Saltire Society, devoted to the revival of Scottish culture. Its Chairman, Robert Hurd, is an architect by profession and has encouraged new designs based on past for Scottish housing. Hurd has also set his face against the Scottish romanticism so popular with the English and American reading public on whom most Scottish writers are mainly dependent for their living. Bruce Lockhart considers that the most solid achievement of the Saltire Society is the campaign it is carrying on for a proper Scottish broadcasting service. This campaign has already yielded good results, Bruce Lockhart observes.

Scottish education may have declined. The Scots, too, may lack a sense of humour. But Scotland still demands and deserves more solid and satisfying fare than the thin beer of the English B.B.C. whose infrequent references to Scotland tends more often to irritate than to please.

CALCUTTA RIOTS ENQUIRY

There seems to be a curious lack of interest in demanding an inquiry into the Calcutta disturbances. Yet it is necessary that public apprehensions should be allayed by setting up an investigating committee before the facts grow cold. A local report has it that Sir Patrick Spens, Chief Judge of the Federal Court, will preside over any inquiry that the Government may institute. This is an unwise move. The Courts should not

be dragged into political disputes, as far as possible. There are surely enough men in the country whose judgment can be trusted, without disturbing the Judiciary. They must be men in whom all Indians have confidence. An ideal choice would be Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru who has a long record of public service.

FORCED ZIONISM AND NEAR EAST JEWS

A Worldover Press Correspondent writes from Aleppo, Syria:—

Which 100,000 Jews? Those who may be sent from Europe into Palestine to alleviate their misery, or the equal number throughout the Near East who will be massacred if such mass immigration is put through by force? That is not a popular alternative in the outside world, perhaps, but it is all too close to reality.

This conclusion is one I have reached after twenty years of constant work in the Near East, during which time I have been associated with efforts for the Jewish community, have become well acquainted with the Arab viewpoint, and have sought to understand the problems of the region with objective sympathy. I have visited not only the cities, but have spent much time in the villages. Recently I have completed a trip of 3,000 miles through five countries of this area.

So dangerous are the possibilities of wrong decisions, or of any thoughtless handling of this tragic issue, that one can only feel as did the great Turkish writer, Halide Edib, while she watched the burning of Smyrna in 1922: "Poor Greeks, poor Turks, poor World!"

If we persist in trying to convince ourselves that "the Arabs don't really care," or "their attitude is just a bluff," we shall put in jeopardy thousands of Jews who have their homes all over the Arab world. The Arabs have vigorously opposed political Zionism from the very first. They have opposed it by every legal and sometimes by extra-legal means. Today they are aroused, and they are strong. Because they feel that we ignore polite and logical argument, they are once more pondering the use of force. If

force breaks out, if the events of 1941 in Baghdad and of 1946 in Egypt are reproduced on a vastly greater scale, will the fault be solely that of the Arab world?

One of the most widespread fallacies in America and Britain is the belief that Arab opposition is confined to the leaders, or that the issue is "built up into a crisis for personal gain." To such statements I can only oppose my own experience of two decades, and a myriad friendships with Jew and Arab, with Syrian and American and Englishman, with civilian and with military authorities. The plain truth, reached through such an experience, is this: high and low, Muslim and Christian, unite in a deep feeling that political Zionism is wrong. Nor is this merely a political emotion; it is a moral judgment.

There are realities of which the general public is dimly aware, but which, in the tense specific situations coming to a head in the whole Near East, are too frequently ignored. One of these is the wide dissemination of arms and military equipment, together with knowledge of their use, among the general Arab population. Another is the substitution of Russia for Germany as the nation to which the Arabs may look for aid against the "imperialistic ambitions," as they put it, of Britain and America. Still another is the growth of an unanticipated unity, on a political scale, through the establishment of the Arab League.

Aleppo itself presents in microcosm the situation throughout much of the Near and Middle East. The Aleppo Jews number about 9,000. Most of them have been here "since memory began." There is, how-

ever, a sizeable Spanish-speaking group which came here to find refuge from Christian persecution in the later Middle Ages. The Jews have been mainly Arab-speaking, and — at least until recently — strongly anti-Zionist. Since the 1941 Baghdad riot, some of the young men have been more deeply interested in Zionism, on the theory that they "may as well be killed for an old sheep as a lamb." But that is distinctly not the attitude of the majority.

One significant symptom of the insecurity felt by the Jewish community in Aleppo is the gradual liquidation of real estate holdings in favour of more ready assets. All this is in expectation of trouble to come. They are not clear what form the trouble may take, but anticipate everything from forced migration at the minimum, to genuine massacre. The situation in which these people find themselves can only arouse pity. But are they not overlooked in the eagerness of those who, out of an equivalent pity, would succor the Jewish sufferers of Europe, not by taking them into Britain or America, but by pushing them into Palestine at whatever risk?

It is possible to argue the merits of political Zionism on the basis of right and wrong, of ought and ought not, of why and wherefore. Here on the ground, where the complications are infinitely clearer than at a distance, one can only try to make the outsider see the consequences of forced immigration. And one of those consequences may easily be the suffering, even the slaughter, of countless Jews residing here for generations. Must they remain the forgotten men of the Jewish world?

THE JAPANESE MIND

BY HOWARD F. VAN ZANDT

Speaking fluent Japanese, I have travelled by train, bus, streetcar, and private automobile over two-thirds of Japan in the past five months. Often I have been the only non-Japanese in a community. I carry no weapons, nor am I especially husky in appearance.

Yet in all this time I have once to hear an unfriendly word, or witness an unkind act toward me or any other member of the Occupation Forces. Several times I have heard Americans say they were sure that Japanese were saying unfriendly things about them. Inquiry in each instance revealed that the complain-ers spoke to Japanese.

I have asked trusted Japanese soldiers why in Germany American Occupation troops ran into so many instances of hatred while in Japan there was apparent. The destruction of Japan's cities is quite comparable to the devastation in Germany. Several hundred thousand people were killed by our fire bombing attacks on Tokyo alone.

The answer, according to my best informants, lies partly in the failure of Japanese propagandists to put across their stories prior to and during the conflict. Japanese militarists have never been noted for subtlety. Their attempts to make the population believe that Americans were

characteristically rapists, murderers, torturers, bullies, etc., were successful only with the little children. A few sticks of chewing gum and jeep rides by friendly GI's soon convinced them that such tales were fabrications.

Adults, boys and girls of high school age, and college students were far too familiar with the behaviour

of American missionaries and many American business men to accept the propaganda of their wartime leaders without grave doubts. "In only one way", a dependable Japanese told me, "were our military successful in misleading the people by frequent reference to your crime and sex motion pictures."

—WORLDOVER PRESS.

CIVILIAN EMPLOYMENT REACHES PEAK FIGURE

The latest reports of the U.S. Bureau of Census makes pleasant reading. It gives the very welcome news that civilian employment in July reached the peak figure of 58,130,000 and in that month there were 2,640,000 in the forces. The "full employment" figure of 60 million jobs has thus been reached and exceeded in less than one year of peace.

It was in the 1944 campaign platform that the late President Roosevelt set that target, and it was subsequently employed as the title of a book written by Mr. Henry Wallace, the Secretary of Agriculture. When the late President Roosevelt

used this figure he was assailed by his enemies for talking "politics", and when Mr. Wallace took up the story he was dubbed a visionary.

As for unemployment the figure declined last month to its lowest point yet in 1946, i.e. 2,270,000. Nevertheless this is a considerable increase on the 830,000 unemployed, and seeking work, just before Japan's capitulation. It is clear however that if inflation is to be prevented and recurrence of "boom and bust" avoided, organised workers, management and administration must pull together. But if labour unrest raises its ugly head again the industrial barometer cannot fail to register a depression.