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

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NOTES.

The Editors' Conference:—The Standing Committee of the All-India Editor's Conference concluded a memorable session at Delhi last week-end. It is necessary to bear in mind that the conditions which had brought about what is known as the Delhi Agreement, do not prevail today. That Agreement postulated a situation in which the Press declared its intention not to impede the war effort while the Government, for its part, agreed not to seek to suppress political movements under the plea of war necessity. The Government of India apparently can no longer observe its part of the Agreement. This was not clear even during the Conference week but it has been brought out startlingly in the Chief Commissioner of Delhi's order of the 29th August replacing the earlier procedure of registering correspondents with a drastic pre-censorship of all factual news. The *Bombay Chronicle* in its issue dated August 31 lifted the veil from the secrecy which had hid the proceedings of the Conference. Roughly the position was, it is apparent, that a system of pre-censorship—the word used was "scrutiny" but it meant the same thing—had been agreed to on the understanding that it was to be restricted only to the disturbances which had occurred all over India on the arrests of Congress leaders. Both in evolving the system and in working it out, the Editors' Conference was to be consulted. Consultation at every stage was the consideration which led the Standing Committee to acquiesce in a system which, left in the hands of a bureaucracy, would lead to intolerable conditions. It was essential for the smooth working of the system that the Central Government with the collaboration of the Central Advisory Committee should have given the lead both in the matter of categories for restrictions as well as in the detailed working of it; provincial variations were to be arrived at in the provinces by similar consultation. The Delhi Chief Commissioner's new order dashes these hopes to the ground.

It is even more drastic than the old order it replaces and the actual working of the system which it has introduced, gives cause for the greatest alarm. The lead has been given by Delhi Province, of all provinces, for Delhi Province was the place which had earned the worst reputation by its indefensible order restricting newspaper display and publication of news relating to the movement. Government is playing a dangerous game with the Editors' Conference. Hitherto the Central Government had pleaded inability to control recalcitrant provinces. The recent Delhi order gives an extremely sinister meaning to this attitude. The negotiations are not yet through and the Standing Committee has mentioned in a brief statement that it will give further details of the new system when the picture is completed. In the absence of a further statement, the impression is general that the Editors' Conference has been, to put it in the mildest language, duped. This, even if it turns out correct, need not be to the discredit of the Conference, provided the Standing Committee faces the fact squarely. Unless, in the coming week, Government proves that the Delhi precedent is disregarded and consultation, as agreed to, is restored from the Centre right down to the Provinces, it cannot be said that any agreement exists between the press and the government. The weakness of the present position, so far as the Conference is concerned, is that there is a wide feeling among the members themselves that they have lost ground between Government, on the one hand, and the extremists of the Press on the other. And this feeling is more fatal to an organisation than the most severe attacks from outside.

Registration of Correspondents:—It might strike the observer as a needlessly optimistic statement but if the position is viewed dispassionately there is a distinct gain in the new situation which has arisen out of the recent meeting of the Standing Committee of the Editors' Conference. The obnoxious system of registering correspondents has been given up. That system introduced censorship at the source of news, with all the disadvantages that such procedure involved. It struck at the protection of anonymity which newspapers extended to their informants and established, in addition to the responsibility of editors under the Press Laws, the responsibility of correspondents. The new position in regard to publication

is the same. But the responsibility rests solely with the editors. So far as the public is concerned, the fact that censoring is done by the official system toned down by the association of editors with such censoring, should be a guarantee that the minimum of information is withheld from it. The main point to be seen is that, under the guise of keeping secret information that is useful to the enemy, news about conditions prevailing in the country is not withheld from the people of this country or from Britain and her Allies abroad. The system which has arisen out of the recent talks is, it must be admitted, crude and cumbersome. If in the course of the ensuing week, the Government finds itself unable to work it as it should be done, something else will have to take its place. To prepare for this contingency which is in no way remote, there should be an early meeting of Indian editors, both of the Conference and out of it, to consider the position dispassionately. We would suggest that steps be taken at once to bring this about. It may be found necessary to invite proprietors of newspapers also to such a conference to ensure that its decisions be really effective.

Congress Detenus :—Gandhiji and members of the Congress Working Committee were arrested on the morning of Sunday the 9th August. A week later came the news of the death of Mr. Mahadev Desai, his Secretary who was detained with him. The *Hindu* of Madras of the 26th published a message from its Bombay correspondent giving some particulars regarding Gandhiji's health and habits at the place of detention. Gandhiji had his goat's milk, his daily walks, prayers prolonged more than usual and read the whole of the Bhagavad Gita, all the eighteen chapters and 700 stanzas, daily with Mrs. Gandhi and two companions. The correspondent said that the Bombay Government would shortly issue a statement on the subject. One naturally expected that the official statement would be fuller than the correspondent's. As a fact, the latter which was issued last week was brief and formal. It ran as follows :

The following information is published regarding Mr. Gandhi and members of the Congress Working Committee who were recently detained under the Defence of India Rules, states a Bombay Government *communiqué*. Mr. Gandhi is in a private house, where he is supplied with everything necessary to secure his comforts and the kind of food he requires. His wife is with him, and also certain companions, including his own medical adviser. The members of the Working Committee are also accommodated in suitable quarters and are supplied with all the necessary conveniences. They are in the charge of an officer of the Indian Medical Service. All these persons are permitted to correspond with members of their families on personal matters and are provided with newspapers. The health of all is good.

As regards other Congressmen who have also been detained, no information has been vouchsafed except that some of them are to be transferred from Vellore to Nagpur and others from Nagpur

to Vellore. The assumption evidently is that the public are not entitled to know anything about the conditions surrounding their detention. This imposes on the authorities a greater responsibility than that of jailers whose administration is governed by the rules of a Code.

A Mischievous Canard :—An Associated Press message published on Thursday stated :

It is stated that there is no truth in the story put out by an enemy radio station that an attempt was made on the life of the Viceroy a day or two ago. His Excellency presided as usual at the meeting of his Executive Council this (September 1) morning.

We are not sure that such a contradiction was necessary as scarcely one in a thousand in India attach any importance to enemy radio stations. The story was evidently fabricated with a view to create the impression in foreign countries that a movement of anarchic violence is in full swing in India. It might also have been intended as a suggestion to the disgruntled elements, now that Gandhiji's propaganda of non-violence is silenced, to revert to the nefarious ways which it succeeded largely in sweeping out of the field. Some opponents of Gandhiji's methods overdid this denunciation of non-violence to the point of glorifying violence. The war has further evoked a mentality which offers a favourable soil to the advocates of violence in politics. There are now present elements alien to Indian temperament which do not scruple to take advantage of the prevailing economic hardships to propagate their ideas. This is the only way in which some of the methods employed in the recent disturbances can be accounted for.

Saving Darkness :—At a time when the householder, man or woman, has to put up with several worries, none of which he can trace to his own sins of omission or commission, the introduction from September 1, of the new Standard Time, one hour in advance of the old Standard Time which was itself half an hour in advance of Bombay time, is felt as a fresh infliction without any compensating advantages whatsoever. In Europe the advance of the clock by one hour during summer was quite reasonable and involved no inconvenience. By three o'clock in the morning or earlier in the more northern countries of Europe, it is dawn and the evening is prolonged upto 9 p. m. Out of the six extra hours of daylight thus available, it is no great hardship to add one to the working day. In India both the dawn and the dusk are evanescent, and day and night merge into each other with scarcely any interval even in summer. We are now at the beginning of autumn when the days become shorter and the nights longer. The advance of the clock by one hour means more a saving of night than that of day. This is one of those measures which are the outcome of a Government which has few contacts with the life of the people. We are told that this is necessary for the sake of uniformity as a military measure. But is it necessary or wise as a military measure to upset the daily routine of the people's life

especially when kerosene oil is scarce and the ancient lamps have gone out of use? The change would have been vastly more felt but for the fact that so far as the masses are concerned, it will have no effect. Hindus will continue to follow their traditional idea of the day as from sunrise to sunrise and Muslims as from sunset to sunset. The Bombay Municipal Corporation has resolved to stick to Bombay Time, as this was observed by the Muslim, Parsee and Hindu communities for religious and social purposes.

Mrs. Roosevelt on Race Prejudice:—Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt writing in the *New Republic* of May 11, foreshadows a radical change in the Immigration policy of the United States. She doubts very much if after the war they can differentiate among the peoples of Europe, the Near East and the Far East. "Perhaps, she writes, "the simplest way of the problem in the future is to say that we are fighting for freedom, and that one of the freedoms we must establish is freedom from discrimination among the peoples of the world, either because of race, or of colour, or of religion." Mrs. Roosevelt goes on to point out that their immediate duty as Americans is to their own Negro minority. She says that they can not force people to accept as friends those for whom they have no liking but "living in a democracy," she pleads, "it is entirely reasonable to demand that every citizen of that democracy enjoys the fundamental rights of a citizen." These rights are four in number: equality before the law, equality of education, equality to hold a job according to their ability, and equality of participation through the ballot in the government. Mrs. Roosevelt concludes: "Differences there are and will always be, and that is why on both sides there must be tact and patience and an effort at real understanding. Above everything else no action must be taken which can cause so much bitterness that the whole liberating effort may be set back over a period of years." Mr. R. R. Keithahn's article which we publish today, goes more deeply into the question of race and religious prejudice and urges the cultivation as a habit of regarding one's fellowmen as individuals and not as belonging to this or that race or religion. It is hardly necessary to point out that the movement for the elevation of the depressed classes in this country is conceived on more radical lines than Mrs. Roosevelt's plan for raising the status of Negroes in the United States. One of the leaders of these classes has been nominated a member of the Governor-General's Executive Council corresponding, according to Sir S. Cripps, to the American President's Cabinet.

Religion and Politics:—The distinction between the Totalitarian and Democratic ideologies is gradually and almost imperceptibly injecting itself into the Catholic and Protestant divisions in Christianity. While the Catholic hierarchy inclines towards the Franco

regime in Spain, for instance, the Protestant denominations are becoming increasingly well-disposed to the Soviet regime in Russia. The Dean of Canterbury, Dr. Hewlett Johnson, is a stout champion of Soviet Russia both as a model of democracy and the most practical application of the teachings of Jesus Christ. He maintains that the hostility of Marx, Lenin and Stalin to religion was due to the unfortunate alignment of religion in Tsarist times with political oppression and social reaction. "Communism," he considers, "provided society with a new moral base, and is in the process of achieving in 'this world' those very things that we, Christians, have too often professed with our lips but denied in our lives." Father Wilfrid Parsons differentiates between the Capitalistic, the Communist and the Christian ideologies with reference to their respective ideas of property. The capitalist view is, according to him, that property ultimately belongs to the State; the Communist view is that it belongs to "collectivity"; while in the Christian (Catholic view) it belongs to God. Father Parsons points out that the people who are clamouring for more freedom, are not the under-privileged but the over-privileged classes who already have the freedom that comes from stable ownership. So far as capitalism is concerned, Father Parson's attitude does not differ materially from that of the Communists. Only while the Communists would transfer private property to the community, Father Parsons would like to have it for the Church as the representative of God. "The identification of democracy with the capitalist system," he declares, "is abhorrent to the Catholic mind." On the other hand, Father A. Lallemand writing in the September number of *New Review* (Catholic) on Democracy, claims that private property is the divinely ordained means of deliverance and should not be twisted into an instrument of oppression.

Back to Pamphleteering:—In the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries pamphlets were the popular medium of political controversy. In India, too, it was through pamphlets that Raja Ram Mohun Roy kept up a vigorous controversy with orthodox Hindus and proselytising missionaries on religious topics in the beginning of the last century. With the growth of the Press, newspapers became the principal channels of discussion. There seems to be a tendency now to revert to the pamphlet method owing to the monopolising of the Press by financial interests in the United States. The onerous restrictions placed on newspapers in India may lead to the same result. In a case which came recently before the Supreme Federal Court of the United States, three of the Judges in the course of their judgment referred to the pamphlet "as an historic weapon against oppression" and said that it is today "the convenient vehicle of those of limited resources because newspaper space and radio time are expensive and the cost of establishing such enterprise great."

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, September 5, 1942.

RESIDUAL POWERS.

The most important part of the resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha at its session in Delhi last week is that which relates to the future constitution of India. It runs thus:

This Committee is of opinion that the constitution of Free India should be a federal one with the largest possible measure of autonomy for the federating units and in the interest of the maintenance of the unity and integrity of India the residual powers should be vested in the Federal Government and not in the federating units.

This attitude of the Mahasabha distinguishes it sharply from both the Congress and the Muslim League. The former in the resolution of the All India Congress Committee passed at its last sitting in Bombay has expressly declared that residual powers should be vested in the federating units. The official attitude of the Muslim League is against federation and the question of distribution of powers between the Federal Government and the federating units does not, therefore, arise. But this extreme attitude is not the general attitude of Muslims as shown by Sir Feroze Khan Noon's scheme of leaving Defence, Currency, Customs and Foreign Relations to a Central Government. The late Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla in a paper which might be called his political testament, made out a strong case for a unitary Government of India with a Central Legislature and the delegation by it to provincial Governments of powers of administration in matters of purely provincial significance. *The Reformer* has always held that the unification of India is the goal of national progress but an intermediate stage is necessary and the Hindu Mahasabha's resolution provides it. The word "autonomy" is liable to be interpreted in an absolute sense. Provided it is clearly understood that "autonomy" of the federating units does not exclude the concurrent jurisdiction of the Central Government which will have residual powers also vested in it, no serious objection need be taken to its use in the Mahasabha's resolution. There is nothing irreconcilable between the Mahasabha's idea and the idea of Sir Feroze Khan Noon. The Central Government controlling the Finance, Customs Defence and Foreign Relations will necessarily be vested with power to prevent the federating units from following disruptive policies of their own in all matters bearing on these four vital functions of national life, and, by whatever name it is called, it will completely control the course of the country's political and economic evolution. No such accommodation is possible between the Mahasabha and the Congress with its insistence on residual powers remaining with the provinces. None, of course, is thinkable with the Muslim League which is entirely opposed to federation

in any shape. The Mahasabha's position on this vital question represents the considered opinion of the great majority of Indians who have thought of the subject not from a party point of view but from the point of view of the needs and conditions of Indian life. The Congress by reserving residual powers with the federating units has imperilled the unity and integrity of India on which it has for the last twenty years maintained an equivocal attitude.

The Working Committee of the Mahasabha resolution categorically asserts that the present Government commands neither the confidence nor the willing allegiance of the Indian people. If the amount of war effort be the criterion, as the Mahasabha seems inclined to urge, a comparison of its progress before the Viceroy's Executive Council was expanded and after its second expansion, can alone determine whether the Indianisation of the Council has inspired more confidence or less confidence than when the Viceroy was practically directing the war effort on his own authority. Such a comparison will also be a test of the correctness of Mr. Amery's assurance to Parliament that the war effort has not been affected by the declaration of the Congress to be an unlawful body and the arrests of many of its leading members including Mahatma Gandhi. Obviously the time for instituting a comparison of the kind is not the present. The Mahasabha, like the Congress, draws a sharp distinction between nationalisation of the Government and the Indianisation of it. Indianisation has enabled a section of the Press and some of the spokesmen of Government in Britain and here to claim the recent policy of Government as being predominantly one approved by the Indian members who are a ten to two majority in the Viceroy's Executive Council. Only one of the members has resigned and he in his letter of resignation expressly avowed his support of that policy. The Viceroy's responsibility, if there was any in the matter, has gone entirely into the background. This is exactly what made *The Reformer* insist from the first that, during the war period and the prosecution of India's war effort, the Viceroy should have the sole direction of Government. However that may be, we are not inclined to dispute the opinion of the Working Committee of the Mahasabha about the amount of public confidence reposed in the present Government. But we doubt if the installation of another set of persons chosen from among the leaders of the Congress, the Muslim League, the Mahasabha, the Scheduled Castes Conference, the Sikh and the Indian Christian groups, would inspire greater confidence. If the leaders of all these bodies are convinced, as they declare they are, that there is a real and serious menace to the country, they should, disregarding the personnel, lend all their support to Government as if it was a national Government. The point is, do the masses feel towards the war as they feel, if they are Hindus, in the matter of cow killing

and, if they are Muslims, in that of music before mosques? Have they the same "motive and the cue for passion" in respect of the war as they have in respect of these ingrained sentiments? If they had, they would not wait until a National Government is installed at New Delhi to throw themselves with their teeth and nails, if no other weapons are available, on the enemy. If they have not, no national government which merely takes over the commitments of the present regime, can persuade them to do more than what, under the sole control of the Governor-General, they were doing and are prepared to do. The Government of India's means of securing public support are purely "realistic" but having regard to their own scruples about extending Indian agency in the Defence of the country, the response to them has evidently not disappointed their expectations. Suppose the National Government is ready to put two million more men in the field, where is the necessary equipment to come from when the claims of Russia and China which are fighting on their own soil have yet to be adequately met?

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?

It has been often remarked that by the time an idea from the West finds a foothold in India, it has lost its vitality and become the subject of criticism from different points of view. Democracy is the latest of these. In the West democracy no longer holds the position of a dogma which it has acquired among us. The Maharaja of Indore is the newest recruit to the ranks of those who have adopted democracy as a slogan. By democracy is generally understood by Indian politicians the British parliamentary system known as responsible representative Government. There are other forms of democracy, notably the Presidential system of the United States. But in India democracy means only the British system. This is what nationalists want in British India, and in the Indian States. A moment's thought will show that the British system is emphatically not a democracy even in the limited sense of rule of the majority. There are about 500 million human beings in the British Empire. Of these about sixty millions may be said to have democratic government. The remaining 440 millions are ruled by the fortunate 60 millions as absolutely as by Tsar or Kaiser. That is to say, a minority of about a tenth of the population rules the majority of nine times its number. Lincoln's famous formula "government of the people, by the people, for the people" should in order to cover the British Empire be amended into "Government of the people by one-tenth of their number born in a remote corner of the Empire, of the remaining nine-tenths primarily for the one tenth and incidentally for the nine-tenths so far as the interests of the latter do not clash with the interests of the former." It is assumed that the interests of the majority and minority are identical but when there is a clash, as in the case of the cotton duties, India must be bled and the only question is where it can be bled with the least pain. The British Empire is a minoritarian rule if ever there was one. Even among the privileged 60 millions, the prevailing system has been described by Mr. W. R. Tinterton in the *Weekly Review* as being in the main "government by plutocracy, tempered by

surviving vestiges of aristocracy and functioning through a bureaucracy." This is an extreme view but there can be no doubt that the term "democracy" applied to the British system as a whole must be understood in a very broad sense like the term Christian applied to European nations.

The other great country, accepted generally as a democracy, is the United States. Here a majority of White men has practically denied full rights of citizenship to about 12 million Negroes. This, of course, is a flagrant violation of the declaration of equal rights which is the preamble to the American constitution. There are other glaring defects in the working of the American system, which materially detract from its democratic character. The plutocratic influence in American politics is not tempered by the aristocratic remnant as in Britain. The rich man there is also the great man. Notwithstanding the class divisions in England, Professor Julian Huxley thinks that political democracy in his country compares advantageously with that in American political life. He instances the general record of the London County Council as being much more pleasant to contemplate than that of the New York City administration. Professor Huxley has also some things to say in favour of the British class system. In the course of an interesting review of recent literature on "Democracy in Theory and Practice" in the weekly Information Series of the Federal Council of Christian Churches in America, Professor Julian Huxley is quoted as saying that the British ideal is first of all the belief that the individual human being is what mattered most—more than the State or the total of national wealth, or nothing else whatsoever. He notes that whereas in the eighteenth century political theorists made much of "natural rights" and the American tradition stresses the familiar "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," the tendency in Britain now is to speak more of privileges and opportunities. Political thought in Britain and America has travelled far beyond the crude idea of majority rule which in the mind of many of our politicians is the whole of democracy. That is why Mr. Jinnah avers that Democracy is unsuited to India. He as well as other leaders are thinking of democracy as crass majority rule which it is not and should not be. It is interesting to note that several recent writers look to the Soviet system as approximating to the democratic ideal more than the British or American systems though the Soviet system of government is essentially totalitarian. In India we identify democracy with the Parliamentary system. The British Government too does the same partly because it has experience of no other form and partly because no other form will be accepted by Indians as democratic. Democracy, however, is not the form of government but the spirit by which it is inspired. Lord Tweedsmuir in his "Pilgrim's Way" describes his idea of democracy thus:

Democracy—the essential thing as distinguished from this or that democratic Government—was primarily an attitude of mind, a spiritual testament, and not an economic structure or a political machine. The testament involved certain basic beliefs—that the personality was sacrosanct, which was the meaning of liberty; that policy should be settled by free discussion; that normally a minority should be ready to yield to a majority which, in turn, should respect a minority's sacred things. It seemed to me that democracy had been too narrowly defined and had been identified illogically with some particular economic or political system such as *laissez faire* or British Parliamentism. I could imagine a democracy which economically was largely collective and which had not our constitutional pattern.

A BANDRA DIARY.

Kite-flying is a healthy pastime for children. It keeps them in the open air, with their gaze fixed upward not downward. It makes them watch how the wind blows and to vary the direction of their kites so as to float with it. But kite-flying is not a game for members of the Governor-General's Executive Council. As members of Government they have a responsibility of which they can divest themselves only as Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar did by divesting themselves of their office. The Five Dominions scheme which Sir Feroze Khan Noon propounded at Aligarh is, on the face of it, too crude to have been passed by any of his more mature-minded colleagues. It completely ignored Gujerat, the leading commercial division of India, and the Andhras who are historically and culturally one of the most important sections of the Indian population. In the ancient sense of the word, Andhras are Dravidians but so are all the people who lived south of the Vindhya. But in current usage Dravidians are the Tamil-speaking people and are distinguished from the Telugu-speaking Andhras and the Kanarese-speaking Karnatakas though both the languages belong to the Dravidian group. When the other day Lord Selborne adumbrated a scheme of Imperial Federation in the House of Lords, Mr. Attlee repudiated it in the House of Commons as a purely personal speculation of the Colonial Secretary. Some member may perhaps, ask at the forthcoming meeting of the Legislative Assembly whether Sir Feroze Khan's Five Dominions plan was put forward with the knowledge and approval of Government. He may also ask whether Sir Feroze Khan's declaration that he was carrying on in the Executive Council the same work which Mr. Jinnah was carrying on outside, represented a fact within the knowledge of His Excellency the Governor-General and whether it was consistent with the duties of a Member of the Executive Council that he should carry on a political propaganda without the concurrence of the Governor-General in Council. To our mind, Sir Feroze Khan's action seems to be clear indication of the break-down of the Expanded Council. Sir Feroze Khan incidentally stated that the Viceroy "acted as a constitutional head and accepted the decisions of the majority of the Executive Council." Since the separation of the functions of Crown Representative, the position of the Viceroy is more nearly that of the Prime Minister than of the Sovereign. Sir Stafford Cripps recently told the Americans that the Governor-General occupied the same position as the President of the United States. The most exact parallel is the German Chancellor under the Kaiser. Whether it is Prime Minister, President or Imperial Chancellor, it is plainly the responsibility of the head of the Government to originate policies and not leave them to be decided by a majority vote of his colleagues. In the position of the Governor-General, it is His Excellency's duty and responsibility to see that the Government had one policy and that Members of his Council who had their own policies which they wished to propagandise, should follow the honourable example set by Sir Ramaswami Aiyar. The country looks to the Viceroy and not to individual members of Council to ensure good government. That is the present constitutional position and not what Sir Feroze Khan described it to be.

What is realism in politics? Indian nationalists are frequently blamed for not being realistic. Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar on the eve of his departure from New Delhi to join the British War Cabinet remarked that he would correct the unrealistic ideas

which many British writings and pronouncements on India betrayed. He explained that he had not particularly the Secretary of State for India in mind but he did not say that Mr. Amery was realistic in his statements on India in Parliament and on the platform. It is not impossible that both Indians and the British may be unrealistic and that Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar alone has the key to reality in Indian politics. But it is hardly likely that Sir Ramaswami thinks that Indian nationalist leaders were unrealistic. These leaders are in fact themselves the most realistic factor in Indian politics and they certainly know what they stand for. If reality means the appreciation of the state of things at a given moment and accepting it as the basis of action, the occupation of the greater part of Europe by Germany and a large part of Eastern Asia by Japan are realities and should be accepted as realities. But this is not being done. Russia is fighting against heavy odds to thrust back German aggressors and China has been unexpectedly successful in dislodging the Japanese from some key positions which they had occupied. The Allies are determined to destroy Hitlerism and all manner of totalitarianism and they are not going to accept any reality as more potent than the reality of their own resolution. The most famous school of Indian philosophy rejects the whole phenomenal world as illusion. It accepts no reality except the Cosmic Spirit. Reality, therefore, is what one accepts as such. By the way, does not the Government of which Sir Ramaswami is a Member, keep the Secretary of State and the British public informed of the reality in Indian politics? Sir Ramaswami's remarks may suggest that the responsibility for recent measures is not that of the Government of India but of the authorities in Britain. If the authorities in Britain ordered measures not in keeping with the reality in India, is it not the duty of the Government of India to set them right?

RECLUSE.

NOTES ON CLOSER UNION.

The association of White Settlements with Britain is one of comparative equality crystallised in the Statute of Westminster (1931). Even among them there may be slight differences. Canada has a small French population in Quebec. South Africa has a large proportion of Afrianders. Ireland is not a colony except in regard to Ulster. Australia and New Zealand are British Colonies. Except South Africa, no colony has an indigenous or non-British population worth speaking.

The history and evolution of this White association has a lesson of wider application but colour prejudice prevents it being learnt in all its significance.

The resistance to the claim to freedom lost the U. S. A. in the 18th century. Time has healed the hostility and common defence of their imperilled freedom has brought them together. They rise or sink together, bond or free, as they now see it.

Mr. Clarence Streit in his latest book treats his proposal as Reunion reversing the separation of 1780. Incidentally one may mention that the union of the seven countries mentioned above is to be effected immediately without waiting for the framing of a constitution which can wait till after the war. And also India which is now owned or possessed by Britain, will be owned or possessed by the Union, as no one component state can have a satellite.

South Africa received her freedom from Campbell-Bannerman whose vision was assisted by the uniform disapproval of Europe to British war on the Boers. On the whole, that act of trust has paid even with so tough a people as the Boers.

The Irish solution was delayed and maimed. The consequence is now in evidence. Even American intervention has not prevailed. Some wrongs are not easily forgotten.

Up to date, the lesson is:

What Britain sought to bind by subjugation or denial of freedom she lost. What she freely and willingly released clung fast to her. Every variation in temper and trust had its due reflection in the relations established.

In the case of India, her non-White character prevents trust. Distrust, therefore, is the result. India has been and still remains a dependency. War-time administration has accentuated the true condition of India. High places to the dominant race; policy and control with that race; supply of raw material for European industries as the duty assigned to other countries and continents, particularly Asia and Africa. Even the war in Europe is for domination and exploitation. Equality is offered. Germany wants dominance denying equality to the rest of Europe. What is galling in Germany's claim is denial of equality to the rest of Europe, not the assertion of inferiority of the rest of the world which both accept but express more or less frankly.

A new basis in Indo-British relations must put an end to the exploitation that exists. How is that to be done?

As some of these writers speak of China and Abyssinia becoming associated with the Allies, is India to be put in the same category as an independent country joining of her own free will like China, or to be as now an associated country with a right of secession at her option? Defence will be assisted and all technical and expert assistance given in the building up of an independent India. The former is independence and alliance by treaty and the latter approximates to dominion status; I thought your preference was for a union such as was offered to France—*The Reformer* did refer to that offer as a flash in a supreme moment—as really applicable to India. Britain will never accept it. India big in size and population will swamp her in such a union. I think Amery has said that it was unthinkable and will be ruin for Britain.

Britain is still, at heart aristocratic. The ruling class hopes for its continuance. The labour group in England do not desire it. They envisage socialism as the result of a revolutionary temper of the people without violence entering in the process. That is why these middle class writers are for socialism and for emancipation of India. The hope of these classes and the hope of India have a common enemy in the aristocratic rulers. In England as in India, the solution is desired during the War because after the War the struggle of the old against the new will arise with uncertain results.

My preference was for a true dominion status (a description of a constitutional relation merely) rather than independence and treaty. I will not say that that preference is now as strong but I still see some advantages. Help in defence we shall need. That help as a duty of Britain will be stronger in dominion status. It may be an inferiority complex to admit it but I do feel that in the development of our country for its due place in Asia and the world we would require much technical help for a time, as much time as it has taken Russia to build herself up to her present strength.

No one offers to help Russia on her development. She does it for herself. It will be

offensive to make such an offer. There is less offence in such an offer to China in her development. That is, as she is now. After the war of the Allies succeed, it may be an insult to her in her new status as much as to Russia. It may be less of an offence to us. History is the justification. But in a world of greater security if that is established, with no chance of Japan as an aggressor, India's independence on the same footing as China is not unthinkable. In any case, India must have a place in the Peace Conference.

Whether it is setting up like China, or in dominion status, it is willingness of Britain that is required. We do not get our rights by military might. It must be by non-violent, non-co-operation in the last resort but steady moral pressure must work as it has worked so far from year to year. Britain will not countenance independence. She may agree to dominion status in the hope that subtle forms of exploitation will still be available. But it is up to our men to stop it. If the Government passes into our hand, it can be done. Say what we may, the Congress will have contributed a great deal to that end, I am willing to concede, more than any of us.

The pressure on Britain will be effective and irresistible if we were united. But we are not. Jinnah is our trouble. I do not see the end of it. The move to get Jinnah to meet Gandhi shows that the Muslims see danger in the unapproachable isolation of Jinnah's attitude to Congress. If an Indian solution was now reached as the result of the disorders in the country, it might sweep away his Pakistan and work towards democracy and federation. Muslims want understanding with the Congress securing greater advantages before the settlement between India and Britain. I am not without apprehension that Mr. Rajagopalachari's attitude will now prevail with the Congress and Gandhi may say all right, in the urgency of the desire to present a united demand on Britain which will then be effective with the United Nations if not wholly with Britain herself.

I dislike concession of Pakistan in any form—without conditions, or with the condition of provincial votes or with the condition of Muslim votes, or with arbitration offered by Gandhi. If I must choose between these, arbitration I prefer. No arbitrator will divide India, I think, in my innocent trust in the impartiality of arbitrators and in the hope that the world's need of a strong united India will prevail. There are many who feel that no province will vote for division and we are unnecessarily afraid of votes. Reason is all in favour of it. But can we trust to reason prevailing with fanatics? Punjab subsists on war finance of the Federation of India. The North West Frontier is a deficit province requiring 1 crore lakhs each year. Sindh has Sukkur Barrage commitment. Baluchistan also can not subsist under Pakistan. The status of an independent state is costly. Bengal will not vote for separation. It is for these reasons that the majority Muslim vote of all India is suggested now as deciding Pakistan or it may be the "Muslim nation" decides.

The hope of a Pakistan coming into the Federation later is slender. Everywhere else a separate entity came in later. Here Pakistan goes out of a pre-existing union and there is little hope of their coming in if once they are allowed to separate, except as the result of force.

British attitude after the war cannot now be guessed. I had always thought that Britain will not agree to destroy the unity they have done so much to build up, though during the war they do not wish to offend Jinnah by a definite pronouncement against Pakistan. I am not now quite so certain.

That men like Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan are with the Muslim League is due to the Government of India. I have reliable information of it. I tried to secure confirmation of it a few days ago and got it. "During war time, we do not want to weaken the Muslim League," said a high functionary to more than one individual. It may be that after the war a different attitude may prevail but it is uncertain.

T. R. V. S.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN MADRAS A CENTURY AGO.

Early efforts at social reform through legislation in the Madras Presidency are described in a paper read by Dr. B. S. Baliga, M.A., Ph.D., at the 18th meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission, and published in the record of its proceedings.

The period 1800-1835 saw much legislative activity in the southern presidency when the first steps were taken towards the removal of great social evils—domestic slavery, the slave trade and sati. Important measures relating to public health and more humane methods in dealing with prisoners and convicts were also adopted.

The first measures worth noting relate to public health. In 1802 public vaccination was introduced in Madras, but made little headway, owing to religious prejudices, until in 1805 Lord William Bentinck appointed a superintendent with a large staff of surgeons and vaccinators and drew up a plan for popularising vaccination. Within a year the number of persons vaccinated is said to have risen from 7,070 to 178,074 and within two years to 243,173. A small isolation hospital was built in Madras to arrest the spread of small-pox.

The Court of Directors, while approving these measures, cautioned the Government against alarming the people. The Government, however, appear to have avoided opposition by skilful propaganda and endeavoured to spread vaccination in Coorg, Mysore and Java.

When a Cholera epidemic broke out in 1819, magistrates were authorised to spend money to help the sick. At about the same time lunatic asylums were set up at the headquarters of the four provincial courts.

Two widespread social evils were the slave trade and domestic slavery. Energetic measures were taken against the slave trade and it was hoped that domestic slavery also would die out in time as a result. Kidnapping persons to sell them as slaves had been punished with whipping and transportation to the Andamans. The Malabar Commissioners in 1793 had ordered the chief and factors of Tallicherry to suppress it wherever it appeared, but the practice continued in Malabar and Tanjore. After slave trading had been declared a felony throughout the British Empire, Mr. Baber, the Magistrate of Malabar, drew attention to the practice of kidnapping children from Travancore to Malabar and selling them as slaves. At the same time he arrested some of the ringleaders, punished them for kidnapping and freed their victims.

The Madras Government hesitated to act as they felt that the Supreme Government alone should legislate. Pending legislation, they advised the magistrates of Tanjore and Malabar to arrest slave traders and send them up for trial before the Supreme Court of Judicature or the Court of Admiralty.

Domestic slavery would end if the slave trade were stopped but legislation could help those already so enslaved. In 1820 magistrates were ordered to punish persons ill-treating their slaves. The Government ordered the Magistrate of Tinnevely to put a stop to the practice of selling young girls to dancing women to be brought up as

prostitutes. In 1841 the Government declared that no domestic slave could be sold or purchased and in 1846 legislation removed the distinction between master and slave.

The proposal to abolish sati was made by Mr. C. M. Lushington, both when Magistrate of Tanjore and when Magistrate of Trichinopoly. The Bengal Government had proposed to prohibit it in the case of widows who were pregnant, drunk or below 16 years of age (as being contrary to the Sastras and established usage) and thought that similar action would suffice in Madras. Questions were asked in Parliament as to the prevalence of the evil in 1819, 1821 and 1823, the petition of the Bedford Society in 1828 being supported by Wilberforce.

The Faujdari Adalat submitted a detailed report on sati in 1821. The evil assumed large proportions only in Ganjam, Masulipatam, Chittoor, Tanjore and Canara districts, and they suggested that it might be restrained by enforcing the provisions of Hindu Law against it and by propaganda on the part of magistrates. The Government asked magistrates to enforce strictly the provisions of Hindu Law against sati. When the Bengal regulation prohibiting sati was received in Madras, Stephen Kumbold Lushington, the Governor, strongly recommended instant abolition. His colleagues agreed and Regulation I of 1830 abolished sati in the Madras Presidency.

Turning to the humanizing of law and prison-administration we find that the criminal law had yet to be codified and made known to the people. Collectors and Tahsildars were instructed to tour their districts explaining the Regulations in force and proclaiming their provisions by beat of tom-tom in the languages of the districts, besides displaying translations prominently in their offices.

The Court of Directors, who were always insistent on the strict enforcement of rules and regulations relating to the treatment of prisoners and men under trial, came down heavily on the local Government whenever prisoners were detained for long without trial or refused the opportunity to plead, or when efforts were made to punish criminals vicariously through their children.

The Madras Government greatly reduced the harshness of corporal punishment. The weak, the sick and women were exempted from whipping, which, moreover, had always to be done before a doctor.

Only felons were to be fettered. Judges and surgeons were to visit the jails weekly. Indian prison doctors had to live near the prisons. Provision was made for keeping prisons clean and airy, for washing the linen of prisoners and for removal of sick prisoners to hospital. Under Section 29 of Regulation X of 1816 prisoners of different classes were kept apart.

More important still, the Government approved and adopted methods tried by Mr. Newnham, the Judge at Cuddapah, for "improving the morals of convicts and making them useful members of society" by getting them to make bricks, tiles, charcoal, cumbles (blankets), coarse cloth and even paper. The Magistrates of Guntur was encouraged to try turning the criminal tribe of Chensooos into useful members of society.

The Court of Directors themselves suggested that even the big criminal tribes might be reformed by the grant of rent-free allotments of waste land and other inducements to turn to agriculture.

The Directors commented strongly on the high mortality rate in jails and suggested that all prisons be built on uniform plan in healthy localities and prisoners provided with proper food and medical assistance.

REMOVING AND PREVENTING PREJUDICES.

(BY RALPH RICHARD KETHAHN, BANGALORE.)

The formation of prejudice plays a large part in the communal problem of India. All too easily we lump people together in one category and damn or bless every individual by putting him into one large group. Recently Irving J. Lee in an article, "A Way with Prejudice," in the little magazine "Social Action," tackles the problem from the American point of view. He makes many suggestions which have their own importance for our own situation here in India. I would like to pass on some for our own consideration.

Seeds of Prejudice:—It is so easy for us to say "O, he is an outcaste" and at once characterising a man with certain virtues or vices without knowing the man at all. Someone has said: "The Pulayan of Travancore does less work than the caste man. Therefore he ought to be paid less wages." This may be true in a number of instances but certainly there must also be many exceptions. It is an example of making a generalisation which certainly will be unfair in many instances. When I was in school work, I often heard the teacher remark as we were giving marks to the students: "O, he is a Brahmin" or "He is an outcaste," and yet we often found that one of the most brilliant of our students would be a Harijan or one of the stupid students would be a Brahmin. When we make a generalisation we put ourselves into that same class that says that the German Aryans are a superior race and all others are of less quality. And we must be extremely careful that our generalisations do not make us unfair in our treatment of individuals or even of individual groups. "To discover similarities in differences and differences in similarities must constitute the starting point of our programme of good sense." That is, we may find more similarity between a certain Muslim and a certain Hindu than we find in the Hindu community itself. On the other hand we may find vast differences among a community as in the Christian community.

Let us think of men as individuals. Hardly a month goes by without someone asking me, "What is your caste?" If I am asked that question how much more often with the average Indian will be so asked! And as soon as we answer, we are classified at once under certain prejudices. A few months ago I had the privilege of visiting a village. As I came to the village I was talking with a young man who impressed me by his alert spirit. Suspecting that he was a Harijan, who had come under constructive influence, I asked him what his caste was. At once he replied, "I belong to no caste." I was very pleased with the answer and I believe that way of thinking, is the only solution for our communal problem in India. Certainly, although it is very easy to "pigeon-hole" peoples, that is, to place them quickly into certain categories, yet the fact that I am an American or another man is an Englishman or German does not necessarily mean that I contain in myself the virtues or vices of the average of that particular group. "This is no plea for the elimination of similarity-making statements and for their replacement by difference-making ones. Not at all. It is a plea for watchfulness, for sharper discernment, for an awareness that one is not the other; that the one is closer to fact than the other." William James has written:

"An unlearned carpenter of my acquaintance once said in my hearing: There is very little difference between one man and another; but what little there is, is *very important*. This distinction seems to me to go to the root of the matter. It is not only the size of the difference which

concerns the philosopher, but also its place and its kind. An inch is a small thing, but we know the proverb about an inch on a man's nose....."

To a Veddah's eyes the differences between two white literary men seem slight indeed, same clothes, same spectacles, same harmless disposition, same habit of scribbling on paper and poring over books, etc.

"Just two white fellows," the Veddah will say, "with no perceptible difference." But what a difference to the literary men themselves! Think of confounding our philosophies together merely because both are printed in the same magazines and are indistinguishable to the eye of a Veddah! Our flesh creeps at the thought.

Our plea is for greater observation and a more critical attitude. Our failure to look plus the acceptance of our generalising habits of thinking help to keep our responses uncritical. "Habits of generalisations too readily take us away from life. In life there is no such oneness which justifies my making general statements on a community as a whole. The fact is that there is a 'manyness' in life which is not only a fact but also a joy."

The origin of these prejudices. Perhaps the most serious origin of our prejudices is the training in childhood which we receive. In America we have many studies to show that prejudice, for example of the white against the Negro, was started in childhood. I have had many people in India tell me that when they were small they would be playing with an outcaste and then their parents would come near to tell them not to do so. This attitude of horror remained with them until their old age. I may say that many Christians have such an un-Christlike attitude towards non-Christians because in childhood children have been taught to think of non-Christians as something less than human. Only last year a young Christian lady who had been privileged to have very helpful experiences with non-Christian friends said to me, "How can you explain that many non-Christians are so good in character?" The fact of such a question shows how deeply this most irrational prejudice has gone.

Building for Democracy. Certainly if we are going to build a true community here in India, which shall include all of us, we must learn to discriminate between the good and the bad and not against this group or that group. We must recognise in the words of Franz Boaz,

"The democratic principle that a citizen is to be judged solely by the readiness with which he fits himself into the social structure and by the value of his contributions to the country's development."

When we have made such a recognition, then we shall find that the good citizen is to be found in every single religious and other groups in India. Then we shall find that we have co-operating allies in every group and bad citizens in every group. Let us learn to deal justly with each single life that we may gradually build more firmly a true and pure community life.

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

SEPTEMBER 23, 1932.

There is a colour repugnance, but neither universal nor irremovable. Mr. Burke's book, "Limehouse Nights," asserts that English or Irish women at the East End of London, if they have once known a Chinese husband and then been widowed, will never wed again a non-Chinese. There is a devotion, a respectfulness, a poetry about the Chinamen's husbandship of white women which the Chinaman alone can give. Mr. Marshall acknowledged that he too had heard of the lure of the Chinaman for white women. And no solution should be impossible to the human intelligence which had

been equal to flight in the air and had penetrated the secrets of stars and atoms.

The question of poverty, and relation between Capital and Labour, had appeared to Englishman as well as Americans, to have been solved by the policy of Mass Production, High Wages and Instalment purchase, till the economic crises revealed its inefficacy in eleven million acknowledged unemployed today. The problem of colour and of Poor Whites is serious in South Africa, but not insoluble.

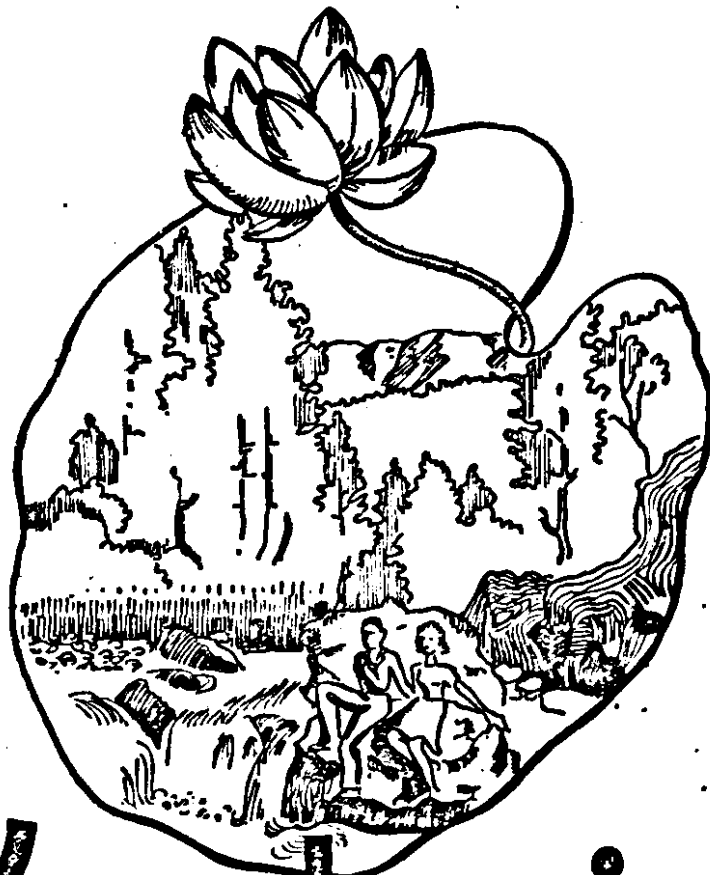
Today, I invited Mr. Van Heel to instruct me about conditions in Java. The Dutch East Indies are ruled by the Governor-General under the Minister for Colonies in Amsterdam; there is no legislative body, only an advisory council, consisting of 28 whites, 32 Malayas. When this Council was first instituted, a nationalism arose but subsided when the Europeans asserted themselves. The Europeans, including half-Europeans and including the European army, are about a third of a million in a population of 50 million.

The Dutch East Indies comprise Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Bali. Every person has equal rights with this exception, that Europeans cannot own land. Sugar planters lease it on a 21 years' lease from the Native proprietors. This measure was passed to protect the Natives against unscrupulous buying out. But would not the proprietors fleece lessee at the end of lease when he had built up "Good will"? Sugar cultivation would then go out? Not so, it would not be to the interest of the proprietor to mulct a planter who gives him a much higher income than he can make himself, unless some competing planter chipped in. That is prevented by another law

which prevents sugar plantation without special permission of Government and this permission would be withheld if used for fouling the planter in possession.

There is no question of colour; qualifications go with persons. The half-Europeans mix on equal terms with full-blooded Europeans. Nearly all are permanent residents. The language of the administration is Malay; that is the *lingua franca*; there is no one language in the land; there are forty sections with forty languages, and the sections hate each other more than they hate the Dutch. Officials have to be able to speak Malay.

I asked him if the Dutch were above colour repugnance, how is the mutual repugnance between Dutch and coloured in South Africa to be accounted for? He attributed it to the Bible, which traces all ancestry to Shem, Ham, and Japhet; the hand of the children of Shem and Japhet is against the children of Ham (Negroes). The Dutch in Africa appear to be descendants of sailors dwelling on scattered farms, and they retain the old tradition of literal interpretation. The Dutch in Holland and Java have grown to treat the Bible as literature and its poetry is poetry and not history to them. The English stand intermediate between the old world Dutch and the Dutch of South Africa. On the other extreme are the French to whom the Bible is curiosity only; they blend best. I said I had heard the same; but that was not my impression in Morocco; nor could I return to that impression after reading Marshall Lyautey's life and letters. Mr. Heel said his impression is that in Indo-China the French blend, and probably in Madagascar also.



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WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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Mr. Churchill and Parliament.	

NOTES.

Law and Punishment:—Nothing tends to alienate public sympathy and respect in the maintenance of order as indiscriminating punitive measures and punishments which are grossly disproportionate to the offences for which they are awarded. Collective fines which are now so freely imposed on the inhabitants of disturbed areas, are examples of the former. In most case disturbances in a given area are caused not by the inhabitants of that area but by outsiders who do not want their names and places of residence to be easily recognised. Even when inhabitants of the same locality are involved, they are a small minority whose conduct and behaviour are not open to the surveillance of their neighbours, should the latter have the leisure and curiosity to engage themselves in a task which would be practically prying into the affairs of others. This is particularly the case in a large city which, in the words of Bacon, is a great solitude. Further, the whole trend of British administration has been steadily to break down the old communal institutions and to make the individual citizen directly responsible to the State. Collective fines have been a feature of the British Indian administration but they have seldom prevented the recurrence of trouble in the same localities. Indeed, it is conceivable that personal animosities may be instrumental in implicating a locality in troubles of which the residents are entirely innocent. A schoolmaster who habitually resorts to mass punishment for the pranks of a few boys, very soon ceases to command the respect of the school including his fellow teachers. So far as we are aware, the method of collective fines was not resorted to in the worst days of the Irish rebellion. The administrator cannot be expected to do more than deal with situations as they arise but it is the business of statesmen to see that situations do not arise which cannot be controlled except by indiscriminating measures which alienate public sentiment which, when all is said, is the mainstay

even of administrations which make no pretence of being anything more than rule by force.

Whipping:—Penologists have for nearly a century pleaded for the abolition of corporal punishment primarily because it is ineffective as a reformatory or even deterrent measure. It has been condemned by humanitarians as an affront to human dignity. Psychologists have pointed to certain after-effects on the character and personality of a person subjected to corporal punishment. At one time flogging was a common punishment in the British army and it continued to be so for several years after it had been abolished in Indian regiments. Whipping has been introduced as a mode of punishment in connection with the present disturbances in spite of this consensus of opinion. A Bombay Magistrate, Mr. M. A. F. Coelho, declined to accede to the demand of the Government Prosecutor to award whipping to two students who were arrested for rowdy conduct, breaking the glasses of windows, tram cars and so on. He observed that acts such as those of the accused were becoming a menace to public safety and that, if they were persisted in, he would be obliged to award sentences of whipping. "But I will stay my hands for a while," added the Magistrate. His Worship observed that desparate maladies required desparate remedies, which shows that he had an accurate idea of the disease as well as the malady in the present case. Not so the Madras Magistrate, Mr. Khaja A. K. Khan, who sentenced two students to be given fifteen stripes notwithstanding that the accused expressed regret and promised not to misbehave again. The charge against the two boys was that they were found with stones in their hands on the permanent way of the South Indian Railway and that one of them pelted stones at a passenger train causing injury to a passenger. In one of his letters to Lord Minto during the anti-Partition agitation, Lord Morley said:

I must confess to you that I am watching with the deepest concern and dismay the thundering sentences that are now being passed for sedition, etc. I read today (July 24, 1909) that stone-throwers in Bombay are getting twelve months. This is really outrageous. Such sentences! They cannot stand. I cannot on any terms whatever consent to defend such monstrous things. I do therefore urgently solicit your attention to these wrongs and follies. We must keep order, but excess of severity is not the path to order. On the contrary....

In another letter Lord Morley reminded the

Viceroy that the Tsarist regime had tried extreme methods and had failed to avert the Duma. If Lord Morley had been writing ten years later, he would have been able to enforce his exhortation with more compelling reasons. That war today is at the gates of India, makes the arguments of Lord Morley more not less urgent.

The Suspended Newspapers :—A curious feature of the controversy, or negotiations, between the Press and the Government, is the extreme agitation shown by newspapers which had by voluntary suspension withdrawn from the contest. There is wild talk of betrayal and selling the pass hurled at the Editors' Conference. The management of the *Nagpur Times* has decided to direct its Editor to withdraw from the Standing Committee because of the failure of that body to achieve results. The management of the *Nagpur Times* has nothing to do with the Editors' Conference which, as its name implies, is solely concerned with the Editor of the *Nagpur Times*. If the Standing Committee has failed, the *Nagpur Times* has failed even more. The Editor of that daily was a member of the Standing Committee. Apart from his closing down the newspaper, if the decision was his, before the Committee met, he did not attend the Delhi meeting. Some allowance, however, has to be made because the Editor there does not appear to be the deciding factor. Had he been, surely the *Nagpur Times* would not have worked on reverse gear—suspension, non-attendance at Conference session, resignation, disagreement. There is nothing wrong in all this except the order in which they occur. There is to be a conference of suspended newspapers next week in Bombay summoned by Mr. Samaldas Gandhi. Mr. Samaldas mentions as a cause the failure of the Editors' Conference to secure a free atmosphere for the press. This, it seems, is a problem more for the newspapers which continue publication than for those which have suspended. In effect all these protests are in themselves so many arguments against the policy of suspension because they are all grievances against the Editors' Conference for not securing conditions for resuming publication. It is a recognition that suspension does not solve any problem though temporary suspension might be used as a weapon in the struggle with the Government. This is the point of the agitation on which the Editors' Conference should concentrate. And it is strengthened by the declaration made by Mr. Sahni, Editor of the *National Call*, who is also convenor of the Editors' Conference, that he himself is continuing publication under the greatest difficulty in the conditions prevailing in Delhi since the Chief Commissioner's order of August 30. All these are signs of a rapidly deteriorating situation and a section of the Conference is pressing for a full session to deal with it. We trust that a meeting will be convened before the month is out in some centre of Indian journalism, preferably Bombay or Madras.

General Wavell's Broadcast :—General Sir Archibald Wavell broadcast from New Delhi on September 3, the anniversary of the outbreak of war. Curiously, considering the conditions prevailing today in this country, Sir Archibald chose that moment to declare that the Allies had undertaken this war that truth and kindness might prevail on earth. The policy of repression is in full swing and there is a rigid censorship. A Patna message mentions the confiscation of two radio sets because their owners are said to have listened regularly to enemy broadcasts. In the North-West Frontier an editor, according to the *Tribune*, was asked by the Deputy Commissioner to call from time to time at his office to be instructed in his policy, the official being twenty miles away from the newspaper office. When we recall that things like this reported from Nazi Germany provoked the derision of the British before the war and even after hostilities commenced, we cannot but wonder at General Wavell's complacent assumption that Britain and her Allies have saved themselves from the savagery "which was beginning to spread over us." There might be many promising and hopeful features in the Allied position but it is premature to congratulate the Allies on escape from conditions which are perilously suggestive of methods the reverse of kind and true. On the prospects of the war, General Wavell gave a very rosy picture. The enemy was failing, he said; Italy was lost; Japan was losing; Hitler was a tin-plated gangster, whatever that may mean. Having said all this and more, the Commander-in-Chief felt called upon to strike a warning note. We must not be complacent in mind or in action. The speech does not bear the signs of collected, coherent thought. If it was necessary to hearten the people of India, surely there was no need to warn them not to be overconfident.

The Defenders of India :—General Wavell referred in glowing terms to the great work of the Indian troops abroad. They, he said, are the defenders of India in the hour of her danger. Read together with his warning to the country to give its undivided attention to the task in hand, this seems to suggest that if Japan should attack India—an enemy though losing might attempt a desperate throw—these troops who have distinguished themselves so notably abroad, will be here to overcome the invader. A more explicit statement to this effect would be very welcome. General Wavell went on :

It is not the politicians, intent on domestic issues and quarrels; it is not the undisciplined schoolboys; it is certainly not the irresponsible mischief-makers or the gangs of ignorant hooligans, but the disciplined might of her fighting men that is saving and will save India.

The Commander-in-Chief's incursion into politics reminds one of the Congress President's dry remark that General Wavell in his talks was more anxious to play the part of a politician than that of a military expert. Undisciplined schoolboys, mischief-makers and ignorant hooligans have been turned to good use

in other countries during wartime no less than in peace, and there is no reason why they should not be similarly utilised in India. So far as this is concerned, General Wavell would do well to apply his mind to seeing how far army policy can make a constructive contribution. As for politicians insisting on their domestic quarrels, this is a most unfair attack if it is levelled at Indian politicians. After all, it is these men who have been insisting on a national government, while British politicians have pressed for a settlement of domestic issues before allowing such a government to be formed. On the whole, the Commander-in-Chief would do well to concentrate on the defence of the country and to leave politics to his colleagues on the Executive Council. After all, they practise a similar restraint on army questions.

Reforms Commissioner Resigns :—When Mr. H. V. Hodson was appointed Reforms Commissioner with the Government of India in April 1941, Indian opinion was very much alive to the quaintness of a situation in which while constitutional reforms were put off till the end of hostilities, it was felt essential to continue the post of Reforms Commissioner. Mr. Hodson's recent resignation of the job because he wishes to be engaged in work more closely connected with the war, is a belated appreciation of the correctness of Indian judgment. The best thing that could be done now is to allow the Reforms Commissioner-ship to lapse. We infer from Mr. Hodson's reasons that he realises that India has no need for a Reforms Commissioner. There is in a local contemporary a suggestion that Mr. Hodson may be employed by the Government of India in some economic work where his experience will prove valuable. The insinuation is unfair to Mr. Hodson who, even if he took a year and a half to discover the irrelevancy of constitution-framing to war effort, is not likely to vegetate for the remaining war period in a similar job in some other department. If it is true, it would have been better if he had continued in the Reforms Department where the public were fast losing sight of him. Mr. Hodson's frank recognition of the situation and his refusal to continue in a sinecure when serious work can and must be done, do credit to him and we trust that his example will not be lost on several other gentlemen similarly placed.

Dr. S. P. Mukherji's Mission :—The effort which is being made by Dr. Shyam Prasad Mukherji to negotiate a settlement with the Viceroy, is made in the name of the Hindu Mahasabha of which Dr. Mukherji is the Working President. But it owes whatever chances of success it has to the personal character and prestige of Dr. Mukherji himself. The resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Mahasabha at its Delhi session recently did not, as we pointed out in our leading article last week, provide a basis for negotiation with the Muslim League which is opposed to any form of Federation under a Central Gov-

ernment while the Mahasabha wants residual powers to be left to the Central Government which is the cornerstone of its idea of India's future constitution. Dr. Mukherji, nevertheless, entertains hopes of coming to terms with Mr. Jinnah in respect of his scheme of a provisional Government postulating the declaration by the British Government of the independence of India immediately. While we appreciate highly Dr. Mukherji's public spirit in taking over a task given up as hopeless by other leaders and organisations, we must confess that his effort can only succeed if there is a complete, almost miraculous, change in the point of view of Government, the Muslim League and the Congress. Even the Hindu Mahasabha, we suspect, is not wholly satisfied with the lines on which Dr. Mukherji is working. A settlement, would, of course, be most welcome but it should be a settlement which all parties concerned accept as helpful to the framing of a permanent constitution whenever that has to be done. The essential thing is that there should be no misunderstanding as to the need of a Central Government. As regards the division of functions, the force of circumstances may be left to decide, as it has done in the case of other Federations, on the right lines. The present Central Government has not been very much of a success. Nevertheless we maintain that there should be a Central Government because the present government is a transitional arrangement and will be no model for a permanent one sure of its position and potentialities.

Mr. Churchill and Parliament :—Mr. Winston Churchill made his first statement on the war after his return from Moscow on Tuesday. The House heard him but immediately after he concluded, it is said to have emptied and there were not forty members left to form a quorum. The debate which was to have lasted for two days, was adjourned after three members had addressed the House. It seems to us that the action of the members, which suggests some previous concert, was meant to demonstrate their lack of faith in discussion which ended in nothing. The Prime Minister can not be dislodged from his office nor could he be persuaded to transfer the direction of defence to other hands. Mr. Winston Churchill's statement on India two days later is too obviously an attempt to rehabilitate himself with the House which contemptuously declined to discuss his previous statement, to require more than a passing notice as we go to press. The Prime Minister's attack on the Congress was evidently inspired by Sir Stafford Cripps who with the chagrin of the rejected suitor has been decrying the charms which he had coveted. Mr. Churchill's reference to the presence of White troops in India was a far more effective aid to Japan's slogan of "Asia for the Asiatics" than the most efficient organisation of fifth columnists in this country can be. The joint statement by Hindu, Muslim and Sikh leaders from Delhi is an effective answer to Mr. Churchill's main point about Indian dissensions.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, September 12, 1942.

PRICE CONTROL.

Readers who derive their impressions of the state of things in the United States of America solely from Reuter's messages, would have been astonished at the tone and tenour of President Franklin Roosevelt's message to Congress published on Monday. The tone was minatory. The President threatened to act on his own responsibility if Congress did not legislate according to his recommendations before the next fortnight. The average Indian reader has had no inkling that there were serious differences, or even the possibility of them, between the President and the Congress in both Houses of which he has at present a majority of supporters. The likelihood of his losing his majority in the House of Representatives at the November elections was apprehended in some of the New York reviews but they did not give up the hope that the President's supporters may be returned in larger numbers than at the last elections. The tenour of the President's message was even more astonishing. The general impression among Indians is that the United States with vast hoards of gold and facilities for mass production, could have possibly no internal problems such as a poor country like India should have. To read the President's warning that, if certain legislation was not sanctioned by Congress within the next fortnight, economic chaos would overtake this wealthiest country in the world and seriously impede success in the war, must have filled the average Indian with incredulous surprise. And yet, allowing for the American partiality for hyperbolic language, the danger which the President apprehends is a serious one. And the surprising thing is that it has arisen from the abounding prosperity which the war industries have brought to the country from the money point of view.

The text of the President's message to Congress was largely anticipated by Professor J. M. Clarke of Columbia University, in an address to the semi-annual meeting of the Academy of Political Science in April last on "Problems of Price Control." Professor Clarke is Consultant of the Office of Price Administration set up by the President. Professor Clarke's paper has a footnote appended to it to the effect that the views expressed were his personal views and did not necessarily reflect the official position of the Office of Price Administration. The President's message, nevertheless, is largely a reproduction of Professor Clarke's ideas in popular language. One of the distressing features of economic discussions nowadays is the peculiar jargon which has grown up such as "repatriation" for "repayment," "ceiling" for "maximum," and so on. The problem of inflation began with the cessation of unemployment

in the United States. The purchasing power of the people increased by leaps and bounds while goods for civilian consumption shrunk correspondingly owing to the monopolisation of factories for war implements. There have further been successive increases in the wages paid to workers, further accentuating the acuteness of the problem. If this process is allowed to go on unchecked, the time must come when people, with plenty of money in their pockets, will be unable to buy anything which they can consume. The ancient story of Midas will be repeated in Washington and New York. Professor Clarke insisted that piecemeal measures which they had adopted so far, would not do. The following passage is a good specimen of the unelligible jargon in which economic experts convey their ideas nowadays,

Price ceiling can not hold prices stable against unlimited increases in purchasing power and no mechanism can hold them stable in the face of the combination of a general wage increase and a farm price policy, based on an elastic "parity" which acts as an escalator.

Professor Clarke suggested several alternatives for dealing with the situation but he confessed that the success of every one of them depended ultimately on the general public developing the habit of goods-thinking in place of the present money-thinking—that is, thinking in terms of goods and not in terms of money.

Price control is also an Indian problem presenting some superficial points of resemblance to the American problem. Within the last fortnight or three weeks, two members of the Government of India have made speeches at Conferences on it. Of late there have been some flagrant cases of the inconveniences arising from the haphazard division of portfolio in the Central Government. The speeches delivered by the Commerce Member and the Education Member on prices at their respective conferences are a fresh example. Before he relinquished the portfolio of Education, Mr. N. R. Sarker delivered in Calcutta an address on the Indian financial situation which was illuminating as well as instructive. Since he became Member of Commerce he seems to have adopted commonplaces as most appropriate for his discourses. He suggested to his audience the importance of collecting statistics regarding production and consumption in each region as essential to the "smooth working" of any scheme of price control. He stressed the need for co-operation between provinces and the central government for the success of such schemes. He recommended the public to grow more food and to buy only as much as they needed for their consumption from day to day. He avoided the crucial point—namely, the increase in the purchasing power of the people owing to war orders and industries with the production of food grains remaining stagnant or decreasing owing to the drafting of cultivators to war work. Sir Jogendra Singh, the present member for Education, had called

pointed attention to this aspect of the problem in an address which he delivered in August to the Central Food Advisory Council of which he is Chairman. He observed:

I wish to draw your attention to one very vital aspect of rural economics. The problem of price cannot be separated from the problem of production, nor can the prices be divorced from the volume of money in circulation at any time. Any change in the reward of labour in terms of money cannot fail to affect prices. When larger volume of money is in circulation, the purchasing power of money goes down and in consequence there is a rise in prices. As the Governor of the Reserve Bank observes, the inevitable result of large purchases made by the British Government in India, for which they give us sterling which we exchange for rupees, is an increase in money. Unless increased supplies are available, there is bound to be an increase in the prices of commodities.

The situation may perhaps be more clearly stated as follows: Britain buys goods from India and pays India in sterling securities. Against these, the Reserve Bank issues currency notes. There has been an enormous expansion in the issue of notes and the Governor of the Reserve Bank made suggestions regarding the disposal of the sterling securities which are accumulating beyond manageable limits. Sir Jogendra Singh thinks that the rise in prices is due in some measure at least to this inflation of currency. To the extent to which he is right, no mechanism can stop the rising prices. It must be left to go on. Sending merchants to prison, if persisted in, will only lead to the admission that the price system has broken down. This partly confirms Sir Jogendra Singh's view. The methods by which prices and wages are sought to be stabilised in the United States—we are doubtful about their efficacy—are not open to us. Indian policy is determined really in London and only nominally in Delhi. That may be the reason why the Commerce Member evaded dealing with this vital issue even after it had been pointedly raised by his colleague a few days ago. One cannot help feeling, in view of this and other facts, the unreality of the measures which are undertaken just to show that something is being done. So far as the people are concerned, the only measures which come home to them are punitive measures. These after a time are acceptable as Karma or Kismet.

MONGROL.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

Mangrol is not a State—much less an independent political entity, nor is the Sheikh Sahab of Mangrol a Chief or a Ruler. Mangrol is part and parcel of Junagadh and the Sheikh Sahab of Mangrol is the dependent and vassal of Junagadh. The eldest son of Sheikh Sahab of Mangrol can not be styled as the 'heir-apparent.' The Sheikh of Mangrol enjoys only derivative and delegated powers in the "Swang villages" and as regards the allotted villages, he enjoys only the revenue thereof whereas H. H. the Nawab Sahab Bahadur of Junagadh exercises full jurisdictional powers over them.

Junagadh,
September 6, 1942. }

Yours etc.,

A LOOKER-ON.

A BANDRA DIARY.

Some years ago a group of earnest men in America started a magazine which they named *World Christianity*. The idea was to present Christianity in a form which will be "acceptable" to all races by stressing the universal in that religion more than the merely historical and provincial. After a time the conductors realised that their immediate mission was to counteract the rising tide of authoritarian religion in keeping with authoritarian politics and merged their magazine with *Protestant Digest* which they associate with democracy and Anglo-Saxons. The current number of this interesting journal contains a statement of "Protestant Principles." These are seven in number. As no movement can be founded on mere Protest, each of these Principles begins with an affirmation and ends with a Protest. The first Principle "affirms the Absolute Majesty of God and raises a prophetic protest" against every human claim, ecclesiastical or secular, to absolute truth and authority. This Principle is not different from that of the Hindu idea of the Absolute and the relativity of everything else. The second Principle is not so clear-cut as the first:

Protestantism affirms the Christian message as the ultimate expression of the nature of the Divine and protests against all attempts to dissolve this message into a complex of religious experiences, moral demands and philosophical doctrines.

Apart from the uncertainty about "the Christian Message," this Principle seems to negate mysticism and metaphysics as factors in the religious consciousness. Protestantism becomes on this Principle a system of moral demands which is expressly repudiated by it. The third Principle protests against attempts to bind the Christian message to the life and law of any historical church. The historicity argument in support of Christianity and some other religions is perhaps the weakest argument in defence of a religion and we hope that this protest extends to that argument also. That a certain man lived in a certain year is no proof that what he taught was the truth. There seem to be contradictions between one principle and another. Principle Four, for instance, protests against making distinctions between a sacred and a secular realism. Principle five affirms the independent structure of the different spheres of the cultural life and protests against any encroachment on their autonomy by churches and states. If there is no demarcation between sacred and secular, how can the endeavours of Church or State in these spheres be called an encroachment? Another anomaly is the affirmation of the sacredness of personality and the protest against the restoration of *laissez faire* individualism as the principle of social organisations. Taking the seven Principles and their application, illustrated in the same article, it would appear that Protestantism is a form of Socialism but not Communism as it rejects totalitarian collectivism with its consequent suppression of human spontaneity and creativity. Protestantism as here outlined is obviously a protest against the defects in political, economic and social organisation revealed by the historical happenings of the twentieth century and could have had no meaning for the past and can have none for the future. Principle seven expressly declares that Protestantism, while rejecting any definitive of final system of Christian ethics and politics, applies the Christian message to every historical situation as the principle of criticism and demand. If by "Christian Message" is meant the Golden Rule, "Do unto others as thou wouldst they should do unto you," this Principle will be accepted universally. Only there is no reason why it should be designated "Christian

Message" because it was given by other religions which flourished centuries before Christianity. Identical messages are found in the Buddhist Dhammapada and the Bhagavad Gita.

The strong tendency of late to identify Democracy with Christianity, one writer at least going so far as to assert that only Christian nations can maintain a democratic government, is palpably contradicted by history. The foundation of civil liberty is religious freedom and Acton observes that no religion has persecuted dissent so cruelly as Christianity. The Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Churches have never favoured democracy. Democracy is the assertion of popular rights. The author of the Rights of Man and the French Encyclopaedists were opponents not apologists of Christianity. It is said that only Christianity recognises the sacredness of personality. There is not a single passage in the New Testament to support this assertion. On the other hand, there are passages which suggest that the only persons who were destined to be saved, were those who subordinated their personalities to the point of extinction. He who seeks to save his life, will lose it. Only he who is not afraid to lose it, shall be saved. Christianity, according to the teachings of its Founder and the Fathers, was a religion of renunciation like all other religions. Personality, Rights of Man, Democracy, are no more parts of it than railway trains and steamships and aeroplanes. The crucial question is that of women's rights. It is claimed for Christianity that it secured these rights. What are the facts? In no country in the world has the Women's Movement encountered more fierce opposition than in Christian countries. What is claimed for Christianity today by a section of the Protestant Churches is really the outcome of modern political and mechanical achievements as will be seen from the fact that it is common to countries which profess and to countries which have openly repudiated Christianity. The Dean of Canterbury indeed claims that the Soviet system is the true approach to essentially Christian principles. The latest adventure in the direction of using the present war as a means of advancing Christian propaganda is the appropriation of democratic Christianity as the special achievement and exclusive property of the Anglo-Saxon peoples. That is to say, Protestantism is as much a unique achievement of the Anglo-Saxons as Nazism is of the Germans and Bolshevism of the Russians. A few voices, influential ones, have been raised against the attempt of Lord Halifax, among others, to make this War a War to preserve Christianity. On the whole, however, due chiefly to the alliance with Russia and China, there has been no disposition anywhere to persist in the religious objective. President Roosevelt who has spoken more often and more plainly on the objects of the War, has related them mainly to economic and social ends. Freedom of religion is not and has never been the predominant characteristic of Christianity. The growing feeling that the true solution of the present confusion is to be found in a return to religion in the broadest sense, is a welcome sign, if it is definitely understood that all religions must meet and discuss on an equal footing, in a Fellowship of Faiths. The movement initiated in the United States nine years ago, was rightly conceived for this purpose.

RECLUSE.

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH

(Copyright.)

OCTOBER 10, 1932.

Avila Star.

Yesterday, ladies drew my attention to two swallows on a railing; I just wondered where they came from, and passed on. To-night at table, my mess-mate, Mrs. Brown, asked me if I had seen the six swallows and two cockatoos on the ship. I had not but I suspected they were migrant birds on their seasonal movement to Africa, and encountering the prospect of a joyride, have seized it.

And my mind wandered. I thought of the swallow that had set her six young on the rail. So I asked Mrs. Brown if the six swallows on the ship were of a family or just an independent herd. Why did I ask? I quoted James Lee's wife of Bandra fame, who had noticed that the swallow (at this season) had set her six young on the rail. That line comes back to me because thirty years ago, observing N—P—always going in or out of the Grant Road Station, in the company of his young, Natarajan quoted this line.

OCTOBER 17, 1932.

Rio de Janeiro.

I had a most exquisite enjoyment of the approach to Rio last night by sea, in the first port in the world, sailing into the harbour with the gleam of a rising red moon, and the unique illumination from shore; and today, a whole day trip on shore to Petropolis, the Mountain, the seaside, the Avenue du Rio Blanco, past a church with its cross perched on a height accessible by 365 steps, past the splendid architecture and parks of the President's Palace, an Italian millionaire's mansion in the Moorish style, the Hotel Gloria, a Glasgow tobacco-factory owner's private residence with spacious grounds and drive, past a beautifully constructed Theatre, the football clubs,—well, a fine city which its citizens consider the first in the world with a park and public garden through which we drove. We leave almost immediately and expect to reach Santos tomorrow morning, whence, if we are given time, we hope to see Sao Paulo, the second City, with 2 million inhabitants, in Brazil, whose total population is said to be 80 million.

We were taken by a chauffeur whose colour and curls showed negro ancestry, whose accent betrayed residence in the U. S., who spoke five languages, as could be seen by his talks with my companions, who said he had learnt them by service in England and Paris and Hamburg as a chauffeur.

He said his mother's grandfather was White, that his mother was a Methodist, that himself is a spiritualist; that in Rio the highest professionals, lawyer or doctor, were coloured people; that the Minister for War was of my colour, that he had some white blood in him was certain; whether the colour arose from Indian or negro admixture could not be said, because nobody cared; that there were no special quarters for or distinctions of colour in Brazil. This is not incredible in itself, seeing that the Portuguese had no repugnance to colour, and have cultivated admixture as a policy; still I heard the same sort of thing in Barbadoes and Jamaica where the Whites are British, and where things worked out not entirely so when examined. One companion [on the drive] is an elderly Argentine of Irish descent, who is married to another Argentine also of Irish descent; her husband is a Murphy and is called de Murphy as all Argentines love that prefix. Her grandparents had been

turned out of their holding and took 3 months to come to the Argentine. She has travelled extensively, could talk from direct experience of Rhodesia and New Zealand and Dutch Indies.

The other companion was Madame de Marcon; her husband is an Argentine engineer, herself is Belgian, has lived in Paris, said Taormini is a lovely place to live in (when Sicily was mentioned), has been a vegetarian for 10 years.

OCTOBER 20, 1932.

Though I could not see Sao Paulo, I heard a good deal about it. The barber said the place was a White settlement, all European Nationals had settled there and bestowed their enterprise and skill on the land. Even in the working class, the Whites predominate. They had selected Sao Paulo for its salubrious climate on an altitude of 3,000 feet and established coffees relished in the world and industries of every kind.

At Petropolis, we had very good coffee, very different from the best before. On the ship a special tea called mate, is served to those who ask for it; in great favour in South America which is proud of growing it. I tried it this morning; while it was good, I prefer my favourite till I get used to this. Madame de Murphy passed on to me a paper of information about Argentine, in 5 languages. The English part said Argentine has a population of 12 million (Brazil has 30); but these are nearly all white.

Spanish is the language of Argentine (Portuguese of Brazil?). A great deal of information is there, but none about disease and death-rate which would I have appreciated. Para and Manaos were said to be consumption free, as South Africa is; but, if I did not mishear, the Argentine is not. The Purser says the South Americans are very proud of everything South American; world news does not appeal to them so much as South American politics.

OCTOBER 22, 1932.

Buenos Ayres.

Everybody seemed to advise not to go out of Buenos Ayres, a very flat place; very little English is spoken here and none whatever outside the City.

My morning researches, as well as my walk last night after arrival, give me a great idea of this city. It is a city of palaces; I am on the 11th floor of my hotel, in a poky room not more roomy than my cabin, but daintily furnished and with a very enjoyable private bath. It adjoins a fine station, and a grand green square. It leads into any number of avenues and also narrow streets of the old Spanish town, where the pavements are polished and the wooden floors of houses (banks and offices) are shining, and I am in continual danger of slipping.

These narrow streets are full of traffic, tramways, buses, taxis, motors, crowds of pedestrians—one thought of the river in Paris opening out from the Seine on to the Boulevards. I had to summon up my lost sense of negotiating road perils. The pavements are so narrow, that when two walk side by side, one is in danger of being knocked down by passing adjacent tram or motor, as my companion warned me. But the streets of the new city are spacious and nothing can take away the sense of imposing splendour.

Since the 18th I have been in South American waters, and in several South American towns; Rio, Santos, Sao Paulo (which I am yet to see), Monte Video are all mountainous and green, and Buenos Ayres is flat and green but they are all differently

splendid. Buenos Ayres had good illumination on approach but not comparable with Rio's.

Monte Video has not the population of the other cities, but is predominantly white; the colour mixture is with Indians; it is situated on heights above the sea, has no fevers or tubercle or revolutions, attracts during summer health-seekers from London and New Orleans, has a Congress House under construction which will cost 40 million dollars or eight million pounds, mostly marble, has Hotels and Cabarets put up at Government cost.....with striking workmen's quarters which apparently their meat and wool can afford.

OCTOBER 27, 1932.

Avila Star.

Argentine is politically quiet, unlike Chili and Peru and Sao Paulo and Bolivia and Paraguay and Colombia, but economic fears are vocal. In an English daily published in Buenos Ayres, the "danger and disgrace" are proclaimed of British citizens starving in the streets of this city, in spite of special funds raised, which are said to be exhausted. Apparently, the destitute are men and women who have in better days belonged to clubs and socially have entertained. The railways, mainly English, are losing money, the Federal Government's railways have always been losing at the rate of a half to three-quarter million annually...I sympathise with Mr. Furze's statement that Argentine would gain by becoming a British colony to the extent that some change is called for in these "Democracies" but graft and inhumanity are not absent from British communities. Another thing I understand is that half the population of the Argentine is pure Indian; and this class suffers from economic misery despite societies for protection of aborigines. I presume they have votes but cannot organise to make them effective for their own improvement.

When I went yesterday to La Plata, I had to pass long distances in Buenos Ayres before I emerged, passed through a street, 15 miles (kilometres?) long, called Rivadavia, many times Oxford Street (but without its crowds), with shops, old colonial houses, new residences, hospitals, institutions, schools, clubs, but no sign of industry; the first sign was outside Buenos Ayres and then steel, cement, bricks, wool-washing, all owned by Italians. Most of the hotels are owned by Italians. They have created the newest industry. For the last two days, the city has been in terror of Italian Mafia holding up rich citizens to ransom.

NOVEMBER 22, 1932.

Each republic (of South America) was originally a province of Spain; the struggle for independence against Spain originally constituted their unity, as in the Swiss struggle against Burgundy and Hapsburg but distances, the separate habits of port populations and herdsmen, difficulties for legislatures to meet and decree and enforce acceptable law, local ambitions—all tended to disrupt till railways brought unity, emigration, foreign capital and national consciousness. China, today, remains ununited for similar reasons. The Bishop who, after a recent visit to the Yangtse flood regions, appealed to English philanthropy to construct roads in China was not merely talking. It is the experience of Argentine; and a Brazilian passenger, himself from the recently revolted Sao Paulo, says that Brazil, too, will soon settle down to unity. Economic conditions are improving; the coloured and mixed populations are only a fifth of the whole population of 42 millions. Frontier difficulties are real, but arbitration will settle them. South America will cease to be a byword.

GANDHIJI AND INDIAN CHRISTIANS.

India is again in travail; this time along with the whole world. The issues of Democracy and of the Kingdom of God are being decided in this holy field of many a Kurukshetra.

The greatest worker for the Kingdom of God in this generation, as I have long believed Gandhiji to be, has given the call and pointed the way to this battle. He is no enemy of Britain or of any man. His call to the nations to shed violence and to seek the ways of peace has gone unheeded, as many a similar call in past ages. But he has also given us a matchless weapon to enforce the demand for righteousness, the weapon of suffering without retaliation, of resolute resistance to evil but without resorting to violence.

The acts of the forces, against which he and we are ranged, may provoke violence on our part; but to yield to that is to give the battle to the enemy and to endanger the life of our leader. Therefore, let us stick to non-violence, and cling to our determination to win freedom at all costs, freedom to shape our own destinies and to play our part in bringing in the new and better world to be. Let the words of the departed Poet of India be an inspiration and a guide to us as we seek to follow our revered leader, in what is likely to prove to be his last great fight on our behalf:—

We who follow Gandhi Maharaja's lead
have one thing in common among us;
We never fill our purses with spoils from the poor,
nor bend our knees to the rich.
When they come bullying to us
with raised fist and menacing stick,
We smile to them and say:
Your reddening stare may startle babies out of sleep,
but, how frighten those who refuse to fear?
Our speeches are straight and simple,
no diplomatic turns to twist their meaning;
Confounding penal code
they guide with perfect ease the victims to the
border of jail
And when these crowd the path of the prison gate
their stains of insult are washed clean, their
agelong shackles drop to the dust,
And on their foreheads are stamped Gandhiji's
blessings.

India is on trial—so is every individual and community in this vast country. Where does the Christian Community stand? Are we seeking safety or selfish gain, as individuals and as a community, by siding with the powers that be at a time when India and the world are being remade? It is disastrous for us to think in terms of Pakistans and safeguards. The path of duty and the path of wisdom for us is to accept the national as against communal point of view and to throw in our lot with the country at large in its struggle for freedom.

Leaders of Christian thought in India—unfortunately they are yet mainly British—have spoken about the need for reconciliation in this situation and dwelt on the machinery of reconciliation. But what is lacking is the will to reconciliation on the part of the Government. That will, it seems, can only be called forth by our taking the simple and honest stand that in this demand for independence now, in order that India may play her part effectively in the war and after it, we are all behind the Congress. In jailing the nation's leaders the Government seeks to show to the world that they are the only mischief-makers in the land, that with them out of the way the nation's war effort will go on unimpeded. Let us make it unmistakably clear that the voice of the Congress is the voice of India, and that the voice of India is the voice of suppressed humanity all over the

world, calling for freedom, full and real. In this simple, straightforward issue let us, without distinction of creed or community, range ourselves on the side of the Congress, which is the side of the Nation, of Truth and of God. Only thus shall we be worthy of Mother India.

Vande Mataram.

Trichur, } S. K. GEORGE.
1st September, 1942. }

DR. PALMER'S MESSAGE.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

Many people in Bombay must be familiar with the *Bombay Diocesan Record*, the official organ of the Church of England in the Bombay Presidency. I have just come across an old copy of the *Record* dated September 1917, which contains the usual Episcopal letter of Dr. Edwin James Palmer, Anglican Bishop of Bombay from 1903 to 1928. The following part of the Bishop's letter is relevant to today's event, the third anniversary of the present War:

"As was remarked in one of the addresses put out by the Metropolitan in the service for August 4th, the third anniversary of the proclamation of War, one great change has come over English life at home in this last year. A spirit of resolution has taken the place of that spirit of procrastination and indecision which characterised our Imperial Government during the first two years. At home they now cease to postpone matters till after the war. They have settled the Women's Suffrage question. They have appointed the Irish convention in the hope of settling the Irish question. They have appointed a commission to deal with the relations of employers and employed—the subject which of all others must affect most directly the internal condition of England after the war, and into which the war has introduced the most striking novelties. They have begun to deal with the Constitution of the Empire.

"It is a matter of thankfulness that this spirit of resolution has made its appearance in India also. Lord Chelmsford's speech at the opening of the Legislative Council this month in Simla has shown that neither the India Office nor the Government of India has any intention of postponing difficult questions till after the war. Indeed, the war has actually facilitated the settlement of some such questions. Indentured labour has practically been abolished and it was the existence of war conditions which made this step possible. A settlement of the difficulties about Indian immigration to the Colonies seems likely to be a sequel to the meetings of the War Cabinet with the representatives of India and the Dominions. Again the war has brought with it the first, and one may believe, the decisive, step in dealing with the abuse of the cotton duties, an abuse against which the well-grounded protests of twenty years had been unavailing. Again, the decision to have India represented at the annual meetings of the Imperial War Cabinet settles in all probability the direction of British policy with regard to India's place in the Empire. The Viceroy's speech shows also that Government is willing to deal decisively with the questions of Commissions in the Army for Indians, and even to tackle the modification of the Arms Act. Still greater constitutional changes remain to be discussed with Mr. Montagu when he comes to India—to be discussed with a view to speedy action, not to procrastination."

Coonor, }
September 3, 1942. }

Yours etc.,
M. G. JOSEPH.

FIFTY YEARS OF TEMPERANCE WORK—I (BY FREDERICK GRUBB, ENGLAND.)

Fifty years ago I became Assistant Secretary of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association, which had been founded four years earlier by the late W. S. Caine and other members of Parliament, in collaboration with several of the most prominent Indian leaders of that period, including such outstanding men as Dadabhai Naoroji, Surendranath Banerjee, Dinshah E. Wacha, R. Raghunath Rao and Madan Mohan Malaviya, the last named being still happily with us.

What follows will be a brief survey of the principal events in connection with the Indian Temperance movement during the past half century, rather than a record of incidents personal to the writer.

W. S. Caine was the first Englishman to investigate seriously the Excise and drink problem in India. During his first tour of the country in 1887-8, his attention was drawn to the subject by a Bombay deputation, consisting of influential citizens—Hindus, Moslems, Parsees and Christians. They expressed a strong desire that some organization should be formed in England with a view to Parliamentary action, and also for the purpose of promoting and assisting an agitation throughout India for drastic restriction of the liquor traffic.

As a result of further enquiries, Caine was convinced that India was threatened with all the evils of a trade which Western countries were only too familiar—evils which would be intensified amongst her dense populations by reason (as the then recently formed National Congress pointed out) of the abject poverty so widely prevalent. On his return to England a meeting of members of Parliament and other friends was convened at the London residence of Samuel Smith, M. P. At this meeting the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association was formed, with the declared object of resisting the spread of drinking facilities in India, promoting total abstinence among the people, and working for the ultimate suppression of the traffic in intoxicating drink and drugs. Samuel Smith was elected President of the Association, and Caine undertook the Honorary Secretaryship, a position which he held until his death in 1908. Within a short time a fund of over £1,000 was raised by his personal efforts. Smith died a few years later in Calcutta while attending a session of the National Congress, and he lies buried in that city. The mantle of these two pioneers fell upon Mr. J. Herbert Roberts, M. P. (now Lord Clwyd), at that time Secretary of the Indian Parliamentary Committee, who later became President of the Association.

PARLIAMENT CENSURES INDIAN GOVERNMENT.

In 1889 Caine returned to India where he made a prolonged tour with the organising lecturer of the Association, the Rev. Thomas Evans. They formed temperance societies in nearly every place they visited and much enthusiasm was aroused in all parts of the country. Caine made a complete study of the Excise administration and, upon his return to England, he and Samuel Smith gave a striking disclosure to Parliament of what was going on in India. They brought forward a resolution condemning the fiscal system which led to a multiplication of liquor shops in defiance of Indian opinion and calling for immediate action by the Government of India with a view to the abatement of the evils complained of.

This resolution, although moved in a Tory House of Commons and strongly resisted as a vote of censure on the Government, was carried by 118 to 108. The immediate result was an exhaustive inquiry into the policy and admini-

stration of the Excise Department and the issue of a voluminous report on the subject in which an elaborate defence of the existing system was attempted. The conclusions of the Government of India, however, were in effect an acknowledgment of the soundness of the criticisms made. An order was issued that the number of liquor shops should be strictly limited with regard to the circumstances of each locality and that efforts should be made to ascertain local public sentiment, to which reasonable deference should in future be paid.

The outcome of these instructions was the institution of reforms in many districts, and for a time the alarming increase in the Excise revenue was checked. Meanwhile, the total abstinence movement was making good progress everywhere. In the course of successive visits to India, Caine was able to establish, with the aid of local leaders, a large number of societies, ultimately totalling nearly 300, all of which were affiliated to the Association. I was appointed Assistant Secretary of the parent body in January 1892, and thenceforward maintained a widespread correspondence with temperance workers in all parts of India, much of which has continued until this day.

A COMPREHENSIVE TOUR.

During part of 1898 and 1899 I was engaged on an extensive tour in India visiting many of the branches in the more important centres. Beginning at Bombay where the well-known social reformer, Justice M. G. Ranade, presided at a welcome meeting, I went on to Poona as the guest of G. K. Gokhale, whom I had come to know in London, and from Poona I proceeded to Sholapur, Bijapur, Bellary and Madras. My Southern tour included visits to Trichinopoly, Madura and Tanjore, returning to Madras in time for the meeting of the National Congress (December 1898), in which I took part as a delegate from Poona and Sholapur.

From Madras I travelled through the Central Provinces, via Nagpur, to Calcutta, where I was entertained at the house of the Congress President, Ananda Mohan Bose, who was always an ardent advocate of our cause. Later I went to Darjeeling, Patna, Benares, Allahabad, Amritsar, Lahore, and other places in the United Provinces and the Punjab. Subsequently I was in Delhi, Agra, Gwalior, Jaipur, Ahmedabad and Baroda, to name only a few of the cities visited. During an itinerary of about 3,000 miles, covering a period when transport was not so easy as it is today, I addressed more than 60 audiences and established personal contacts which proved in every way fruitful.

GROWING CONSUMPTION AND EXCISE REFORM.

In spite of increased temperance activity on the one hand and desolating famines on the other, the consumption of intoxicating liquors rose steadily. The Excise revenue for the whole of British India was only £1,755,000 in 1875 but by 1905 it had grown to £5,861,000. The Government began to realise that the position was becoming serious, and it was recognised that something ought to be done to stem the tide. The only immediate step taken, however, was to appoint an official committee (with the late Sir K. G. Gupta as Chairman) to inquire into the whole Excise Administration. Some of the recommendations of this Committee were favourable to the existing system, based on the misleading formula, "Maximum revenue from minimum consumption," but in certain limited directions a few reforms were introduced. Chief among these was the establishment of local advisory committees, which were set up in the larger municipal areas to advise Government as to the number and location of liquor shops, hours

of sale, etc. Unfortunately, these committees, when they came to be established, were in most cases dominated by official influence, and final decisions rested with the local Revenue Collector who was invariably chairman.

The Gupta Committee further recommended the abolition of the outstill system, closer scrutiny of the conditions which encouraged drunkenness, the prohibition of the employment of women on licensed premises and the prohibition of sale to children and drunken persons. These recommendations were substantially accepted and carried into effect.

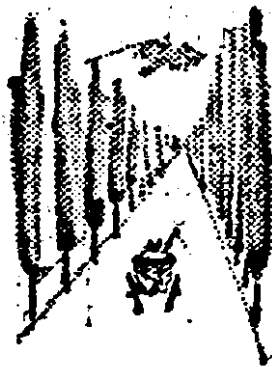
DEPUTATION TO JOHN MORLEY.

In spite of all our efforts progress continued to be disappointingly slow. Accordingly, in 1907, the association organised an influential deputation representing British and Indian temperance forces, to wait upon the Secretary of State for India, Mr. John Morley (afterwards Lord Morley). The interview took place at the India Office on August 1, 1907, when the whole case was submitted to the minister by Mr. Herbert Roberts, M. P., Mr. Leif Jones, M. P. (United Kingdom Alliance), Lord Kinnaird, and others. An exhaustive memorandum, prepared by Dr. Harold Mann and myself, had been previously laid before the Secretary of State. Whilst the deputation welcomed the reforms already referred to, they contended that more drastic remedies were required to solve the problem. They urged in particular the abandonment of the auction system—by which licenses were put up for sale to the highest bidder—and the separation of licensing

from the revenue function in administration. They urged that no substantial improvement could be expected unless the power of issuing licenses was placed in the hands of an independent authority, which should be required to ascertain, and pay due regard to, the public sentiment of the locality.

John Morley made one of his characteristic speeches on this occasion, generally sympathising with the aims of the deputation and promising that further inquiry should be made into the prevalence of the drink habit, which he described as "this new, dire, and additional plague."

Notwithstanding ministerial sympathy, no very effective steps were taken to grapple with the "new plague," beyond the partial improvements mentioned above. Mahatma Gandhi had not yet come upon the scene with his demand for total prohibition. The Secretary of State did, however, convey to the Government of India the facts submitted by the deputation, and these were later made the subject of an elaborate official reply, which was published as a Parliamentary paper, together with the original representations. Instructions were issued to the Provincial Governments with a view to the correction of obvious abuses. On the other hand, the Excise administration was reorganized more effectively from a revenue standpoint, with the result that the financial returns became more substantial every year, and therefore more difficult to surrender.



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WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The Legislative Assembly:—The Indian Legislative Assembly met on Monday. The Congress members, the largest single party, did not attend and, indeed, could not attend as many of them are under detention or serving sentences of imprisonment, even if the ban on their attendance had lost its force. The debate on the present political situation began on Tuesday. Mr. M. S. Aney, the Leader of the House, who was in accordance with practice to have moved that the matter be discussed, gave way to the Home Member, Sir Reginald Maxwell, perhaps for the reason that Sir Reginald as chiefly responsible for the policy and the measures to be debated, was the best person to do full justice to the Government view. Mr. Winston Churchill had made his statement in Parliament just five days previously and the controversy which it created in Britain and India was still in full swing. The Legislative Assembly proceedings, therefore, assumed the character of a side-show. Indeed, the happenings outside the Assembly Chamber—the picketing of the entrance by students of both sexes and the attempts of the Police to dislodge them—were more lively than the speeches inside. Sir Reginald Maxwell mainly followed the Prime Minister's statement dotting the i's and crossing the t's here and there of Mr. Churchill's oration. Like the Prime Minister, the Home Member fastened the responsibility for the disturbances on the Congress. And with as little evidence, Sir Reginald Maxwell pointed out that the trouble was not the result of a spontaneous outburst of popular feeling but a skillfully organised attempt to throw the administration out of gear. On this point, the Home Member's position cannot be seriously assailed in the light of the events of the past month. His assumption that the organisation was the work of the Congress rests on very slender foundation. The skill and resources and the methodical way in which the miscreants went to work, were as evident in the Hur uprising in Sind, in the hold-up of the Kalka-Simla train and in the recent attack on the Bombay-Karachi

Mail train by about 150 Hurs who seemed to have eluded the martial law in force in their area for the last three months. Sir Reginald himself admitted that the actual sources of inspiration of the disturbances had yet to be traced but, meanwhile, on the hypothesis that they were Congress sources, he has started a round up of Congress men all over India and is detaining many of them without trial in a court of law. His chief argument was that it is the first duty of a Government to preserve law and order. For the last fifty years and more this single maxim has furnished the sheet-anchor of the Indian Government. The first duty of a government is obviously different. It is to govern in such a way as to assure the people of its willingness and power to remedy their grievances, to induce in them a feeling of trust in the authorities, to prevent grievances accumulating for want of remedy to dimensions which, in the absence of reform in the constitution, can only find an outlet in disorder and defiance of law. The right of insurrection under these conditions is implicit in every democratic doctrine. The responsibility for the steadily worsening situation in this country during the last forty years, is primarily the responsibility of the administrators of whom Sir Reginald is the type and symbol. The correspondence between Lord Minto and Lord Morley, during their association as Viceroy and Secretary of State for India, brings this out with unanswerable cogency. Sir Bamfylde Fuller's attempt to assert the high prerogative of his Service to dominate the Indian administration ended ignominiously. The bureaucracy creates the situation and then tries to find a scapegoat in some public movement. That some Congressmen participated in the disturbances, does not prove that the Congress as such had lent its sanction, much less that it had organised the disturbances which occurred only after Congress had been put out of the way. It is significant that the worst affected provinces are Behar and the United Provinces, both of which have come in recent months into prominence by their measures characterised more by energy than wisdom.

Excessive Force:—The Home Member, Sir Reginald Maxwell, speaking in the Central Legislative Assembly on Tuesday explained the rationale of Government's anxiety to keep out criticism of "excessive force." "If any such

act has occurred anywhere," said Sir Reginald, "it is a breach of discipline with which the Provincial Governments and the officers in command of their forces are as much concerned as any member of the public. I would, therefore, deprecate any sweeping allegations as regards the conduct of the police at a time when the country owes so much to their courage and their steadfastness." Sir Reginald suggested as the proper course bringing to the notice of the authorities allegations, "if they are well authenticated," and added, "It can be assumed that, if satisfied, they will do what is proper." But he deprecated putting the police on their defence and advised the house not to lavish sympathy on those who have "brought on themselves the consequences of their own aggression." Sir Reginald's remarks would be out of place even in countries where points of contact between Government and the public are more common than in India. The attempt to stifle criticism of excesses is calculated to convey the impression that excesses are part of Government policy. The complete faith which Sir Reginald professes in the man on the spot, may prevent justice from being carried out. Sir Reginald looks at Indian political questions from one end of the lathi. He is solely concerned about the police and other forces being upheld. This attitude is understandable only on the ground that the present regime, and we are thinking not merely in terms of Sir Reginald's Home Membership, does not expect to have to deal with the normal conditions which must inevitably follow the disturbances. Even so, we would suggest that the wise precedent set by the Bombay Government in the matter of troops when it took precautionary measures and made them known to the public, be followed in the policy adopted in dealing with disturbances. It should be no difficult matter to devise ways of restraining the overzealous officer. The "country" is not going to be saved by putting into abeyance the rights of the "people." Besides it must be remembered that, while Sir Reginald's explanation comes today, the ban on criticising measures taken by the Government was imposed a month ago when the courage and steadfastness of the forces had not been put to the test. It had for the public all the appearance of securing a free hand for those in authority and we should be surprised if it did not convey a similar impression to many who were called upon to exercise that authority.

Collective Fines:—We pointed out at some length last week that the levying of what are called collective fines in localities where there have occurred disturbances, was ill-conceived, unfair and unjust. As a matter of fact, these fines are not levied on all the inhabitants of the localities concerned. Mahomedans are exempted on the ground, quite reasonable, that they have not participated in the disturbances. If, however, the official theory that the disturbances were organised by the Congress is right, it is not easy

to reconcile the exemption of Muslims from the impost with the fact that the President of the Congress is a Muslim divine and that numerous other Muslims, including the Mayor of Bombay, have been detained or prosecuted in connection with the disturbances. There is also the fact that, though Muslims did not take part in the disturbances, their part in quelling them did not extend beyond that of Hindus as officials, policemen and so on. We were in hourly fear that the conflicts might take a communal turn. That they did not do so is to the credit of all concerned—Congressmen, non-Congress Hindus, Muslim Leaguers and, not the least, the authorities. If collective fines are to be levied only on those who participated in the disturbances, according to the officials, own showing, the great majority of the population, mainly Hindus, did not participate in them, and were only connected with them as victims. Why then penalise all Hindus whether they took part in the trouble as aggressors or not? It is inconceivable that, in the middle of the twentieth century, the British Government want to institute a religious persecution in this country. But, if the orders are maintained in their present form, it will be difficult to avoid such a conclusion. The least that should be done, if the orders are not withdrawn, is to introduce a proviso that a Hindu will be exempted from the impost on showing before a competent tribunal that he was not guilty of committing, aiding or abetting the disturbances in his locality. A proviso of this kind, though itself discriminatory, is necessary in the interests of Government itself which, otherwise, would sink in the public estimation not only in India but the world over to the level of what is popularly known as the Moglai regime.

The Commander-in-Chief and Politics:—We commented last week on the Commander-in-Chief's broadcast which strayed widely from His Excellency's special field and plunged into controversial politics. On this General Sir Archibald Wavell's views are about as interesting as the views of schoolboys and politicians whom he denounced, on the military strategy. A member of the Legislative Assembly, Sardar Sant Singh gave notice of a motion to call attention to the speech. It was disallowed by the Viceroy. The object of the member was to discuss the contents of the Commander-in-Chief's broadcast, and the proper medium for it is the air. The Director of All India Radio will, no doubt, be glad to give him the opportunity extended to the Commander-in-Chief to correct His Excellency's statements where they needed correction. But, if his object had been to call attention to the undesirability, not to say impropriety, of the head of the Indian Army indulging in political controversy, it would have been a distinctly constitutional issue on which the Legislature is entitled to pronounce an opinion. No official, however exalted, can expect in these days his opinions to be treated as sacrosanct without making himself ridicu-

lous. If he does not want or it is not desirable in the public interests that his opinions should become subject of public criticism, he should not speak on public platforms, except on such topics as are his special province. With an Indian Defence Member in the Legislature, the Commander-in-Chief is no longer the Parliamentary spokesman for the Army and the Viceroy's ruling can only mean that Sir Feroze Khan Noon, though officially designated Member for Defence, is actually a subordinate of the Commander-in-Chief. Anyhow, Sir Feroze may take occasion to suggest to the Commander-in-Chief that it would be well if His Excellency left politics to himself.

Sir G. S. Bajpai in America:—Questions in the Central Assembly elicited the fact that Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai's functions as Agent-General included propaganda and publicity. He was to promote "good understanding" between India and America, and he received instructions from time to time on the lines he should take from the Government of India and reported back the results achieved. What those instructions were, was not divulged but it does not require much intelligence to guess them. Apparently Sir Girja's efforts have had to be supplemented by sending others to the U. S. A. as Mr. Ranganathan, the Secretary of State's Adviser, went recently to place a detached but pro-minorities picture of Indian conditions before Americans. It must be very distressing to Sir Girja to stand up and say that Indians do not want independence and, in view of the fact that American first-hand reports must be going out of the country through other channels, his strength in negotiating with the American Government for Indian rights will be considerably weakened. The American job is obviously grown impossible and it would be advisable to consider replacing it with one aiming at promoting good relations between America and Britain where Sir Evelyn Wrench will find more congenial work than at Delhi. The results achieved seem so peculiar that the American press which was loudly vociferous on Indian affairs, has lapsed into silence, for all that the Indian public knows, on so important an event as the British Premier's latest speech on India.

Strikes in Industry:—Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Labour Member in the Government of India, informed the Assembly that industrial strikes since the arrests of congress leaders, had affected very few concerns. He said that the mills in Ahmedabad had not yet reopened and that no economic grievances were apparent. The report also observes, "He believed that the strikes in the Tatas had ended." The information contained in Dr. Ambedkar's answers to questions can not be regarded as complete. If he did not wish to divulge details, he should have said so direct. If he was anxious to throw light on industrial conditions, he should have given the number of men involved which, to say the least, is as important as the number of undertakings affected. The Tatas evidently are regarded as important enough to deserve separate mention. But whether strikes in Tatas

have ended is not a matter of faith but of fact. We cannot understand the vagueness of Dr. Ambedkar's information. If he had no accurate knowledge, he should surely have said so instead of merely adding to the wild rumours which have been circulating.

Sir Evelyn Wrench:—When it was announced some weeks back that Sir Evelyn Wrench was appointed American Relations Officer in this country by His Excellency the Governor-General, we observed that this was rather a supererogatory job since many Americans both in India and in their home country had a more comprehensive idea of this country, its people, its culture and religions than most Englishmen. Since then the American Headquarters in New Delhi have repudiated any knowledge of Sir Evelyn's appointment. The public was left in doubt as to his exact duties since it is impossible to cultivate relations with Americans without their knowledge. It appears from reports in the papers that Sir Evelyn's duties include the entertainment of foreign, not only American, journalists, the principal item in the entertainment being the presence of an Indian of note who is not friendly to the Congress and is not reluctant to express his sentiments for the delectation of the correspondents. The papers have published a long statement, interspersed with occasional questions by his fellow guests at Sir Evelyn's hospitable board, by Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, Prime Minister of the Punjab. Sir Sikandar had met the British Prime Minister when they were both in Egypt recently. As the result of the conversation which he had with Mr. Churchill, Sir Sikandar lost no time in proclaiming that he was convinced that India will have "a square deal" at the hands of Mr. Churchill. Sir Sikandar has since clung to that phrase "a square deal" with all the tenacity of a drowning man clutching at a straw whenever he referred to his conversation with the British Prime Minister, which was very often. At first there was a slight doubt in our mind as to whether what India would have at Mr. Churchill's hand was a square meal or a square deal. It is now clear that it is a square deal and not a square meal which would be rather more difficult to provide in these days of deficiency of food stuffs. A square deal may mean nothing in particular. After-dinner interviews are apt to be unexpectedly sparkling, and in the course of his reply to a question from one of the journalist guests what he would do if he were Viceroy, Sir Sikandar blurted out, "Commit suicide." People resort to this dread expedient when they irretrievably fail in something on which they set the highest value. What value is in Sir Sikandar's mind and why he should anticipate failure in achieving it, can be ascertained only by a tedious course of psycho-analysis. As journalists we are more concerned with the role of Sir Evelyn Wrench which hardly befits the ex-Editor of a journal made illustrious by its association with the classic memory of Addison.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, September 19, 1942.

WHITE MAN'S BURDEN.

The key sentence in Mr. Winston Churchill's statement on India in the House of Commons last week, is the one, which the Indian press has been quick to seize, about there being at present in this country a White force larger than at any time in the British connection. He added, "I, therefore, feel entitled to report to the House that the situation in India at this moment gives no occasion for undue despondency or alarm." The question of the proportion of White troops in India to non-White troops came under discussion immediately after the Indian Mutiny eighty-five years ago. Mr. Churchill had that perhaps in mind when he made this dangerously provocative reference to White troops and the confidence which their presence engendered in him. Eighty years ago the troops in India were only British and Indian. Today they are Americans, British, Chinese, Indians and probably some others White and Coloured. That is one difference. Another and a not less important one which Mr. Churchill ignored, is that White troops were present in considerable numbers in Hongkong, Malaya, Singapore and Burma, and the confidence which their presence inspired in those places, was not justified by events. However that may be, it is certainly a strategic paradox that, while Indian troops are fighting in distant lands, White troops have been required to "add to the general stability which happily prevails in India." Indian divisions have been greatly distinguishing themselves in Egypt against Rommel's crack German regiments. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan recently visited them in Cyprus. The presence at the Conference in Moscow of the British Prime Minister with M. Stalin, of the Commander-in-Chief in India, suggests the possibility of Indian troops being engaged at no distant date in helping the Russians against the Nazis in the Caucasus. Indian opinion has consistently demanded the retention of Indian troops in their native land. A National Government would certainly have not sent Indian troops abroad and brought White and Yellow troops to India to take their place.

Mr. Churchill's reply to Mr. Shinwell's interruption, that the White troops added to the stability of the Indian situation, is in direct contradiction to the repeated American declaration that American troops are in India only to repel invasion and that they are strictly enjoined to abstain from getting mixed up in internal disturbances. Perhaps Mr. Churchill is confident that in this as in other matters he will be able to persuade President Roosevelt to relax his scruples. As we remarked in commenting on the American declaration, it will not be easy to enforce it. The Government tendency in India is to identify internal disturbances with external dangers. The Defence of India Rules cover

everything from selling a pound of sugar a few annas above the regulation price and shouting Congress slogans to arson and murder. The practical difficulties in the way of keeping American troops clear of internal commotions seem to be already coming to the surface in Karachi. Mr. Churchill does not evidently derive as much confidence from the presence of Chinese troops in India as from that of White troops. Or perhaps he includes them among White troops as Hitler includes Japanese among Aryans. In his own way the British Prime Minister is as deeply imbued with racialism as the German Fuhrer. In his speech at the American Congress he held forth on the prospect of the two Anglo-Saxon races marching in majesty, to victory. The White races are conceived as an extension of the Anglo-Saxons *vis-a-vis* the Coloured races. Mr. Churchill's outlook in this war is strictly bounded by Europe. Asia and Africa to him are merely producers of raw materials for the factories of the Anglo-Saxons. That Mr. Churchill's views are shared by a considerable section of his fellow members of Parliament is shown by the cheers which his statement evoked at its purple passage.

A gleam of hope lies in the reflection that Mr. Churchill's career shows that he is not one of the fools who make a fetish of consistency. He changed from Tory to Liberal and from Liberal to Tory notwithstanding Mr. Lloyd George's friendly warning to him at an early stage of his Liberal novitiate that a man cannot change his party twice. He has said strong things about Bolshevism and Soviet Russia and at the pinch of circumstance made no bones about journeying to Moscow and praising Stalin as the greatest man in the world. It is by no means improbable that in similar circumstances he would act similarly towards India. Mr. Churchill's opinions are often the effect of situations rather than the product of reflection. According to Guedalla he felt his deficiency in education keenly when he was first thrown into the society of Asquith, Morley, Haldane and Grey and he had ideas of improving his intellectual equipment by taking a course at Oxford University at the first opportunity afforded by his career as a war correspondent. But his early preferment in politics prevented this and he has remained dependent on his surroundings for his opinions on grave questions with which his official position required him to deal. Lord Morley in one of his letters to Lord Minto touched on Mr. Churchill's weakness in this respect. Writing of Mr. Churchill's defeat at Manchester in 1908, Morley observed:

The belief among competent observers in the place is that the resounding defeat of Winston at Manchester was due to wrath at rather too naked tactics of making deals with this, that and the other group, without too severe scrutiny in his own personal conscience of the terms that they were exacting from himI often tell him in a paternal way, a successful politician in this country needs a good deal more than skill in mere computation of other people's opinions, without anxiety about his own.

Mr. Churchill's statement on India shows that though thirty-five years have elapsed since this estimate by a friendly mentor, his opinions are still very much a computation of Sir Stafford Cripps' and Mr. Amery's opinions with little anxiety about his own.

THE PRESS AND THE GOVERNMENT.

The Government of India thought it necessary to alter its attitude to the press in India simultaneously with its decision to arrest the Congress leaders in Bombay. The excuse probably was that Gandhiji had hinted in his closing speech at the A. L. C. C. session that the press should cease publishing rather than tolerate restrictions on its freedom. There could have been no lamer excuse than this. For if one thing has stood out clear, it is this that the press in India as a whole is not a Congress-dictated press. There have been appeals before to the press to suspend publication but they have not been successful. The newspapers which have closed down throughout India since August 21, have done so not because Gandhiji wanted them to close but because they felt that they could not continue under the restrictions imposed on them by the Government. Had the conditions which prevailed before August 8, been allowed to stand undisturbed, there is no reason to think that the press in India would have reacted differently to the way it has done in the past three years of war. But they were not allowed to stand and nothing is so difficult as to go back to old conditions once a false step has been made.

The All India Newspaper Editors' Conference came into existence in November 1940 out of a meeting convened by leaders of Indian Journalism to protest against restrictions placed by the Government of India on freedom of comment and on presentation of factual news. It passed through a very difficult infancy during which it owed its existence to a general feeling that it was fulfilling a definite function in protecting the Indian press from the vagaries of bureaucratic action. This feeling, it can be confidently asserted, prevailed among all sections of the press. That it did restrict the Government was shown by the continued efforts of a section of the bureaucracy to throw off its influence, which culminated in the decision of the Central Government early in August to impose censorship. The Standing Committee of the Editors' Conference attempted at its Delhi meeting three weeks ago to carry out a task which had become even more difficult with the decision of newspapers in India, some of them members of that Committee, to suspend publication and thus prejudge the issue. When the members dispersed on August 28, they had every reason to believe that they had largely succeeded. It was in that belief that they appealed to suspended newspapers to resume publication. Since that appeal went forth, developments have been rapid. The fourteen newspapers of Bengal which had led the movement for suspension, decided to resume publication in response; in other parts of the country the suspended press decided to keep out of the field and to call a Conference at Bombay to consider the position; and at Delhi Province, the Chief Commissioner issued an order which created the greatest anxiety in the Indian press as a whole. A few days later, there was definite signs to show that the Delhi precedent was likely to sabotage the consultative machinery evolved by the Editors' Conference. On Thursday morning the correspondence exchanged by the Standing Committee

and the Government of India was published and also the answer of Sir Reginald Maxwell to a question regarding the Delhi Chief Commissioner's order of August 29, that it was promulgated as a result of agreement between the Editors' Conference and the Government of India. This is a very curious interpretation and Sir Reginald owes an explanation to the Standing Committee from whom the plenary session is entitled to call for one. The President of the Editors' Conference has convened a plenary session in the first week of October, at Bombay to consider the whole situation.

We regret that the Conference of suspended newspapers at Bombay whose proceedings have appeared in the local press, failed to do much more than denounce the Editors' Conference—a denunciation in which three fairly active members of the Standing Committee of that Conference played a fairly prominent part. We had expected a precise lead from these newspapers as to the conditions in which they are prepared to reappear. They seem to have committed themselves to the view that even the conditions which existed prior to August 8, are unsatisfactory, without in any way explaining why they are unsatisfactory now when for two years they were regarded as at least tolerable. For the rest, they have indicated that their programme and policy will develop out of the attitude taken by the Editor's Conference at its Bombay meeting. This in a way increases the responsibility of the Editors' Conference. As the matter stands at present, there would be as little rivalry between the Suspended and Suppressed Newspapers Conference—for both were represented between the fifty delegates at Bombay—and the Editors' Conference as there is between the graveyard and the hospital. Mr. Goenka, the President of the first organisation, has a broader conception. He has suggested the formation of a Newspaper Congress to which all Nationalist newspapers would be welcomed. He has, however, shown considerable naivete in remarking that such a Congress would be a free democratic body in the sense that its general membership would decide its policy. For this it will have to be in continuous session, if living newspapers and their problems are not to be ignored. The conditions in which an organisation grows up, moreover, must inevitably determine the nature of that organisation. The fact that the Newspaper Congress has come out of a Conference of Suspended Newspapers, must naturally fix its character. The organisers will, we suppose, ensure this. If the matter has escaped their attention, we hope they will take steps to remedy the defect. Otherwise it will degenerate into an echo meeting of the Editors' Conference. We welcome the suggestion and wish the new body every success. It is the latest sign of the trend of the Indian press towards collective action. The press today is very conscious of its rights. We cannot say as much even of conditions two years ago when it was necessary for leaders in journalism to stir the press to action. Mr. Goenka declared his desire not to create disunity in Indian journalism; referring to a personal telegram sent by Mr. J. N. Sahni, Convener of the Editors' Conference, asking Mr. Samaldas Gandhi to abandon the Conference of Suspended Newspapers because a plenary session of the Editors' Conference was to be convened to which 100 important journalists were to be invited, Mr. Gandhi regretted that he had received it too late to cancel his arrangements. The telegram should not have been sent for the simple reason that the Editors' Conference does not have on its membership many of the suspended newspapers and, therefore, such

representatives of opinion would have had no opportunity to express their views at a "plenary session;" if they had it would have been no "plenary session". Had the telegram met with the expected response, it would have been the cause of serious misunderstanding either among members or among guests. We see no reason why the two organisations should not work for a common objective and by increased pressure achieve better results than the Editors' Conference had so far single-handed brought about.

The All India Editors' Conference has been alive to the fact that the Indian press was not a free press, but a licensed press. These conditions have existed for over thirty years and, however much one might wish it, they are not going to be changed in wartime. What could be done was to secure the press in India the right to be consulted both in regard to fresh restrictions and to the working of restrictive laws. There have been attacks on this limited objective of the Editors' Conference. But criticism has not been informed in so far as what has been accepted as reasonable in other spheres of national life, is rejected as humiliating in journalism. Take the case of Indian business interests. Though the demand for an Indian Finance Member has been pressed incessantly by politicians, yet nobody thinks that the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce had "sold the pass" in asking that Indian business interests should be consulted before Sir Jeremy Raisman arrives at any agreement with London. Yet the Federation's attitude is no whit more radical than that of the Editors' Conference is in its sphere. And till September 1, the Editors' Conference had succeeded in gaining its objective on paper. The plenary session has to consider how best it can induce the Government to follow in practice the method it has accepted in theory. The latest developments throw a very unpleasant light on the past evasions of the Central Government and the whole history of press negotiations appear as progressive stages in fooling the Indian press. The limit, however, has been reached and the Editors' Conference will, we have no doubt, insist on something more definite than assurances to secure uniformity throughout India and honesty in policy. If it finds that this cannot be done, the Editors' Conference will have to decide on its course of action.

A BANDRA DIARY.

Opposing a motion for adjournment, in the Indian Legislative Assembly on Monday, to consider the propriety of the recent change in Indian Standard Time in view of the dislocation of the routine of Indians' daily lives, Sir Reginald Maxwell, the Home Member of the Government of India, said he agreed about the confusion created by the advance of Standard Time by one hour but it had to be done as a measure of military necessity. If this means that the War would be lost if Indian clocks kept the old Standard Time and that the advance of an hour would ensure the victory of the Allies and the defeat of the Axis Powers, there is nothing that can be said until the result is known. Otherwise there is no point in the argument except that Army commanders want to begin the day earlier so that they may have an hour more in the evening for recreation purposes. They could have easily managed this by rearranging their day's routine instead of getting every one of the 400 million inhabitants of India to change theirs. The absurdity of the present change is illustrated in its extreme form in Karachi, and Sind generally, where, as the *Sind Observer* bitterly complains, it involves doing

everything two hours ahead of the normal time. Uniformity of time is a civil and, in India, a religious necessity and it has been provided for in the way most in conformity with the geographical position of the country for centuries. Lanka Time (Lanka being the point where the meridian of Ujjain, India's ancient Greenwich, cuts the equator) has for over a thousand years been the recognised Indian Standard Time which Indian astronomers and calendar-makers have used and are still using for computing the seasonal ceremonies and domestic events. The adoption of Ujjain time would have established at one important point continuity with the past and present which, when all is said, is the one and only certain and acceptable method of ensuring the permanence of the British connection. You can not expect the people to regard you as a national institution when you take every opportunity of demonstrating that you are a stranger and sojourner in the land. The adoption of Ujjain time as the Indian Standard Time by the civil and military government would have given them the required uniformity with but the difference of less than an hour from local time in any part of India. It would have brought the political system in line with the socio-religious life of the people.

What is guts? According to Mr. Jinnah it is the power to give trouble. "Any intelligent man in India will tell you," he told a Press Correspondent, "the Muslims have five hundred times more guts than Hindus." He added that they can give five hundred times more trouble. Mr. Jinnah was no doubt speaking from his own personal experience while he was yet a nationalist rather in disfavour with his co-religionists. I recall an incident when some twenty years ago I presided at a series of public meetings to promote his candidature to the first Legislative Assembly under the Montford reforms. In a moment of weakness, yielding to the importunity of friends, I had become Chairman of the Bombay branch of the Swaraj party organised by C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru. The Swaraj party in Bombay held the meetings and I as Chairman had to preside over them. Very few Mahomedans attended these meetings but the hall was always full to hear Mr. Jinnah. At one of these meetings in the Marwadi Vidyalaya Hall, I noticed a Mahomedan sitting in one of the front benches. He had a stout stick in his hand and was following the proceedings with evident interest. After Mr. Jinnah had finished and Mr. Jayakar (I think) was moving the vote of thanks, this Mahomedan deliberately lifted his stick and smote himself on the head three or four times. Everybody was surprised. Mr. Jinnah jumped down from the platform, commanded the man to "stop it" and ordered his chauffeur to take the man out of the hall. This was done without further incident, the man quietly following the chauffeur. Even today more than twenty years after the incident, I am unable to guess what the man intended by this exhibition. But his conduct certainly gave what may be called some trouble as similar acts would do at my public meeting. I wonder if Mr. Jinnah had that incident in mind when he estimated that Muslims had five hundred times the guts of the Hindus, adding that this was a matter of temperament, the way in which Hindus and Mahomedans were brought up. This kind of guts might create trouble but will be of little use for by building up an ordered Government.

Mr. Jinnah said that, if he gave the word "Embarrass, non-co-operate with the British Government," it would create at least five hundred times more trouble than was being experienced today.

This observation is based on a misconception of the nature of the trouble today. The Government of India is strong enough to put down the kind of trouble which may be produced at the bidding of any leader, Hindu or Muslim. But the present situation is not due to such bidding but to an exactly contrary injunction to observe strict non-violence. Mr. Jinnah omits that crucial word and, indeed, he cannot employ it. That it is Gandhiji's creed of non-violence that is the great trouble with the authorities, is evident from their desperate attempts to make out that either Gandhiji is a fraud or that his non-violence is the dream of a visionary which can be never realised and must always lead to violence and destruction. This is the bureaucratic argument. A detached thinker like Aldous Huxley has understood the Gandhian philosophy in a way few Indians have even among Congressmen. Not only does he endorse it as a philosophy but he testifies to its practicability. He writes in "Ends and Means":

In India several important successes were recorded, and it was shown that very large groups of men and women could be trained to respond to the most brutal treatment with a quiet courage and equanimity that profoundly impressed the persecutors, the spectators in the immediate vicinity and, through the press, the public opinion of the entire world.

The difficulty is, as an English publicist wholly out of sympathy with the Gandhian creed, is reported to have said, that when Gandhiji and the Government of India are at odds, the British public inclines to assume that the Government is to blame. If Mr. Jinnah can attach to Pakistan some great moral ideal which it would advance for the good of the human race instead of merely affording a home for Indian Muslims, the Muslim League would become a world movement which at present it is not, and it will be assured of a hearing even from those now strongly opposed to it.

RECLUSE.

THE STORY OF GANDHIJI'S CONDOLENCE MESSAGE.

The *Evening News of India* published in its issue of the 10th September the following:

The following is the text of Mr. Gandhi's telegram to Sevagram Ashram regarding Mr. Mahadeo Desai's death in detention near Poona recently. "Mahadeo died suddenly. Gave no indication. Slept well last night. Had breakfast. Walked with me. Sushila (Dr. Nair who is also in detention) and jail doctors did all they could but God had willed otherwise. Sushila and I bathed body lying peacefully covered with flowers incense burning. Sushila and I reciting Geeta (Shri Bhagwategeeta). Tell Durga (Mahadeo Desai's wife) Babla, his son, Sushila his niece. No sorrow allowed. Cremation taking place front of me. Shall keep ashes. Advise Durga remain ashram but she may go to her people if she must. Hope Babla will be brave. Love, Bapu."

The same message was published next day in other dailies. Mr. Desai died on the 15th August. Gandhiji's message was composed, as is evident from its contents, while the body was being cremated—that is, on the 16th August. It is not clear why it was thought necessary to publish the message a month later. Was the delay due to the Ashramites to whom it was addressed or to the authorities? What is the significance of the words in the message, "No sorrow permitted." Permitted by whom? Were they so in the text or have some words been omitted? The *Tribune* of Lahore publishes a detailed account from its Bombay correspondent of the conditions of Gandhiji's detention and the happenings prior to the cremation of Mr. Desai's

body. Why is a Punjab paper able to glean fuller information in this matter than Bombay papers which are more immediately interested in it?

The above was written under the impression that the telegraphic message which it clearly was, was duly transmitted and delivered to the addressee at Sevagram. This was not done. The *Bharat Jyoti* published on Sunday the text of a letter from the Government of India to the addressee as follows:

From,

Sir Richard Tottenham, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Additional Secretary to the Government of India.

To

Mr. Chimanlal,
Ashram Sevagram, Wardha, Central Provinces.
NEW DELHI, the 4th Sept. 1942.

Sir,

I am directed to enclose herewith a letter dictated by Mr. Gandhi for the widow of the late Mr. Mahadev Desai and to express sincere regret for the delay in its delivery. The Government of Bombay had ordered the immediate delivery of the letter but owing to some misunderstanding of the instructions on the part of the officer in charge of Mr. Gandhi's correspondence, the transmission of the letter was held up and that fact has only just come to notice. At the same time I am to express regret also for the fact that certain red pencil marks have been made on the letter.

The telegram written out in view of the funeral pyre on the 16th August was delivered to the addressee only on the 7th September, notwithstanding the order of the Government of Bombay, under whose authority and in whose territory Mr. Desai was detained, that it should be delivered immediately. The order of the Government of Bombay was deliberately disregarded, and the explanation is sent by a Secretary of the Government of India. The explanation is "some misunderstanding of the instructions on the part of the officer in charge of Mr. Gandhi's correspondence." Who is this officer? Is he an officer of the Bombay Government or of the Government of India? What were the instructions which were misunderstood and by whom were they issued? The order of the Bombay Government seems to have been quite explicit. It is impossible to believe that any officer would disregard the order of the Bombay Government and withhold transmission of a letter of solace to a widow and an orphan whose bereavement took place under circumstances which cannot but touch the heart of a human being with a spark of human feeling, not to speak with the fear of God, unless he had definite orders to do so from the highest authority in his department. The responsibility for this inhuman act rests therefore on that authority and can not be shoved on to a subordinate official. No amount of regret can atone for it. It reveals the spirit in which the policy of segregating the Congress leaders and particularly Gandhiji and his closest associates was first conceived and applied until it was modified under pressure of public opinion and perhaps the resignation of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar.

As we suspected certain words were omitted in the Associated Press message from the body of Gandhiji's message. The *Bharat Jyoti* gives the text of it as follows:

Mahadev died suddenly gave no indication. Slept well last night. Had breakfast. Walked with me. Sushila jail doctors did all they could but God had willed otherwise. Sushila and I bathed body. Lying peacefully. Covered with flowers incense burning. Sushila and I reciting Gita. Mahadev had died Yogi's and patriot's death. Tell Durga, Babla and Sushila no sorrow allowed. Only joy over such noble death. Cremation taking place front of me. Shall keep Ashes. Advise Durga remain Ashram, but she may go to her people if she must. Hope Babla will be brave and prepare himself fill Mahadev's place worthily. Love, Bapu.

FIFTY YEARS OF TEMPERANCE WORK—II

(BY FREDERICK GRUBB, ENGLAND.)

Indian temperance reformers, however, did not abate their demand for ultimate prohibition, although willing to accept as instalments any measures which led in that direction. This demand was reiterated at successive annual sessions of the All-India Temperance Conference, which were presided over by some of the most distinguished men in Indian public life. It was also strongly supported by the All-India W. C. T. U., which has maintained active propaganda for many years.

SLOW PROGRESS.

In July, 1912, a further deputation waited upon the Secretary of State for India (the Marquess of Crewe). It was again introduced by Lord Clwyd and was representative of various national organisations and missionary bodies. The spokesmen of the deputation were Mr. Gokhale, Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary, and the Rev. Herbert Anderson, who was then Secretary of the Calcutta Temperance Federation. Lord Crewe admitted the strength of the case put forward and, although he demurred in some measure from any complete application of the principle of local option (which was one of the main suggestions of the deputation), he recognised the desirability of improving as far as possible the machinery of the advisory committees and he promised to pass on to the Government of India the proposals made to him on this and other matters. A few days later a resolution embodying these proposals was moved in the House of Commons by Mr. Charles Roberts, M. P., afterwards Under-Secretary of State for India. Mr. Montagu's reply on behalf of the Government was so favourable that the resolution was not pressed to a division.

One result of this second deputation was the setting up of licensing boards in the provincial capitals. These boards included representatives of the temperance societies, and, in the case of Calcutta, the Board was given full and final power to determine the number and location of shops within the area. The educational wards of that city were made "dry" and a number of shops were closed down elsewhere. Speaking generally, however, the results (notably in Madras) were disappointing.

The Government of India Act 1919 had a definite relation to the temperance movement. Excise was one of the subjects transferred by that measure to the control of ministers responsible to the Provincial Legislature under the scheme of diarchy. The Act as a whole was regarded with pronounced dissatisfaction by powerful elements in India, but it undoubtedly provided some opportunity to the Indian people of working out their own salvation from the evils of the drink traffic. Difficulties soon arose from the fact that Excise furnished the only large head of income available to the Provincial Governments for the maintenance of essential public services such as education, sanitation, etc. Critics of the Government were not slow to point out that this arrangement was well calculated to bar the way to Prohibition. The financial problem was aggravated, as the pioneers of our movement foresaw, by the continual rise of the receipts from liquor. At that time the income from this source was a very substantial part of the total provincial revenue, amounting to as much as 32.4 percent in Madras, the aggregate receipts for the whole of India being £ 15,000,000 per annum which is approximately the figure at which it stands today.

TOWARDS PROHIBITION.

Efforts were made from time to time to secure the inclusion of the principle of local option in provin-

cial legislation. In 1921, Dewan Bahadur Mr. Ramachandra Rao sought to introduce a Local Option Bill in Madras. The Government of Madras gave the required consent, but the promoters were subsequently informed that the sanction of the Government of India must also be obtained as the Bill, if passed, would affect the sale of imported spirits which was a matter for the Central Government. Later on, both the Madras and the Bombay Governments announced that Prohibition was the ultimate goal of their Excise policy, and certain small experiments were made with that object in view.

In the Punjab also, about the same time, an Act was passed ostensibly giving the power of local prohibition to municipalities, but clubs, hotels, refreshment bars and railway refreshment rooms were excluded from the scope of the measure, and there were other limitations which have practically reduced it to a dead letter.

Yet whatever difficulties stood in the way, all parties in India were agreed as to the desirability of securing prohibition at the earliest possible date. The highest representative body in India, namely the Legislative Assembly, endorsed this demand in a resolution which was carried on September 1, 1925, by 82 votes to 89. It was, in fact, a very definite mandate in favour of immediate local option as a first step towards total prohibition. The resolution was supported by Indian members belonging to various schools of political thought. The only speech on the other side was that of the then Finance member of the Government, Sir Basil Blackett, who said that Prohibition was impracticable, contrary to ethics, and unthinkable. The answer he received was one of the most emphatic defeats sustained by the Government during that session. All the European members, 25 in number, were in the minority, and with them were 14 Indian members, all nominated or officially connected with the Government. In other words if only Indian members had voted, Prohibition would have carried the day by 69 to 14.

HOUSE OF COMMONS RULED OUT.

From the earliest days of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association an important part of the work was the raising in Parliament, by means of resolutions and questions, matters relating to Excise administration in India. One result of the Government of India Act 1919, was that such action could no longer be taken in the House of Commons. The Governor of Bombay disallowed a Local Option Bill in his Legislative Council. When Colonel Wedgwood asked at Westminster why this veto had been imposed, the Under-Secretary replied that it was within the competence of the Governor to refuse consent, and there was no statutory obligation upon him to give any reason for so doing. An attempt was made by supplementary questions to obtain a more explicit statement, but the speaker ruled that it was not a matter for the House of Commons to pursue further. The view was thus in this way authoritatively confirmed that all questions relating to Excise (as one of the transferred subjects) were henceforth within the purview of the Provincial Governments and Legislatures and could no longer be raised in the Imperial Parliament.

EDUCATIONAL WORK.

Meanwhile the movement was making progress in India on its educational side. Temperance workers have always recognised that the way must be prepared for effective legislation by personal effort and moral persuasion, and that the basis of national

action must be found in individual abstinence. Hence we consistently sought the co-operation of all leaders of public opinion, caste panchayets, social service leagues, women's organizations, students, and, above all, of parents in the task of impressing by example and precept the advantages of total abstinence to the community at large and to the rising generation in particular.

In 1918 the Association drew up and published an important Medical manifesto, which had attached to it the signatures of eighty-one eminent physicians and surgeons, Indian, British and American. Among the signatories were such well-known names as Sir Nilratan Sircar, Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Sir Frederick Treves, Professor Sims Woodhead, Surgeon-General Evatt, and Sir Alfred Pearce Gould. They declared explicitly that the use of alcohol and of all noxious drugs, even in moderate quantities, was positively harmful, especially in tropical countries, and they appealed to the people of India to maintain and extend the practice of total abstinence enjoined upon them by their religious and social obligations.

This manifesto was widely circulated throughout India in various languages and became the basis of temperance lessons in many educational institutions. There was an extensive correspondence with numerous educational authorities with a view to a more systematic teaching of the subject in schools which, up to that time, had been very limited and casual. As a result of the representations made, new text-books on temperance were prepared in most Provinces, and the instruction given became more definite and efficient. In several of the large cities unofficial lecturers were employed by the Association to preach sound rules of health in colleges and schools, as well as among the general population. The engagement of these lecturers was rendered possible, in addition to other propaganda, by funds, largely subscribed in Great Britain, in the collection of which I was personally occupied during the long period under review. Substantial donations were also received from Indian contributors. Having regard, however, to the limited income at our disposal, the extent of the work in India was remarkable.

Such widespread operations could not have been maintained for half a century without careful organisation and long sustained correspondence reaching to the uttermost parts of India. The Association's quarterly publication, the *Abkari*, was throughout a valuable medium of mutual communication. During most of the period from 2,000 to 3,000 copies of this informative journal were regularly posted from London to the local secretaries, Government officials, political leaders, missionaries, schools, clubs, and other influential persons and institutions and, as the addresses were invariably written with my own hand, I became thoroughly familiar with Indian names and personalities in all parts of the country. The editing of a single journal for so many years was also an achievement which has not often been equalled.

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

(Copyright.)

Returning to London from his South American tour in the last week of November, Padshah set out immediately on a world cruise on the "Empress of Britain." Among his fellow passengers was George Bernard Shaw who joined the boat at Monaco.

DECEMBER 1, 1932.

New York.

I have been two days and two nights in the U. S. and so far the feeling is of success. Today I sallied out in a taxi at 7-80 a. m. for that same Pennsylvania

Station costing a fabulous sum to build (where I had taken you two years ago), moved out *via* the Hudson River and New Jersey in the train for Philadelphia at 8 a. m., reached Philadelphia (Broad Street) Station at 10.

I was taken with four others, round the town, shown in the inside, the Congress Hall where Independence was declared, the Bell whose ring called the citizens to listen to the Declaration, the memorial relics of the first Congressmen who there debated, including George Washington and Benjamin Franklin; walked through a public square where, a lady told me, crowds had gathered to enjoy the grateful sun on a very cold morning last Sunday.

We were taken to see the inside of the Mint of the U.S. and I recalled that we, too, (you and I) had also been taken somewhere to see, perhaps, also a mint? And we were driven round the Pennsylvania University acres, and round and in parks and passed Museums, boys' schools, girls' schools, Horticultural Gardens, the Delaware Bridge, the Hebrew section of the town called Strawberry Hill, because, perhaps, of the red colouring of the exterior, and were told of the 160 thousand negroes in the city. Altogether an enjoyable three hour.

The negroes have been very much with me; at the stations, they stood, fine types of manhood in smart dress and elegant ease, and helped me to find my trains or my taxi on return; in the train, one at least, seemed to me singularly well suited to his place, all in his element, lady passengers inviting talk. The brief replies with which he answered my queries made me wishful for a more settled conversation on the present feeling of negroes and the Democratic triumph.

I was told in Philadelphia of the vast number of one-way streets there; in fact, I noticed only two or three broad streets, with vehicles moving in both directions.

DECEMBER 3, 1932.

My first day in New York was full. So I asked the "Round the City" office at the Hotel to arrange for me any whole day excursion. A Grey Line car carried me round for 3½ hours from the Riverside and Central Park at West End to the Bowery and New Amsterdam and Manhattan on the East End. Why are East Ends everywhere more dingy? Though on familiar ground it felt all new, the Columbia University in the West, the University of New York in the East, the State of New York's offices, the Law courts with the motto in stone that honest justice is the firmest pillar of a state. Why do Americans garnish their talks and speeches with platitudinous maxims and anecdotes—tiresome purveyors of the obvious?

DECEMBER 10, 1932.

Gibraltar.

Mr. Penn [a fellow-passenger] spoke of his two visits to South Africa,.... of the highly Americanised atmosphere of our ship. I only realised it in the cogwheel train today; how otherwise? We were only 30 world-tourists left at New York, we are now 350; the difference must have come from the U. S. and Canada. I could not, however, understand why though the men are tall, and the women's evening frocks are pretty, yet they look an undistinguished crowd. Perhaps, because everything about them—their looks, pigments, costumes, gaiety, talk, even their charm, is standardised.

Mr. Penn declared the Americans in N. Y. and those on our ship are both "funny." I reminded him that Europeans look "funny" to them. Mr. Penn says no class of people smoke so much as American women. I asked him to notice that the most noticeable of these are women in grey and white hair,

women who must have taken to smoking in the 90's as New Women, who keep up the standard even when smoking is not befitting their faded complexions and rounded bodies.

DECEMBER 15, 1932.

Near Monaco.

There were fields and plough-horses and cattle and sheep and yellow soil and occasional labourers and road diggers, the mayoralties of towns passed, and Post and Telegraph offices, and schools.....all so shady and cool (even cold—on the return, I would have been glad to change my Burberry for my heaviest coat) and there we were in Blida, unforgettable for tram and omnibuses where we got out, the pestering Arabs in Turkish fez and European coat, out to make an easy living out of the sale of photographs, the Arab tea and coffee houses, above all, the walk in mud to the Remount Stables with white horses. I told Mr. Henderson, the Cruise Director that you were led to every stall and horse, while yesterday, the ladies made a bolt to return to their cars after inspection of half a dozen.

DECEMBER 30, 1932.

Cairo.

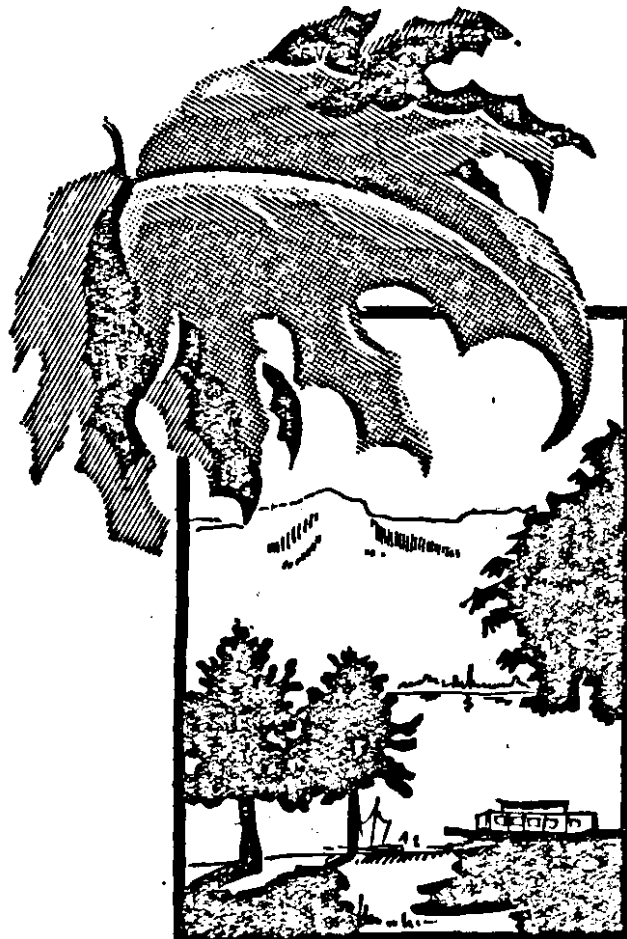
The *Palestine Post*, the *Egyptian Gazette*, and the *London Daily Mail* (who has a correspondent, Mr. Ward Price, among the passengers) make much of the Empress of Britain and of her distinguished passengers among whom, of course, Mr. Shaw takes the cake; but he is in good company. There was till Haifa on our ship Abbas Hilmy Pasha with a

retinue. Nobody saw him, I think; but his telegram was brought to me, as answering to the name; it is possible that my missing *Spectators* and *Natures* might have been carried to him, and be lying, neglected in his yacht at Haifa, which is his present hotel. He is the ex-khedive of Egypt, nephew of King Fuad. His plans are mysterious, and the Orient spells intrigue. He is the richest man in these parts; one of the rare intelligent Orientals.

DECEMBER 31, 1932.

Cairo.

A Cruise organiser asked me to give the ship "talks" on India; they understood my objection to talking politics; but why not give them an insight into Indian customs from within, so that they might correct the impressions they get from observers from without? I said there is not one body of Indian customs as such any more than there is one system of Eastern customs as such. The ever-present smells, narrow streets, tottering house, cobbled roads speak only of general poverty in the East, as they betokened the same in the West in the pre-machine days. There are hundreds of rigid compartments of custom in India; and a Parsi observer, like me, of them, can only be an observer from without; if he cannot make original observations, he will palm off the observations of Europeans. I am not original enough and not interested enough to read European observations.



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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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Machine-Gunning the Mob.	Leper Relief Association, Miraj.

NOTES.

Collective Fines:—A Press Note issued by the Bombay Government last week stated that collective fines of Rs. 15,000 were imposed on fourteen villages in the Ankola taluka of Kanara district, where damage was done to telegraph wires and bridges. "Muslims and scheduled castes inhabitants, Government servants and those who assisted the police have been exempted." The exemption of Muslims is absolute, unlike in some other provinces where it is made conditional on members of the community having as a body kept out of mischief. In the fourteen villages of Ankola the mere fact of being a Muslim is a passport to exemption. Scheduled castes have also been exempted. A section of these castes who have come under the influence of Dr. Ambedkar's propaganda, has had its religious moorings somewhat unsettled and some of them might have sought relief from the levy by adopting another religion if scheduled castes too had not been specifically exempted. A later communique exempts Christians also. It is significant that Government have adopted the plan of imposing collective fines by a general order and then exempting all classes except caste Hindus, instead of directly naming Hindus alone as liable to the levy. Government servants who have special responsibilities, and in fact are paid to maintain law and order, are exempted while the taxpaying villagers who provide the salaries and wages of Government servants, are subjected to this further impost. The last class exempted, "those who assisted the police," seems to be a special feature of the Bombay policy. It is a judicious addition to the other categories. Liberally interpreted, as it should be, it may be applied so as to eliminate the worst anomalies of the scheme of collective fines. In a famous case of sedition a judge of the Bombay High Court defined "disaffection" as absence of "affection" towards the State—a definition which has since been overruled and made impossible by the amendment of the law.

For a Government, and particularly one situated as are Governments in India, the only rational working hypothesis is the maxim, "those who are not against us are with us." People who did not obstruct the police, must be held to have assisted the police. It is unreasonable to expect the villager with his many worries to be more vigilant in looking after bridges and telegraph wires than the police and other village officials. The principle, or want of it, of collective fines is wholly wrong but the Bombay formula provides a way out of its worst anomaly.

Government Servants and Government Policies:—Mr. Arthur Moore in his trenchant statement on the Indian situation to which we referred last week, makes a brief but significant remark about the mistake of imagining that Government servants in the civil or military services are immune from the spirit of nationalism. A certain type of English official who is in the ascendant just now, seems to think that, when an Indian draws a salary from Government, he foreswears all his personality and has become an automaton to carry out whatever orders may be given to him. This is probably true in many cases but not in all. Owing to the indifference or neglect to develop Indian industries and commerce, and to encourage vocational enterprise by Indian youth, a considerable proportion of the educated middle class had no alternative but to seek service under Government. The proportion is steadily diminishing both because other openings are attracting young men and because of the quota system of apportioning government jobs according to religious beliefs. Seeley in his "Expansion of England" warned Britain that her Empire in India rested on the acceptance of her rule as consistent with Indian self-respect, and the moment Indians began to feel that it was humiliating to serve the foreigner, that moment the Empire would be in danger without any armed revolt to overthrow it. *The Reformer* has again and again called attention to this grave warning of the historian and urged that in framing policies the susceptibilities of its Indian officials should be a primary consideration of Government. We are sorry that this warning has not been adequately heeded. A friend who showed some interest in the *Reformer's* idea of "Closer Union," now suggests that the relations have so deteriorated that the idea must be put into cold storage for the present. He says that

the deterioration of relations is due, among other causes, to the grievance of subordinate Indian officials against their British superiors. He is, of course, referring mainly to the civil services. The idea of freedom has penetrated to the lowest strata of society and even to small children. Women, ignorant illiterate women, are drawn by its magnetism. Congress has had a large share in arousing it but it has now gone beyond the influence of any political sentiment and has struck roots in Indian sub-consciousness. Wise statesmanship can yet make use of it to advance the cause of world peace and freedom. It may be repressed, for the time it cannot be suppressed.

Council of State on Press Restrictions:—Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru moved in the Council of State that press restrictions should be modified and that precensorship of news and statements should be abolished except in so far as it may be necessary for military purposes. He gave a historical account of the negotiations which have taken place between the Government and the Press and enlivened his speech with some illustrations of the kind of press advising that goes on. When he referred to the Delhi Commissioner's instructions which placed a ban on the publication of names of arrested persons, Sir Richard Tottenham, Home Secretary, intervened and said that these instructions were confidential. This drew a spirited retort from Pandit Kunzru. Nevertheless, Sir Richard who replied later to the debate, had added a further complication to the mess he was supposed to clear up. In addition to the grave charge levelled against the Government of misrepresenting the Editors' Conference attitude on censorship, he had made it clear that there are, over and above the restrictions publicly announced, secret instructions fettering the press. Sir Richard did not directly answer the charge of misrepresentation, nor did he deny it. We suppose prestige would not allow him to admit it. But he did the next best thing when, in the guise of supporting Sir Reginald Maxwell and Sir Mahomed Usman in their bald statement that the Editors' Conference had agreed to precensorship, he gave a fuller picture of the position. We print the paragraph below :

...It was the Editors and not the Government who suggested that, if the papers could not be left complete freedom to publish anything they liked, it would be better for Government to arrange for all matter on this subject to be submitted for scrutiny to a specified authority and also to arrange for representatives of the press themselves to be associated with that authority in carrying out that scrutiny. He did not mean that the press volunteered to accept pre-censorship. What they did say was that, if they could not be allowed to publish anything at their own will, then this was a more satisfactory method of doing it.

This is a fair representation of the position so far as the Government may be expected to understand it. It is not complete without an important addition: The Editors, unlike the Government, laid the greater emphasis not on pre-censorship but on the principle of consultation. And it was even accepted by the

Government in August that consultation would extend to the classes of matter which were to be submitted for consideration.

Press Advising and Scrutiny:—Though the Editors associated in the joint scrutiny may be overruled by the "authority", it is clear that the success of the scheme depended on the relations established between them and the "specified authority" and that the Editors would have a great deal to say if they found themselves reduced to virtual ineffectiveness. There was no mention of any specified authority so far as we can remember, because it was naturally assumed that the Press Advisers in the Centre and in the Province would be that "authority." The hope was not altogether absent from the minds of Editors, that under the new system, with the enormous amount of work it would involve, the worst aspects of the Press Adviser's function in the past would inevitably be eliminated. The illustrations which Pandit Kunzru gave of the press advising now prevalent, have not been published. We can believe that they were absurd and irritating. All of us recognize, however, that such instances arose out of a peculiar position in which Advisers had to make work for themselves. The new system would have kept them busy without the time or the energy for outside activities. But we have little hope of the system working at all, in the light of one eloquent remark made by Sir Richard Tottenham when, in speaking of "information useful to the enemy," he explained that the enemy was not only the enemy outside but the enemy in the country as well. His reference to the military authorities demanding censorship underlines this chance remark. We do not see what agreement is possible between the press and a military power which regards itself as an army of occupation. Had this been made clear earlier, the Editors' Conference would not have wasted its time in useless negotiations. The *Hindu* has suggested that the editor must be left to use his discretion as to what can and what cannot be printed. This was the position arrived at before August 8. Now something more is necessary particularly since Sir Richard Tottenham has made a reference to secret instructions in the Council of State conveying the suggestion that the editor's discretion is the whim of the Adviser. The Press Advisership must be abolished. It is not because secret instructions cannot be issued without this dignitary but because he is associated in the public mind with secret instructions.

A Moderate in the Army:—Lt.-General Irwin, Officer Commanding the Eastern Army, gave a broadcast last week to his troops which unfortunately has reached a wider audience. It was an amplification of Mr. Amery's excuse for whipping in the House of Commons—that it was carried out with a light cane. Lt-General Irwin probably intended his speech to be an exhortation to his troops to be well-behaved but it has, coming as it did on the eve of

discussions and disclosures in the Central Legislature on the use of the military in meeting disturbances, left a different impression on his civilian readers. The intrepid army chief made a brief comparison between the methods used by the authorities here and German methods of ruthless slaughter and he declared the intention of the army in India to deal with the menace to "our security" by the exercise of moderation. The declaration does credit to his heart but, had he paused to think a moment before speaking, Lt.-General Irwin would have realised that the human mind can conceive of cruelties even worse than the human hand can inflict and that, therefore, the wielder of power is the last man to ask whether his use of force is moderate or excessive. We have never yet heard of any German, any Nazi, admitting that he is ruthless in his repression. The moment the idea is insinuated into the mind of the aggressor, his hand must necessarily weaken in its aggression. Lt.-General Irwin felt called upon to refer to "a series of stabs in the back inflicted on us" and urged his soldiers to impress by their fairness and firmness the fact that our own peace and security depends on the maintenance of law and order. When troops have to take up this task, it is a confession that the Government in a country has come near the end of its normal resources, which Government have strongly repudiated. We do not, of course, expect General Irwin to consider why things have come to such a pass. That amount of thought is beyond the military mind. But he might at least have left the whole subject to others who are better equipped to deal with it and confined himself to its military side. Here he was apparently on less certain ground and he made a series of statements which were contradicted by his chief, General Sir Archibald Wavell who spoke the next day at a dinner at Delhi given to him by American and British correspondents. General Irwin warned his men not to assume that, because the Japanese have been inactive for five months, there was going to be no invasion. On the other hand, General Wavell likened Japan to a boa constrictor which has swallowed a large animal that it wants to digest. "I do not fancy," he said, "that they want to take on anything big at the moment like an invasion of Australia or India." This was a curious remark in that it showed the Commander-in-Chief of India devoting his first thought to Australia instead of to his own charge. But even so it ought to hearten Lt.-General Irwin. When one reads the effusions of military experts, one is reminded of the war poster which reads, "You have a job to do—Get on with it—Don't talk—Careless talk costs lives." This is particularly appropriate for Lt.-General Irwin who with his men is facing the Japanese, waiting patiently for them to cross the border before action, while General Wavell is thinking of attacking.

War on Radio Sets:—We are making rapid progress in the school of Fascism. Some

days ago the Behar Government which is the Governor and Advisers, confiscated two radio sets because they were suspected of being used to listen in to enemy propaganda. Last week the Central Provinces Government is reported to have empowered District officers to impound radio sets which they suspected of being used for the same purpose. About a month back visitors from the South mentioned the case of a man who was seen on the high road as if speaking to himself. Closer approach showed that he was speaking to his wrist watch. He was detained. It transpired that the wrist watch was a miniature transmitter and that the man was sending messages with it. The visitors believed the story which they said was not allowed to be published. Science has achieved wonders and it might have produced a transmitter of the size of a wrist watch. Obviously wrist watches will have to be confiscated. But that will not end the trouble. Sir Walter Lawrence in his "India which we served" mentions that when he was Revenue Commissioner in Kashmir he had to traverse a mountainous district and had taken a guide to show him the way. This guide, he says, at one point seemed to be talking to himself. On enquiry Sir Walter found that he was speaking to and receiving replies from a man across a wide intervening valley. To verify the fact Sir Walter gave him a message to transmit and the reply came duly. Sir Walter concludes on the basis of this and some other experiences that Indians have some means of communication not known to the European. There are more things between Heaven and Earth than are dreamt of in the bureaucratic philosophy. The straight and simple way of obviating all these measures is to win the confidence of the people. This, of course, involves sacrifice of vested interests which will have to be done ultimately. The experiment of governing a country with scant knowledge of the mind of the people, has already failed and it is time that we tried a more intelligent system.

Machine-Gunning the Mob:—There have been widespread complaints about excesses by the Forces engaged in putting down current disturbances. Pandit P. N. Saprú asked for an enquiry on these allegations in the Council of State. Sir Mahomed Usman, Leader of the House, opposed the demand on the ground that there was no reason to believe that they were excesses, this in spite of the fact admitted by Government that the mobs were machinegunned from the air on five occasions. Sir Mahomed is perhaps not aware that bombing from the air was sought by international agreement to be prohibited in war. The chief opponent of the proposal was the British representative who pleaded for its use in putting down risings by the frontier tribes. This method was used in dealing with a disturbance in the interior of the country. Sir M. Usman may see nothing wrong in it but the British Parliament can not take it so easily. Mr. Amery in the House of Commons threw the responsibility for this procedure on the Viceroy.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, October 2, 1942.

SHUNNING THE LIGHT.

There were debates in the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State on resolutions to institute an enquiry into the complaints of excesses by the Police and the military in dealing with the present disturbances in different parts of the country. The Home Member, on the opening day of the session, had, by anticipation, roundly denied that there were any excesses and eulogised the courage and restraint of his subordinates in meeting a dangerous situation. He, therefore, deprecated demands for an enquiry, and would trust the provincial governments to prevent excesses as they were already doing. There is nothing in this attitude of the Home Member to call for comment. The bureaucrat, like the cockroach, instinctively shuns light. It is the law of his being, his dharma, and he cannot go against it. Owing to the circumstance that the Government of India is a bureaucracy controlled by a democracy, a legislature on the Parliamentary model has been created and the bureaucrat is obliged to explain his plans and to answer criticisms, both tasks extremely uncongenial to him. Some members of the bureaucracy have taken to the new dispensation as duck to water and have won the respect and even admiration of the non-official members of the Legislature and the general public. But others, and they are the majority, have not taken kindly to the new order. Their expositions of their policies and measures are in the nature of departmental minutes about which Lord Curzon composed some of his scathing state papers. Neither in expounding their schemes nor in replying to criticisms do they try to establish contact with the mind of their non-official fellow-members whom they regard as the interlopers. Their replies are merely enlargements of their original minutes and seldom meet the points raised in the debate. The presence in the Legislature of a solid block of officials and nominated members, ensures them a majority in the lobbies, now that the Congress members are put out of harm's way. Any argument or none at all will do, and there is invective to fall back on. Like mutes at a funeral, the officials in the Legislature sit silently with mournful features until the bell rings for the lunch or lobby. The presence of the official members in the Legislature is sheer waste of Secretariat manpower.

While the opposition of the Home Member to enquiry into excesses, therefore, need cause no anxiety, that of the Law Member, Sir Sultan Ahmed, gives rise to grave concern. He is in the position which he occupies, as a representative public man and his first duty obviously is to uphold the supremacy of the law against the tendency of the Executive everywhere and most particularly in India to usurp

the functions of the judiciary. Sir Sultan's attitude in this matter is a painful illustration of the fatal facility with which Indian non-officials slide into the bureaucratic mentality when they enter the Executive Council. Mr. Aney confessed in a speech in his native district some time after he assumed his present office, that his experience in the Council had led to the rubbing off of many of his angularities. He forgot that his utility as a public man in the Council is to a considerable extent dependent on the preservation of his angularities. Mr. Aney without his angularities must inevitably be the shadow of Mr. Bozman and other Secretaries without their training and discipline as officials. Sir Sultan Ahmed said his main reason for opposing an enquiry into excesses was that it would be disastrous to the morale of the Police and the Army. It was announced last week that several military persons including British officers were sentenced to penal servitude and dismissed with ignominy from the Army for the offence of taking bribes from contractors in supplying stores. Has the morale of the Indian Army suffered owing to the enquiry and the sentences passed on these men as the result of the enquiry? Another English officer of the Indian Army, the son, it was needlessly publicized, of a British Peer, was also cashiered and the fact was published in the *London Gazette*. A message published in the papers recently said that Mr. Winston Churchill went to Egypt some time back and superseded some high Army officials. Has that destroyed the morale of the Army? The Government of the United States ordered an enquiry into the surrender of Pearl Harbour. Has that lowered the morale of the American Army? It is true that the British Government has consistently refused demands for inquiry in the recent disasters in the Far East but has that enhanced the morale of the British Army?

If Sir Sultan's arguments had prevailed twenty years ago—and they very nearly did—there would have been no enquiry into the Jallianwala Bagh shootings which have now passed into history. The morale of an army or a service is never destroyed by exposing the conduct of its black sheep, unless it had no morale to be destroyed. The suppression of enquiry does not lead to the prevention of incidents which demand enquiry. Quite the reverse is true. The argument of Sir Sultan is the gravest indictment of the morale for the preservation of which he professed so much concern. Sir Sultan's other argument was that those aggrieved should prosecute the offenders guilty of excess in the regular courts. Surely, he as a lawyer knows that it is no easy thing to do this for the people who are mostly the victims. At the very threshold, rises the question of identification and it is seldom that this is established or, in the nature of things, can be established. The Government of Bombay, which in this matter has shown a praiseworthy regard for justice, issued

a few days ago a communique referring to assaults by sepoys on three young women in the suburban district. The facts were not in question. The endeavour to discover the culprits failed. Government thereupon forbade the movement of the sepoys outside a specified area. The Bombay Government's prompt action some months ago allayed public excitement and restored confidence. All excesses are not of this kind but the only way of preventing them, whatever their nature, is for the authorities to keep a vigilant eye and take stern action whenever the circumstances call for it. The attitude of the authorities themselves depends to a large extent on the character and personality of the Governor or the Governor-General. The Indian public has no feeling against the military. The police are their own people. The assumption that the public are maliciously intent on inventing atrocity stories, may be true in a small number of cases, but it is not true in by far the largest number of them. A public enquiry by bringing out this fact would have promoted good feeling between the services concerned and the public. The refusal of enquiry will be understood virtually as constituting the Police and Military into a class of chartered libertines and will be destructive of the influence of the men of high principles and good character, generally the majority, in these services.

"Cultural Autonomy of Communities" :—The press on Monday published a report purporting to be the suggestions made by Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherji of the Lucknow University at a press conference for solving the differences between Mr. Jinnah and Gandhiji and the communal problem as well. We have rarely come across a better specimen of confused thinking and the Professor would be well-advised to resume his academic researches instead of wandering into politics. Dr. Mukherji informed his interviewers that he had explained his scheme to Mr. Jinnah, Dr. Mukherji has asked Mr. Jinnah not to resort to separation until other methods are explored. Dr. Mukherji forgot to tell the public what Mr. Jinnah said to him; or was it intentionally omitted at the Conference? He referred somewhat pompously to his plan as "the Cultural Autonomy of Communities" but his detailed exposition did not show how this was going to be different from what had been taking place in the country all these years. Mr. Jinnah is not going to be bluffed by phrases at this stage. Dr. Mukherji commended the example of Soviet Russia to the public and said that Russia had given an example of "Cultural Autonomy" which had developed the strongest attachments to the country among its citizens. Are the Russians fighting merely for Nationalism or for a system as well? By allowing the principle of autonomy in every sphere, except in the organisation of the working classes, the Russian Bolsheviks ensured that only the workers would have a centralised organisation.

A BANDRA DIARY.

One day last week I got out of bed for a drink of water. When I looked at the clock it was 10 minutes to six. Long standing habit has made me feel that half past five is the latest hour to get out of bed. Any time later unless on account of ill health was in the nature of a sin. It was, therefore, with a shock that I read the time on the clock. Then I remembered that owing to "military necessity," the clock time had been advanced by an hour. It was actually only 10 minutes to five. My mind was at ease. I did not want the household to be disturbed by my moving about at that hour. So I went to bed again to have a further forty minutes sleep if it would come. But sleep does not come at this hour. Instead, one gets into a state which is neither sleeping nor waking but one when the mind takes the bit between its teeth and drifts about in an confused stream of ideas. In the Yoga literature the antics of the mind are likened to those of a monkey. Here is the instruction to the beginner :

Seat yourself for a while and allow your thought to take its own course freely. It behaves like a frisky monkey. Let the monkey jump about, wait and take note. Your thoughts will entertain ugly ideas, so ugly that you will be surprised. But day by day, these will become less numerous and less extensive. During the first months you will have a thousand thoughts, then you will have no more than several hundred; and the number will progressively diminish.

Charles Baudoin quotes this passage in his "Suggestions and Autosuggestion" with the comment that it would be difficult to give a better description of the reverie which follows a relaxation, and of the rapidity of the stream of consciousness in this condition. The essence of Coue's mind cure of which Baudoin has worked out the psychological basis, is the supremacy of the imagination and the relatively subordinate role of the will in human behaviour. The Yoga also favours the passive attitude. But the Bhagavad Gita dealing with the same situation advises the acquisition of control over the wandering mind by gradual and repeated efforts and reflection. I personally think that the Gita method is the more effective method. At any rate, it shortens the process of concentration and obviates the exhaustion which follows on letting the mind wander aimlessly until it settles down through sheer fatigue. On this occasion lying in bed I tried to direct my thought to one of my usual objects, some grand phenomenon of nature, Mount Everest or Mount Kailas both of which I have seen only in pictures, the Vesuvius and Niagara of which I brought away vivid mental pictures when I visited them some years ago. But my mind escaped every time I thought. I had focussed it on one of these objects and lighted for one brief second on—of all things!—the name of Maxwell. Only for a second. At the next it had hopped off to the word Machiavelli. And an inner etymological voice enquired if Maxwell was the anglicised form of Machiavelli or Machiavelli its latinised version. I could not stay any longer in bed.

The advance of time was one way in which "military necessity" impinged on my consciousness. There was another. An energetic young woman in my neighbourhood has joined what is called the A. R. P. She has discovered that the terrace of my house is the only place from which her fire watchers can get a first view of any fire which the enemy may cause in this island of Salsette. This terrace of mine has given me no end of trouble. Specially

protected from rain by china mosaic flooring, it has time and again revealed cracks which had to be closed by expensive processes consisting mainly of pasting on it a thick specially prepared cloth. The first time it was so treated the firm concerned guaranteed that it was safe for at least ten years. In the second year the cloth showed big holes and another firm had to be called. I have an idea that the cloth used is covered by some solution in which inflammable stuff enters to some extent. The fire-watchers, I understand, are five in number. I have no idea whether they will all be on watch together or by turns. I do not even know whether they will all be men or women or of both sexes. What will happen to the roof if they dropped cigarette ends on the cloth? I imagine fire-watchers, male and female, are likely to be smokers of cigarettes if only to keep themselves awake all the night. I understand that the doors of the house will have to be kept open throughout the night in order to allow these fire-watchers to get in and out at any hour they choose. There is no sanitary arrangement on the terrace and the five young people must be provided with some convenience if they are not to convert the terrace into a privy. Then they will need access to the telephone which is in the living-room and the entry of five vigorous and vociferous fire-watchers can not but interfere with the privacy of the inmates. "Can't be helped. Military necessity," my fair neighbour will perhaps urge. But there is a snag in that swagger. How will the grave inconveniences involved in having five strangers on the roof and looking after them to prevent their falling out with each other, help the military operations? Years ago when I was a member of the Bandra Municipality there was not even a pump with which water may be projected on a burning building. I understand that they have now a single fire-engine of some sort. But the firemen, it would seem, have to be collected every time. Suppose the fire-watchers on my terrace detect a fire somewhere within range of their vision, what would they do? Evidently they will want to phone to the fire station if there is one in Bandra. The other day there was a fire in the vicinity and I understood that it had been put out before the Bandra engine crept up to the scene. Bombay fire stations were called and there was a Bombay engine on the spot before the Bandra engine manouevred into position. I fancy that the enemy before he comes near enough to Bandra would have first started fires in Bombay and the Bombay engines will be fully engaged in their local duties. Fire-watching without the appliances of fire quenching reminds me of proposals for medical inspection in schools without provision for medical treatment. The doctor inspects the school and reports that so many children are suffering from malnutrition, some children have bad eye-sight and others have decayed teeth. Where is the better food, the spectacles for the weak eyes, the material for repairing the teeth, to come from? I was in favour of leaving parents in peace until we were able to provide free meals and free treatment for the children. But window-dressing is the passion of the hour.

Mention of the terrace brings to my mind a long talk with the Rev. John Winslow some time before he founded the Christa Seva Sangh, discussing his plan, while the setting sun threw long shadows on it. Mr. Winslow expounded his scheme with much enthusiasm. He asked me what I thought of it. I thought that, if the idea was merely to present Church Christianity in a Hindu

guise, it had no attraction for me. But if it was to reinterpret Christianity in the light of Indian religious thought, it would be a contribution to the spiritual life of the world and not only of India. Wearing a dhoti and eating with one's fingers, do not make one a Hindu or give an insight into the Hindu soul. I lost interest in the Ashram when the Anglican Bishop of Bombay was called to consecrate it on the opening day. (I had personally great respect for Bishop Palmer as a scholar and broadminded Christian). Mr. Verrier Elwin was one of the Winslow group. I knew him at first as Father Elwin and could not help wondering at the incongruity of so young a man having to bear so onerous a title. Mr. Elwin has discarded the incongruous prefix. He is now the actual father of a son presented to him by the Gond lady whom he married as a part of his mission to the aborigines of her tribe. Last week's Sunday *Chronicle* contained an interview in the course of which he is reported to have said in reply to a question about the religion in which he intended to bring up his infant son, named after Pandit Jawaharlal

Jawahar is to be brought up as an Indian. "And a Hindu," Mr. Elwin added, "not in the orthodox sense but rather as a non-Christian. I'm not a Christian any more, you know."

Not long ago Mr. Elwin was keen on establishing that the Gond culture was entirely alien to Hindu culture. He has evidently now come to see that Gond culture is a primitive stage of Hindu culture and that it must either develop along the lines of Hindu culture or die out like other primitive cultures when they came in contact with Western civilisation. There are few orthodox Hindus now and infant Jawahar will find himself tragically alone if he were brought up as one. The Hinduism of today steadily tends to be the Hinduism of the Bhagavath Gita which declares that men attain perfection by adoring the Being who is immanent in everything which exists, by performing the work which lies nearest to their hands in a spirit of disinterested devotion. The craving for worship in men's heart may be satisfied by offering a flower or a leaf in recollection of the Supreme. All rules and restrictions of caste and sect are of minor importance. It is the same as St. Paul's exhortation to do whatever one's hand findeth to do with all one's might as unto God and not as unto men. Here Christianity and Hinduism are one. No Christian need give up his faith to be a Hindu of the Gita. In the Gita itself, Sri Krishna, while instructing the enquirer to give up all dharmas and to concentrate on devotion to him alone, adds immediately that they too who worship other Manifestations of the Cosmic Soul with devotion, worship him alone though outside the ancient tradition. For one like Mr. Elwin who was not only born and brought up as a Christian, but had adopted and practised the propagation of the Christian message as his vocation, to avow himself to be no longer a Christian, does not commend him to any other religion, least of all to Hinduism in the sense in which the modern Hindu understands it. Hinduism is not a competitive religion. It is essentially a synthetic principle. Its conservatism is the outcome of its dread of the loss of any value which has been of help anywhere or at any time to humanity. The infant Jawahar will grow up under a severe handicap if he is taught to think of himself as a non-Christian in the sense of being a Hindu.

RECLUSE.

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

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JANUARY 7, 1933.

Near Bombay.

Speaking of the Dutch, we passed on to Netherlands India whose administration Mr. Penn greatly admires. I pointed out that that is an inheritance from Sir Stamford Raffles who had instructions from his government that Java would have to be returned to the Dutch at the peace, and, therefore, his brief administration in the island should be devoted to all the good possible. Mr. Penn expressed his wonderment at such instructions. I went on that the administration of our country by the East India Company had forced on administration a business footing; and John Stuart Mill working at the India Office, could not sufficiently appreciate the system he found there. The Dutch and the French had one advantage over the English as colonists; they mixed with the races. But intermarriage would be repugnant to Hindus as well as English. The arch of the English system is that an Englishman should not be held cheap, that intermarriages would be mesalliances and the offspring would be Eurasian and treated as half-caste. There are no half-castes in Netherlands India, all mix on terms of equality—socially as well as politically.

JANUARY 17, 1933.

Off Bombay.

Miss Pearson [a voyager who had her deck-chair next to Shaw's] standing at the glass windows on the lounge deck, was hailed by G. B. S. with, 'Jane, you have neglected me.' He was pleased with Miss Pearson showing for answer the copy of his "St. Joan" she was then busy on. G. B. S. inquired what she had been doing; and she told of her engagements with us, and the dinner last night of which she was a part, and the wish of the Petits at least to see him at dinner, our walk past his table to discover him buried in a book. "O why did you not bring them all to me? They are Parsis, and I know they are very nice people; you should have brought them."

JANUARY 27, 1933.

After Sumatra.

Miss Pearson said Mrs. Kitching had slipped at the Hotel Lavinia [Colombo] on Sunday; when on Monday, G. B. S. came on board, and was in front of Mrs. Kitching, that lady asked G. B. S. whether he had fared better than herself. Shaw took down the number of her cabin, and sent Mrs. Shaw to her with an ointment, which she declared, was effective. Miss Pearson explained to Mrs. Shaw that the effectiveness might result from appreciation of kindness, without any virtue of the ointment.

FEBRUARY 1, 1933.

Near Singapore.

Mrs. Patterson at Cairo returning to the Hotel after the Nile river excursion, had poured contempt on Shaw, and on his endeavour to teach politics as a part of his dramatic entertainment. She had been a politician herself; her husband was an M. P. She went to the theatre to be amused; and she had heard that Shaw was a rude man. She is now softer towards Shaw, will probably try to speak to him, as I found in Java where Mrs. Patterson and I had opportunities for talking. She will, I fear, commit a mistake. Mr. Penn who gave me an hour before tea, said that Mrs. W. J. Locke had spoken to Shaw declaring who she was, and had been repulsed with the remark that he already knew all he wanted to know about Mrs. Locke's husband and was not interested in more at present.

FEBRUARY 4, 1933.

I finished my letter last night to attend the lecture on Bangkok and see pictures of sights expected to be seen and sights to be left out as too distant like the temples of Ankor.

The lecturer warned us not to ignore regulations sent from the Palace. People without coats, collars, ties, ladies without stockings (and I suppose in trousers) will not be admitted. The lecturer asked if any in the audience were thinking of foregoing the excursion, the loveliest in the Canadian Pacific programme. The Shaws alone lifted their hands, but Miss Pearson tells me many people are not going, she herself is not sure of going. Miss Pearson approves the regulations, frowns on the fellows who shame their countrymen aboard, has no sympathy with trousered females. She never will be shamed; she never will do anything which her two fathers in heaven may not commend.

FEBRUARY 6, 1933.

After Bangkok.

Early rising and breakfast, a water-trip on the tender for two hours whiled away by music and conversation, an electric train journey, not much relieved by sights or scenery, still broken by offers of ginger-ale and apple and orange and the chatter of passengers of a race trained to just talk without occasion or need; then a morning and afternoon, broken by lunch at the Royal Hotel, of excursions to museums, palace, temples, climbing of steps in temples, works of art, images of Buddha in gold recumbent as a huge figure (called the Sleeping Buddha), Buddha in emerald of a small size at a great height, all gorgeous, once or twice elephant-mounted, with carvings, royal palanquins, howdahs displayed as well as military chariots and barges. The route lay through a city with shops with signboards in Siamese and English characters, even a German Dispensary, even Societe Anonyme Belge, announced in English, as well vendors of cycles or tyres or whisky brands as stores. The King is said to have given Bangkok a civilized sewage system which tidies up what without it might have been reminiscent of unhygienic times. The English Colony, at their golf club, invited us to high tea, and a dance by Siamese women—in costumes of well matched colour and with graceful movements of arms as well as feet. There was music and gaiety and space (a maidan), copious and varied refreshments were welcomed against the thirst of great heat and the possibility of a very light supper when we came back to ship at 11 p. m. The day was very hot but often relieved by shade and breeze.

235 passengers were at Bangkok and no one was sorry to be there. They seemed to think they had been taken to the city of cloud-capped towers, and solemn temples, and gorgeous palaces, a very 'globe' itself; all which it inhabit—the dancers, the water-melons, the red and blue silk dhoties of our guides, the Siamese graduate of Harvard University, who is Secretary of some sort here, and who was deputed by the Palace to take us round. A lady whom I never met before in the chamber of the Reclining Buddha, expressed her marvel at that conception and that craft. I assented. Buddha [I said] meant the Wise, the Foreseeing; the word was the same as the English "bode" as in forebode. "So that's why he is called Buddha. I am glad I came up against you." But I ran away in search of the Emerald Buddha. Mr. Macarthy asked whether it was possible to put the Taj Mahal above Bangkok Temples. I said, "High Heaven rejects the lore of nicely calculated less or more." Can not we take Beauty as we find it?

Miss Pearson made me sit by her at lunch, and I discovered she had diabetes, was confined to fish, fesh and fowl, avoided all fruit, was disposed to impose same regimen on me, and I had to retort that Medicine was progressing every year and changing its advice on Diabetes.

FEBRUARY 7, 1933.

Miss Pearson's judgments depend on moods; she thought that for a week Shaw was quite immersed in himself, throwing out no word even to Mrs. Shaw. Then Shaw thawed, became chatty, made inquiries about personal affairs. She observed that Mrs. Shaw had not a word to say to her, she is very friendly with Mrs. Kitching to whom Mr. Shaw does not address a word. Mrs. Shaw, however, told Miss Pearson that the book Miss Pearson was reading—the Bridge of San Luis Rey—Mrs. Shaw had found very beautiful. Miss Pearson saw Shaw devoting an entire day to just an ordinary novel.

FEBRUARY 8, 1933.

Manilla.

Mr. Eaton had attended Krishnamurti's lecture, was struck by his ignoring of questions by a Christian Scientist, and his disclaimer of an avatar of Christ and Krishna, his psychology attributing religions and worship to Fear. Mr. Eaton had been an electric administrator in Barnum's establishment which knew how to make a crowd do anything. There is a club on this ship called the Half-past-ten club, where they wanted certain Chinese to be brought on board, and they had heard that Sir William Preston had requested the Captain not to permit it. Mr. Eaton had taken an even bet that he would get Sir William Preston to sign the Club's petition, and he did. You have only to flatter dukes and lords, and you get your way, he said. Barnum had said there are only five eminent men in the world, himself was one and then there were Shaw, Shaw, Shaw, Shaw. Mr. Eaton had been impressed by his talks with Shaw, who, as I gathered, loves to dig into lords and dukes.

The letter was broken into last night by the noise of a band alongside, on our arrival at Manilla. The general comment was gratification at our ship being remembered. Governor-General Theodore Roosevelt had specially sent his aide-de-camp to greet Mr. Shaw. Miss Pearson thought the reception was noisy. When I was asked, I summed up that the intention was more obviously excellent than the effect.

Manilla had been described to us in the lecture on the previous night as the Pearl of the Orient, the city of the East with the best night-life.

I was in the car with Miss Pearson and Mrs. Millinger who let herself go generally, bought clothing, said Mrs. Lawrie had tested the cabaret and found it good and had declared London 50 years behind Manilla.

Mr. Shaw was a subject of conversation; he is more sympathetic generally and talks to more people, says that sometimes it takes him all his time to remember his manners; that one day he gave his valuable time to a Siamese prince on board (joined at Bangkok, quit at Manilla), and when next day he came for another talk, he was quietly handed over to his neighbour; that one American came for his autograph, and was refused; that he has his opinions of Americans who talk to him, as they have of him; that he asks to read my *Spectator*, that he is a member of the Quaker sect.

ARE BRAHMOS HINDUS?

II.

(BY KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI, ASKA.)

Hindu Brahmos who marry under the Special Marriage Act have, as I showed last week, become divided into two classes since 1923, positive Hindus and negative Hindus, with two different laws of succession and different other legal incidents.

There is a further sub-division among these according as they give precedence in point of time to the Brahmo religious ritual of marriage or to the Civil Marriage ceremony prescribed by the Act. The former believe that a purely religious marriage with Brahmo ritual is valid by itself, though in deference to the fears seriously entertained by Brahmo leaders in the past, they think it prudent to resort to the Act also as an "additional safeguard" some time later, the interval varying from a few minutes or hours to several months. Others whose respect for Brahmo ritual is no less keen, feel obliged, however, to subordinate it to legal exigency, and get their marriage solemnized under the Act first and then follow it up, as quickly as possible, with the Brahmo ritual. They believe that it is the Act which establishes the legal relationship of husband and wife between Brahmos and that it would be wrong of them to live together in family life on the strength of the Brahmo ritual alone till such time as they may find it convenient to get married under the Act. They further think that even if it be true that a Brahmo marriage by ritual is valid by itself it must be so only under the Hindu Law which permits polygamy to the man, prohibits divorce to the injured wife, emphasizes and enforces caste and communal distinctions which Brahmos are enjoined by their creed not to countenance, far less to rely upon tacitly or overtly for the validity of their marriage as between persons of equal caste. They are also convinced that these anti-Brahmo legal consequences and implications cannot be abrogated or rectified by a subsequent marriage under Act III of 1872, since the prior Hindu Law marriage would be the *only effective marriage* for all legal purposes, and the later marriage is null and void though solemnized with prescribed ceremony (*Vide the Reformer* of 15th August 1942).

Besides these different divisions and sub-divisions of Brahmos who anyhow agree in taking the help of Act III of 1872 at some stage or other, there is, we understand, a growing class of heroic souls who refuse to admit any doubts or fears and have made themselves quite independent of the Court law by reposing all authority and power in Brahmo ritual to unite a Brahmo couple in lawful wedlock and preserve all Brahmo social principles in working order unaided by any legislation. All honour to them, of course, since they have behind them the centuries-old sentiment of pre-British Hindu tradition of the state invariably respecting the internal autonomy of every new sect. But it is for the Brahmo Samaj as a body to decide which of these is right in British times within a group historically committed to the disownment of Hindu affiliation. It must also decide whether all these divisions and sub-divisions in family life and silent unavowed infiltration into the Hindu fold are a sign of healthy democratic vigour and progress, or of decay and disruption, and whether such differences shall be allowed to continue or a uniform course of conduct shall be enforced on all its members.

The Arya Samaj which, like the Brahmo Samaj, assimilates all castes and communities, Hindu and

non-Hindu, within its hospitable fold, though, unlike the Brahma Samaj, it sets up the Holy Fire for its Marriage Registrar and general official witness for all its transactions, has solved its legal difficulties by getting itself recognized as a sect of Hindus. Even without the entanglement of the holy fire, there should be no difficulty in getting a Brahma Marriage Validation Act exactly on the same lines as the Arya Marriage Validation Act of 1937. The proposed new Hindu Code (Part II) for Marriage provides ample room, by section 6, for a marriage being recognized as a Hindu sacramental marriage, although contracted in breach of essential Hindu rites and rules of caste, gotra, etc., "if it is solemnized in accordance with the customs or usages of any locality or community to which both the parties belong, whether such community be a caste, sub-caste, sub-sect or sect, tribe or other group." There should be no difficulty for a Brahma marriage, while adhering to its own ritual, tenets and usages, being held valid under the Code; if only the Brahma Samaj does not object to regard itself or be regarded as a Hindu sect.

There seems to be no reason either why the Brahma Samaj should object to such a step hereafter. Under the new Hindu Code (Part II), monogamy is adopted for all Hindus. Hindu Civil marriage, providing for monogamy and divorce, is transferred from Act III of 1872 and made an integral part of the Hindu law of marriage. A supplemental Bill providing for divorce for sacramental Hindu marriage also is promised to be framed as soon as the principle of monogamy embodied in the present Bill is accepted by the legislature. No breach of Brahma principles is thus involved in accepting the position of a "branch of the Hindu community" which was so much resented a generation or two ago. The law of Inheritance too has been liberalized by Hindu Code Part I so as to give to a widow an equal share with the son and to the daughter a share equal to half of it, which can, of course, be enhanced if he so wishes by an affectionate father through a will, and all female heirs take their inheritance absolutely like the male. Even those who may marry as Hindus under the civil marriage sections of the Hindu Code, will no longer be governed by the Indian Succession Act or be placed at a disadvantage as in Act III of 1872 by any provisions like its sections 22 to 26 which are now to be deleted even from that Act. Those who deny the Hindu faith for marrying under the Act will continue to be governed as before by the Hindu law of inheritance but as now amended.

If nevertheless, Brahma sentiment and self-respect stand out obdurately against an open and formal merger with Hindus, it is up to the Brahma Samaj to think out its future in clear terms with greater diligence and concern than it has displayed of late, and decide for itself whether it shall stick for ever to the undesigned patchwork-garment of legal scraps, technical cobwebs and conundrums which confounds, distracts and demeans it now or whether it shall insist boldly and pertinaciously on being respectably clothed by the legislature with an undivided and positive legal personality and provided with a *pucca* well-designed single-piece code of Brahma law for its exclusive use and governance.

To-day, as in 1872, the unspoken challenge to the Brahma Samaj is the same. To be or not to be a Hindu sect, that is the question!

THE INDIA DEBATE.

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.
Sir,

Despite Mr. Amery's protest against the characterization of Mr. Churchill's speech as 'provocative,' his own comment on Mr. Churchill's adjournment motion in the House of Commons in 1935 with reference to the memorandum of Civil Servants well fits in at present. Mr. Amery then protested against Mr. Churchill "continually discovering mare's nests," and said that "the document within a few minutes had been blown sky-high as the entirely unofficial document of a few individuals who had taken a strong partisan view."

In attacking the India policy of the Labour Government in 1930, Mr. Churchill claimed with pride "his following public affairs with the closest attention for the last 30 years, during 20 of which he had been privy to the secret knowledge of Governments." The editorial, criticizing the policy of the foolish "Big Stick," of *Manchester Guardian* is now worth recalling: "No qualification could be more calculated to unfit a man for dealing with India today (1930) than the secret knowledge of the Governments of the last 20 years—the story of their stupid intrigues in Europe which landed us all in the insane tragedy of the war; of the shabby bargaining whereby the Powers sought to grab this and that piece of Asia. Mr. Churchill is thinking of Kipling's India. But Kipling's India is dead as mutton. And in its place there is a disorganised feverish mass of people all at cross-purposes except in one respect—that they are determined to manage their own affairs, to stand on their own feet."

There seems to be justness in the stinging criticism that Mr. H. G. Wells made in 1923 regarding the two men who are now dealing with India's destiny. "It is terrible that Mr. Amery should have any sort of control over the serious things of life. I think he ought to be kept out of mischief, just as I think another lad of the same age, Mr. Winston Churchill, ought to be kept out of mischief, in some sort of institution where he can be kriegspiel for the rest of his existence without endangering human life."

Mr. Churchill is undoubtedly England's man of the hour to defeat Hitler. But his speech on India betrays his incapacity to deal with post-war reconstruction problems and with India chivalrously.

Mr. Amery, in the House of Commons debate, quoted Gandhiji as having said that "the violent way is both necessary and honourable; and inaction here is rank cowardice and unmanly," and when Mr. Maxton interjected whether this was said by Gandhiji, Mr. Amery said that it was written by Gandhiji in his journal. It is well that the readers know the context in which the sentence occurs and judge whether Mr. Amery has not twisted the facts. In advising the people as to how they should deal with the improper behaviour of troops, Gandhiji wrote in *Harijan* of the 28th June as follows:—

The people have the law and public opinion wholly on their side. The Government machinery is always slow to move, more so now, when it is all pre-mortgaged for military preparations. People must everywhere learn to defend themselves against misbehaving individuals, no matter who they are. The question of non-violence and violence does not arise. No doubt the non-violence way is always the best, but where that does not come naturally, the violent way is both necessary and honourable.

This advice cannot, by any stretch of imagination, be taken to imply advocacy of violent revolution.

In the same issue of *Barijan* which is quoted by Mr. Amery, is found Mr. Gandhi's reply to Sir S. Cripps.

Sir Stafford knows that I was disinclined to proceed to New Delhi. Having gone there, I intended to return the same day that I reached there. But Maulana Saheb would not let me go. I wish I could have induced the Working Committee to take up its stand on pure non-violence. But it did not and could not. With it, rightly, politics were all important and it could not, not having the conviction allow its deliberations to be affected by the issue of non-violence. The deliberations, therefore, of the Working Committee at New Delhi were carried on *without any interference or guidance on my part*. Therefore, the negotiations had nothing to do at any stage with the question of non-violence (*Barijan*, 28th June 1942).

Still Cripps and Amery persist in saying that the negotiations broke down on account of Gandhi's interference.

Peelamedu,
September 14, 1942.

Yours etc.,
R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.

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of room and funds. Even if they return home, they must only beg to maintain themselves, so they choose to lie in the open space behind the asylum. The authorities of the asylum had to turn out some 50 to 60 lepers recently as their funds suffered on account of the present war. These joined the number of the homeless, now 127. Thanks are due to the Mission which still gives them medicine free of cost.

Words cannot express the agonies of these wretches. They have no shelter, no food, not even water to drink, as they are not allowed near wells. Even the women among them have hardly a rag to hide their nakedness—not to speak of clothes for protection from sun and shower. Shoes? No! With ulcers on their soles they must walk barefooted in the scorching dust, to the villages around to beg their food.

Who could see their unbearable miseries without a tear of sympathy?

We hope that this prayer from the rent hearts of the lepers will move you to send every possible help.

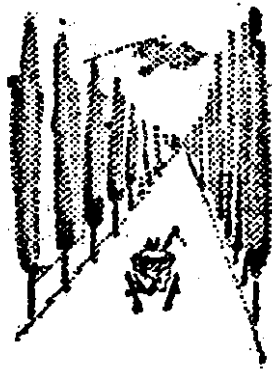
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

Dismissal of Sind Prime Minister:—The dismissal of Premier Allah Baksh from office by the Governor of Sind vindicates the foresight of the Congress Ministries in seven provinces in resigning at the outbreak of the war. The Governor has assigned want of confidence in the Premier as his reason for dismissing him. Premier Allah Baksh had a majority in the Legislature and held office with its support. He enjoyed the confidence of the Legislature. Whether the Governor had confidence in him or not was immaterial from the constitutional point of view. Queen Victoria had no confidence in Mr. Gladstone and would have much preferred to keep Mr. Disraeli as her permanent Prime Minister. But she could not do so without the support of a Parliamentary majority. If Sir Hugh Dowd thought he was acting as the Sovereign would have done, he is totally mistaken. The fact, however, is that the Government of India Act was a hoax on the Indian people. Professing to confer responsible Government in the provinces it placed the entire power in the hands of the Governors by whose sufferance Ministers functioned. John Brown in one of his delightful stories tells of a patient whom he saw following the movements of his dog so curiously that he asked him the reason. The answer was that the dog would not like to know that it was held on a string. The Ministers were to be kept as far as possible from knowing that they were held on the leash by the Governor. The action of the Governor of Sind has given away the pretence. The circumstances attending the dismissal suggest that Mr. Allah Baksh was dismissed because he wrote a letter to the Viceroy renouncing two minor titles which had been conferred on him before he became Prime Minister. In that letter he stated his reasons as being his disagreement with the policy of the British Government in dealing with India. The Viceroy in his reply does not question Mr. Allah Baksh's right to dis-

agree with the British Government. His Excellency complains of discourtesy and precipitancy as if they were grave crimes and intimates that the Governor will convey to him the consequences of his breach of manners. No clearer proof can be required to show that the tenure by which Ministers held office, is a personal tenure dependant on the will of the Governor or Governor-General for the time being. There can be now no doubt that the Congress Ministries, had they continued in office, would have been summarily dismissed the moment they seriously disagreed on a point involving imperial policy. What is that point in this case? It would appear that the British Government want to bolster up the Muslim League's claim to represent all Indian Muslims. The non-League Ministries in the two Muslim majority provinces, Sind and Bengal, are a serious obstacle in the way of that object. Mr. Allah Baksh could not be got rid of by the regular constitutional procedure of a vote of no confidence in the Legislature. He refused to resign. He had to be dismissed. The dismissal was hailed by a large Muslim congregation on Id day as a deliverance, as the resignation of the Congress Ministries was hailed by Muslim Leaguers throughout India. There appear to be serious differences between the Governor of Bengal and Mr. Fazlul Huq, the Bengal Prime Minister, who has broken away from the Muslim League and is detested by the Leaguers. Calcutta has a stronger public opinion than Karachi and the Governor is a public man from England and not an Indian Civilian as in Sind. The issue will be watched with interest.

Mr. Amery's Opportunity:—In his speech on the Bill to prolong the rule of Governors in the Congress provinces, Mr. Amery repeatedly deprecated outside intervention for the Indian settlement. This is rather a strange plea when outside assistance has been invoked for the defence of India and even of Great Britain. Mr. Amery, nevertheless, laid stress on the danger to the cause of the Allied Nations of the situation in India, which he attributes to Gandhiji and the action of the Congress under his inspiration, but which the historian will attribute without hesitation to the failure of the British Government to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Indian people, at no time more flagrantly evident than at this crisis in world affairs. Few people will share at the present time Mr. Amery's

confidence in the capacity of the Government in which he is in charge of Indian affairs, to solve without outside help the Indian deadlock. On the contrary, every time Mr. Amery speaks the deadlock becomes more insoluble. His repeated declarations that Britain has no reason to be ashamed of her achievements in India, conveys to the disinterested onlooker an impression the very reverse of what Mr. Amery hopes and wishes to create. A man who has nothing shady in his past, does not need to proclaim in season and out of season that he has nothing to be ashamed of in his past career. As we pointed out in the last issue, British engagements with other nations have unfortunately nearly always led to differences of interpretation when they had to be implemented; and India may be excused if she prefers a bird from Mr. Amery's hand to two in the unpredictable post-war bush. There is immediately an opportunity for the British Government to prove unmistakably its determination to treat Indians absolutely on terms of equality. At the end of the debate on the India Bill and, in the course of it, the question of a successor to Lord Linlithgow, who is due to vacate the Viceroyalty next March, came for comment. Two new names were mentioned in connection therewith, Mr. Attlee's and Mr. Owen Stanley's. For a man who is Deputy Prime Minister to be shunted off the political life of Great Britain clearly means that he has no future as a national leader. Mr. Owen Stanley was not a conspicuous success at the War Office. Apart from that, the appointment of an Indian to the Viceroyalty would be conclusive evidence of the final abolition of race discrimination in the British Indian Administration. There is no lack of competent Indians who would fill the office with at least as much distinction as any British Viceroy. Will Mr. Amery rise to the occasion? He paid a high tribute to the statesmanship of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar. Mr. Jinnah in a recent Press conference spoke of moving from his residence in Aurangzebe Road in New Delhi to Viceroy's House across the road. Was there a hint in that of things to come?

The Wrong Approach:—No one, Englishman or Indian, who can not envisage the Indian problem except in terms of Hindu-Mahomedan relations, can find his way to its permanent, that is, equitable, solution. Only as a problem of human relations, relations between man and man, can it be handled with any hope of success. Lord Minto, when he introduced the element of religious belief as entitled to vary the character of citizenship, took a step which undermined the century-old foundation of British rule in this country. He, of course, hit upon it as the easiest way of getting out of the difficulties which he had to face owing to the Partition of Bengal by his predecessor. Bengal was reunited but a new communal frontier was created across the whole country to compensate for the reunion. The Congress under the short-lived Tilak regime

endorsed the communal principle and under Gandhiji consolidated it by espousing the cause of the tottering Khilafat. The British Government has adroitly turned this division into the main obstacle in the way of its granting independence to India immediately. It insists that Hindus and Muslims must settle the differences which have arisen between them as the inevitable consequence of its own communal policy, before it can think of handing over power to either of them—the old story of the monkey which undertook to arbitrate between two cats about a piece of cheese. Mr. Attlee evolved a new reason for not granting India freedom. He said that it would be harmful to the Hindus who relied more on numbers and brains than, like the Muslims, on physical force to maintain themselves. The implication that Muslims have no brains and depend chiefly on their muscular capacity to overawe the Hindus, is hardly in accord with facts apart from its far from being a compliment to Muslims. Ninety per cent of Muslims are of the same stock as the Hindus and possess the same intellectual and physical powers as Hindus. In any case it is for Hindus to decide whether or not they can cope with the physical gifts of their Muslim countrymen. Have Englishmen more brains or more physical strength than Indians, Hindu or Muslim? It is reducing statesmanship to the art of cockfighting to base policies on such trivial considerations. Yet Mr. Attlee and Mr. Amery are the rulers of the British Empire. "These be thy gods, oh Israel."

Collective Fines:—Two Christian journals have been moved to comment on the collective fines which are being imposed on districts where there have been violent crimes leading to destruction of life and property. One is the American Methodist organ of Lucknow, the *Indian Witness*. The *Witness* does not in the least minimise the enormity of the destructive activities of the mobs which, it suggests, may be due to the incitement of enemy agents. It fully recognises the primary duty of Government to put down anarchic crime. But, it adds, the object of the Government's policy and methods must be twofold. First, law and order must be maintained, but the confidence and support of the public must also be maintained, or if they have been lost they must be regained. By this test do collective fines justify themselves, asks the *Witness*? It answers:

We do not believe they do. As they are being imposed, with certain groups or communities being exempted, they must lead to hard feelings and resentment. Doubtless the thought of Government is that they will induce the public to oppose the groups that are bent on the destruction of property. There is an element of injustice in this for the public are not organised for such action. Who is to take the lead? It is the business of Government itself to make use of the public at such times. Special constables should be sworn in if trouble is expected. In India that would not be an easy or satisfactory method for it is not well understood and might cause all kinds of local trouble. But if this is so, it shows the unreasonableness of expecting the public to organise themselves for self-defence.

and that is what it would amount to if they begin to take a hand.

The other journal is the *Guardian* of Madras. The *Guardian* characterises collective fines as "the system of hostage" and hopes that Bombay Christians will not accept the special treatment accorded to them. The Christian's place, it observes, is with the innocent. If others have to suffer vicariously, it is, the *Guardian* thinks, the Christian who has to take the first place in this vicarious suffering. The *Guardian* continues:

Even if there be reason in the Government's action of imposing collective fine—if others have to see that no wicked action takes place in their neighbourhood—then again the Christian must undertake this task. It was Cain who asked, "Am I my brother's keeper?" After all, the exemption of certain minority communities may have another reason, and Christians will do well not to be deluded by what appears to be a temporary good.

Bombay Christians are not economically too well off, particularly in the districts, to afford to pay collective fines vicariously and we do not expect them to undertake to do so. In fact, there is no way in which they can escape the exemption, except by turning Hindus. Neither do we expect the Governments in India to be moved by any moral considerations to be deflected from the course they have adopted. But it may help the future historian of the situation in India to assess the steps taken by Government by means of vicarious penalties to restore order.

Christianity and the War:—*The Reformer* took exception to the prominence given to Christian civilization as an object of the war in a booklet by the late Lord Lloyd to which Lord Halifax had contributed a commendatory introduction. To be candid, Christian civilization, either as it appears now or has appeared at different periods of its history, has not been such an absolute blessing as to compel the homage of all mankind. Not that other civilizations, have been without blemish. But some of the Christian nations have become great political powers and have used their power to evil and selfish purposes which naturally have reflected on their civilization. In the case of nations like the Indian, their very weakness and subjection have confined their crimes to smaller areas and dimensions. Christian civilization in itself falls short of some attributes which have been more prominent in other civilizations. In fact, civilization must be judged as civilization and not be mixed up with religion which has nothing to do with what are regarded as the symbols of civilization. Lord Halifax's Christianity covers, for instance, the hunting of foxes. It has at other times covered plantation slavery and other institutions now condemned by the conscience of mankind. In the name of Christianity, Catholics and Protestants burnt each other at the stake. Today the larger part of Europe including some "countries where Christianity has existed for centuries, have either openly or tacitly renounced Christianity. Christianity has claimed for itself all the virtues and assigned all the vices

to other religions. Humanity needs a higher civilization than any so far achieved and that civilization will contain in itself all that is best in every religion. The question of converting the war into a crusade has been raised in the House of Commons and the Ministerial reply that most of the objects of the war can be included under Christian ethics, is equally applicable to other religions. Many religious-minded persons refuse to believe that war is compatible with religion or that any religious object can be served by war. Christian civilization today means nothing less than the domination of the coloured by the White races, which the former are determined should end.

Britain and U. S. A. in China:—It was announced early this week that the British and American powers had resolved to conclude a treaty with China renouncing extra-territoriality rights in China. This was followed by cabled comments explaining how generous an act this renunciation was. As a matter of fact these rights are in abeyance, to put it mildly, during the Sino-Japanese War. If China succeeds in beating off Japanese aggression, she is hardly likely to ask her European Allies to resume the old relations which were derogatory to her. We are sometimes apt to forget that, while the help China is receiving from the Allies is vague, the United Nations have had very real assistance from China. Burma's defence fell to some extent on Chinese troops and Mr. Churchill has acknowledged the presence of Chinese troops in India. The effect produced by the proposed renunciation does not seem to have been noticeable in China. Lest, however, it might be understood to mean more than was intended, Mr. Richard Law, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, said in answer to a question in the House of Commons that it did not mean renunciation of Hong-Kong, which, he said, was "another problem altogether." Seeing that Hong-Kong is in Japanese hands with other European settlements in China and that if the Japanese are to be shaken off it must be done primarily by Chinese forces, Britain might very well have gone the whole hog in renouncing her privileges.

Police Excesses:—When the main resolution of the Editors' Conference last week was discussed, there was a general feeling that, if any Government, Central or Provincial, would accept its demand for publishing factual reports even of police action, it would be the Bombay Government which has won a reputation for liberal administration. The recent press note issued by the Bombay Director of Information regarding the efforts of Bar Associations to inquire into police action and alleged excesses, shows that that feeling was unduly optimistic. For Government is not likely to allow to the press what it withholds from the public. The Government of Bombay has declared that it will "employ the powers at its disposal to prevent attempts to institute inquiries by non-official committees." The Government expects, the public to look for redress to the departmental authorities.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

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THE WAR AGAINST THE NAZIS.

We reviewed on February 7, Mr. William W. Shirer's brilliant "Berlin Diary." We have now before us "Last Train from Berlin" by Howard Smith, an American who had won a Rhodes scholarship, studied at Oxford where he won the distinction of becoming the first American President of the Oxford Labour Club, and when war broke out went to Berlin as the representative of the United Press of America. The "Last Train" is a fitting sequel to Shirer's "Berlin Diary." Shirer covered the war between Britain and Germany, his sympathies being with Britain. Mr. Howard Smith reports conditions in Germany after the Germans invaded Russia and his heart is with Russia. Howard Smith disclaims any attempt at detachment. In a note he mentions that he has devoted two chapters to explain his personal stand so that the reader may be in a position to allow for it; and the whole book proves that this is not a formal introduction. The one big subject on which his prejudices, predilections and sophistications affect his judgment, is the U. S. A. and President Roosevelt. The theme of the entire book is that Russian resistance had placed a curb on the enthusiasm of the German people for war and for the Nazis. In a chapter dealing with Americans in Germany, Mr. Smith compliments Roosevelt on his shrewd and consistent opposition to Hitler and his methods. He complains against the restrictions placed on Americans in Berlin and declares that it is partly because the American President is more feared than any other of the Allied leaders. If Russian resistance has lowered German morale, it is Stalin and his countrymen who are likely to be the first Nazi hate, not President Roosevelt and the Americans who have yet to prove their mettle. And Mr. Howard Smith makes a very good case for the contribution of Russia to fighting Nazism.

The picture Howard Smith draws of wartime Berlin is a grim one. The one redeeming point was that there was no censorship of press cables, until the war with Russia. He writes:

One had to leave the text of a story at the cable office or at a special counter in the Propaganda Ministry and it would be sent without delay and without censorship direct to one's home office. Actually there did exist a check after-the-fact which amounted to a general supervision by the Ministry; if after the cabled story was published in America, the local German Consul found something objectionable in it, he would report the fact One of Dr. Goebbels' subordinates would then call in the correspondent who had written the story and punish him according to a scale ranging from a polite wrist-slap to banishment from Germany..... Liberalism in these things is a luxury which a winning nation can always enjoy.

The American journalists in Berlin were pampered beyond all measure—in what country

except the U. S. A. are they not?—yet, says Howard Smith, they were the least attracted to Nazism. With a break in the series of quick victories, the position of the press correspondents deteriorated in Berlin. But Mr. Howard Smith gives instances to show that the American journalist did not succumb either to Nazi blandishments or to Nazi threats. All of them felt little pleasure in their assignments but they had a job to do and they did it. Curiously Howard Smith who continued on the scene after Shirer had left on the ground that his presence was no longer useful to his country, and even took over Shirer's work on Columbia Broadcasting, gives the same reason for leaving as Shirer did; to him the breaking-point came months later.

At the other end of the scale stood the Jews who

were drafted into factories and made to do all forms of manual labour from twelve to fifteen hours a day regardless of age or sex.....seventeen year old Jewish girls and sixty year old men alike. A Jewish curfew began at nine o'clock, and Jews caught on the streets after that time were subjected to heavy money fines and prison sentences. They were allowed small rations of a few staple foodstuffs, but forbidden luxuries such as fruit, tomatoes or cheese or tobacco or alcohol. They were allowed to do their shopping only between the hours of four and five in the afternoon and, even within the single shopping-hour, shopkeepers were expected to serve Aryan customers first.

The worst blow was when thousands were sent "colonising" to Poland and Russia under unbelievable conditions by rail. Smith records that persecution defeated its object. Non-Jews all over Europe showed their disbelief of Nazi propaganda by "conspicuous courtesy" to Jews; and it was impossible for even the German people to accept the official thesis that the miserable Jews left in Germany after repeated persecutions were a menace to the greatest military machine. Part of this humanity arose from the suffering endured by the whole civil population which had its food, its soap and its clothing strictly rationed. "The racial idea," writes Smith, "has died a painful death all over Europe, and, even if there were no other gain, this alone almost justifies our war against Hitler." The "racial idea" does not die out so easily. It is most insidious in its mildest form and it would be a mistake to confuse the revulsion felt at the grotesque caricature presented by Nazism for a complete abandonment of racism. Howard Smith does not pay sufficient importance to Nazi modifications of their original race theories, forced on them by the alliance of Japan and the needs of propaganda in Asia and Arabia. But he does show in one illuminating paragraph how the Nazis levied "collective fines" in Norway against their Nordic brothers:

The Norwegians keep the communications of the Luftwaffe...constantly out of order. As a penalty the Germans once made the inhabitants of one area..... stand guard twenty-four hours a day over miles of Luftwaffe cable. When the cables continued to be sliced, the Nazis made the citizens of the area pay a heavy money fine.

There is one section of the book where one wishes that Mr. Smith had recorded the facts and left his reader to judge for himself. That is where he deals in two long chapters with the relations existing and developing between the Nazi Party and the German Army. In a chapter entitled the "End of the Nazi Revolution," Howard Smith proves conclusively that Hitler has betrayed the middle classes who had called him to power, to the military. In the next, entitled "Elements of Conflict," he proves as effectively that the military have been sold out to the party. It is always difficult to judge the strength of the army in the policies of any country at war. Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-Shek who was for years regarded as just an astute general who kept his country under control by keeping his vast army satisfied, is today hailed as the leader of his people and no one can say exactly when or where the transformation took place. It is highly probable that Hitler is still playing off the traditional military leaders against his own party leaders. Howard Smith shows unconsciously that it is impossible to present any sure judgment on the controlling power in Germany today. Perhaps the issue is still in doubt. It is enough to record that the military power is not absolute and that this is a development which bodes well for the progress of the German State and people towards settled conditions in a peaceful world. It would be a disaster for permanent peace if the German people, in disgust at the privations imposed on them by the Nazi regime, should look to their army for solace. For the Nazi system has had only a decade of life, while the German army has held the imagination of the German people for nearly eighty years.

There are suggestions in "Last Train from Berlin" that the Communist Party is not annihilated in Germany. This would account for the difficulties of the Russian campaign. Should the collapse of Nazism as a result of Soviet Russia's gallant resistance bring in Communism, the democratic world would face new problems both in Europe and in Asia. Europe would be a solid Communist block held ideologically and almost physically between Germany and Russia. In China the Communist party would revive. Mr. Howard Smith's concluding chapters point the way for the United Nations which will prevent future conflict as well as shorten the duration of the present war. Mr. Smith denounces the empty ideals of Nazism and appeals to with the United Nations to oppose them with broader vision. He asks for immediate effective help to Russia either by a decisive military triumph or by a series of invasions in the West which without being decisive would strike terror into German hearts or, if both these are impossible, by a stronger effort towards total war. "Frankly," he writes, "I do not blame the Russian newspaper, *Pravda*, for growing editorially indignant at the manner in which we have given up Manila

and Singapore." He demands that a distinction be drawn between the Nazis and the German people. The Russian war, he observes, has made even Germans anti-Nazi. Of the two things which hold them back, fear of the Gestapo and fear of what will happen to the German people if the Nazis lose, the second is in his opinion the more terrible. The United Nations do not help by periodic declarations of the vengeance they will wreak on a defeated Germany. "Whatever the virtues of our leaders Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, their 13-point programme. . . is not definite enough and does not make clear enough the inclusion of the German people, minus Nazism, in the scheme." Mr. Smith suggests a sacrifice of privileges by the privileged classes, Total Democracy. Within the leading nations on the Allied side, this means the realisation of economic conditions different from those which prevailed in 1939; he makes special mention of the Welsh miners and their living conditions. For the colonies, Mr. Smith proposes:

Call a conference of colonials—the Filipinos, the Indians, the Sudanese, the Egyptians—to discuss which shall become completely independent next month, and which shall be placed under real international mandates with the aim of educating them to independence within a year, or perhaps five years. Call a conference of the nations which will educate them, and make it include everybody—the Russian, the Chinese, the British, the Americans, the Portuguese, the Mexicans; everybody! Do this and more. And just watch the morale of the Welsh, the Indians, the Egyptians and the English and the Americans rise; and watch the fighting power of Hitler's armies decline...Accept the suggestion and watch the Nazis decompose...We have nothing to lose but a handful of parasites, and we have the world to win. Or don't accept it, and let's continue fighting a lot of frightened Germans and Italians for the next three or four years of hunger, disease and destruction; unless the Germans win sooner than that.

The main problem of the mandates system is how to secure outside assistance in running an administration without also bringing in political and economic exploitation. As one who has had unique opportunities of observing the German people and the Nazi machine, Mr. Howard Smith deprecates the commonly expressed belief that all these questions can be decided after Hitler has been overthrown. He urges, on the other hand, that the peoples on the Allied side cannot give of their best unless it is made known that their leaders plan for a new world. Mr. Howard Smith is not the first to say that the only alternative to the Allies presenting a new ideal to the world is for them to imitate the Nazis in their methods of waging war both internally and externally and that in doing so they will find the advantage on the other side because the Nazis have cultivated the mind and the machine for repression and ruthlessness for a decade. But his opinions have the greater value because they are based on a personal knowledge of conditions on both belligerent sides.

A BANDRA DIARY.

The following message appeared in the *Evening News of India* on Monday:

The Maharaja of Nawanagar in an interview with Mr. George Slocome appearing in today's *Sunday Express* said that the Congress was completely under Mr. Gandhi's domination. "As long as Mr. Gandhi lives," he said, "he will be the unchallenged leader. Mr. Gandhi understands Indian psychology better than any other living man. We are a curious people. If somebody asks us for wealth or power, we refuse it. But let him appear to renounce all earthly possessions like Mr. Gandhi and we give him every thing we have.....I yield to no one in my desire for India's independence, but I know that if we are given independence tomorrow we would lose it the day after. We cannot claim independence until we are able to defend it."

My first feeling on reading this report of the Jam Saheb's interview was one of bewilderment. Can a Prince who occupies the position of Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes really think that only a single slender life stands between India and the millenium? If he did, was he well-advised in giving public expression to his belief? If one of his subjects said that as long as the Jam Saheb lives the people of Nawanagar must accept his unchallenged and unchallengeable supremacy, the speaker will be justifiably prosecuted for inciting a nefarious crime. The Jam Saheb was extremely thoughtless in putting his thought into words of similar import. As a matter of fact, Gandhiji is at present as completely isolated from contact not only with Congressmen but with the entire outer world as if he were not in the land of the living. Even the Metropolitan of India, the highest dignitary of the Anglican Church, has been refused permission to see Gandhiji. The Congress itself has been declared an illegal body and has no legal existence. In these circumstances, the Jam Saheb's dictum is likely to convey a sinister suggestion.

His Highness's observations about the curious characteristic of his countrymen betrays a lack of insight into human nature which is not surprising in an autocratic ruler though for the moment he is denouncing autocracy in the Congress. The "curious" quality which the Jam Saheb attributed to the people of India, is a quality which is common to the whole of humanity. That voluntary renunciation is the way to lasting influence is the central precept of every religion. Hinduism, Judaism, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam all proclaim it in no uncertain tones. The Sakyamuni, according to the Nawanagar philosophy, should not have renounced his princely status and worldly possessions in search of enlightenment. Jesus Christ would have done wisely, according to the same philosophy, if he had accepted the sovereignty of the world which was offered to him during his forty days in the wilderness. The Hindu scriptures abound in heroic characters, men and women, who refused wealth and power and pleasure in abundance if they would but turn away from their quest of Truth or turn a deaf ear to the call of an imperative spiritual duty. Hindu monarchs, known as Raja Rishis, were world renouncers while yet discharging their duties as protectors of their subjects. All these must be consigned to the category of imbeciles according to the Jam Saheb's philosophy. Humanity has always and will always honour and follow those who surrender worldly ambition, to serve it. It is unfortunate that an Indian Prince should pose before the world as censor of the noblest tradition and heritage of his country.

The Jamsaheb thinks that India should not get

independence nor seek to have it until she is completely able to defend it. Will he apply this ruling to all countries? Is Great Britain able today to defend her own freedom with her own resources in men and material? Is China able to do so? Will he advise these countries, as he advises his own, that a freedom which they can not defend with their own unaided strength, is not worth defending? It is obvious that the Jam Saheb is out of touch not only with the people of India but even with some of the most eminent of Indian Princes. He has entirely misread the history of the world which is the history of freedom won always under conditions of extreme hardship and sacrifice. The Jam Saheb might have read in his school days a little poem with the title, "Bruce and the Spider." Perhaps such poems are not taught to Rajkumars. Anyhow, Robert Bruce was a native of Scotland, the same country from which our Viceroy comes. The poem says that Robert Bruce was fighting for the freedom of his small country and failed many times. He was defeated. He was hunted from place to place by the conquerors and their loyal Scottish friends. Once in very dire straits he found himself in a deserted hut. Gazing at the ceiling in the exhaustion of despair, his eyes lighted upon a spider weaving its web. Bruce watched its movements with interest. He noticed that the spider several times failed to stick its thread on the wall. But it tried again and again and, lo and behold, it at last succeeded. The dejected Bruce was inspired to fresh hope. He tried once more and won his country's freedom. We wonder if Mr. Winston Churchill whose statement on India the Jam Saheb has effusively endorsed, while it has been condemned by world opinion, appreciates his championship. The power of voluntary renunciation is tremendous. In the first place it immediately brings peace of mind. It sets the individual free to work for freedom, secular and spiritual, without hampering thoughts about what the world thinks of him. As a matter of fact, the world respects the man who turns his back on it. For the man who grovels to it, in his greed for its goods, it has only contempt. A man in the Jam Saheb's position is not expected to renounce anything except to gain something more worth having according to worldly standards. But he is, certainly expected not to belittle things which are beyond his grasp but which are at the heart of every great religion and philosophy, that the world has known.

Tuesday's morning papers brought a fuller version of the Jam Saheb's interview. His Highness repeated Sir Stafford Cripps' version of how his scheme came to be rejected by the Congress Working Committee although a day or two earlier Mr. Amery had declined to discuss it as being a matter on which there was difference of opinion. The Jam Saheb is not likely to have more reliable information on the point than the Secretary of State. That, however, is by the way. I am more concerned here with the Jam Saheb's imputation of a motive to Gandhiji for his opposition to the Cripps' proposals. The *Times of India* report runs:

The Congress leaders believed then that the Japs were about to invade India. If they accepted the proposals, they would be committed to the British war effort, whereas, if they rejected them, they would tell the invaders that they had been against the war from the beginning and claim protection on that score.

The Jam Saheb maintained in the earlier passage that the majority of the Working Committee was in favour of Cripps' proposals and that only the advent of Gandhiji on the scene turned it against them.

Here he says that the leaders of the Congress were actuated by the desire to protect themselves in case of a successful foreign invasion. The Congress following Pandit Jawaharlal's lead had declared itself definitely on the side of China against Japan in the war. The offer of the Congress to throw itself whole-heartedly in the war effort against Japan, if a National Government were installed at New Delhi, was made with the utmost publicity and was known to Japan though it might have totally ignored the fact in its broadcast appeals, as not serving its purpose. If the Jam Saheb was not aware of it, it must be due to the fact that truth finds no ready access to autocratic rulers. They hear only what they would be pleased to hear. The critic, it has been said, more often reveals his himself in his criticism than the person whom he attempts to dissect. The Jam Saheb in attributing the motive of safety to Congress leaders reveals his own in speaking as he did in London. Autocrats by their very position are obliged to assume that every one is inspired by the lowest possible motive that they can think of. Themselves having no use for ideals and, indeed, being by their upbringing incapable of having any, they regard idealism as hypocrisy and idealists as hypocrites. The Jam Saheb can not believe that any man can really renounce the world. So he speaks of men "appearing" to renounce the world.

My own experience extending over nearly three-quarters of a century has led me to think that the ideal a man cherishes is the reality of him. A man is what his ideal is, says the Bhagavat Gita. His lapses from the ideals are the result of his circumstances, of the weakness of the flesh. The inspiration of Satyagraha is self-suffering. Satyagrahis throughout the twenty years during which the movement has been in operation, have courted suffering not sought protection. Gandhiji's position was made plain by himself in more than one writing and speech in recent days. As I have understood them, he wanted to offer his mediation to bring about a good understanding between China and Japan. To Englishmen and Americans, to Americans more than to Englishmen, this is a fantastic idea, so fantastic that they can not think of any man sincerely believing it. For such an understanding, Japan will have to give up the large part of China which she is occupying. This to the Allies, Japan will never do, which means no more than that they would themselves never do it in Japan's position. But the Indian mind is made of other stuff. Buddha gave up kingdom and family to discover a way of relieving suffering humanity. Asoka, at the very height of conquest, instituted a moral policy as the basis of his administration. Hundreds and thousands of Indians since his time and before have renounced their own smaller worlds in the pursuit of an ideal. Japan's aggressive imperialism is borrowed from the West and in a sense forced on her by the West. India has in the past carried the message of peace to Japan and had been welcomed by her. India can appeal to China and Japan with greater force than England or America because India's appeal will be entirely a moral and spiritual one. This mission of promoting peace in Eastern Asia logically devolved in the historical process on Britain as a great Asiatic Power and but, for the pressure of America, Britain would and should have carried it out if only in her usual somnambulist way. Gandhiji is the greatest man whom the Indo-British impact has produced. A statue will be erected one day in London of him as they are erecting a statue of Sun Yat Sen, the great leader whom Chinese

connection with the United States had thrown up. Gandhiji wanted to take up this mission which Britain had failed to fulfil. This to my mind is the truth about Gandhiji's attitude to the war. It may seem to the Jam Saheb, as it does to several others, chimerical but there is nothing selfish or cowardly about it.

RECLUSE.

GOVERNMENT AND THE CONGRESS.

(BY T. R. VENKATRAMA SASTRI, MADRAS)

The Delhi Legislative session is over. Likewise the debate in the Commons. The Government have secured a thumping success with 320 votes against 17. Mr. Churchill's policy in regard to India has been endorsed to all external appearances. But neither the House of Commons nor the newspapers who have appended comments on the debate, are easy in mind or happy in their hearts over the result attained. It is clear notwithstanding the softer language of spokesmen that the resentment over the Congress revolt and the desire to suppress it have taken precedence over the need to get the country as a whole behind the war effort for the defence of India.

Britain, that is, those who guide her destinies, are in no mood to heed advice or warning. It is an old saying: "Of unpleasant but wholesome advice rare are the givers and rare are the receivers." But I feel it a duty to set down how I see it though it may fall on deaf ears.

The repression now adopted to put down the Congress is having just the opposite effect. Gandhi and the Congress have obtained a greater hold on the mass mind than ever before, particularly among the younger generation of men and women. The evidence is all around us here. None but those who are blind can fail to see it.

Information of what is happening in the country is withheld. Some knowledge was obtained as the result of things disclosed in the legislative session. Information slowly leaks out otherwise also. How much of all that takes place is known outside India or even inside it, I am not able to say. But even the little that we are allowed to know, is not assuring. It is such as to indicate that there is growing bitterness and resentment in a degree that I have never known before. When the time comes for combined action of government and people to resist foreign aggression it will come as a discovery too late to repair, that the people have been alienated by all that is now being done.

The Congress cannot be put aside in any solution of the Indian problem. It is intelligible that the Government should be unwilling to enter into negotiations with the Congress until they call off their civil disobedience. But why should access to Gandhi be denied to anyone who wishes to bring the Congress into co-operation? The only inference that one draws from it, is that no solution, however necessary to the efficient prosecution of the war, is acceptable to the Government if the Congress is going to be brought into it. The war, in their opinion, should be prosecuted with Congressmen safely clapped in gaol and kept away from all mischief. That way lies the defeat of all our hopes of bringing the country as a whole into the war effort.

Mr. Wendell Wilkie's outspoken statements may be unwelcome but they represent the truth. His remarks apply as much to India which he has been persuaded to avoid, as to the countries he has seen.

In the interest of continued good relations between India and Britain I have always expressed preference for Britain solving the Indian problem without outside

A BANDRA DIARY.

The following message appeared in the *Evening News of India* on Monday :

The Maharaja of Nawanagar in an interview with Mr. George Slocombe appearing in today's *Sunday Express* said that the Congress was completely under Mr. Gandhi's domination. "As long as Mr. Gandhi lives," he said, "he will be the unchallenged leader. Mr. Gandhi understands Indian psychology better than any other living man. We are a curious people. If somebody asks us for wealth or power, we refuse it. But let him appear to renounce all earthly possessions like Mr. Gandhi and we give him every thing we have.....I yield to no one in my desire for India's independence, but I know that if we are given independence tomorrow we would lose it the day after. We cannot claim independence until we are able to defend it."

My first feeling on reading this report of the Jam Saheb's interview was one of bewilderment. Can a Prince who occupies the position of Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes really think that only a single slender life stands between India and the millenium? If he did, was he well-advised in giving public expression to his belief? If one of his subjects said that as long as the Jam Saheb lives the people of Nawanagar must accept his unchallenged and unchallengeable supremacy, the speaker will be justifiably prosecuted for inciting a nefarious crime. The Jam Saheb was extremely thoughtless in putting his thought into words of similar import. As a matter of fact, Gandhiji is at present as completely isolated from contact not only with Congressmen but with the entire outer world as if he were not in the land of the living. Even the Metropolitan of India, the highest dignitary of the Anglican Church, has been refused permission to see Gandhiji. The Congress itself has been declared an illegal body and has no legal existence. In these circumstances, the Jam Saheb's dictum is likely to convey a sinister suggestion.

His Highness's observations about the curious characteristic of his countrymen betrays a lack of insight into human nature which is not surprising in an autocratic ruler though for the moment he is denouncing autocracy in the Congress. The "curious" quality which the Jam Saheb attributed to the people of India, is a quality which is common to the whole of humanity. That voluntary renunciation is the way to lasting influence is the central precept of every religion. Hinduism, Judaism, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam all proclaim it in no uncertain tones. The Sakyamuni, according to the Nawanagar philosophy, should not have renounced his princely status and worldly possessions in search of enlightenment. Jesus Christ would have done wisely, according to the same philosophy, if he had accepted the sovereignty of the world which was offered to him during his forty days in the wilderness. The Hindu scriptures abound in heroic characters, men and women, who refused wealth and power and pleasure in abundance if they would but turn away from their quest of Truth or turn a deaf ear to the call of an imperative spiritual duty. Hindu monarchs, known as Raja Rishis, were world renouncers while yet discharging their duties as protectors of their subjects. All these must be consigned to the category of imbeciles according to the Jam Saheb's philosophy. Humanity has always and will always honour and follow those who surrender worldly ambition, to serve it. It is unfortunate that an Indian Prince should pose before the world as censor of the noblest tradition and heritage of his country.

The Jamsaheb thinks that India should not get

independence nor seek to have it until she is completely able to defend it. Will he apply this ruling to all countries? Is Great Britain able today to defend her own freedom with her own resources in men and material? Is China able to do so? Will he advise these countries, as he advises his own, that a freedom which they can not defend with their own unaided strength, is not worth defending? It is obvious that the Jam Saheb is out of touch not only with the people of India but even with some of the most eminent of Indian Princes. He has entirely misread the history of the world which is the history of freedom won always under conditions of extreme hardship and sacrifice. The Jam Saheb might have read in his school days a little poem with the title, "Bruce and the Spider." Perhaps such poems are not taught to Rajkumars. Anyhow, Robert Bruce was a native of Scotland, the same country from which our Viceroy comes. The poem says that Robert Bruce was fighting for the freedom of his small country and failed many times. He was defeated. He was hunted from place to place by the conquerors and their loyal Scottish friends. Once in very dire straits he found himself in a deserted hut. Gazing at the ceiling in the exhaustion of despair, his eyes lighted upon a spider weaving its web. Bruce watched its movements with interest. He noticed that the spider several times failed to stick its thread on the wall. But it tried again and again and, lo and behold, it at last succeeded. The dejected Bruce was inspired to fresh hope. He tried once more and won his country's freedom. We wonder if Mr. Winston Churchill whose statement on India the Jam Saheb has effusively endorsed, while it has been condemned by world opinion, appreciates his championship. The power of voluntary renunciation is tremendous. In the first place it immediately brings peace of mind. It sets the individual free to work for freedom, secular and spiritual, without hampering thoughts about what the world thinks of him. As a matter of fact, the world respects the man who turns his back on it. For the man who grovels to it, in his greed for its goods, it has only contempt. A man in the Jam Saheb's position is not expected to renounce anything except to gain something more worth having according to worldly standards. But he is certainly expected not to belittle things which are beyond his grasp but which are at the heart of every great religion and philosophy that the world has known.

Tuesday's morning papers brought a fuller version of the Jam Saheb's interview. His Highness repeated Sir Stafford Cripps' version of how his scheme came to be rejected by the Congress Working Committee although a day or two earlier Mr. Amery had declined to discuss it as being a matter on which there was difference of opinion. The Jam Saheb is not likely to have more reliable information on the point than the Secretary of State. That, however, is by the way. I am more concerned here with the Jam Saheb's imputation of a motive to Gandhiji for his opposition to the Cripps' proposals. The *Times of India* report runs:

The Congress leaders believed then that the Japs were about to invade India. If they accepted the proposals, they would be committed to the British war effort, whereas, if they rejected them, they would tell the invaders that they had been against the war from the beginning and claim protection on that score.

The Jam Saheb maintained in the earlier passage that the majority of the Working Committee was in favour of Cripps' proposals and that only the advent of Gandhiji on the scene turned it against them.

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Mr. Wendell Wilkie's outspoken statements may be unwelcome but they represent the truth. His remarks apply as much to India which he has been persuaded to avoid, as to the countries he has seen.

In the interest of continued good relations between India and Britain I have always expressed preference for Britain solving the Indian problem without outside

interference even when Englishmen and English newspapers have suggested the intervention of allied countries. But I now see that the consequences of error in the Indian policy of Britain are so far-reaching and likely to be so disastrous to the fortunes of the United Nations, and the vision of the Britisher at the moment is so warped by resentment and pride that the matter cannot any longer be ignored by the Allied countries as a matter of no concern to themselves. I say this with the less hesitation because even the *London Times* admits that "the relation between Britain and India should no longer be treated as an issue relating to those countries alone."

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

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FEBRUARY 26, 1933.

Mrs. Lawrie says she cannot stand Miss Pearson; my experience being other, I could not simulate this. I told them that at tea, returning from Canton, I had told Mrs. Millinger that after her conviction of my unbiblical paganism, her seeking my company was a mark of a generous mind. She said she would not have me disesteeming myself, that I ought to know I had a reputation on the ship. Miss Pearson acknowledged Mrs. Millinger had good points and a sprightly personality; but Miss Pearson had always been sought to help her to make purchases, and had helped her to save money. Mrs. Lawrie then gave the tale of her quarrel with Mrs. Myer who is a practising Jew. She enlarged on her nursing of Mrs. Myer. A French physician (who is also Secretary of a Socialist organization in Paris) had prescribed a powder which Mrs. Myer asked Mrs. Lawrie to obtain from a chemist. She had charged her 4/3 for it. Mrs. Myer consulted the purser and sent her 6d, saying the remainder was for a rickshaw or a taxi which Mrs. Lawrie had engaged, because she wanted anyhow to go to a chemist. Mrs. Myer claims that she entrusted Mrs. Lawrie with the purchase of the powder, because Mrs. Lawrie said she was going to the chemist. Mrs. Lawrie said she is returning the 6d. as insulting. Mrs. Myer's reason Mrs. Lawrie did not tell me; Miss Pearson was told by Mrs. Myer herself.

Mrs. Patterson spoke of her experience with students at Agra, all patriotic, whom she soothed by telling that even independence comes by degrees, that there are Roman roads in Britain which tell of Roman conquest, that these conquests train a country for independence. I said I could have improved upon her discourse. I would have told them that the only possible condition of independence, the only possible interpretation of India for the Indians, would be for the transCaspian Hindus, and transHimalayan Muslims to recognise the rights of the prior Dravidians and the untouchables generally. Mrs. Patterson protested that she would always feel for the underdog; and then the two ladies declared they would not interfere with my reading and they were going. Not without a Parthian shot from me, I offered; Mrs. Patterson should sometimes beware of the underdog who might be rabid and bite his friends; it might not be a case of 'the man recovered of the bite' though it might very well be that 'the dog it was that died.' And always beware of always in large emphasis.

The Agra students were brought in as a result of our discussions on the troops we saw at Peking. Mr. Soong's exhortations to the Chinese not to yield an inch of ground to Japanese Imperialism and the battles lost as the bulletins

informed. I had remarked that patriotic eloquence without organisation does not answer, that Shaw's advice to China to help and save itself and then Heaven help Europe to save itself was shrewd. There is a case against independence if it would result in a new Imperialism which promised to be ruthless.

Mr. Ward-Price is going out tomorrow at Beppu; the *Daily Mail* supports Japan against China and has cabled to him to be War Correspondent in Jehol.

FEBRUARY 28, 1933.

Beppu.

We were all welcomed to the Beppu Auditorium where the Mayor welcomed the Empress passengers to witness a dance of schoolgirls trained to act geishas in richly coloured silks and graceful movements. The Mayor's welcome was in eloquent Japanese and translated into eloquent English. Our arrival on shore had been greeted with bands playing, school children singing welcome, all beflagged, shooting flags and sulphurous semblances of flags into the air, which gently descended into the water in time with our stepping on shore.

At the first curtain-drop, I emerged and looked for a seat to get on with reading, when Mr. Eaton came up saying he had a very bad cold, felt miserable, felt chilled in the Auditorium in spite of his scarf. What did I think of a walk with him? I felt like it, and he took me to the cement-bone statue of the Buddha which I had been told of, but which I would have missed, if Mr. Eaton had not walked me to it. Virtue, if it be virtue, is thus, possibly, its own reward, but certainly not its only reward.

The picturesqueness of the Inland Sea, the sky, the colouring, the gold which had been shown in pictures, were not ours; clouds made the scenery grey, it was cold. Mr. Eaton raced me on arm round the deck several times, talking of the banking situation in the U. S. which, since, has developed very badly, and of the sack of the German Parliament-house, of the visit of the Empress and the probable restoration of the Monarchy in Germany. Hindenburgh would not have designed it; but since his drift through old age has forced Hitler upon him, his wishes might not object to the Restoration resulting from this drift.

Mr. Eaton also talked of Technocracy; the *London Times* article on the subject seems to be an abstract of the *New York Times* article which Mr. Eaton sent me. The substance is that Machinery has displaced labour more than people realise; the U. S. could live better than now if each man worked only two hours a day; but for that purpose, leisure would have to be organised so that people's manhood might not suffer by leisure's misuse, and new methods of distributing Production have to be invented by sociologists. Technocracy equally scorns the present system and the system of Karl Marx. Yet it looks for innovations in currency, price fixing and ownership of wealth. The *New York Times* says some of the statements of Technocracy are gross exaggerations. Mr. Eaton agrees that, even in the unexaggerated form, the displacement of labour is serious and requires examination. He also agrees that the Engineer, precise as an engineer, is apt to degenerate into the nebulous politician, outside his job.

MARCH 2, 1933.

Kobe.

The Kobe paper mentions an interview between Japanese pressmen and Shaw at Beppu; he warns Japan that China has as undying a nationalism as

Ireland; and, if Japan has designs on China, she will be carrying a burden. There are too many Chinese for Japan.

MARCH 3, 1933.

Kyoto.

Mr. Shaw joined the *ollos polloi* of our party, I saw him listening to guides, then laughing over the decorations on the panels inside which the guides had described. He again figures in today's *Japan Chronicle* to whom he has given a special interview. He expresses horror of the long hours in Japanese mills, calls for a Factory Act, answers arguments that it is difficult to work it by stating that England is working one, gives the tale of an English socialist engraver fined £ 50 for not displaying factory regulations on the walls as required by law, pleading that he had papered the walls on William Morris' design, fined a further £ 50 for papering walls which is against the law, pleading that he was providing artistry on the walls for eyes of tea-drinking girls to rest on, and fined a further £ 250 for not providing a tea-room separate from the work-room as required by law. Today's interview increases respect for Shaw, though probably his growth has stopped. The visible should be steeped in a new invisible aspect or outlook and Shaw has only new comments based on the same old promises.

MARCH 4, 1933.

There is a French Baron on the ship who has kept fit; he talked to me at length today. He wanted to know why I was restlessly travelling and hazarded a guess that I was seeking to escape the mad turmoil of my country; said he knew I was a savant and wanted to talk me about the world; pity I did not know French, or he would have given me some French articles of his own; he is a political journalist; writes for the *Eclair* and the *Patrie*. He is not a royalist, not a member of the Action Francaise; but he belongs to the right wing of Republicanism. He did know Mr. Ward-Price; he gave Mr. Ward-Price a French book on Politics in the Orient by Axel — (a Swede) and Mr. Ward-Price has already used it in the *Daily Mail*. He will not know Mr. Shaw. Mr. Shaw might almost be called a criminal. Like Mr. Blum, leader of French Socialists, (an Alsace Lorraine Jew) he rolls in millions. A millionaire socialist, dedicating his millions in service of the poor, one would grovel before and worship; but the other sort of socialist, rolling in riches and Rolls Royce, one can only denounce as criminal, when he proclaims himself a communist to a world which hangs on his words. The source of all present discontents is the political alliance of Italy and the Soviets into which the policy of Briand drove Mussolini; and the world is too degenerate to avert the catastrophe impending over it. France is corrupt to the core. Every deputy will sell his soul to retain his seat. Premier Laval was corrupted out of right policy when he visited America.

England [he said] is not corrupt; but she has no great man. The Soviets know England for their real foe, therefore feed Gandhi with funds. The delegates at Geneva are corrupt; they know Radet's (Radek's?) interview with an eminent journalist, in which Radet declared the Russian policy of making war between America and Japan on the question of China, leavening China with Communism as it is half-leavened now, and, when the fruit became ripe, discarding China. The Geneva delegates have paid no heed to this interview. The Baron is pro-Japan and considers the League policy another sign of its corruption. Such violently expressed opinions do not indicate balance of

judgment, but he himself, in spite of white hair seems physically fit.

MARCH 5, 1933.

.....a quick view of the daily paper and its sensational information. This time it was published in Tokyo. It had an interview with Mr. Ward-Price, the purport of which seems that the League is likely to lose more by Japan's secession than Japan. It had another interview with Mr. Shaw, who had paid a visit to Osaka, and there been entertained at a dramatic performance which he praised. He commended the stage lighting and the female parts played by male actors. He is continuing to think on the Sino-Japanese question, but still within the limits of Chinese ownership of Manchuria. His sense of justice recognises Japan's sacrifices, for which Japan is to receive adequate pecuniary compensation if she make restitution of territory. But he acknowledges the impracticability of this suggestion. He is distinctly popular among passengers; Mrs. Patterson owned that she was smiled on, as he passed, and would have got a talk if she had not shyly discouraged it. Miss Busch tells me that on return from Peking, he was entertaining successfully a whole compartment full of passengers. She was one of them. Shaw said nothing very profound, but maintained interest.

RIGHTS AND DUTIES.

II.

Life is a triangular fight. It is a fight between the economic self and the moral consciousness on the one hand, and the moral self and the spiritual personality on the other. The economic man who is the product of his own greed for gain and material desires, finds it difficult in society to succeed in his enterprises, without honest labour on his own part and without fixing such profits which are acceptable to society in general. Thus though the springs of economic conduct lie in the greed for profit, the activity that is associated with it is entirely social. The greed belongs to individual, but the profit must come from others. That is why even Marx, the most powerful exponent of the material conception of life, wrote in his Communist Manifesto, that capitalism fundamentally is a social function and not an individual affair. Therefore, the conquest over this conflict between individual greed and social profit is achieved only in such cases where they are blended together, under the influence of a singular purpose, namely service to society. The most successful businessman is he who looks to the needs of society most, and along with his economic activity a new relationship develops between himself and the society and his selfish interest succeeds only so far as it reflects the social needs. The need of a moral outlook is a necessity, not a choice, in the realisation of even a personal economic ambition. There are, of course, several instances where greed takes the upper hand, society acquiesces, and pure Shylockism wins. But they are possible in such cases where social consciousness has not developed in sufficient measure. In such cases religion ultimately interfered and controlled the greedy by means of divine sanctions which were powerful and specific and which definitely ordained and fixed the limit to profit and interest. But the greedy accepted or even welcomed the mandates because on the same page where they found restrictions placed on them, they also found restrictions on the poor such as, "Thou shalt not steal." Religion was a sort of truce, a balancing of power. It played the same part in society that a developed

social consciousness would do in a civilised mind.

Thus the individual realises, as he lives that there is affinity between his needs and the needs of society and that he and the other human beings living around are part of the same economic structure which is already there, in spite of himself and of which he is but an organ of action. A creature of his own wants, he first of all found that he can realise them only through society, and by disciplining himself in such a way that all his activities are acceptable to the instinctive society round him. But the moral interest in society again demands the creation of a new personality within himself, the cultivation of certain qualities and virtues which constitute a spiritual outlook necessary to enable him to see his ownself in the abstract social life. But the spiritual outlook has its own idiosyncracies and stipulations about it. From one extreme, where it induces the individual to fly from society and take to asceticism, it tosses the human mind to the other extreme of setting ablaze the whole society with the fire of a spirit of revolution. Either of the extremes abhor or detest the traditional form of society. It takes into its hands the natural instincts of the masses and flings the bulk of humanity as one body into the unknown sky of idealism. Now the individual develops a new person within himself, who demands a thorough-going change and whose plea is that the smallest wrong belongs to the entire society and, if it has to be corrected, the whole society must be changed. As an economic man, he looked to his personal needs only. But, incidentally, he was forced to look to the needs of the other members of society before he could successfully fight for his own. He became a social being with several obligations and duties to fulfil and was forced to develop a social consciousness, and seek harmony between his economic conduct and social behaviour. He is now both an economic man and a social man. But here the matter does not end. He finds, while seeking to serve the interests of the other members of the society, that most of their needs are not true or truly social, that the whole economic structure is based on wrong principles and that a developed and a self-conscious society is not there at all. Realisation of this truth automatically creates within himself a new spiritual man seeking to change the society entirely. He also finds that, unless there is a change in society, there is no possibility of developing his own personality or of even fulfilling his economic wants in a satisfactory manner.

Now life must build up harmony between these three personalities and move as one force with a singular purpose. Duty is not merely to defend or protect what is already there, either personal or social. Nor it is merely a sort of vigilance. But it is positive. It seeks to build up in society right wants, right rights, and make it what it ought to be.

M. N. RAO.

"SHUNNING THE LIGHT."

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

Under this heading you suggest in a leading article that formal enquiries into the unlawful acts of the civil and military servants of Government are best calculated to restore confidence in the minds of the public.

A week ago the wife of a well-known British officer, a knight, spoke to me excitedly for a considerable time about bribery and corruption among the Indians. I agreed that much of what she

said was only too true. Then she went to the other extreme and insisted that no important British officer in India has been known to have taken bribes. I replied that her husband, a Cambridge graduate, could tell her a different story, and advised her to read the "Impeachment of Warren Hastings" in Parliament, giving a brief account of it at her request. She observed that such a public exposure of the first Governor-General of India must have greatly lowered the prestige of England in this country. I replied that the public trial of Warren Hastings served as the best propaganda for British integrity in India, and that the people of this country were filled with so much admiration for the English straightforwardness that there are even now many educated and influential, though simple-minded, Indians who seem to believe that an Indian grievance has only to be reported to Parliament to obtain immediate redress.

"It is not in the public interest," and similar replies to questions in Parliament and in the Viceregal Councils have become so frequent that prestige and admiration are steadily disappearing.

Coonoor,
October 7, 1942.

Yours etc.,
M. G. JOSEPH.

SIR MUHAMMAD USMAN'S LEADERSHIP AND HOMILIES.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

In defending the Government's policy as the Leader of the House in the Council of State, Sir Muhammad Usman has outbeaten his previous records as the Home Member of the Madras Government. He has been taking part in public affairs for over a quarter of a century, and so he must be familiar with the fact that the demand for the abolition of the India Office is as old as 1916, when the famous nineteen members of the old Viceroy's Legislative Council presented their Memorandum to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. This demand used to be reiterated at every noteworthy session of the Liberal Federation; and yet Sir Muhammad attributes sinister motives to those who demand that Mr. Amery's India Office must go.

It is worthy to note that the famous memorandum emphasised that "what is wanted is not merely good government or efficient administration, but government that is acceptable to the people, because it is responsible to them," and demanded that the Indian members of the Viceroy's Executive Council should be elected by the elected members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council. Yet, in the year of grace 1942, when the Viceroy's Executive Council consists of His Excellency's nominees, one of them refers to Lord Morley's objection to the appointment of an Indian as an Executive Councillor and wants us to show thanks to Lord Linlithgow for nominating eleven Indians!

Again, Sir Muhammad exhorts us to show gratitude to Mr. Churchill for having spoken the bitter truth that the Congress does not represent the whole nation. To Sir Muhammad and to Mr. Churchill who stated that the Congress is a party-machine sustained by manufacturing and financial interests, the following passage from "A Prophet at Home" by Douglas Reed which has run to three editions in four months in 1941, offers a fitting reply:—

"The rulers of Britain, in the Government and in the equally important services, are in the vast majority, men bred and trained at a few 'public schools,' reserved to a small moneyed coterie, most of which are situated within a long stonethrow of London. In spite of the grotesque record of inaptitude, the Tory system stands almost undented."

Peelamedu,
October 10, 1942.

Yours etc.,
R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.

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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.

Cultural Centre in London:—Rather late in the day Lord Hailey pleaded at the London East India Association for developing cultural contacts between England and India by opening a school in London. Mr. Amery who was present, strongly supported the idea and appealed to the merchants trading with India to subscribe funds for the purpose. This is the routine British method. It is an ineradicable conviction with the British that there is nothing that money cannot do and that, as they are a wealthy nation, they are in a position to command everything and everybody in the world. This British characteristic has had its reaction on others with the result that no one will do anything for Britain and the British except for payment in cash or recompense in some other shape. Wherever the British have gone, they have sedulously fostered this mercenary motive in those with whom they had to do. Now, culture is not a purchasable commodity and all the wealth of the London banks cannot help in the least to promote culture. It is true, as Lord Hailey said, that among the early British officials in this country there were several who contributed to the revival of Indian culture which had fallen low at the end of the eighteenth century. The conditions then were different. For one thing, the Englishman in India had perforce to live in the country for thirty or forty years. The Darwinian and other doctrines about the survival of the fittest were unknown. Agriculture was the principal industry in Britain as in India. Indians and Englishmen respected each other's peculiar habits and customs and tried as much as possible to meet on the cultural plane. All this is now changed. The Englishman in India is a bird of passage. He longs for the day when he would become eligible for pension and, until the war curtailed shipping facilities, shook the dust off his feet on the earliest possible day and forgot all about India. The average civilian of the day has no interest in the culture even of his

own country. Bureaucracy does not stimulate cultural interests. To understand the ways of the people and to shape administration so as to cause the least irritation, is not in the bureaucratic temper. Money will be subscribed and a School will be established for promoting Indo-British cultural contacts. But the people who can benefit by such contact or can contribute beneficially to such contact, will not go there. Scholarships will be provided and divided among the different classes and creeds of India according to the official quota. The scholars will complete their course and will expect to be absorbed in the Revenue and Judicial services which offer not the least scope for cultural interests. More than that, Indian culture today has attained a recognised status throughout the world and stands in no need of official patronage. It has permeated the literature of the world and is better understood and appreciated in countries other than Britain. The average Briton, assured of his dividends from Indian investments or pensions, does not bother himself about the culture of the country. Some things should come spontaneously or not at all. Culture is one of them. To seek to promote culture with a political end in view is to court humiliating failure.

Smuts as Mediator:—The name of Field-Marshal Smuts has been mentioned as a probable choice for mediating a settlement between India and Britain. As a friend of Gandhiji, it is urged that the Field Marshal will achieve more success than Sir Stafford Cripps who is also Gandhiji's friend. Lord Linlithgow is another friend of Gandhiji's, and so is Sir Reginald Maxwell. The notion that personal friendship would influence either party in agreeing to terms to which he would not otherwise agree, is reminiscent of the time when national policies were decided solely by personal idiosyncracies. The Field Marshal has no qualifications to be mediator in the Indian dispute. He is generally regarded as the most insidious opponent of the claims of Indians for fair and just treatment in South Africa. General Hertzog like President Kruger is better than his creed of racial discrimination. He can be sometimes generous even. The position of Dr. Malan was crystal clear and one knew exactly where he stood on the Indian question. The Field Marshal is in a category of his own. With large professions of universality, he combines very

narrow views of what is due to political exigencies. His activities during the peace negotiations after the last war were more advertised than effective. Mr. Lloyd George in his War Memoirs is not very appreciative of them. If the opinion of Indians who have had opportunities of studying the Field Marshal's career in South Africa, counts in the choice of an emissary, Field Marshal Smuts is the last man who is to be considered for the delicate task of mediation. If there is any idea that the Field Marshal may be able to use Indians in South Africa as hostages to enforce compliance with his proposals for India, it may be dismissed at once for there is not likely to be any response from responsible Indian leaders in view of that possibility.

Mr. Elwin and Christianity:—We publish elsewhere a letter from Mr. Verrier Elwin protesting against *The Reformer's* printing without reference to him, a comment by Recluse in "Bandra Diary" (October 3) on Mr. Elwin's notions about Christianity and Hinduism. The *Bombay Chronicle*, as the facts go, published an article on September 27 entitled "Lunching with Mr. Elwin" by Mr. D. F. Karaka. Mr. Karaka flamboyantly referred there to the education of Mr. Elwin's son, Jawahar, as

an experiment which may help to shape the destiny of the world—the answer to Kipling's East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet. Jawahar is to be brought up as an Indian—"and a Hindu," Elwin added, "not in the orthodox sense but rather as a non-Christian. I'm not a Christian any more, you know."

When "Recluse's" comment was published, we had not seen in the *Chronicle* or anywhere else contradiction of this paragraph though Mr. Elwin now objects to anyone assuming its correctness. Surely, he has been long enough in public life to know that an uncontradicted report is taken to be correct. Mr. Elwin was in Bombay in the last week of September. We can only assume that Mr. Elwin was not reluctant to allow the report to stand so long as the attitude described as his was held up as a great experiment but that he finds criticism intolerable. Mr. Elwin mentions woefully that we should have referred the question to him. Such a course would have been unnecessary had he promptly denied the report. Even as matters stood, "Recluse" began his comment with "Mr. Elwin is reported to have said." Mr. Elwin misses the point when he excitedly protests against "a curtain lecture on how to educate his child." "Recluse" was more concerned with the attitude revealed by Mr. Elwin to Christianity and Hinduism than with the education of his son. The phrase, "curtain lecture," is wrongly applied to a public criticism and we are surprised that a purist like Mr. Elwin should make such a mistake. Had we written privately to him as he suggests, he might have resented the letter as a "curtain lecture." Mr. Elwin's affirmation of his adherence to Christianity will be read with

relief by his many friends. Mr. Karaka has given his readers an explanation in the *Chronicle* of October 21, which we reprint below Mr. Elwin's article. Mr. Karaka affirms that he had correctly reported Mr. Elwin but adds that he had omitted certain qualifying remarks which altered the meaning and which he now gives. The explanation makes matters worse. Mr. Karaka seriously asks his readers to believe that the words "Hindu" and "Christian" have a reference to living conditions and that "Hindu" implies "living in the middle of India in a little hut." But then where is the "trumpeted experiment"? After all Kipling's Kim was in this sense a "Hindu." Later still he explains that all that was meant was that the infant would be brought up without religious, communal or theological bias. Not content with having involved Mr. Elwin in a false position, Mr. Karaka proceeds blithely to say that Gandhiji has approved of the idea of letting the infant, "if he wanted a religion later in life, choose." As for Mr. Karaka's assumption that Mr. Elwin does not think himself worthy of being called a Christian, we are glad to have Mr. Elwin's own assurance that he is not suffering from any such maudlin self-pity, as is suggested. Mr. Karaka refers in a concluding paragraph to the reference to Mr. Elwin becoming a real father, as distinguished from Father Elwin of the Christa Seva Sangh, as in bad taste. We agree—in the form in which it was quoted in the *Chronicle* without the context.

Collective Fines:—It is reported that Mr. E. Ramaswamy Naicker, leader of the Justice Party in Madras, has requested the Government of that Province to exempt members of his party from collective fines imposed in areas where Government property has been destroyed by mob fury, on the ground that his party has abstained from participating in such activities. Mr. Naicker had an interview with the Governor of Madras who is reported to have given a sympathetic reply. The Justice Party is an alias for the non-Brahmin Party which claims to represent the interests of all non-Brahmins in the presidency, that is, ninety-seven per cent of the Hindus including the scheduled castes. The latter have already been exempted, though we notice that Mahars and others have not in all places resisted the temptation to do mischief or join in the looting. The rest of the non-Brahmins, whether they are followers of Mr. Naicker or not, have not all been indulging in doing damage to Government property. If they had done so very little damage could have been done. The Brahmins form three per cent of the population and in Madras are in Government service in a much larger proportion than in Bombay. As Government servants, they would enjoy exemption. If the Allahabad High Court's view is accepted, members of Local and Municipal bodies also will enjoy exemption. That High Court has held that these persons are liable to prosecution for corruption as public servants and it follows that

they should as such be also eligible for exemption. If the Justice Party's claim be accepted, Mr. B. V. Jadhav in Bombay may claim it for his recently formed Maharashtrian party. In a political party, which is not a sect or caste or community, membership is not fixed and the assessing authority will have to formulate tests for determining who are members and, who not. The whole scheme of collective fines promises to collapse because of its inherent irrationality.

Indigenous Doctors and Inoculation:—To ensure an adequate supply of trained men in emergencies, says a Bombay Government Press Note, Government has directed that Ayurvedic and Unani subsidised medical practitioners should undergo training at Civil Hospitals in the technique of inoculation. This arrangement ignores the common experience that it is easier to train men with blank minds to a new technique than men with settled ideas. The Unani and Ayurvedic systems know nothing of administering medicines through ways other than oral. In the Buddhist legends there is mention of administration of a medicine to the Buddha by his personal physician through the sense of smell. The indigenous doctor has not only a blank mind in respect of the allopathic system but he has a positive disbelief in it. Inoculation and injection, unless performed with the utmost antiseptic precaution, are highly dangerous. The indigenous doctor has his own ideas of antiseptics which are not the same as those of the Allopath though often it may be equally effective. Government may have the satisfaction, which is all that counts nowadays, of having done something to meet emergencies, but it can not be said that in this case the choice made is likely to prove most efficacious for preventing and destroying infection.

Untouchability in School Books:—Another Press note of the Bombay Government deals with the work of the Bombay Provincial Board of Primary Education during last year. The most important item is said to be "to submit to Government a detailed scheme for the introduction of universal compulsory elementary education." The scheme itself is not published, not even a rough sketch of it, and, therefore, no comment on it is possible. But it seems to us that having in normal times avoided, not to say opposed, proposals for introducing compulsory education in this Presidency (not to mention the universe) on financial grounds, to suggest that it is likely to be introduced now when the war expenditure leaves little margin for constructive objects, is rather a heavy demand on the public credulity. Government has directed that preference should be given to text-books containing lessons on the removal of untouchability. This should gratify Dr. Ambedkar but we doubt the wisdom of plugging the child mind with social problems which baffle many mature minds. The great majority of children in the elementary stage has less occasion to know anything

about untouchability than children in English Schools have of knowing about anti-Semitism. Communal sentiments, it has been shown by investigators, do not appear in the minds of children before the age of adolescence as it is essentially linked up with sex relations. The sociological solution of the problem is to bring up children in complete ignorance of the existence of such a thing as untouchability. To thrust it on immature minds in lessons in school-books is sure to do great harm in the moulding of the future citizen.

Help to China:—A speech made to Bombay journalists by a Chinese visitor to Bombay in which he referred to the failure to give China adequate help, has been seized on as a text by a section of the press for a homily on the disastrous effects of the Indian situation on China. Military generals are cited to show that but for the disturbances the Allied forces would be creating a diversion in Burma. General Wavell's presence among the troops on the Burma frontier, however, was utilised as an opportunity by New Delhi to declare that the public should not expect immediate action because the Allies do not wish to risk another failure in Burma. We had interpreted Government's decision to act on August 8 to mean that there was a feeling of confidence in New Delhi that the enemy was not as formidable as he had been made out to be and we attributed this accession of confidence to the Solomon Islands success. Mr. Rajagopalachari recently deplored the official attitude to possible aggression as blind confidence. But apparently there was another reason for Government's policy which no one in India would have suspected but which seems to have had wide circulation in London. The *New Statesman* (July 25) gives it as follows:

He (Gandhiji) may again contemplate little more than a gesture, which would result, as he may reckon, in the imprisonment of the leaders of the movement, including himself. If he attempts much more than a relatively harmless gesture, we believe that he will find the response of the masses disappointing.....The economic motive which enlisted the peasants behind him in 1930 now tells the other way. The slump had then caused a catastrophic fall in the prices of their crops; today these prices are rising. Formidable as his movement was then, it never touched the strategic keys of power, the army or the railways, nor did it result in a withdrawal of services from Europeans. It is unlikely that it would have much effect on the industries working for defence...It would be rather a moral than a physical embarrassment.

This was the calculation which went wrong. The Government of India should retrieve its error by initiating a policy more in conformity with the needs of the international situation and not seek to shift the blame for any deterioration of that position on to other parties in the country. After all the Indian trouble is a matter of two months. The Chinese complaint of not receiving sufficient help from Britain has almost a decade's standing.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, October 24, 1942.

MR. RAJAGOPALACHARYA'S MISSION.

The *Reformer* has never endorsed the view that the Indian problem can be solved by an understanding between Hindus and Muslims, much less by one between the Congress and Muslim League or Mr. Jinnah and Gandhiji. The British period is an integral part of Indian history and it is the part which has profoundly influenced political ideas in this country. In the Hindu and in the Muslim periods the State was the apex of the national edifice, and its influence on social and economic life was indirect, so far as it was an influence at all. That is why there was little popular reaction when government passed from one dynasty to another, a phenomenon which Sir Arthur Wellesley noted as peculiar to India. India owes nearly all her political wisdom to the British connection. Eliminate the British period from Indian history and the country's political outlook would be narrowed to that of Asoka and Akbar at the best, at the worst to that of Aurangzebe and the Peishwas. Much has been said within the last few days, and rightly said, in praise of Akbar, the fourth centenary of whose birth fell a few days ago. But few Indians at the present day would find themselves happy under the Akbar regime if that can be restored today, any more than many Englishmen would be happy under the Elizabethan regime which was contemporary to it in England. Our political outlook today is essentially the product of the British period. The British stream of history, representing Western civilization with its scientific culture, therefore, is a factor which cannot be left out in the moulding of India's future. Mr. Rajagopalacharya recognises this and his recent efforts to find a solution for the Indian deadlock have prominently included consultation with British leaders in Madras and Calcutta. The Metropolitan has lent a hand in furthering Mr. Rajagopalacharya's mission, which, therefore, holds a brighter promise of harmonious achievement. The great desideratum now is some striking and unmistakable proof that the British and Indian peoples are united in their ideas and emotions, that the racial and colour bar is cast aside for ever. Constitutional changes are only valuable in so far as they lead to this sentiment of unity. They may take time to be formulated. We need not wait until they are. There are quicker ways of effecting the object, the appointment of an Indian Viceroy being the foremost.

Mr. Rajagopalacharya outlined his scheme at a Press Conference in Delhi. It is, shortly, to have general elections in the provinces, indirect election to the Central Legislature through the Provincial Legislatures, and to constitute a National Government at the centre on the basis of the newly constituted Central Legislature. He is prepared to go to Britain

and to persuade British statesmen to accept his proposal. Pending these measures Mr. Rajagopalacharya suggested that the Viceroy should select those who were most popular and responsible and ask them to run the Government. He said :

It is well-known that there was no proper legislature now functioning, but it was also known that the Viceroy could visualise what kind of legislature would come into being if elections were held now and he could, if he liked, select men for a Government that could face a new and proper Legislature. Such a Government should be formed straightway and then arrangements should be made for holding elections.

If the Viceroy can be credited with insight into the mind of the electorates to the extent implied in Mr. Rajagopalacharya's proposal, the obviously right thing is to assume that he has applied it to the full in selecting members for his Expanded Council, and to treat it as a National Government. This evidently Mr. Rajagopalacharya is not prepared to do. He assumes that the present Indian members who are in the majority, have not been selected in the light of the Viceroy's knowledge of what would be the tendency of a new Legislature constituted according to his plan. We think, on the other hand, that His Excellency's selections have been made in the confident expectation that fresh elections would result in a Legislature which would accord a vote of complete confidence to his nominees. The electorates will forget all but Gandhiji and other Congress leaders if the latter are kept out of their sight for some period of time and would transfer their affections to Mr. Aney, Sir Sultan Ahmed and others who, meanwhile, will occupy the stage with the full glare of the limelight turned on them. In Burma when U. Saw, the Prime Minister, was detained on the ground that he had contacted the Japanese, his next in command, Sir Paw Tun, had no hesitation in stepping into his shoes. In Sind when Allah Bux the Premier was dismissed unceremoniously by the Governor, his colleague, Sir Ghulam Hussein Hidayatulla, immediately and even without formally resigning his Home Secretaryship in the Allah Bux Cabinet, accepted the invitation to reconstitute the Ministry. Both the Burmese Minister and Sir Hidayatulla will perhaps be surprised if they were told that they were endorsing the action taken against their chiefs, though it is the only constitutional interpretation of which their conduct is capable. The constituencies are unlikely to have more nice constitutional instincts than their elected leaders. We say that the Viceroy may well have entertained the hope that the constituencies may be weaned away from the Congress by the internment of Congress leaders under conditions which admit of minimum contact with the outside world.

Though Mr. Rajagopalacharya did not directly say so, his recommendation that five leading Congressmen should be taken on to "the National

Government" necessarily implies that they should all be released. He should not have kept this part of his scheme in the background because it is the crux of it. The Under-Secretary of State told the House of Lords only the other day that Government had ample evidence that the Congress was at the bottom of the recent disturbances. This need not be taken as an absolute bar to the release of Congress leaders and the installation of five of them as ministers of the Crown. Three days before the Lloyd George Government opened negotiations with Mr. De Valera, Mr. Lloyd George had declared at a Mansion House dinner that Government had murdered by the throat and would use all means in their power to crush Irish rebels. It is becoming increasingly clear that the proclamation of the Congress an unlawful body was a frightful blunder from the Government's own point of view. The frank avowal of the mistake and the unconditional release of the detained leaders, would do more to ease the situation and to pave the way for friendly overtures than releasing them in the incidental and rather furtive manner of Mr. Rajagopalacharya's scheme.

Mr. Rajagopalacharya denounced with some warmth what he called a calumny on Mr. Jinnah. The calumny is that Mr. Jinnah wants a partition of the country today. "What Mr. Jinnah wants," Mr. Rajagopalacharya said, "is that the issue should not be prejudged. It is possible and open to Government to leave that issue unprejudged in the clearest terms possible." We do not see that there is any appropriateness in the word "calumny" in this context. Perhaps all that Mr. Rajagopalacharya wished was to lash himself into the needed emotional tension to make such an irrelevant accusation against opponents of Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah's meaning is not in doubt. He has repeatedly declared that the Muslims form a distinct nation and cannot dwell in the same land as the Hindus. If he agrees to the postponement of the issue it is in the confidence that the intervening events would make his demand irresistible; while Mr. Rajagopalacharya suggests the postponement in the assurance that the same events would expose the impracticability of Pakistan. To our mind the issues involved are clear and nothing can be gained by postponing consideration of the idea. If Mr. Jinnah says tomorrow that Hindus and Muslims cannot have the same single sun shining on them, and that there should be a solar partition in order to ensure Hindu-Muslim unity, it would be absurd to postpone consideration of the question which, on the face of it, is an idle fancy. The partition of India is exactly similar. The idea has only to be mentioned to be rejected. There are sentiments transcending any political exigency and these cannot be sacrificed without great calamities to India and the world.

BAN ON ENQUIRIES.

The Bombay Government is about the only Government in India which has in these days shown that it is British not only in name but that it also retains something of the British spirit which has made Britain the acknowledged teacher of the world in political philosophy. Its communique regarding Bar enquiries into police and military excesses during recent troubles, therefore, came as a complete surprise. We agree that enquiries which are one-sided, as non-official enquiries without official co-operation are likely to be, are not likely to arrive at right conclusions. They are likely to be swayed by local feelings. This, however, is not always the case. The Congress Committee's report on the Jhallianwala holocaust forced the Government to appoint the Hunter Committee which substantially endorsed the Congress Committee's principal findings. There were, of course, outstanding leaders on that Committee—Gandhiji among them, and it is well known that Gandhiji's tests of evidence are much stricter than those of the Evidence Act. The right way of meeting the likelihood of local Committees arriving at one-sided findings, is for Government themselves to appoint a Central Committee with the stamp of high judicial authority, preferably an eminent English judge following the precedent of the Hunter Committee. The reasons given for prohibiting enquiries and penalising them do violence to the genius of the English language. "Government will employ the powers at its disposal to the extent necessary (not in excess!) to prevent attempts wherever they are made, by non-official committees to institute enquiries against their servants and the military." Are the military not Government servants? Adequate machinery exists under the law, we are told, for the investigation of charges against Government servants. A few weeks ago the Government of Bombay issued a communique about assaults by certain sepoys on some girls in the suburban district. They admitted that their attempt to discover the miscreants failed. They were, therefore, obliged to resort to the odious form of collective punishment by debarring the free movement of all sepoys, most of them decent honourable family men, prohibiting their straying beyond prescribed limits. So far from penalising private enquiries, as "usurpation" of Government powers, Government should avail themselves of the assistance of citizens, which in other matters they are so solicitous to secure.

The Government of the Central Provinces has earned a reputation for bad administration which is superior to party considerations. Whoever rules at Nagpur, the Government is invariably indecisive, weak and erratic in its functioning. We must, however, thank the C. P. Government for the illuminating communique which it has put out on the Chinur incidents, giving its decision not to appoint an inquiry commit-

tee. This goes a step further than Bombay in so far as it not only refuses to allow public-minded bodies to go into the question but even declares its opposition to setting up its own committee. The Chimur incidents which are now dismissed by the C. P. Government as trumped up charges two months after they are said to have occurred, were allegations of rape and outrage committed in Chanda district by military and police, and looting. There were the wildest reports circulating about the police regime in Chanda—the peak being the report that the women of an entire village had been raped. The grounds on which the communique dismisses the demand for an enquiry is: Firstly, that the charges were made a month later, and not to any official or magistrate but to Dr. B. S. Moonje and other public figures. Secondly, that there are inconsistencies and gross improbabilities in the reports and that they were not made on oath. Thirdly, that the people, specially the women, of Chanda had ample opportunities of placing their grievances before the Deputy Commissioner and other officials when food was taken by them to those of their menfolk who were detained. The references to failure to identify the assalants are hardly convincing. The Government know full well that it is no easy task, even when not under any severe stress, to pick out one man in uniform out of thirty. This and the "not proven" Government verdict create the impression that the Government in the C. P. apparently is concerned more with the semblance of justice than with the actuality. The communique concludes with two paragraphs which are worth reproducing :

On a review of all the circumstances, and after securing the depositions of the British officers who were in command of the small detachments of British troops, the provincial Government is satisfied not only that the complaints are "not proven," but that there are strong reasons for supposing that the allegations have been put out in order to divert attention from the heinous crimes committed at Chimur. The allegations are so belated as to be largely untrustworthy on this account alone. In particular, the Provincial Government has no hesitation in describing the accusations made against the British troops as highly improbable, incapable of proof, and contrary to the known facts regarding the others for their disposition and discipline at Chimur. The Provincial Government, therefore, decline to appoint a committee to enquire into charges which are properly cognisable by the Police and the Magistracy. To do so would be to invite vilification of the Police and Military in circumstances which would permit of no defence, since all the complaints except one are against persons unknown so that there is no possibility of testing the truth of the allegations.

All these points can be adduced in favour of an inquiry. If there had been no inconsistencies in the reports there would have been a case, not for an inquiry but for hanging. The fact that there are inconsistencies seems to show a genuine ground for sifting the truth. Had all reports agreed, the suspicion would be natural that there was connivance between the parties. Moreover, the Government should not forget that it has taken them one month to issue a denial after the

facts were placed before them. Naturally the non-official agencies which approached the Government would require as much time to present their case, seeing the mischief of the Defence of India Rules and Government's declared opposition to inquiries. The Central Provinces in relying on the officers in charge for repudiating the charges against the military, is placing a heavy strain on public goodwill. If the conduct of the police and military is clear, we cannot understand why an inquiry should lead to vilification. The C. P. Government places a new time-bar on complaints when it remarks that the Chanda complaints were not made to officials for a month. The communique itself reveals that the channels of complaint and obtaining redress of grievances are not utilised by the public. Is it so hard to believe that one reason is want of confidence? The question is, Is Government concerned with restoring public confidence and with providing the public with the machinery for relief against excesses, or is it occupied with exonerating without enquiry the acts of the armed forces at its disposal? We do not think that inquiries into Chanda and other incidents can be indefinitely avoided. But the failure to do so now in the hope that the grievances will die out if they are denied a proper mode of expression, is a tragic mistake. The absence of any news in the press about Chanda during these two months gave rise to all manner of stories which grew in the telling. The absence of an inquiry and the persistent refusal to concede the demand for one create a fertile field for a fresh crop of rumour.

"SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR PUERTO RICO."

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

In your issue of October 17, you advise the British Government to appoint an Indian as Viceroy when next March Lord Linlithgow retires.

In this connection I beg to draw the attention of the public to the following Editorial Note published in the *New Republic* (New York) of July 18 which arrived here last week. The *New Republic* editorially writes :

"On page 51 of this issue Governor Tugwell of Puerto Rico reports on recent progress in that territory. Since then, he has made a further suggestion, through other quarters, that is of substantial importance. It is that the next Governor of Puerto Rico might well be a native of the island, elected by the Puerto Rico Legislature; instead of being appointed from Washington. Here is a proposal that fits in admirably with the trend of the times. Put into effect, it would be further concrete evidence that we are really fighting a war for democracy and not just coining a convenient slogan, to be forgotten as soon as the struggle is ended."

Just as this American Governor has suggested to President Roosevelt to appoint a native to succeed him as Governor of Puerto Rico and not an American, even so Lord Linlithgow should advise the British Government to appoint an Indian as next Viceroy instead of an Englishman.

Bombay, }
October 19, 1942. }

Yours etc.,
J.

A BANDRA DIARY.

Mr. Amery and others have taken advantage of the word "rebellion" in Gandhiji's annotation on the Wardha resolution, as they were fully entitled to do, if their object was only a dialectic victory. Rebellion is intimately associated with acts of violence — murder, arson, blind fury in every conceivable shape and form. That Gandhiji's 'rebellion' was non-violent, was not given as much prominence as it ought to have been. It has, therefore, been possible with much plausibility to relate the outbreak of violence which followed the session of the All India Congress Committee, to its resolution as effect to cause. A little reflection, however, shows that Gandhiji used the word 'rebellion' in a legalistic and not in a political sense. His training as a lawyer has throughout his political career been his greatest handicap. Non-violent rebellion is a contradiction in terms. It is an impossibility. When radical changes are made in a system of government without violence, it is a bloodless revolution, the special contribution of English genius to political technique. Gandhiji should, therefore, have used the word revolution, and not rebellion, to explain precisely the Congress objective. Englishmen could in the light of their own history find no difficulty in conceiving of a revolution which has no element of violence in it. Revolution was the appropriate word to bring out the fact that what was aimed at is a change of system and the establishment of self-government on the principles historically and traditionally associated with the English people. Moreover, "revolution" would have brought India in line with the ideology of the United States, Soviet Russia, and Republican China, all children of Revolution. While, however, Gandhiji's inexact and hasty choice of a word, gave a handle to reactionary elements in Government, notwithstanding its majority of Indian members, it did not and does not absolve British statesmen from the duty of interpreting Indian political developments in the light of their own history and political philosophy. They cannot leave this duty to be discharged by British officials trained in the school of bureaucracy. Revolution, wrote Trotsky, gets on the nerves before it gets on the streets. The right way of meeting it is to stop it from getting on the nerves, and not doing everything possible to get it on the nerves and adopting thereafter measures to prevent it getting on to the streets which is what is being done.

It is high time that the word "Democracy" was discarded as denoting the ideal form of government. To begin with, it has an inextricable association with the counting of heads as a means of deciding on policies. This method is not applied in any other sphere of life. No one will suggest that a mathematical, social or religious question can be solved by counting heads. The introduction of the ballot box in family affairs will spell disruption. Politics, if not an exact science like mathematics, is a social science, and must be treated as one. In the minds of thinking men Democracy has outgrown the crude conception of majority rule and has acquired moral contents not amenable to majority decisions. In the valuable Information Service of the Federal Council of Churches in America, the views of more than twenty recent writers of note are summarised. Not one of them gives prominence to the majority concept as an essential ingredient of democracy. Some of them equate it with Christianity which certainly is not based on the majority principle. When Pilate asked the crowd whether he should release Jesus Christ or Barrabas on the Pentecost day, the overwhelming majority voted for Barrabas.

These authorities who read into democracy all the Christian virtues, therefore, leave out the majority method inherent in it. Others while not identifying Democracy with Christianity, imply that democracy pre-supposes a moral world and is "more interested in spiritual maturity than it is in the perfection of the social arrangement itself." Others yet, without co-relating democracy to religion, define it as having for its foundation reverence for human personality. Those writers who make a reference to the majority right, do so apologetically and almost shamefacedly. The new ideal, therefore, should definitely turn its back on the counting of heads. The ballot box should no longer figure as the Divinity in politics. The second reason why Democracy as now understood and practised must no longer control men's outlook, is that, faced by the totalitarian enemy, it has to transform itself to totalitarianism giving up democracy as being incapable of defending itself. An organism which is without faith in its own capacity, lacks vitality. Thirdly, and most important of all, democracy, as practised by the nations regarded as its most authoritative exponents, has completely failed to overcome colour and race prejudices and, indeed, it is the soil in which these prejudices have thriven and grown into a menace to human solidarity. British Democracy is racial domination over the overwhelming majority of British subjects by a small minority born in a corner of the Commonwealth. The Dominions barefacedly exclude coloured British subjects from their citizenship. South Africa is reckoned a Democracy? In the United States the Negro population is treated with scant regard to democratic principles. What the world wants is a system of government which helps the growth of each individual to the full height of his physical, moral, intellectual and spiritual stature. That Democracy has flagrantly failed to be,

* * *

No State or Society ever collapsed under external attack unless it had become previously rotten within. Persia, Rome, Turkey, Russia, China are standing proofs. A State is not a machine. It is an organism, a living, breathing one. It has a soul. This organism lives and thrives so long as it fulfils its world purpose, its cosmic function. When it ceases to be true to its highest self, it decays inwardly and dies out, and from its ashes rises a new organism to carry on the mission which it forfeited by its disloyalty to its ideals. When a State is rotten ripe, comes a whiff of wind from abroad and blows it out of existence. Or it lingers on until an internal revolution sweeps it into the rubbish heap. The Russian Revolution has produced studies of the rise and fall of a great empire written with detachment with reference to the forces at work rather than to the personalities. History is here written as it should be as the unfolding of cause and effect with but a slight reference to its human instruments. E. Strauss's "Soviet Russia" with its sub-title "Anatomy of a Social History" (John Lane; 12s. 6d.) is a book which every political leader and administrator should study. "The main theme, the transformation of the Soviet Party into a bureaucratic and shortsighted dictatorship," says the notice on the cover page, "is constantly developed and the general conclusions are backed by a detailed analysis of the facts." Tsarism was overthrown but bureaucracy persisted. The technique of the bureaucracy of goading the people into violence and afterwards invoking the paramount claims of "Law and Order" is exposed with remorseless fidelity. Mr. Strauss is no admirer of bureaucracy. The alliance of mutual defence between the bureaucracy

and the Army and the Police, constituted a tyranny which was more hard to bear than that of the Tsar. Strauss again and again contrasts the repressive energy of the bureaucracy with its utter inefficiency as an organ of social amelioration. Much of the romance of Revolution is destroyed by the careful marshalling of facts by Strauss. The book was written before the present war with Germany. When the War broke out it was still in the Press. The author avails himself of this interval to add a single page in which he asks the reader to obliterate all the impressions formed from the body of the work, from his mind. The central problem of Soviet Russia, he observe in his introduction, is the transformation of a movement inspired by a great ideal into the narrow-minded, self-centred and shortsighted regime of today. Mr. Strauss clearly did not expect Soviet Russia to make the strong defence against Nazi Germany which she is making. The single-minded devotion of the government and people has surprised him as it has many others.

RECLUSE.

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

(Copyright.)

MARCH 6, 1933.

Today, at lunch at Nara Hotel, there was no table for less than eight and neither Mr. Shaw nor I could secure an isolated table; when I entered the room, I saw him seated at the edge of a table, with his guide opposite; and I decided to sit at the edge of another table keeping Mr. Shaw in view. I wished to see how he would get on with the table and the table get on with him. It was splendid. I found Mr. Shaw excitedly thumping the table, his face red as with champagne, laughing, now addressing two American ladies alongside of him, now two English ladies opposite to him, and all laughing with him. One of the English ladies was Miss Pearson, different from the one you know—there are three Miss Pearsons on the ship.

At Kyoto, he motored about with a guide; Mrs. Lawrie and I, who were sightseeing at Kyoto in double harness, were leaving the Temple of a Thousand Images, when Mr. Shaw entered it. That made the place the Temple of 1001 Images, acquiring the distinction of 1,001 Nights or 1,001 names of the Supreme Being. At Nara, he did not go out. After lunch, as he was going out, he passed me struggling with an apple and had the grace to fling to me a recognition. We saw a Dance at one Temple, had a theatrical performance at the Nara Hotel, at tea. The walks through the parks of Temples were a delight and charm.

Matters do not go always smoothly between Miss Pearson and Mr. Shaw and she feels his supposed shortcomings on such occasions, but Mr. Shaw always wins her back by a little recognition and then he is again sweet and a dear. Not improbably he wishes she would be more restrained in her demonstrations of appreciation. Miss Pearson told me that at a picture show she led a cheer [for Mr. Shaw?] but no one followed her lead. She thought he must be very unpopular on the ship. Next day, Mr. Shaw occupied his chair without so much as a good morning; he looked cold, and Miss Pearson offered to warm him with one of her rugs. He declined, said he had his own down in his cabin if he wanted.

A passenger who is a photographer came along and asked, "Mr. Shaw, are you busy?" G. B. S. replied huffily, "I am always busy! "May I photograph you?" and G. B. S. was photographed,

but there was no recognition or encouragement for the young man. 'Smile,' said Miss Pearson but no effect.

Miss Pearson could not understand G. B. S. He is not so busy, he does not work more than three hours of a morning; he spends more time on some ordinary novel. He might have done the service to the young man of advancing him in his profession by letting him exhibit his photo of G. B. S. Now why does he do such things?

Her father was even more intellectual and important; but not self-important? She remembers an occasion when her father, busy with an invention, asked her to interview a young man down and out, whose only chance in life was to persuade father that something which he had on, had merit in his eyes. When Miss Pearson returned from the inventor, father said, "Well, Baby, what cheer do you bring?" She told the story. He gave up work, had an hour with the young man and all Miss Pearson saw was a pat to cheer up the youth. Mr. Pearson told Baby there was nothing in the invention. I could not tell her that G. B. S.'s ways are also a service; that to be goody-goody is not the only way of being good. Nor could I point out that the cheer which she had led without response might have exasperated G. B. S. into the huff she felt so unaccountable.

Miss Pearson had once told me that she had been insulted by an American who called her G. B. S.'s care-taker. But I found from what Mr. Eaton told me that there was another side to it. Mr. Eaton goes up to G. B. S. and Miss Pearson kept so butting in, he turned on her and asked if she was Mr. Shaw's chamber-maid or nurse. He did not want Mr. Shaw's remarks from other lips than his own. I felt that this might be strong language but the sense was fair.

MARCH 7, 1933.

Yokohama.

The afternoon excursion was by motor to the Kamakura Buddha, going one way, returning another. The statue is remarkable for size and meditative expression and for its setting which the season would not have permitted us to admire even without the slush and cold special to Japan today.

The papers give yet another interview with Shaw; he is plain-spoken, does not care a tuppence for Japan; declares Russia to be the only earthly paradise, Italy tumbling after; rejoices that American banks, being private concerns, have come to ruin, and predicts that Parliamentary Government in England, Japan, Germany or U. S. can only end in talk; but the news is very serious. Hitler has won the elections, there is martial law at Peking which fears being looted by the defeated Chinese Army; Japan need not worry about the embargo on arms—she manufactures her own; China which does not, must suffer—the banking crisis in the U. S. A. threatens reactions in Japan and elsewhere if the U. S. are forced off gold. The credits in America estimated at 40 thousand millions sterling, are sustained by two thousand millions of currency supported by one thousand million of gold.

In the excursion to Kamakura, I made the acquaintance of Dr. and Mrs. Porges. He is a famous surgeon at Marienbad, a Czech; she is English. They joined the ship at Monaco and are getting off at Frisco. Dr. Porges is a great admirer of Sir Leonard Hill and J. B. S. Haldane. I happened to allude to Hill's experiments with oxygenator for climbers of Mt. Everest, and Dr. Porges said he deplored the loss of life for a useless object. I declared that no fact or knowledge is useless in itself, the apparent uselessness arises from our inability to

use; King Bruce could win a lost throne by observing the spider-and-fly business which seemed so useless to observe to everybody else.

MARCH 8, 1933.

I stumbled today into another piece of luck, as I had stumbled into Dr. and Mrs. Porges yesterday. I was put into a car alone with a continental lady to proceed from ship to Railway Station to bring us to Niko. It was a short drive, and I determined to keep her entertained, doing myself all the talk. I gathered that she had joined the ship only yesterday, and is to get off at 'Frisco, that she had travelled far, that she had been at Kapurthala and Patiala, knew Parsis and Towers of Silence. So I said I am a Parsi, that I bear the most interesting of names, that the Turkish Pasha and the Shaw of Persia are only my abbreviations, that I am their original and larger than they, that Englishmen pronounce me Pad-Shaw, that Arabs and Chinamen call me Badshah, which, Englished, would be Bad-Shaw.

In the train she occupied a two-seated bench and indicated that I should sit by her side, which I did, I fear, with ill grace. And I asked whom I was addressing—the name that came out was Princess De Ligne. Scott in High Heaven! I burst out; I thought she had come and gone! There she was, and expressed a wish to discuss the latest news—Shaw, Roosevelt's embargo on gold and dictatorial powers, Hitler's triumph. She took my paper to read and then one of the *Spectators*! I kept reading the other, showed her the statement that there is more religious enthusiasm among men than among women in England, proved by the new Oxford Movement. She asked my religion; the answer was, Zoroastrian by birth, Unbelief by intellect. She is a devout Roman Catholic and from Belgium. I gave her the *Spectator* review on "China Now;" then she asked me to help her in buying pearls—a task I passed on to Mrs. Jebb whom I introduced.

MARCH 9, 1933.

I asked Mrs. Bradie to read the morning paper and the *Shaviana* in it—the flight over Peking in Marshal Chang's own plane, the same Marshal who lost the battle at Jehol; the meeting with a Chinese savant; the discussions with the Japanese Labour leader; the interview with the aged Premier of Japan (72). Pressmen nor anybody were present at this interview. The door was closed; all there is to tell about it is the loud guffaws heard on the outside. But there is no escaping Shaw; today's evening paper has a review of yesterday's appreciation of G. B. S.

The distribution of ages on the ship: 10-20, 18; 20-30, 37; 30-40, 34; 40-50, 50; 50-60, 37; 60-70, 47; 70-80, 23; more than a half of us being above 50 and about 24% above 60.

MARCH 10, 1933.

Mr. Leonard passed on to me a magazine of which I had not heard, the *China Digest*, and called my attention (1) to an interview with Mr. Matsuoku (Japanese envoy extraordinary to the League of Nations) where the claim has been made of 'Japanism,' Japan's service to China and the world by offering to prepare Manchukuo to lead a spiritual mission to Asia and the West, and the prospect of the world righting itself under a Messiah born in Japan; (2) to an interview with Lord Lytton which I have not completed reading; (3) to an article on 'Technocraze' which does not carry matters forwarder.

Mr. Eaton and M. Marois broke in upon my solitary corner where I was starting on the History of Mathematics and gave me a good talk. M. Marois is apparently thinking out a book on his travels; he is being a philosopher, and admires Japanese civilization for its defiance of Europe and America, and procuring so much happiness. Men and women

and guides, geishas, temple priests, waitresses—all are smiling or laughing. I told him of the Japanese Consul in Bombay, reporting to me the death of a mutual friend, declared it with a giggle. Apparently, it is a convention that Japanese gentle-borns must not lament or grieve in public. The smile is not a symptom of happiness but a safeguard against breakdown with grief. The Japanese rickshawman earns 6ds. a day, as the Chinese gets 7½ ds. Mr. Shaw has exposed the suffering behind the closed doors of Osaka cotton mills. If silent suffering be the goal, then pigs and boards are the happiest. Both M. Marois and Mr. Eaton declared confidence that neither they nor the bankers on the ship worry about the situation; but alone M. Marois expressed nervousness.

Dr. Breuss reaffirmed American suspicion of a democratic President, and attributed German unrest to the determination not to be kept down by France. A Japanese editorial traces to Calvin Coolidge's optimism, prosperity slogan and belief in Mass Production and American conquest of Poverty, the present debacle. By delaying close-down of weak firms and stimulating speculation, he aggravated the catastrophe when it came.

Mr. Eaton gives another account. Speculation arose from the American Profit-tax. If a man sold bonds, he was obliged to pay 56% of profits in tax. Sellers, therefore, hold off till buyers were willing to give required profit plus tax. Buyers were stimulated, prices soared, hence the boom and the debacle.

MR. ELWIN'S INTERVIEW.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

Had you taken the trouble to write to me—and as an old friend I might have expected that privilege—to ask whether I had been correctly reported, you might have saved yourself the trouble of reading me a curtain lecture on how I should bring up my child. I have never stated that I was not a Christian, still less that I would educate young Jawaharlal as a Hindu.

Gorakhpur; }
October 8, 1942. }

Yours etc.,
VERRIER ELWIN

Writing in the *Bombay Chronicle*, on October 21, "Dim" (Mr. D. F. Karaka) observes:

"A Christian friend has written asking if I really got Verrier Elwin correctly. I looked back at the file and also read the reference to the article which appeared in the *Indian Social Reformer*. Probably I did not make myself clear but Elwin has certainly made me understand that on the religious question, Jawaharlal, his son was to grow up without any religious, communal or theological bias. If he wanted a religion later in life, he would be free to choose. I also did not mention it in the article but I understand that the Mahatma has also given his entire approval to this idea. About being brought up "as an Indian—as a Hindu," I think I should have clarified, even as Elwin clarified it for me, that that referred to living conditions, which are bound to be as Elwin himself lives in the middle of India in a little hut where there is not a sign of European life for miles. I am rather surprised, that anyone should have confused "living conditions" with religion. I also know Elwin's idea of "being a Christian." Verrier believes that it is not what we call ourselves that matters, but what we are worthy to be called. Is he really fit to claim the high name of Christian? That is the sort of doubt that Elwin experiences. It would be a good thing if many others experienced similar doubts. "Now about the bit appearing in

The Indian Social Reformer. I think the reference to Elwin's wife in this paper is offensive. I hardly expected such a discourteous statement from a paper controlled by the Natarajan family. The sentence I refer to read as follows: 'Elwin is now the actual father of a son presented to him by the Gond lady whom he married as part of his mission to the aborigines of her tribe.' Mr. Natarajan, this little bit in 'A Bandra Diary' is in very bad taste. In a paper that calls itself "The Indian Social Reformer" it stinks."

THE SIND CRISIS.

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah who had agreed to form a Cabinet on the dismissal of Mr. Allah Bux, is not finding it as easy a task as he had hoped it would be. A protest has been sent by Mr. M. A. Jinnah against the decision of the Sind Muslim League to co-operate with Sir Ghulam on the one hand, while on the other the Hindu party whose support Sir Ghulam had counted on, has asked for assurances that there will be no discrimination against the Hindus and that the campaign against the Hurs will be carried on without relaxing. Both these conditions are very curious and the refusal of the League Party to accept them makes the position even more strange. The Governor is generally expected to exercise his powers for preventing communal discrimination and, as for the Hurs, the declaration of martial law took the measures out of the hands of the provincial administration. The fear that the Governor will suspend the constitution and reduce Sind to the same state as the eight provinces where the Congress held office, is driving Sir Ghulam Hussain to strenuous efforts to bring together incompatibles in Sind, and through Sind to make his peace with Mr. Jinnah. But the terrors of Governor's administration are not as great now we have experienced them, as they were in 1939. Besides Sind, according to general report, is half under martial law and the other half in flood. Sir Hugh Dow perhaps feels that the small remaining area can be run ideally on I. C. S. lines and he should be given the opportunity. Sir Ghulam Hussain's problem has been solved by two Hindu leaders resigning from their party and accepting office under him.

MR. MUNSHI'S PILGRIMAGE OF IDEAS.

A message issued shortly after Mr. K. M. Munshi's return from Delhi stated that Mr. Munshi had declared his intention to give up all his agitation for Akhand Hindustan, if permanent peace could be arrived at with the Muslims. His words did not leave any room for doubt that his anxiety for a solution extended even to acceptance of Pakistan. He asked for a clarification of Mr. Jinnah's demands. Mr. Jinnah has never shown any great anxiety to discuss the details and he has always declared against the futility of disclosing his ideas unless the general proposition is accepted. There can be no great faith in these sudden conversions. It would be well if those who favour Pakistan, whether Hindus or Muslims, sat down and discussed among themselves what would be the position of Hindus in Pakistan and of Muslims in Hindu India. If the enthusiasts are prepared to envisage the possibility of the two communities being regarded as societies of aliens with no citizenship rights in the State they live in, and the possibility of an exchange of populations between the two States in the next fifty years, they can go ahead with working out a scheme. But I greatly doubt whether they could agree on this. There is considerable opposition to

exchange of populations which is mistakenly regarded as a Hitler innovation. As a matter of fact the first organised exchange was between the Greeks and the Turks under the League of Nations auspices. The mental reactions of even the wildest propagandist of Pakistan when faced with the eventuality of shifting his roots, must reveal how illusory the agitation is. It is strange that it has caught the imagination of the intellectuals of the Congress like Mr. Rajagopalachari and Mr. Munshi. Is it because the intellectual in politics is always on the look out for peace at any compromise?

V.

'THE PRESS AND THE GOVERNMENT.

There have been two outstanding pronouncements on the position of the press, one by Mr. B. G. Horniman at a meeting in Bombay and the other by Mr. W. J. Haley, Managing-Director of the *Manchester Guardian* in Britain. Both emphasized the need for truth in news and pressed for the fullest freedom from State interference. Mr. Haley was able to speak more on the positive aspect of the question while Mr. Horniman necessarily dealt with the restrictions which the Press in India laboured under. Even Mr. Horniman's survey, vigorous as it was and uncompromising in its stand for freedom, failed to do justice to the Defence of India Rules which, owing probably to their volume, have escaped the attention of most public men. For instance the head, "information useful to the enemy," which Mr. Horniman declared was acceptable to the Press as a category for censorship in war time, goes very far. It may under a strict interpretation be extended to cover failure of crops, floods, communal riots, dacoity, strikes anywhere and famines. With bureaucratic ingenuity it may be even applied to the normal pursuits of law-abiding citizens. The All India Newspaper Editors' Conference knew the implications of the position when it worked out a scheme of consultative machinery. It recognised for its part limitations on the freedom of the press and expected Government to correspondingly accept restrictions on its capacity for mischief. The difference between the press in Britain and the press in India lies there. Government, however, do not seem to appreciate either this attitude or the difference between a wooden bureaucracy and a responsive popular government. Their unconscionable delay in replying to the demand of the plenary session of the A. I. N. E. C. shows that the old policy of evasive answers is being carried out. If this is so, the Conference should for its part adopt the English precedent. What that is is shown in the following extract:

National Union of Journalists Conference, at Leeds (opening on April 2nd, 1942) devoted a large part of its discussions to the freedom of the press and passed important resolutions: (1) A resolution asking the Government to remove the ban on the *Daily Worker*; (2) a resolution emphatically rejecting the proposal by Mr. Morrison for a representative tribunal from the newspaper profession to control irresponsible newspapers and journalists, stating "a body of this character could easily become a most dangerous agency for the suppression of legitimate opinion;" (3) a resolution on the *Daily Mirror* case, stating that the warning of possible action under Regulation 2 D endangered freedom of criticism, and suggesting that proceedings ought if necessary to be taken under Regulation 2 C through the courts; (4) a resolution condemning proposals for the compulsory merging of newspapers, stating this would be "playing Hitler's game."

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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.

Anarchists Pure and Simple:—Mr. Rajgopalacharya paid the perpetrators of crimes such as wrecking railways, burning down Post Offices and Police Stations, cutting telegraph and telephone wires and electric cables, an utterly undeserved compliment when he told them that such actions will not bring freedom to the country. Men who indulge in such reckless violence which endangers the lives of innocent men and women and paralyses national life, have no aims at all except that of destruction pure and simple. There are anarchists who think, if they think of the consequences of their acts at all, that merely by destroying existing institutions they help the emergence of new institutions more suited to their anarchic sentiments. There was such a group in Russia working for the destruction not only of Tsarism but also of the Provisional Government, which supplanted the Tsarist Government and also the Soviet Government in the early years of its existence. There is probably a similar group in this country also. Apart from it, the party of revolutionary violence which made its first appearance during the Partition agitation and became active again on the passing of the Rowlatt Act, and which Gandhiji countered by inaugurating the non-cooperation movement with its constructive programme, has never altogether disappeared. The arrest of Gandhiji and the proclamation of the Congress to be an unlawful association, gave it a fresh opportunity. Several Congressmen who never sincerely believed in Gandhiji's non-violence, might also have drifted into the group. The Duke of Devonshire said that there was no evidence whatever that enemy propaganda was at work in India and he doubtless knew what he was saying. The Japanese would be mortified to know that their broadcasts have had no effect on Indian opinion. Some provincial Governments had even authorised their officers to confiscate radio sets on the

ground that they were regularly being used for suspected of being used to hear enemy broadcasts. As the Duke maintained that Government had ample evidence proving the complicity of the Congress with the crimes which followed on its declaration to be an unlawful body, Government would be relieving themselves of the odium of keeping innocent men in detention without trial in violation of the elementary principles of British jurisprudence, by placing these men on trial. A special tribunal composed of three eminent Judges, one American, one British and one Indian, will inspire public confidence.

Lord Linlithgow's Successor:—Speculation regarding Lord Linlithgow's successor is becoming acute. The Duke of Devonshire is the latest named among the probables. The Duke has not given proof of remarkable capacity as Under-Secretary of State for India. On the one occasion when he ventured to travel out of routine commonplaces in a speech at an English provincial university, he was promptly repudiated. Another incident in his career at the India Office was his mistake as to the number of Indians enlisted in the Army which he told the House of Lords was two millions. A day or two after he had to correct his figure which was about half that number. In his last speech he justified Lord Samuel's rebuke about repeating parrot-like statements about India. The Duke showed his bias by describing the Hindu Mahasabha as the "other" Hindu political organisation implying his acceptance of Mr. Jinnah's idea of the Congress as a Hindu political organisation. The Congress was from the first a national and not a communal organisation, that is, it dealt only with national and political questions to the exclusion of social and religious questions which were expressly excluded in order to make the Congress platform common to all creeds and castes. The Hindus being an overwhelming majority of the Indian population are naturally a majority of Congressmen but that does not make the Congress a Hindu body any more than the fact that a considerable proportion of Government servants are Hindus makes the Government a Hindu Government. The Duke has no particular qualifications for the Viceroyalty of India. His being a Duke may lend a certain glamour to British Society in New Delhi but that would have no influence whatever on the course of politics. Whether they send the

Duke or Sir Samuel Hoare, it is all the same to India. The only nomination that may have some effect as a political event is the appointment of an Indian. Since first making the suggestion three weeks back we have been warned that experience shows that an Indian will be no improvement, may, indeed, be a fresh impediment to Indian progress. We can not deny the force of the warning. As for Lord Linlithgow, his regime has, indeed, been a tragic failure. Starting with an unusual amount of goodwill on the part of the people of India of all classes, His Excellency was overwhelmed by the responsibilities of the War and has shown himself incapable of decisions until they were forced on him by circumstances beyond his control. Divergent reports of his treatment of his Expanded Council make it difficult to form a correct estimate of his influence as a progressive Viceroy. He has been unable to control provincial governors and induce them to follow a policy in keeping with that recommended by his Government. Nearly all the Civilian-governed provinces have been openly flouting the authority of the Central Government and fanning the flame of discontent in the country. Of his goodwill towards the Indian people there can be no question. That is, indeed, what makes the failure of his career in India a tragedy.

Indian Councillors:—Whether we take the original or the corrected version of Mr. Amery's reasons for not appointing Indians to the charge of the Home, Finance and Defence Departments, it must be plain to the most obtuse intelligence that Mr. Amery at least has no great opinion of the capacity of the Indian members of the Executive Council, past, present and future. According to the first version, the Secretary of State said that no competent Indians were available for these Departments. Sir George Schuster who himself had held the Finance portfolio, told the House of Commons not long ago that it is ridiculous to say that there were no Indians capable of filling the post. On the ground that Mr. Amery had been misreported, a corrected version was despatched to the Indian Press the next day. In this Mr. Amery said that the present Members in these departments were there not because they were white men but because they helped to maintain continuity. Indians may be excused if they infer that the real reason why Finance should be in the hands of an English member is that Indian finance is administered more as a political than as a fiscal subject as also is the Department for the preservation of law and order. The Police is the bodyguard of the bureaucracy.

Sind Political Melodrama:—The Cabinet system of Government is undergoing transformations in keeping with the special conditions of public life in Sind, which should astonish students of politics. The dismissal of Prime Minister Allah Baksh by the Governor with as little ceremony as if he were a personal retainer of Sir Hugh Dow, was a unique development of

constitutionalism. We have always maintained that conventions can not grow up in the conditions prevailing in British India and that the analogy of Britain does not apply to them. The action of the Sind Governor is concrete and conclusive proof of our contention. The dismissal of his Chief, Allah Baksh, caused no constitutional disquiet in Sir Ghulam Hussain, Home Minister in the Allah Baksh Ministry. Indeed, he seems to have regarded it as his duty to step into the vacant place and to negotiate with the Opposition to form a new Ministry. After two days of suspense he succeeded in inducing two members of the Muslim League, which he had quitted four years ago, to join him. Another two days were spent in securing two Hindus, one of whom had resigned with Allah Baksh. A day after completing his Cabinet, Sir Ghulam Hussein took his colleagues by surprise—according to one version—by announcing that he has joined or was about to rejoin the Muslim League. There seems to be some doubt as to whether the Muslim League is likely to welcome him back. An interesting interlude is that the two members of the Muslim League who have joined Sir Ghulam Hussein's Cabinet, did so contrary to the instructions of the League President, Mr. Jinnah. The separation of Sind from Bombay was decided against competent opinion for political reasons. There has been no peace in the sub-province since its constitution into an autonomous province. Nothing that may happen in that province will cause surprise. Joining the Muslim League, in Sir Ghulam Hussein's case, means swallowing all his objections to communal electorates and Pakistan. The reason given by Sir Ghulam Hussein for his *volte face* is in keeping with the rest of this melodrama. It is that the houses of his two Hindu colleagues were picketed by some students. That these students were Hindus is, according to one of the Hindu Ministers, conclusive proof that the Congress is a Hindu organisation!

Dr. Moonje's Rejoinder:—In a reasoned reply to the C. P. Government's communique on the Chimur incidents on which we commented last week, Dr. B. S. Moonje, the Hindu Mahasabha leader, who was practically charged with instigating the charges of rape and assault against the military, has shattered the stand taken therein. Dr. Moonje refutes the official allegation that the rape charges were put up to divert attention from the "heinous crimes against policemen committed in Chimur." He points out that "more officials were killed at Ashti and Government buildings were also burnt at Ramatek" but in the two latter places there had been no accusation against soldiers. Dr. Moonje roundly charges the civil authorities at Chimur with failure to keep control over the British troops at Chimur as they did over the Indian troops at Ashti. Dr. Moonje's position since the outbreak of war has been one which should make him immune from the suspi-

cion of countenancing a false case against the military. He has not only supported the war effort but he has been stumping the country along with other Hindu Sabha leaders to secure widespread recruitment. That the C. P. Government should have trumped up a frivolous charge against him must be set down to the official habit of distrusting all Indian public men. Dr. Moonje's reply proves more than a case for inquiry; it proves the necessity for the Government of India intervening to remedy the inept bungling of the C. P. Government.

The Atlantic Charter :—While Mr. Amery has been repeating what, in view of the clause relating to equal access to raw materials, is a palpable afterthought, that the President of the United States and the British Premier had in mind only Nazi over-run European countries in framing the Charter, the President told American pressmen this week that the Charter is of universal application and concerned all humanity. The only loophole left now is to maintain that India and her people are not a part of humanity and Mr. Amery is quite capable of maintaining that thesis. However that may be, as *The Reformer* has more than once pointed out, the Atlantic Charter favours the manufacturing countries at the expense of the agricultural countries. It tacitly assumes the continuance of the colonial system of European powers exploiting Asiatic and African peoples. The Charter will have to be radically amended in these respects before it can be accepted by non-European countries. All the same, President Roosevelt's belated correction of the British interpretation deserves respectful recognition.

Japanese Raids :—Early this week a curt communique was issued from New Delhi intimating that the Japanese had raided Chittagong and Northern Assam airfields and that the damage caused was slight. Nothing more has been heard about the raid on Chittagong. The Assam airfields are occupied by Americans and we have had full and detailed accounts of the dimensions of the raid, the losses caused, and the measures taken by way of reprisals. The two methods are in sharp contrast. The American method, of course, is calculated to inspire confidence. The contrast between the methods of the British and the American authorities to foster good understanding between their troops and the Indian people, is not less marked. Mention of and enquiry into excesses by the armed forces are severely discountenanced in the one case, while in the other active steps are taken, with an appreciable measure of success to promote friendly relations with Indians.

Lin Yutang on India :—The New Delhi correspondent of the *Hindu* has made available to readers of that newspaper an article by Mr. Lin Yutang, the well-known Chinese writer, in a new monthly magazine, "Free World." Mr. Lin Yutang reveals in his contribution a shrewd capacity for reading through the censorship. He

has shown how the official and semi-official propaganda launched abroad has defeated its purpose. In a notable passage he writes :

We have been feeding ourselves on anti-Hindu propaganda. We might accept for our peace of mind the fiction that the Congress is not representative of India, the lie that it does not include the Muslims, that Mr. Jinnah is very, very important, that the English are loved in India and everything is very pretty. ...It is a law of human nature that we must abuse those whom we must injure, to prove that we are injuring them for their own good. The injustices in India are exactly like the injustices in the American colonies and in Ireland of the past. Now that Americans have liberty, they forget what that little word means when a people have lost it. We are anxious about the freedom of Greece, Yugoslavia, or Occupied France; but we shut our eyes to the greatest single national movement for freedom in the world in India.Those who are clever at playing politics will by their indecision and narrow vision help to defeat the common war effort.

Mr. Lin Yutang sees clearly, as most other Chinese do, that the national movement in India has a close relation to the Chinese war with Japan. That he expresses it from New York, shows that there is a body of opinion in the U. S. A. which reacts similarly to the Indian situation.

Mrs. Roosevelt in London :—We noticed in *The Reformer* of September 5 an article by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt in the *New Republic* on race relations. In view of her present visit to England, readers will be interested in the second article on the same subject which she has contributed to that journal and which we reprint this week. Mrs. Roosevelt expresses her views in reviewing a book by the novelist, Pearl Buck. A point to be noted about Mrs. Roosevelt's writing is that she does not avoid the Negro question which, strangely, is being canvassed widely in Britain today, probably as a counterweight to American interest in Indian question. Even a writer like Critic in the *New Statesman* gives publicity to restrictions placed on non-White troops in certain British restaurants to placate Southern U. S. sentiment. And the need for a change of attitude on the part of American Whites is demanded, lest there be trouble between British and American forces! Mrs. Roosevelt's visit to Britain is not, so far as has been said, connected with India but she is not likely to suppress her views on the subject. She will speak, if not with the startling candour of her countryman, Mr. Wendell Willkie who has denounced American silence on India as a disgrace, nevertheless with some authority. There is a not unnatural opposition on the part of those responsible for the present muddle to any suggestion of intervention from outside. But this might well prove one of the crucial tests of all talk of setting up a new world order based on cooperation and inter-dependence. If the British Government are not prepared to have the leaders of the United Nations assist in a solution which they are not able to achieve by themselves, what chance is there of any sharing of material benefits after the war?

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, October 31, 1942.

IRAN AND ITS FUTURE.

The fifteen years of the Reza Shah regime in Iran which began with his crowning himself King in 1926 and ended with his abdication in favour of his son, Mohammad Reza Shah, in 1941, form an eventful period in the history of Iran—a period which stands out from the past and is vividly marked out from the future. Mr. L. P. Elwell-Sutton's "Modern Iran" (Routledge: 12s. 6d.) has provided the public with an illuminating picture of this reign. Mr. Sutton begins with a description of the people of Iran which does not agree with some of the popular notions regarding that country. He describes the Iranians as a people prone to hero-worship; eloquent and talkative but with very definite fighting qualities; autocratic rather than democratic; imitative and quick to learn, adaptable; religious with a tendency to look for a Messiah; and tradition-bound in the extreme. Against this background Reza Shah fits in as appropriately as Kemal Ataturk did among the Turks. Mr. Sutton observes that Reza Shah encouraged his people to look to the past, not so much the Islamic past, as the ancient Iran of Cyrus and Darius. He adds:

It is all part of his fervent nationalism, his determination to establish the independence of his country once and for all, and to admit no influence which might warp or submerge the true Iranian "soul." Iranian unity is cultivated, Communism, class antagonism and other disruptive ideas suppressed, and Islam is only permitted in so far as it is a unifying force.....The aim of the Shah is that the advantage of Western material progress shall be absorbed into and become a part of Iranian national life, and shall not be imposed upon it from outside.

The Shah's rule was guided by a passionate desire to avoid foreign intervention. In three important spheres this policy had been followed with consistency and had been fully worked out—the law, railways and foreign trade. Reza Shah replaced the *shariat* by the French Civil and Criminal Codes and, having modernised his country's laws, abolished the Capitulations under which foreigners were not subject to Iranian Courts. In 1939 a new Penal Code was adopted based on the Italian model. In the railways, Reza Shah adopted the standard gauge as had Turkey, as opposed to the broad gauge generally used in India and Russia or the narrow gauge of Iraq. The railway was of little use as a link in international transport but it connected the northern and southern provinces of Iran. Further Reza Shah did away with the need for foreign capital for financing the railway scheme by utilising taxes on sugar and tea. The project was completed in 1938 after eleven years at a cost of thirty million pounds. "Perhaps for the first time since the Middle Ages," writes Mr. Sutton, "a major undertaking was carried through in an Oriental country without leaving

it indebted to the financiers of the West." The two features of the system emphasising its complete nationalist conception, has provoked the opposition of Europe. As for foreign trade, the import of luxuries was restricted or even prohibited. It was also ensured that no goods may be imported without an equivalent quantity of exports. Mr. Sutton explains the system:

Anyone who wishes to export goods, requires a licence and must deposit the foreign currency obtained from the sale in the National Bank, where he will be credited with the equivalent in Iranian currency. At the same time the licence is endorsed to the effect that such an amount of foreign currency has been deposited, and it serves as a certificate authorising the purchase from the Bank of half that amount as payment for imports. Thus only half the foreign currency obtained for exports is available for the private purchase (under licence) of foreign goods; the other half goes into a Government sterling fund, and covers such expenditure abroad as the sending of students to Europe, for the army and railway construction.

The same nationalistic trend is seen in the educational and social policies of the regime. Unlike Turkey, Iran kept to the Arabic script and the use of Roman letters was forbidden even for European words. At the same time there is a conscious drive to omit foreign, and especially Arabic, words and to substitute them with Persian phrases. In legal, technical, scientific or commercial matters, new words are coined and, as their use in the press is compulsory, they soon gain currency. In education the greatest importance has been placed on medicine and industry; primary education is free and secondary education cheap. The education of women is encouraged and in essentials it follows the same curricula as the training for men. The Iranian Government has paid particular attention to sending students abroad mainly for technical education, though the Teheran University absorbs many who used in former years to be sent abroad. In social matters the Shah was vigorous and tolerated no half-measures in his zeal for reform in spite of the setback which Amanullah's experience in nearby Afghanistan caused to the progressive elements in Iran. Reza Shah for all his admiration for Kemal Ataturk differed from him in two important particulars—his great regard for tradition and the value he set on family life. Mr. Sutton observes that the Shah wished his family to be an exemplary Iranian family. With this outlook, reforms in social life, came with authority from him. The abolition of the *pardah* was enforced with characteristic vigour and women in veils were not allowed in shops, in conveyances or even on the streets. When *pardah* was banned, a sum of £25,000 was sanctioned to provide clothes for the poorer women. *Muta* (temporary) marriages and polygamy were frowned on and, though Reza Shah could not altogether forbid them, he enforced the registration of temporary marriages and placed restrictions on polygamy. The

bride was given the right to sue for divorce if the bridegroom did not disclose to her before the wedding the existence of other wives; a woman could seek the same relief if her husband married again without her consent. Medical fitness on both sides was made a necessary condition for marriage. Apparently Iran, like India, had to cope with child marriage; for Reza Shah fixed a minimum age of 17 years for men and 15 for women, allowing in special cases the limits of 15 and 13 respectively with the consent of the parents and guardians. In this sphere Mr. Sutton points out that education and propaganda, assiduously fostered by the State, had done much more than legislation. Thus the overpowering ideal has been the cultivation of a strong nation in every field of life, not excluding foreign influence but determining the extent and nature of that influence according to the needs of the people. The decision as to this rested entirely with Reza Shah. As Mr. Sutton remarks, "Reza Shah's ideas of government are democratic only in the sense that he wishes to give his people what he thinks is good for them (a tendency characteristic even of professed democrats); but once he has made up his mind, he is ruthless in seeing his decisions carried out. His punctuality and capacity for work are proverbial, and he has succeeded in inspiring feelings almost of terror in his subordinates of every rank." Mr. Sutton points out the difficulties of assessing the popularity of the regime because of the strict control over expression of opinion. Nevertheless he was led to observe that the regime would have withstood any attempts to dislodge it—on the part of the Nazis. That Reza Shah abdicated under foreign, Allied, pressure does not disprove the stability of his Government. The fact that his son has succeeded Reza Shah on the Iranian throne, shows that the dissident elements are still under check and that the Anglo-Russian forces now in Iran are seeking to disturb as little as possible existing conditions.

Coming to the war period, the reign of Reza Shah was first assailed on its basic policy of neutrality and nationalism. Sutton ascribes the first, German, infiltration to the success of propaganda and professions of friendship which were making headway against the unbending attitude of the British in Iran. When later the Russian and British Governments presented notes to the Iranian Government protesting against the large employment of Axis nationals, it was not easy to displace them from key positions. Besides Mr. Sutton feels that Iran was confident then of the Axis winning the war. She replied with an offer progressively to expel all foreigners in the country—"a project she had long cherished in the case of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company." The first cherished ideal of Reza Shah crashed to the ground when he abdicated. Mr. Sutton in a prefatory note gives the meaning of recent developments to the

national life of Iran and in the book itself he discusses the character of Reza Shah's successor. He writes:

The book had already gone to the press when the news was received of the abdication of Reza Shah Pehlavi in favour of his son, Mohammad Reza Shah Pehlavi. The situation is still obscure; but it is certain that any new regime that may be established, will have to conform in every respect to the ideas and methods of the Democratic Powers. It is to be hoped that Iran will produce statesmen capable of shouldering this new burden.

As yet Mohammad Reza Shah has had no opportunity to show his character or ability; he is perhaps not of the same forceful or constructive type as his father, but for that reason he may be better qualified to maintain the structure created by him.

Of the future Mr. Sutton naturally writes with hesitancy. He has two shrewd warnings that deserve to be recorded. He warns the United Nations that the military occupation though successful is not effective in itself; "later the people will begin to blame us (as they blamed their Government) for the hardships they will have to suffer." And he concludes with an appeal for cherishing the national aims of Iran—"they are the same as those of any other proud nation—the maintenance of her independence and unity." Mr. Sutton comments on the agitation caused in Turkey by the Russo-British domination of Iran and, curiously, suggests that Turkey cannot get over the idea that the Russian entry into Iran is part of a long-range German plan to encircle Turkey. He says that, since the collapse of Greece, Turkey has been leaning towards Germany. On a recent anniversary celebration, however, Turkish and Allied representatives exchanged cordial felicitations. Mr. Sutton's remark might be no more than an analogy drawn from Iran. But Russian resistance has changed conditions in the Middle East.

It is unfortunate that Mr. Sutton is unable to visualise the needs of Iran apart from the needs of the British Empire which he assumes will be the same after, as before, the present war. Iran's importance as a link with India and Australia is stressed repeatedly and the suggestion is thrown out that it might be necessary to build up an Arab federation composed of Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Transjordan with another bloc of Saudi Arabia, the Yemen, and the Aden, Hadhramaut and Gulf States; both of them to work along with a great combination of Egypt, Sudan, Cyrenaica; Tripoli, Tunis, Algeria and Morocco; and Turkey and Iran. The basis of such a collaboration is not made clear but Mr. Sutton is definite that it cannot be Pan-Islam ("it is not a good line in Iran—it has indeed little strength anywhere"). The purpose of this collaboration is that of securing economic and technical help without any political involvement and in a manner which will stop the competitive jealousies of the great powers. Can the traditional victims of exploitation prevent by combining what other resources have failed even to restrain? This is a point which interests India no less than the Near East.

A BANDRA DIARY.

If Christian civilization embodied the pure unadulterated precepts of Jesus Christ, I for one would not cavil at its being held up as the object of highest human endeavour. Indeed, I cannot do otherwise consistently with my conception of Hinduism. Hinduism goes all the way with all religions which are efforts of man to rise above his limitations. It does not exclude even animism. The precepts of Jesus are the expression of ethical principles evolved through the ages. Hammurabi's Code anticipated many of them. Jesus himself was more than a moral teacher. There are glimpses in the Gospels of the essentially cosmic outlook of Jesus, though, like Gautama Buddha, he adapted his teachings to the capacity and needs of his generation. Milk for babes, meat for strong men. Hinduism, on the other hand, puts the metaphysical basis of its moral scheme in the forefront, the cosmic source from which it derives its scheme of life. This, too, because the Hindu teachings were addressed primarily to students well grounded in philosophy. Hinduism, therefore, cannot conflict with any other religion. It accepts them all as equally worthy of reverence. A Hindu, it follows, can have no objection to any one defining his highest aim in life as the attainment of perfection as taught by Jesus Christ.

But Christian civilization today is far from being the embodiment of the teachings of Jesus. It may, indeed, be described as the negation of them. The Churches, as the American Poet, Lowell, observed, have killed the Christ. Christian dignitaries have been at considerable pains to prove that, though war as such is an abomination to the Christian, the present war should be regarded and treated as an exception.

The peculiarity of Christ was that he never admitted exceptions to his precepts. That is what makes the Gospels so attractive to the average man all the world over. That is what made Raja Ram Mohan Roy commend the Precepts of Jesus to his countrymen as best calculated to help them to raise themselves in the scale of nations. The Gospels condensed in a simple direct form the truths which are diffused in the wide range of Indian philosophy and religion.

Mr. Richard Law's explanation that the Christian principles which Lord Halifax and Sir Samuel Hoare had in mind when they claimed that this war had for its objective their preservation, included principles which would be acceptable to Muslims, atheists and "even rationalists." The proposition is more applicable to Hindus whom he did not mention—Hindus whom, for political reasons, British statesmen have tacitly agreed to ignore in the British Empire. If Mr. Amery would proclaim that the only and entire object of the present war is to preserve Indian culture and civilization, he will be complying with Mr. Rajagopalacharya's demand in his Calcutta speech, that something should be done to rouse the Indian imagination in order to enlist India's wholehearted and enthusiastic support for the war. This observation of the Madras leader goes nearer to the heart of the Indian problem than most other suggestion made by numerous others, Indian, British, American and Chinese, though Mr. Rajagopalacharya himself later in the same speech inconsistently asked Indians to trust the British even though the latter did not trust them. The inconsistency is in combining Imagination and Will in a single recipe for curing British Indian dis-temper. Imagination and Will are conflicting forces. Their conflict has been reduced to a mathematical

formula by Baudouin in his illuminating study of the psychology of auto-suggestion:

When the will and the imagination are at war, the imagination invariably carries the day. In the conflict between the will and the imagination, the force of the imagination is in direct ratio to the square of the will.

The effort of the Will, according to what Baudouin calls "the law of reverse," at a certain point turns its whole strength against the object for which it was initially exerted, unless sustained by a vivid imagination of the benefit desired. The person who merely wills to get rid of a bad habit, say, drink, finds his effort at a certain point reversed towards drink, unless he is borne onward on the wings of imagination picturing a happy home with smiling faces instead of the wretchedness and squalor of the drunkard's home, luring him towards his cherished object of endeavour. The great religious teachers knew of this law and embodied it in their teachings. Jesus Christ spoke of the unclean spirit returning to the home from which he was expelled and finding it empty, swept and garnished and inviting seven others to dwell in it, so that the last state of the home was worse than the first. The Bhagavad Gita also speaks of the precarious position of one who has controlled his senses without acquiring the habit of constant contemplation of the Supreme to fill his soul. Mr. Rajagopalacharya, when he calls upon his people to trust in the face of distrust, asks them to exert their will against their imagination formed out of experience. The human heart responds to trust with trust. To trust without being trusted is an emotional impossibility. You may pretend to trust a man who does not trust you, but more than that you can not do. What good will it be for Indians to pretend to trust the British when they can not trust them because there is no mutuality? The Madras leader, we are afraid, elevates political expediency to the level of a spiritual impulse.

The studies in the Sub-Conscious and especially the force of suggestion, originally directed towards curative ends, have a far wider application. Educational theories have been radically modified. The results of these researches have also an important bearing on politics and administration. Bureaucracy is often severely criticised—I have myself done so and will have to do so. But since bureaucracy as an instrument of government must exist in one form or another, it is worthwhile examining what is wrong with it. Bureaucracy, like fire and water, is a good servant but a bad master. Unless it is better educated as to the tendencies and capabilities of the human material with which it has to deal, it cannot be useful even as a servant. Last week I referred to Strauss's book on "Soviet Russia." The ideals of the Revolution were almost entirely vitiated by the bureaucratic instrument which the Bolshevik leaders took over from the Tsarist regime. Lenin himself sadly remarked that the regime was only the old Tsarist regime with a little Soviet oil. And even this little oil vanished shortly after him. The bureaucrat's defect is that he forgets that he is a human being and has to deal with human beings. His greatest and most disastrous mistake especially in this country where he is a stranger without much sympathy with and some contempt for the people, is his belief that the Police aided by the military can get anything and everything done. Prices rise as the result of his printing reams of notes. He meets the emergency by sending tradesmen to jail. This is one instance. Stanley Jones in his "Christ on the Indian Road" quotes an Anglo-Indian judge as having remarked to him that there was very little real crime in this country. The late Dewan Srinivasa

Raghava Aiyangar told me when he was on the Police Commission that there would be more happiness and contentment in the country if 75 or 80 per cent of the offences mostly petty were never investigated. Elphinstone's remark quoted in *The Reformer* some time back that, notwithstanding the deficient detective and punitive machinery of the Peishwas, it would be quite wrong to conclude that anarchy and violence were rife in their territory, is explained by the same circumstance. If this peaceful, law-abiding people have been converted as they are today into jail-seekers, the sole responsibility rests, according to every canon, with the bureaucracy which has been dominant for nearly a hundred years.

But it never accepts this responsibility. It is always the unfortunate man who ventures to protest against the bureaucratic perversity who is blamed and punished. And what is the result? Fear is an ephemeral motive. Some one has calculated that it cannot hold its sway over the human mind for more than ten minutes at a stretch. Actually its duration is much less:

For sudden the worst turns the best to the brave,
The black minute's at end,
And the elements' rage and the fiend voices
that rave,
Shall dwindle, shall blend,
Shall change, shall become first a peace out
of pain,
Then a light.

The bureaucracy does not know, and does not care to be loved by, the people. The few members who adopt the way of confidence and conciliation lose caste. As I read Strauss's book I can trace the parallel at nearly every step between the Russian bureaucracy from the time of the Tsars and our own bureaucracy. What is needed to make the bureaucrat sweet and helpful instead of stinking and harmful, is to make psychology, in its modern developments, a compulsory part of his preparation. Then he will learn that the easiest and pleasantest way of administering a people is to appeal to their imagination not to their fear. Make them feel that they are capable of great things. "To believe in the heroic makes heroes." I should say that this advice also applies to critics of the bureaucracy. We know from several instances that from its ranks have come some of the best friends of India. Hume, Wedderburn, Cotton are outstanding instances. A number of others have with less publicity but with no less sincerity served and are serving the national cause. To make the bureaucrat believe that he is capable of great things if he would only get out of the rut and apply his human heart to the facts and the people around him, is a surer way of improving his worth and value than keeping up a running fire of unrelieved vituperation.

RECLUSE.

WESTERN WAYS AND NATIONALISM.

Sir,—There have been times and occasions, without number, when some of our leaders, political, social and religious, have chosen to castigate what they call Western civilisation which, in their opinion, has been the cause of the ruin of this country. Several years back, there was a famous Kirtankar, whose Harikirtans were well-known in Gujerat. Unfortunately, he had got this complex and he always began his sermons or kirtans with ridicule of youngmen who had got the habit of shaving daily, who looked after their hair very carefully and who wanted soaps and oils for their daily toilet, etc. This sort of criticism is not unfamiliar even now.

But I was not prepared to read a homily by no less a man than Mr. K. M. Munshi on this subject. Speaking at a Delhi women's college, before the college girls, he spoke in the usual vein of these kirtankars and criticised the girls for their face powder, for the arrangement of their hair, for their lip-sticks, and last but not least for the English language which they were learning! This sort of playing to the gallery is a not uncommon feature in our public life and the easiest victims these leaders or kirtankars find for their homilies are poor students, whether male or female. Western civilisation has not led to the ruin of the country; but has led, in my opinion, to that passion for freedom, which has led to the political movement we see bursting forth time after time in the country and claiming independence for the Motherland. The English language has proved a uniting factor and has infused ideals of freedom and liberty which no vernacular language could have done. All our leaders, from Mahatma Gandhi downwards, have been the products of modern universities and English education has played no small part in their evolution, in the formation of their splendid character and in the fervour with which they have proclaimed the emancipation of the country. And yet, unfortunately, it has become a fashion to run down Western civilisation and the English language and ridicule poor boys and girls whose only fault is their love of beauty and their love of cleanliness. I should like to know how many of these leaders, both men and women, who castigate the students for their so-called aping the manners and customs of the West are themselves free from them. There is an article on "Students' Strikes" in the *Hindu* recently by Dr. R. Nagaraja Sharma, wherein the writer very pertinently criticises the present-day tendency of the leaders to make of the students their catspaws. He rightly says that if the politicians studied in their student-days and passed examinations, why should the present-day students not do likewise? If they secured certain academic equipment in their days, why are they trying now to distract the attention of students from like pursuits?

Mr. Munshi dwelt at length on Hindu-Muslim unity also and implies that the disunion between the Hindus and the Muslims had been due to the influx of Western civilisation and Western education. He gives an example of an incident in Indian history of a Moslem who got the co-operation of a Rajput friend, to fight against another Moslem who had kidnapped his sister. Both the friends were mortally wounded and the blood of the Muslim was trickling down to the Rajput friend lying near-by. The Muslim, actuated by a sense of courtesy, put up a small partition of sand to prevent his blood rushing to the other side which might offend the Rajput friend. The Rajput, however, said: "We were one in life; let us be united in death also." This was a noble sentiment, but, to my mind, it does not convey the lesson which Mr. Munshi considers it does. Mr. Munshi draws the moral that at that time there was no Hindu-Muslim disunity, while I say that even this little incident shows that even in those times there must have been this feeling of extreme disunion, as otherwise the Muslim would not have considered that this blood trickling down to the Rajput friend might offend his feelings!—Yours etc.

ISU DAS.

[It should be pointed out in fairness to Mr. Munshi that he was speaking to the girls of the Lady Irwin College. The *Kirtankar* was mobilising his conservative audience against stray dandies. Mr. Munshi was giving advice which though unpleasant had been sought by the very invitation to speak.—*Editor.*]

"PROHIBITED DEGREES" IN MARRIAGE—I.

(BY KOPERGAM RAMAMURTI, A.S.K.A.)

Persons who are eager to marry, are often blissfully unmindful of the insuperable obstacles set in their path by the law governing them. An experienced relation or friend, if given a chance to help as match-maker, would never be so foolhardy as to turn the blind-eye to the vexatious question of the prohibited degrees of kinship in marriage which must be met at the very threshold of his mission.

This point is forcibly brought home to one's mind by the recent case of Bijon Bala Mazumdar whose marriage with her mother's maternal aunt's son, Ranjit Lal Sen-Gupta, who stood related to her in popular parlance as maternal uncle, was declared null and void by a Special Bench of the Calcutta High Court. (Vide A. I. R. 1942 Cal. 458, S. B.)

The regret at such mishap becomes all the more when one reflects that the same kind of marriage, even with a bride who is the daughter of the bridegroom's own sister instead of being the daughter of his mother's niece, would have been held perfectly valid by the same High Court if the parties thereto had belonged to any of the South Indian Hindu communities, including Maharashtra. For among them a long course of social usage has made the marriage of a man with his sister's daughter or maternal uncle's daughter quite lawful, custom overriding the general shastraic law to the contrary. As observed by Dr. Sir Hari Singh Gour, in his Hindu Code, if all the precepts of the ancient lawgivers had any value, the number of prohibited relations would exceed 6,000 and, in certain circumstances, a man must indeed "be thrice-blessed if he can manage to secure a wife, let alone the ideal damsel of Manu's imagination." Even the single rule that Sapindas should not intermarry, excludes from eligibility no less than 2,100 relations as against the thirty relations with whom marriage is prohibited amongst the Christian nations. But the practical good sense of each community has from time to time quietly ignored, according to popular need, many prohibitions coming under strict shastraic rule, and thus established contrary customs of long-standing which the courts are bound to respect in preference to the written text of the law.

Whether there was Vedic support or not for marriages between first cousins, for instance, which are prohibited by present-day Hindu law, there is no doubt that, in the ancient times of the Mahabharata, at any rate, the prevailing popular sentiment even in Northern India seems to have favoured the South Indian view that the relationship between a boy and a girl whose parents are related to each other as brother and sister, is such as to create an indefeasible birth-right and natural claim to matrimony between them. This is exemplified by the famous episode of Prince Arjuna's marriage with his maternal uncle's daughter, Subhadra, with the hearty blessings of her aged parents and brother, Sri Krishna, and amidst the universal rejoicings of the populace. Even the stubborn opposition of her eldest brother, Balarama, was not on account of prohibited relationship. It was due simply to his personal preference of King Duryodhana as the more eligible suitor—because he was the ruler of an empire besides being his own *sikha* in the specialised military art of fighting with the mace. Balarama's similar preference in later years for Duryodhana's son as a desirable son-in-law and his equally obstinate and futile resistance to his daughter's marriage with Subhadra's

son, Abhimanyu, were likewise inspired by his partiality for a wealthy and powerful alliance, but not by a fear of legal impediment.

No precedent, however, can be unearthed from the Puranas in support of marriage with a sister's daughter. Even where in modern India such marriage is sanctioned by custom, it is just tolerated as permissible but carries no halo of romance or natural fitness about it like the other custom. And in fairness to Bengal it must be conceded that neither of these customs has ever gained a popular footing there within known times, although the Hindus of Bengal yield to none of their countrymen in all India in their appreciation and applause of *Subhadra Kalyanam*.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the High Court of Calcutta treated Bijon Bala's case as one of pure Hindu law of the Bengal school and applied to it the Dayabhaga rules of marriage. According to that law, of course, no man can marry, among others, a damsel who is within five degrees from his maternal grandfather or from any of that grandfather's four paternal ancestors. The common ancestor in the present case is the bridegroom's maternal grandfather to whom the bride is related as great grand-daughter, and, being only in the 4th degree counting from him, she comes within the prohibition.

But their Lordships did not leave the matter there. They probed deep into the ancient texts of the law following Raghunandana and consulting the Matsya Purana, Brihat Manu, Sulapani, Srikrishna Tarkalankara, Prithanasi, Sakatayana, etc., to see if the marriage could be saved by applying the Trigotra rule which sanctions marriage, as an exception, even with a girl within the prohibited degrees, if she is removed from the bridegroom by three gotras. The gotra of the bridegroom's maternal grandfather which would be the first in the order of computation for this rule was Modgalya. His second daughter who is the grandmother of the bride, acquired the Sattadi Gotra by marriage, and her daughter (who is the bride's mother) married into the Modgalya Gotra. That the third gotra was but a repetition of the first did not prevent its being counted as the third. It was enough that the second gotra differed from the first and the third from the second. But, all the same, the Trigotra rule of exemption failed, because Bijon Bala as a maiden had the same gotra as her mother's and, being herself stuck up thus in the third gotra, could not be regarded as removed by three gotras from the bridegroom!

So far there is nothing in the judgment to cavil at. But there is one curious omission in it which strikes one as rather strange, considering that the main feature of the marriage was that it had been solemnized under Act III of 1872 and the petition for its nullification came up for judgment under the Indian Divorce Act which is never applicable to marriages under Hindu Law. Their Lordships do make mention of both Acts casually in the first two sentences but keep them entirely out of their ken thereafter, without remembering to say a word, even by way of explaining, why the marriage should be judged under the Hindu law when the parties had taken so much care to avoid the appropriate Hindu ceremonial and had gone out of their way to get married under a special legislation. The court could draw authority no doubt from section 2, clause (4) of Act III of 1872 which says that "the parties must not be related to each other in any degree of consanguinity or affinity which would, according to any, law to which either of them is subject, render

marriage between them illegal." Though it specifies no law in particular it certainly makes the Hindu Law of the Dayabhaga school applicable by implication to Bengali Hindus marrying under the Act, whether they denied the Hindu faith or affirmed it; and that Act again, by another section, paves the way for action against them under the Indian Divorce Act in spite of their having married as Hindus. But it is rather unusual to ignore these sources of authority and make no open mention of the legal processes by which the Court took power to act as it did. This complete black-out of the most striking feature of the marriage in question from the purview of the judgment has led, we should humbly think, to a grave inadequacy of treatment, though happily it did not result in injustice.

Evidently, the marrying couple were convinced that their union had no sanction from the Hindu law or usage of their community and, therefore, sought the aid of Act III of 1872, imagining perhaps that under it there could be no legal impediments. It was, no doubt, a terrible mistake to have assumed without due inquiry that the Act makes possible all marriages forbidden by Hindu law. The Act makes no such sweeping exemptions. But exemptions of some sort, the Act does surely provide for the benefit of Hindus who find their personal law too stringent. If the Honourable Court deemed it not only relevant but highly incumbent on it to dive deep into the old Sanskrit texts to fish out and expound laboriously the intricacies of the Trigotra rule of exemption, which by the way nobody pleaded, only to find at the end of all the trouble that it did not help the couple at all against the general Hindu law, under which the parties did not marry, it should surely have been considered at least equally relevant and unavoidable for the court to investigate diligently and explain in the judgement how far it was possible or why it was impossible to save Bijon Bala's marriage under the provisions of the Special Marriage Act itself which the parties had invoked as their stand-by from the beginning.

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

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MARCH 11, 1933.

After dinner I had a conversation with Miss Pearson [who gave me] her experiences with Shaw—Mrs. Shaw is still in bed—his colds, his feeling an old man, his utter absence of conceit even while proclaiming that he knows he has more intellect than other fellows, his weariness of the events of the ship.

I have now read the interview with Lord Lytton who adheres to his view of Japan in his Report, but would have no economic boycott of Japan, no embargo on arms, no war. He warns that at Chapei when Japanese troops could not break through barbed wire, three soldiers wrapped themselves up in dynamite and exploded themselves and the wire. Any further offence given to Japan who deems herself to be in the right, would wrap the whole nation in dynamite. Better far to bring to bear on her the weight of public opinion; if Japan yield to it, a new path of progress would open to mankind; if Public Opinion prove unsuccessful, the world would have at least tried it. If Japan looks for a Japanese Messiah, the chance of success is evanescent.

Mr. Eaton said private advices confirm what I had read in a Japanese paper that American shops are openly advertising that they don't sell French goods. On the other hand, cables say that France is ready, whenever asked, to assist America with her gold.

Mr. Eaton had asked Mr. Shaw for his autograph; he pleaded that he had won a ten-dollar bet by obtaining Sir Walter Preston's. Shaw replied that Mr. Eaton doubtless had taken another bet to obtain Mr. Shaw's but he had no intention of helping him.

The Baron had another short spell with me yesterday. He characterised American Mass Production as folly. I told him success always breeds disregard for obstructions. Napoleon at Waterloo, seeing the English massed against him with his own glasses, thought they were a matter of 30 thousand whom he would make mincemeat of before noon. Napoleon adhered to his opinion when Soult thought they looked 100 thousand to him, and persuaded Napoleon to use his glasses again. The Baron, however, said Napoleon was nearly succeeding. Wellington wished the Night would come on, if not the Prussians.

MARCH 12, 1933.

I made the Baron read an article in the *Times Weekly* on comments on England by Francois De Rochefoucauld which the Baron found very interesting and as true now, as in 1787—the superior material civilization of England the well-fed and well-clad men in all classes, the tall and high-stepping horses, the tidiness and cleanliness, the superior furniture in houses and inns, but utter lack of manners, where France excels. Francois writes to his father—he is only 19—that his preference would be for an English wife. He thinks Cambridge has produced all great Englishmen, except John Locke who was from Oxford.

I had my first real conversation over tea this afternoon with Mrs. Starr and discovered many grounds of affinity. She is from Philadelphia of Quaker parentage, but is not shocked at my declaration of unbelief.

She would like to be enlightened on Indian questions (so would I) and would not be shocked at any impertinences about Mr. Gandhi. I told her about American and English interviewers, and our position that, while there is great room for improvement in India (and Indian critics of Government have seen it no more than Government itself), yet India is better governed than the U. S. or England, as events are showing.

Mrs. Starr is, the paper says, President of Women's Medical College (Philadelphia) but her training is not medical; she holds a legal degree. But just as the U. S. steel works had at its head Farrell (a salesman by upbringing) and Judge Gary (a lawyer), so the administrative head of a Medical College might have legal qualifications only.

MARCH 13, 1933.

G. B. S. is very English as the Japanese papers interpret him. But he is also very human and humane, even indiscriminatingly kind. But he must select his acquaintances, must reject the duty of wasting his time on crowds.

Shaw has been invited to lecture at the economics club in New York and is glad to have talks with Americans to imbibe atmosphere. But Mr. Eaton resents Americans being called boobs, and Rotarians commercialisers of uplift. I would not agree that 100% Americanism is not 100% idiocy in the present international situation in the world, and, if Shaw called all Americans boobs, it is a chartered comedian's license.

I told Mr. Eaton to make no mistake about it. Mr. Shaw is the greatest living Englishman and our ship is healthier for his presence. I am no adorer of Greatness, but Shaw is great. I also told him how nicely the Japs took his talk; they were charmed by his voice, and recognised his English character in the noises he made on being commended.

MRS ROOSEVELT ON INTER-RACIAL RELATIONS:

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt writes in the *New Republic*—
"Is Democracy right or is it wrong? If it is right, then let us dare to make it true." With those words Pearl Buck ended a letter to the *New York Times* and that letter, together with other articles and speeches of hers, are collected in a little book called "American Unity and Asia".

I think this is a very important book because Pearl Buck has lived so much of her life in the Orient that she really knows what it is that we White people must do in order to allay the distrust which our attitude in the past toward the people of Asia has brought about.

Miss Buck has the courage to tell us what she sees as the only way open to us to lay the foundation of peace for the future. On our West Coast we have had to face the fact that there has been justified fear that our standard of living would be undermined if we permitted free immigration from Oriental countries. Yet I think we must face, in the future, the fact that we cannot treat these countries differently from other countries, and that they have a right to the same consideration which we accord to other nations. If we allow the nationals of other countries to become citizens of the United States of America, the Oriental races must have that right also. We can cut down on immigration, but we must do it for all alike. In other words, we must build up in human beings throughout the world a sense that we really believe in democracy, and that we intend to meet the problems which it brings, whether at home or abroad, with the faith that they can be solved in a democratic way.

We seem to have made great strides in our own education in the Philippines, and perhaps that will help us in our contacts with the other people of the Pacific.

When it comes to our problem here at home, which of course is bound up with the whole racial problem, we have something even more delicate and difficult to handle. It is always hard to build something that is good on a bad foundation, and in our relationship with the Negro people in this country we have been struggling to undo the harm brought out by the importation and use of slaves.

Perhaps the most striking bit in this little volume is the letter to Coloured Americans. I should like to see one part of it read and reread by every person in this country:

If democracy did not win, the white people would have to make themselves into a great standing army, highly trained, constantly prepared to keep the coloured peoples subdued, and there could be no greater slavery than that necessity. It is possible, in this grave moment, that in such a place as Australia there might be white people made slaves by their conquerors, just as white people now are slaves in certain countries and no less slaves because their rulers are other white men. The issue today is not one of race, coloured or white. It is freedom.

Pearl Buck is right—the issue is freedom, and at the present time there are people in our country without freedom, and one of the main destroyers of freedom is our attitude toward the Negro race.

I am quite sure that Pearl Buck is right that all the Axis people believe, if they are defeated, freedom will never again exist for any of them—Germans, Italians, Japanese—and that they probably will fight more desperately because of this conviction. Perhaps one of the most important things that we can do is to persuade the peoples of the world that freedom is inherent in successful democracies. They

may thereby gain enough confidence to overthrow their present form of government and try to live in peace with the rest of the world. We, however, must recognize that the cruelty and the horrors of this war will have brought about a certain personal vindictiveness which will mean poisoning for a long time to prevent personal revenge. In addition to that, the very thoroughness with which the children in the Axis countries have been indoctrinated to the use of force, will require a certain amount of control until a change can be brought about in the mental and spiritual outlook of the people.

Pearl Buck's chapter on "What Are We Fighting For?" brings out many interesting points, but there is one aspiration which she attributes to some of the Chinese that I think may be found in some people in every free nation:

For such Chinese it is not enough merely to win a military victory. They want the establishment of freedom as a human principle in the world.....I have been humbled and amazed when I have talked with Chinese, many of them, after all these years of their bitter war with an invader, to discover that they have no hate for the Japanese people. They have a fierce hatred for the sort of man and mind which will invade another people. They will fight for ever against the aggressive, military, warlike mind in the world which is responsible for injustice and suffering.

The real passion that I have discerned in the Chinese has been to have a world in which there can be peace and human co-operation. This to the Chinese is a war aim strong enough to have nerved them to a bravery, a courage, an endurance which none of us has equalled. They have fought without hatred toward Japanese militarists who have made the war. Their aim is to do away with such men, driving them first from their soil and then from the world.

These aims are not universal always, but I think in every one of the United Nations we will find a number of people who are fighting for just such aims, and Pearl Buck gives us a real challenge when she says:

Is the white man strong enough to sound a real battle-cry to which all can unite to win the war? It is freedom for all, freedom and human equality. We had better proclaim it while there is yet time, while we ourselves are yet free people.

We have needed this book and I hope it will find its way into the hands of the great masses of people in our nation who are the backbone of our democracy, the people who will win and hold freedom for us, and for the world.

HINDU WOMEN'S RIGHT TO AGRICULTURAL LAND.

Sir,—In your esteemed paper of 22nd August 1942, I had made an earnest appeal to the Government of Bombay to promulgate an enactment removing the defect in the Hindu Women's Right to Property Act pointed out by the Federal Court. I am glad to state that the Bombay Government has risen to the occasion and has made an enactment (Bombay Act No. XVII of 1942) extending the operation of the Hindu Women's Right to Property Act to agricultural land in the whole Province of Bombay. This Act is published in the Bombay Government Gazette of October 13th 1942 at Part IV, pages 266-267. The Hindu widows now would uniformly get the full share of benefit contemplated by the framers of the Deshmukh Act and there will now be only one set of rules of succession to all kinds of property of an intestate Hindu. The immediate net result of this enactment in short will be that the widows in the Hindu family now cannot sue for maintenance but must necessarily sue for partition and possession of their own independent share in the family property.—Yours etc.,

Satara City.

K. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR.

*American Unity and Asia, by Pearl S. Buck. New York: The John Day Company. 140 pages, \$ 1.25.

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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 Congressional Elections:—The framers of the American Constitution had necessarily to adopt the Republican form but were intensely distrustful of the judgment of the masses. They, therefore, incorporated many safeguards not only against abuse of power by the President and the Legislature but also and even more against the impulsiveness of the electorate. One of the devices for the latter purpose was to fix different terms for Presidential and congressional offices. The results of the Congressional elections which took place on Tuesday, show striking gains for the Republican Opposition. Important States, like New York and Michigan, have rejected by large majorities the Democratic nominees for Governorship. In the Representative Assembly and the Senate, Republicans have gained while the Democrats have had few wins, in the former and none in the latter. Reuter states that any of these who won have been classed as isolationists. Naming the ten most prominent of them, the *New Republic* (August 10) said: "Their isolationism ranges from the vicious anti-British venom of professional Irishmen like Martin Sweeny of Ohio, and the planted Goebbels touch in the oratory of men like Ham Fish of New York, to seemingly harmless attitudes of Representatives like Edward Arthur Hall of New York." Hamilton Fish has been elected by President Roosevelt's home town of Poughkeepsie. Not all Democrats are supporters of President Roosevelt. Of twenty-six Representatives and Senators listed as "the main bottleneck" in the Roosevelt programme in the *New Republic* (May 18) no less than ten (including Sweeny) were described as Democrats. Party labels have not the same significance in the States as in Britain. It is clear that President Roosevelt's influence has greatly weakened. Apart from other causes, his standing for a third term was a mistake. Washington in refusing a third term gave a reason which applied to all future Presidents. He said that a third term was a distinct step towards founding a dynasty.

Mr. Franklin Roosevelt won his third term of office owing largely to his promise to keep the country out of the war. It is significant that, as stated in one of the messages, the reaction against his regime is more pronounced among women than among men. The American woman is not fascinated by a smart uniform. The almost total absence of men in uniform in the States strikes a visitor as compared with their ubiquitousness in Europe. Both the Democrats and the Republicans are, however, pledged to prosecute the war. Wendell Wilkie, "the titular leader of the Republicans," went to Moscow, the Middle East and China as President Roosevelt's special representative and on his return denounced the conduct of the war by the Roosevelt administration as wanting in vigour and decision. The new Congress will insist on the war being more vigorously pressed but it will probably demand that the interests of Russia and China should receive more attention than the sentiments of Great Britain. Indians will do well not to attach undue importance to Mr. Wendell Wilkie's references to India. The sure way of avoiding disappointment is to have no expectations.

British Propaganda:—It has been regretfully admitted in the British Press and Parliament, and to some extent it is evident from the swing of the political pendulum in the United States that British propaganda in America has failed. The Indian National Congress at Gandhiji's instance has declined to institute any propaganda in foreign countries and, especially in the United States, it has done so against persistent appeals from Indians in that country. British propaganda, however, has served in effect as Congress propaganda. An American writer has remarked that, if three out of four British propagandists were not sent to the States, the case for Britain would have more chances of obtaining a favourable hearing. The main cause of this result is the British habit of claiming the purest motives for British policy and measures and imputing the lowest motives to all others not excluding the Americans themselves. This habit fostered, we are sorry to say, by the obsequiousness of Indian princes and placemen, has made the average Briton insufferable to citizens of a free country. Besides, the Americans are ex-British subjects and are able to understand the position of present British subjects without any propaganda on the part of the latter. But

the immediate cause of the futility of British propaganda in the United States, is that the propagandists attempt to distort facts. It was reported recently that a British speaker told an American audience that it was not true that Britain exploited India. India, he said, did not pay anything more than 3½ per cent on British investments. This is rather a big pill to swallow for any intelligent American. One English authority has estimated that one-fourth of the British national income is drawn from India. Englishmen by the hundreds are employed in India on salaries and pensions which not one percent of them would get in their own or any other country. Lord Birkenhead once bluntly told a group of probationers that if India was lost they would all have to join the ranks of the unemployed. Mr. Amery recently made the following statement to an American journalist, Mr. Morrow, who asked if all Mr. Amery's arguments did not come to the claim that British rule must continue in India:—

It depends on what you mean by British rule. At this moment, India is governed, subject only to the ultimate reserve power which I have mentioned, by an Executive composed of 11 Indians and 4 British, including General Wavell. Besides the Central Government for all British India, corresponding to your Federal Government, there are the Provinces corresponding to your 48 States. In five out of 11 Provinces, all the powers enjoyed by your States are in the hands of Indian Ministers, responsible to elected Indian Legislatures. The same would be the case in the remaining Provinces, if the Congress Ministries had not been ordered by their Central Party Congress to down tools and refuse to govern. If, on the other hand, by British rule you mean an army of British officials ordering Indians about, well, there are less than 3,000 of them in the whole of the Civil Administration; less than 1 to 100,000 of a population twice as large as that of the United States.

The disingenuousness of this statement lies in its being literally true while wholly untrue in spirit. Mr. Amery leans heavily on the eleven Indian members who, according to one of them, can give their advice only when the Viceroy asks them for it. He has recently refused to give Indians the portfolios of Finance and Home Departments. The Governor of Sind dismissed his Prime Minister because he did not want to have two titles, his disinclination being construed as sympathy with the Congress. Americans are not fools to be deceived by such specious statements. They can easily ascertain for themselves, now that so many of them are in this country, how far Mr. Amery's statements accord with facts. Propaganda can never hide the truth except for a short while. When once it is exposed it is discredited for all time. The Indian members of the Executive Council will understand what adroit use Mr. Amery makes of their presence in the Council.

China's World Mission:—Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek struck a high note in his speech closing the proceedings of the third Political Council. The relinquishment of the extra-territorial rights enjoyed by Great Britain and the United States, though bearing the character

of making a virtue of necessity, called forth warm acknowledgment from the Generalissimo who, notwithstanding his career as a revolutionary leader, has not abandoned the traditional courtesy of his ancient race. When he spoke of the purity of motive of his people in co-operating with the Allies in this war, his words would carry great weight with the nations because of China's known pacific aims throughout her long history. Here in India where we are striving through moral means to secure the status of equality with other nations which China has secured by the relinquishment of rights forced on her by unequal treaties in the past, there is the utmost gratification at the success of our great neighbour in having her greatness recognised by those who formerly looked upon her people as an inferior race. The United States will be giving fresh proof of her new sentiments towards China by doing away with the invidious ban placed on her people acquiring citizen rights in that great country. Mrs Eleanor Roosevelt in her vigorous support of Miss Pearl Buck's plea in this matter has given a lead which her people will do well to follow. We trust that, as the result of the victory of China, the war will come to an early end and that Asia will take the lead in restoring peace to Europe and America and in incorporating in the new order her age-long aspiration for harmonious relations among all mankind. As for Hongkong, China may rest assured that whatever influence India may have in the post-war settlement, it will be strongly exerted to have this ancient Chinese island restored to China.

National Government:—The *Calcutta Review* has a suggestive editorial note on the significance of the growing demand for national governments in many countries. It points out the difference between a national government and a coalition government. While a national government overrides all parties, a coalition government not only tolerates them but is based upon them. Mr. Lloyd George's Cabinet during the last war was a coalition cabinet. After the Treaty of Peace was signed, the Conservatives withdrew their cooperation and installed a party cabinet under Mr. Bonar Law. The Cabinet which was formed during the financial crisis of 1931, however, was a national, not a coalition, cabinet. The *Calcutta Review* observes: "To our mind this demand for a national government in Britain in the early thirties reflected only the influence of totalitarian ideas which were making so rapid a headway on the Continent." It may be recalled that at about the same time Lord Baldwin publicly heaved a sigh of relief that the party dog-fight was finished in British politics. The weakening of the British faith in party government preceded somewhat the spread of the totalitarian idea. The *Calcutta Review* questions if the British Government today is a national government in the true sense and quotes the *Economist's* observation that 'the government is still almost wholly recruited from parties, its

balance is determined by the results of the General Election of 1931, its members are (with exceptions) nominated by their party eminence rather than by their personal competence." The subject is of interest in India where there is a demand for a national government. It is clear, however, that what is proposed is not a national but only a coalition government in which each party will retain its identity and will, presumably, concentrate its efforts on promoting its party programme.

Royal Proclamation:—Mr. Vernon Bartlett, a Liberal Member of Parliament, in a scheme which he recommends as likely to solve the Indian deadlock, suggests that the promise of independence already given by British Ministers, if endorsed formally by His Majesty, would be sure of acceptance in India. This would have been absolutely true up to the last year of the last century. But it is not true today. The Queen's Proclamation was cherished by the Indian people as their Magna Charta until Lord Curzon brushed it aside as a ceremonial pronouncement which had no political or legal value. The Indian public know that the King's Proclamations are drawn up by his Ministers. King Edward VII opposed the inclusion of an Indian in the Executive Council of the Viceroy and only yielded to the unanimous recommendation of an exceptionally strong Liberal Cabinet. In Queen Victoria's published letters may be discerned the germs of the policy of discrimination between Hindus and Muslims, which has since become incorporated in the Indian political system. The abdication of King Edward VIII, manoeuvred by Lord Baldwin, apart from its moral implications, constituted a far-reaching inroad on the constitutional position of the British sovereign in relation to India even more than in relation to Great Britain. For these and other reasons the intervention of the Sovereign at this stage of Indian politics is not likely to make any material change in the situation. It may only expose the monarchy to inexpedient criticism. Mr. Bartlett's other suggestion, namely, the appointment of a member of the Royal Family as Crown Representative, relieving the Governor-General of his dual role, unless the member is in the line of direct succession to the throne, will have no value even in the eyes of the Indian Princes.

Ambedkar on Foreign Intervention:—Dr. Ambedkar's oracular utterances do not for obvious reasons lend themselves to more than passing comment. Early this week he is reported to have told a Press representative who asked him what he thought of President Roosevelt's observation that the Atlantic Charter extended to the whole of humanity, that all such documents are bound to be treated as scraps of paper and, therefore, there was no use attaching any importance to them. He also said that no nation practised what it preached and, therefore, it was no use relying on their promises; the United States treated the Negroes with scant consideration and they had, therefore, no right to pass judgment on British rule in India. As British writers

have not abstained from passing judgment on the States, the States have perhaps an equal right to point out what is wrong with British rule in India. There are certain broad principles which apply to all human societies and there is nothing wrong in all of them discussing in a friendly spirit how they might co-operate for the benefit of humanity. Dr. Ambedkar was particularly severe on Indian leaders who appealed to the President of the United States and to the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek for their friendly intervention to accelerate Indian self-government. He stigmatised this as political beggary. Great Britain today is dependent on the United States for the protection of her freedom, and so are India, Australia and China. If it is permissible to take the help of another country to save your freedom, it cannot be very wrong to take its help for securing freedom. The Americans may be living in a glass house but since they do not object to Dr. Ambedkar throwing stones at them, why should he object to their suggesting in a friendly way that the Government of which he is an ornament, might pursue a policy of greater conciliation with advantage to itself and to the cause for which they both are fighting? To Dr. Ambedkar the only thing that matters is that the scheduled castes should be preferred for high offices. This is an object which we ourselves favour but there are other things which cannot be ignored and we are sorry that Dr. Ambedkar's outlook on the world is so gloomy and cynical.

Pressmen, Politicians and Prelates:—Curiously for the spokesman of a Government which rejoices in fighting the present war as one for Christian civilization, the Duke of Devonshire in the House of Lords accused prelates along with the press and politicians of encouraging by their attitude the cutting of telegraph wires in India. His references to the Church were so frequent and offensive that the Archbishop of York pathetically interposed the protest: "The noble Lord looks at me on each occasion. May I ask him to be plainer and say what he means by prelates? The only time I have spoken has been in support of Government on this matter." The Duke replied that he intended to cast no reflection whatever on prelates; "I was only looking to see that the prelates were there." The Duke had no doubt the Metropolitan of India in mind.

North Africa:—The first news from North Africa of the success of Allied arms against Rommel's forces was greeted with scepticism in view of the experience of the past two years with Cairo broadcasts. The fact that His Majesty the King and President Roosevelt have sent congratulatory messages to General Alexander, might be taken to mean a decisive Success in that field of war. Nevertheless an element of caution would not be out of place. Four German divisions have been moved across from Russia and, while this must bring relief to the Soviet defenders, it will delay results in Africa for a time. The tide of the war seems to be definitely turning.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, November 7, 1942.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND THE PRESS.

A New Delhi message dated November 1 announced that the Home Department notification of August 8 imposing restrictions on the press in regard to reports of disturbances in the country and providing for the registration of correspondents, has been cancelled in its application to six provinces which are named—Bombay, Bergal, U. P., C. P., Punjab and Orissa. In the other provinces, the order had already been withdrawn and other orders had been substituted for them. Sind was in the latter category but it has decided nevertheless to follow a liberal policy and the Sind Government has adopted the suggestions made at the Editors' Conference. We trust that other provinces which were similarly committed to reactionary policies, will also reconsider the position in the light of the unanimous decisions of the Editors' Conference. The Punjab Government, on the other hand, has now declared for a thoroughly reactionary policy. In Bombay itself, there has been no official statement but we may take it as a tribute more eloquent than words to the liberal atmosphere of this province that two newspapers which had suspended publication have decided to appear from November 6. The gesture of the Central Government is believed to mean that the Provincial administrations are left free to make what arrangements they choose with the press in their areas. But this has always been claimed as an excuse by the Central Government to evade any charges of breach with the Editors' Conference. The cancellation is in effect much more than that. It is, if we understand it aright, an open declaration that the Government of India is not prepared any longer to allow provincial administrations to plead pressure from the Centre in favour of reactionary policies. A decision like the one now announced must be understood in the light of the events which have led up to it. Following as it does on the unanimous recommendations of the Editors' Conference, it obviously means that those recommendations have been accepted without reservation by the Government of India. The provincial administrations would do well to bear this in mind. Where there is any doubt, as in the Punjab, the Government of India should make it clear that any attempt from the provinces to sabotage the understanding arrived at by the Government of India and the Press in India will be discountenanced.

The Editors' Conference, for its part, should bear in mind that in the provincial administrations it faces a less formidable power than it had done for the past two years. By this we do not suggest that the A. I. N. E. C. will find no difficulties arising from Delhi in future. But it is fair to infer that the cancella-

tion inaugurates a new attitude which the Government of India cannot lightly depart from. In the past two years, the Standing Committee has had to carry out three principal objects. It had to lay down a general policy acceptable to the press, to persuade the Government of India to accept that policy and adhere to its acceptance, and finally to exercise vigilance over the detailed working of the press laws in the provinces. The first object has been achieved with the unanimous decisions of the Editors' Conference at the Bombay session. The Government of India similarly have in effect accepted the principle of the Editors' Conference stand, and, in regard to the second, the Standing Committee has now only to press for consistency at Delhi. It is in the third matter that the work of the Conference is intensified and the throwing of responsibility on the provinces by the Government of India necessitates a corresponding strengthening of the provincial organisations of the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference. In the past the provincial side of the Conference was not developed as well as it might have been because of the compelling necessity of working up a central All-India organization.

The change of system involved in the Government of India passing on the initiative to the provinces must lead to a greater concentration on detail in discussions between the provincial executive and the provincial press. We are not concerned at the moment with provincial administrations, like that of the Punjab, which begin the new period with a repudiation of the very basis of any relations between the press and any administration, though a technique will have to be evolved and the needed machinery to meet such a disregard of both the Central Government and public opinion. More important are the provinces where the Governments appreciate the need and value of allowing freedom to the Press, and the press realises its dual responsibility to the people and to the State; in brief, where both parties are ready to "do business." For it is there that healthy precedents will arise in Government-Press relations. So far as we can see, given that neither side wishes to use the Editors' Conference machinery to undermine the other, there are only two categories of news even during times of disturbance which can give rise to serious difference of opinion. The first of these is the category of police atrocities or excesses. It is easy to lay down the general principle that there must be neither suppression nor exaggeration. But in detailed consideration there will always be border cases and the benefit of the doubt should be given to the press. The other point is the treatment of prisoners. There too false reports might be put out for propaganda purposes but a vigilant Government can handle the situation better without any censorship. After all, incidents within a jail are known to prison officials long before they get about and factual communiques promptly issued will clear the public mind of false rumours.

A BANDRA DIARY.

Mr. Jinnah begins his latest statement on the Muslim League's position with the remark that there is a good deal of kite-flying going on in India and abroad and that a new scheme to solve the Indian deadlock is published in the Press almost every day. I agree. I would only add that the biggest kite of all is his own Pakistan which was set flying scarcely three years ago. Pakistan, he says, is an article of faith with 100 million Indian Muslims. I very much doubt if that is true. If it is, I am sorry because that article of faith will never be realised, can never be realised. If it were practicable, the whole country would have become Pakistan three centuries ago when the Muslims were absolute rulers of a considerable part of the country. The conquering Muslim hosts had swept over Afghanistan, Iran, Syria, Egypt, Spain and right up to the Loire in the heart of France. In India the tide received a check. The conquered Asiatic countries accepted the conqueror's faith. In Spain the Christians remained a subject race for centuries. India's reaction to the Muslim flood was different. Professor Mahomed Habib in his "Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni" (Aligarh University Publications) explains:

Its (Islam's) early successes were really due to its character as a revolutionary force against religions that had lost their hold on the minds of the people and against social and political systems that were grinding down the lower classes. Under such circumstances the victory of Islam was considered by the conquered populations as something intrinsically desirable: it ended the regime of an aristocratic priesthood and a decrepit monarchy, while the doctrine of equality first preached in the Eastern world, opened a career to the talent of the depressed masses and resulted in a wholesale conversion of the populations of Arabia, Syria, Persia and Iraq. Now, Hinduism with its intense and living faith was something quite unlike Zoroastrianism of Persia, and the Christianity of Asia Minor, which had so easily succumbed before the invader; it suffered from no deep-seated internal disease and a peculiarity of the national character of the Hindus, 'deeply seated in them and manifest to everybody' was their intense satisfaction and pride in their customs..... People with this insularity of outlook were not likely to lend their ears to a new message. But the policy of Mahmud (of Ghazni), secured the rejection of Islam without a hearing.

Fifteen years after Mahmud's death, adds Professor Habib, no trace of the Mussulmans remained east of Lahore, "and Mahmud's victories, while they failed to shake the moral confidence of Hinduism, won an everlasting infamy for his faith." Islam when it came to India two centuries later was a different Islam. It had learnt tolerance and was prepared to settle down in mutually friendly intercourse with the people of the country. The newcomers were mostly refugees from the burning villages of Central Asia longing for a spot where they could lay their heads in peace and casting aside all hopes of returning to the land of their birth: "The serpent had reappeared," sums up Professor Habib, "but without its poisonous fangs." The wisest of Muslim rulers since then followed the policy of uniting the two communities in the bonds of a common citizenship. Akbar's attempt to unite them in a common eclectic faith was rejected by both communities. As Ranade showed in his famous address at the National Social Conference at Lucknow on the last days of the last century, a movement of fusion was in process and had made considerable progress when the British came on the scene. The process was interrupted in order to assimilate the ideas of the new civilization. This, again, has been

interrupted by the communal policy which started in the last quarter of the last century, and which secured statutory recognition from Lord Minto. It has reached its most acute stage under Mr. Jinnah's leadership and signs are not wanting that it is tending towards its inevitable collapse. Mr. Rajagopalacharya has chosen this moment to give the separatist tendency a stimulus by his compromise proposals. Mr. Jinnah's attitude increases in emphasis with the early and certain prospect of disillusionment. I hate majority rule as such whether of Muslims or of Hindus. I hate no less the domination of a minority by force of arms or by political intrigue. I stand for the rule of right and justice, for a rule which will help every man, woman and child to lead healthy, happy lives and to develop to the utmost their God-given talents. If there is a movement to devise a constitution for a government with this purpose I will gladly welcome it. I do not mind, what it is called, democracy, autocracy, bureaucracy oligarchy or even anarchy. It is not the name that matters. Oppression by a Democracy is no less hateful than oppression by an Autocracy. Indeed, it may be worse. The object in view can be best secured by a universal plan in which all nations participate. This is the only reconstruction which will prevent future world wars. The Indian problem is thus organically related to the world problem.

* * * *

One can not help contrasting the cool assurance, real or assumed, of Mr. Jinnah with the excited and rather hysterical fussing of Mr. Rajagopalacharya with reference to the political situation. The danger of the situation is not more for Mr. Rajagopalacharya than for Mr. Jinnah. It is more for the Government than for either of them. Mr. Rajagopalacharya seems to feel that he alone realises to its full extent the imminence and extent of the calamity which is hanging over our heads. He is sure that it can be averted only by adopting his scheme which, by the way, undergoes a fresh development every twenty-four hours. The enthusiasm with which some British publicists have hailed Mr. Rajagopalacharya as the new Messiah, has prejudiced rather than advanced his scheme in the estimation of the Indian public. He has received a testimonial from Sir Charles Backenbury who was Chief Secretary of the Madras Government when Mr. Rajagopalacharya was Prime Minister. The virtues which count in the eyes of a Chief Secretary are not ordinarily those which are best appreciated by the public. One who was regarded as an unusually successful executive officer for an Indian, defined the quality most essential in an executive officer as ability to decide without hearing the other side which is the virtue of judicial officers. Mr. Rajagopalacharya's scheme exhibits this characteristic thoroughly. He assumes that Mr. Jinnah will approve it because if he does not he will lay himself open to the charge of being "unreasonable." A very soft impeachment for a hardened politician. Mr. Rajagopalacharya also affirms that the Congress has by anticipation endorsed, though reluctantly, the principle of his proposal. He also assumes that the Viceroy knows that the present members of his Executive Council are not representative of the national sentiment and that His Excellency knows others who are. And, above all, he assumes that when the Government is reorganised on his plan, the country will be electrified and would throw itself on the Axis Powers with irresistible fury. Someone asked Mr. Rajagopalacharya if he meant India's war effort to be for the defence

of the country or for the whole war on all fronts. He said that he did not see the distinction. There is a distinction and a vital one. Indian troops are fighting in Africa and have been visited in Cyprus by Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan and in Glasgow by the Jam Sahib. M. Kalinin has recently proclaimed that Soviet Russia is defending India in the Caucasus. It is by no means improbable that Indian troops may be called upon to cross the Caucasus. Meanwhile India's own defence, in the natural geographical sense, is being entrusted to Americans and Chinese to fill up the gap left by the transference of Indians to other fronts. Should a National Government continue this arrangement? Would it have the right to demand as the Australian Government did that all national troops should be employed in defence of the geographical frontiers of India? Then again, granted that the Axis powers should be destroyed, would the Indian National Government have the right to suggest that this can be done more effectively and economically in a somewhat different way from that which is being followed? If the National Government is merely to carry out the mandates of the British Government, it is difficult to see how it can be better, from the national point of view, than the Government as at present constituted? Let the Congress members attend the Legislatures and help the Indian members to influence the policy of Government in the direction they would favour.

RECLUSE.

MR. ANEY AND THE CONGRESS.

The *Mahratta* of October 30 in an editorial headed "Aney's Critics" offers a belated apologia for the extraordinary attitude of the Leader of the Indian Legislative Assembly on the precipitate action of the Government of India in declaring the Congress an unlawful body and arresting Gandhiji and other leading members a few short hours after the passing of the All India Congress Committee's Resolution without allowing time for the interview with the Viceroy which Gandhiji announced his intention to solicit. On reading the article one wonders if the writer was himself convinced by his arguments of the propriety of Mr. Aney's attitude. Here is the opening paragraph:

Some of Mr. Aney's recent speeches have been adversely criticised by a section of the press. Mr. Aney declared his personal opinion that the arrest of Congress leaders immediately after their Bombay meeting was justified by the subsequent sabotaging activities. This statement was severely criticised by pro-Congress critics and was disapproved even by some of his supporters. The statement was made in the speech on the floor of the Assembly where the Hon. Mr. Aney had to step into the shoes of Sir Reginald Maxwell and to reply to the debate which the latter had started. Further, Mr. Aney has not entered the Viceregal Council with the slogan of "breaking it." He has gone there openly with the avowed intention of helping the defence of India as far as possible in the present emergency.

The implication is that Mr. Aney was an unwilling and unprepared agent in the matter having been suddenly obliged to step into Sir Reginald Maxwell's place. But the trend of Mr. Aney's opening speech in the Assembly showed that he rather welcomed the chance which the Home Member's indisposition afforded him of avowing his conversion from his first view that Government had made a mistake to the view that he would himself have made the greatest mistake of his life if he had voted against it, as he might have done had he been present at the meeting of the Executive Council which adopted it, without the personal experience afforded by

the interruption of his dash to Delhi occasioned by the damage to the railway line at Bezwada. What was particularly obnoxious in Mr. Aney's speech was the introduction of his personal insight into Gandhiji's mental processes as enabling him to affirm that, if the Viceroy had granted the interview, nothing would have come out of it. Mr. Aney has many qualities but he does not impress one as a creative artist. But in this speech he actually reproduced a fanciful dialogue between Gandhiji and the Viceroy had they met after the Bombay session of the Congress Committee. This was absurdly overdoing the part of the Home Member which he had temporarily assumed. It was rather unpleasantly in the character of an accomplice turned approver. The object with which he joined Government, has nothing to do with the matter. Nor does it matter in the least that Congressmen when in office had done worse things. The writer in the *Mahratta* goes on:—

Mr. Aney's later statement outside the Assembly, which was well received by the public, was obviously a counter-part of his Assembly speech. Careful readers had expressed that his Assembly speech was incomplete and expected its completion sometime later.

The writer justifies the completion of an incomplete speech from a Government spokesman in the Legislature by another statement outside, by citing the example of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who, according to him, ventilates his views which he could not conveniently express at meetings in statements issued later. This may or not be the Pandit's method but it is certainly not one which a member of Government and the Leader of the Assembly can imitate. Members of the Legislative Assembly are entitled to have complete and coherent statements of the Government case so as to offer their comments on all parts of it in the floor of the House. As a literary method it is a slovenly one. It is not one to be followed by a speaker without exposing himself to the imputation of discourtesy to his audience, especially if, as in this case, it has not gathered voluntarily to have the benefit of the speaker's views.

The writer in the *Mahratta* naively asks, referring to the criticism of Mr. Aney's statement on Malaya, what else Mr. Aney could have said as a member of a Government which is at war with Japan. Perhaps nothing else. But Mr. Aney is a member of the Government as a representative Indian and if he had nothing better to say, he could have followed the writer's own advice and kept quiet. We do not recall at the moment what Mr. Aney said about Malaya and are assuming that he said something which was not what was expected of him by his critics. If the argument of the writer is right, there is no particular reason why Mr. Aney should be interposed between Mr. Aney and the Indian public.

THE METROPOLITAN.

Mr. Arthur Moore had issued the following statement on the occasion of the 79th birthday of the Metropolitan of India:—"I think the general public is unaware that to-day, October 28, is the 79th birthday anniversary, and by the Indian reckoning, the 80th birthday of Dr. Foss Westcott, the Most Rev. the Metropolitan of India. At this moment many will join me mentally in a tribute of admiration and congratulation and in wishing him many happy returns of the day. The Bishop has served in India for 53 years and has set us, Europeans, a good example by making it his home and adopting Indian domicile. At present, as so often happens, he is away on tour. Heat and cold seem to make no difference to him and he is constantly ranging India from north to south on his pastoral duties."

"PROHIBITED DEGREES" IN MARRIAGE—II

(BY KOPERGAM RAMAMURTI, ASKA.)

We are consoled by the fact that justice has not really miscarried in Bijon Bala's case. Proviso (1) to Section 2 (4) of the Special Marriage Act would have been of help if the trouble was about a common Gotra or Pravara or any other obstacle raised by Hindu law, except consanguinity and affinity. But there was no such difficulty here. It was the bar of consanguinity, or near kinship by blood connection, that was the cause of mischief. Proviso (2) of the same section does mitigate to some extent the stringency of the Hindu law rule on this point. It exempts from its operation all cases in which no relationship can be traced between the parties, "through some common ancestor who stands to each of them in a nearer relationship than that of great-great-grandfather or great-great-grandmother." Unfortunately, the common ancestors in the present case are related to bride and bridegroom more closely than can be allowed even under this rule, being only the great-grandparents of the former and the grandparents of the latter, and this exemption too fails to help.

But how do similar couples of South India fare under this Proviso? At a hasty superficial glance it might seem that this very Proviso would be their undoing if they married under Act III of 1872. Whereas they would be quite safe with a Hindu law marriage on account of their special custom in spite of the Mitakshara. But no misunderstanding can arise if it is remembered that the function of this Proviso is only to abrogate some of the obstacles presented by Hindu Law and left unmitigated by special customs. Its purpose is not to create more obstacles than the parties are subject to under their personal law which includes customary law. If a South Indian Hindu, therefore, marries his sister's daughter or the daughter of a female cousin or maternal uncle's daughter under Act III of 1872, there is no legal hindrance to the marriage needing to be removed by the Proviso. Whatever impediment may be spelled out from the text of the Mitakshara law of prohibited degrees, was long ago wiped out with greater thoroughness than Act III is capable of, by the customary law of the parties. The fact that the Act is less liberal or less efficient in its exemptive power, does not modify the exemption acquired by the parties from their birth.

The new Hindu Code (Part II) presented to the Legislature by the Rao Committee for providing a unified marriage law for all Hindus, has taken Hindu civil marriage away from the scope of Act III of 1872. But it makes provision for civil marriage as well as sacramental marriage for Hindus at their option under its own auspices. Instead of making in general terms all the prohibitions existing under present Hindu law applicable to a Hindu civil marriage and then offering some mitigations by proviso as Act III does, the new Hindu code adopts the simple device of specifying a few blood-relationships as falling within "the degrees of relationship prohibited by this Act" which no custom can abrogate. These tabooed relationships are, no doubt, included in the larger category of *Sapinda* relationship which is prohibited for sacramental Hindu marriage but they are ear-marked specifically and solely for governing Hindu civil marriages and also to point out and make clear that these are the minimum restrictions which can never be tampered with even for sacramental marriages, whatever other *Sapinda* relationships may be evaded on the plea of communal, sectarian or local custom.

The specifically proscribed blood-relationships are those between : (1) brother and sister ; (2) uncle and niece ; (3) aunt and nephew ; and (4) persons related by blood to each other lineally, which last expression must, in the absence of a definition, be understood to mean persons related to each other as ancestor and descendant.

Bijon Bala's civil marriage, therefore, if brought about under the new Hindu code would be quite valid because her bridegroom is not her uncle in strict legal parlance, not being born to her mother's father or mother. He is only a "Sapinda" prohibited for a sacramental marriage which the parties never attempted. But even this latter prohibition will not operate against a South Indian Hindu under similar circumstances owing to his custom. But no South Indian Hindu can, if the code passes as it is into law, plead his customary privilege hereafter, to marry his own sister's daughter under any ceremony, civil or sacramental. He can, however, marry as usual his maternal uncle's daughter or paternal aunt's daughter under the sacramental marriage sections on the plea of custom. To marry either of them, or even one's paternal uncle's daughter or maternal aunt's daughter, under the civil marriage sections will no longer call for special pleading at all. Those relationships are not specified among the degrees of relationship earmarked for absolute prohibition in Section 2(d). There is no current Hindu custom which disregards the rule of sapindaship to the extent of favouring a sacramental marriage between the children of two brothers or of two sisters. But the Rao Committee have appended an explanatory Note in which they refer to the existence of some Vedic text pointing to the prevalence of such marriages and state that they have not thought it necessary to go so far as to prohibit marriages between first cousins.

One small fact in Bijon Bala's case brought to light by newspaper reports may give food for anxious reflection to sincere social servants. In answer to the District Judge, Alipore, who dealt with the matter in the first instance, she seems to have stated that the reason why the marriage was done under Act III of 1872 was that it was the only way in which the marriage could be effected secretly; whereupon the learned judge observed that that was the second case in a few weeks of such secret marriage under the Act between Hindus which he had to declare null and void. He further expressed the opinion that legislation was required to amend the provision for publication of parties' intention to marry. We wish the learned judge had also made some specific suggestions as to what exactly the legislature might profitably do, since the civil marriage law is now before it for consideration in connection with the Hindu Code bill of the Rao Committee. It is not easy to conjecture what more precautions are necessary than the Act or, following it, the Hindu Code has provided. Fourteen days' notice to the public on the Notice Board of the Marriage Registrar, the attestation of three credible witnesses in the declaration forms and in the marriage book, and, when any of the parties is not fully 21 years old, the attestation also of the father or guardian in token of consent—these should be sufficient guarantee against any secrecy that the State has a right to prevent. It is noteworthy that there is no averment that the parties had falsely posed as over twenty-one to evade the authority of father or guardian. If that had been the case, the court could easily have declared the marriage a nullity on that ground alone without wasting much learned argument (vide Basana Devi's case in A. I. R. 1929, Calcutta 631, S. B.

The real tragedy seems to lie neither in secrecy nor fraud nor ignorance of the law. Why did this eager, venturesome girl of over 21 years who had, not very long ago, thought that evasion of Hindu law and secret planning for the forbidden marriage so much worthwhile, turn round within the brief space of six months and rush so incontinently into a public court making the evaded Hindu law itself her scapegoat for getting rid of her chosen husband? The discarded husband has made no contest. The unhappy wife has made no accusation. A sympathetic onlooker can only wonder with sadness whether it was her fault or his or the pressure of irresistible social and economic forces or simply the awakened horror of an invalid wifehood and illegitimate progeny that was responsible for the debacle.

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

(Copyright.)

(MARCH 18, 1933.)

Mrs. Starr is not impressed by passengers, particularly the English who are more interested in Bridge than in conversation. I said she could not be serious, with the greatest living Englishman on the ship with us.

If Mr. Shaw could have come 8 months earlier, there was hope for him to have modified both Japan's and China's attitudes; the Japanese comments on Shaw have been some of the best appreciations.

It is the English convention that it is bad form to appear too intellectual, and to talk not shop but golf and cricket. Even the very British Kipling (Bernard Shaw claims Kipling and Barrie among his few intimate friends and recommends to Miss Pearson H. G. Wells' new novel) complains of the prattle of 'flannelled oafs.' But it is a disguise. A senior wrangler or double first would deprecate reference to his university learning, but would incessantly talk about his boat, if he be also a blue. And Americans are not free from that. In Miss Johnstone's novel, "The Conqueror," the Englishman is forgotten by his intellectual lady friends in their preoccupation with the new game of Bridge.

Yesterday, a young Englishman saluted me, and bowed without recognition. He asked if I was Mr. Padshah; whether I was from India; if so, we were countrymen. He was born there in 1896, son of Mr. Prior who served for a while as Director of Public Instruction. Mr. Prior, jun., had his education in Europe, served in the Indian Army for 17½ years and then was transferred to the Political Department which is the plum of the Service. He was recently serving at Behrein as Political Agent.

He joined our ship at Yokohama after going through Ankor and Saigon. His impressions of Netherlands India is that it is very well governed, only it has no defence force. Recent cables show that Japan reckons on using these Dutch Islands as her naval stations for Defence. The Government will have to reckon with this.

But the French have only planted small provincial French towns in Indo-China. Saigon is the most brilliant Oriental city, only if a Bordeaux in the Far East could be a most brilliant Oriental city. There are six thousand officials of all ranks in Indo-China, and four thousand of these are French. Fancy, if accountants in India were always English! Such a policy does not advance the people. He hopes one day to see Morocco which is the one French colonial success. I

told him that the French officials there were also badly paid, starting with £150 a year. He thought that they are also inferior, of a lower type. Is it that France is overflowing with an educated proletariat, as Bismarck called the same class in Germany, and which cries to be exported? I suggested that the success of the French in Morocco was due to Marshal Lyautey who had not only studied English methods but as a subaltern had felt very critical of the aloofish and unalloyed French outlook of his superiors. I also suggested that Dutch policy had turned a corner after the example of Raffles who conquered Java when Holland had been practically annexed by the first Napoleon.

Mr. Penn says Baron de Marurez, on our ship, must be a diplomat and was surprised at the Baron's comments on Briand whom Mr. Penn considers the saviour of Europe. Briand understood and loved the English; Poincare did not. It is thought that Poincare learnt English, in order to be even with Lloyd George whom Poincare wished to tell what Poincare thought of him. Mr. Penn thinks Lloyd George's bluff was splendid during the war; but that he has degenerated. Mussolini may be a great man in Italy, but he would be small fry in England, France or Belgium. Briand would not be bluffed by Mussolini, and he smoothly navigated international waters. Germany and other countries do not terminate the monopolies to Kreuger's matches, because they have received advances from Kreuger and their Governments profit with Kreuger, fifty fifty. The Kreuger companies are to be reconstructed to save monopolies. Great firms cannot afford to be shady, Mr. Penn says; yet he knows the forgeries of Kreuger.

MARCH 14, 1933.

Senator Webster returned to me the *Weekly Times* and "Causes of Evolution," said he was glad of the dig at Shaw by Haldane. I remarked Haldane is so contemptuous of Shaw's biology that he does not stop to discuss him. Then why should we? he queried, and hurried away and slipped on the staircase—lucky his daughter was near him to give him an uplift, and lend her arm to help him to his cabin.

Mr. Webster yesterday had specially come to get me to discuss the future of India. I had told the usual tale of world insanity and my inability to fall in with the raging ideas every where. In India, 850 million people pull pastwards me who has eyes only for the future. They want to pull you down, do they? he asked. No, to the Past, I answered. He expressed agreement and even asserted that, if the world do not soon devise means of adjustment, the situation would devour the world. I have no such fears; situations in one shape or another have always threatened whom they might devour; but the world is too robust and young and kicking, more than a mouthful.

Do you then think the future will be better than the past?

I do not know, and do not care.

But why not care?

I asked Senator Webster to reverse the question, if our forbears had considered what Man's future was to be, had they foreseen it, would they have been filled with delight or despair? The growing brain of man gives him greater foresight; we despair of a world whose troubles we see; would foreseeing be pleasant?

Today, the Senator showed me that Haldane has the same idea, asking whether man is anatomically superior to monkey; the erect stature produces hernia and pelvis troubles. I could be hopeful if the

brain could adjust itself to situations as they develop; but there seems to be doubt if anatomy can afford the size that would be wanted. The Baron was a student of Hegel till he found that Hegel developed religiosity; all matter of bread and stomach, he says.

MARCH 15, 1933.

Dr. Porges made researches in the Physiology Laboratory at Berlin. The Professor there would not allow publication as unsuitable to his laboratory. When Porges had left the Laboratory in disgust, six months after he saw the paper published in the Archives as the Professor's work. He, therefore, abandoned research for medical practice. Recently a Mond Laboratory has been opened in London; Dr. Porges applied for a desk for research and as he has a position, permission was readily granted him subject to the condition imposed upon all that no results could be published without authorisation from the Board, which condition Dr. Porges declined. Once bit, twice shy. He believes in throwing open labs to all research, even by working men. He quoted examples of success and results of great benefit before which the risk of break of apparatus is not comparable. Workmen are going to have greater leisure for whose good use all venues should be available to all capacities. Haldane, he says, has a style which German expositors lack. Porges agrees with Haldane's conclusions. Porges specialises in genetics in which he considers Haldane's book not up-to-date; particularly, in the matter of work on the influence of chromosomes on heredity. Haldane is simply great when it comes to acknowledging his debts to contemporaries. In this very book Haldane acknowledges the great work of the Russian, Berg, even though it is anti-darwinian in tendency. The Russian Government does not permit unauthorised publication and so much of his work is suppressed. I quoted Bertrand, Lord Russell's statement that Pavlov can publish anything. Porges says one-third of Pavlov's last paper was also suppressed. Moreover, Pavlov's name and school existed before the Bolsheviks. Russell is the greatest philosopher living, greater than Bergson; this difference comes from the difference of methods. Russell proceeds to induction from facts, has no thesis prescribed to work out. Bergson begins with thesis and finds facts to suit. Dr. Porges also discussed "Possible Worlds." Haldane, he considers, ought to have been more explicit about immortality. Recent research shows that Conservation of Energy and Mass makes immortality necessary. I asked Dr. Porges a simple question, does it make necessary that when Sir Oliver Lodge dies, he would meet his son, Raymond? Dr. Porges rebuked me for introducing such primitive phantasies in a scientific discussion; that which does not die is Energy and Mass. I begged pardon; I did not understand that immortality was a metaphor. Of course, it is, he said, how otherwise.

COLLECTIVE FINES AND THE JUSTICE PARTY.

The *Sunday Observer* (Madras), organ of the rank and file of the Justice Party, comments bitterly on the rejection by the Madras Government of Mr. Ramaswami Naicker's demand that members of his party should be exempted from collective fines as the party had declared itself against the civil disobedience movement. The *Observer* writes:

Did the Justice High Command consult the rank and file and create the necessary sanction of the party as a whole for such a demand? Did it call for a meeting of the Executive of the Party to consider the most important question? Did it contemplate that, in

the event of refusal, the Party would have to reconsider its attitude and do certain things which may not suit the plans of one or two of the leaders? Did it realise that the protest of the rank and file against the resolution of unstinted and whole-hearted co-operation, to pass which all Non-brahmin leaders rushed post-haste to Chettinad Palace, may perhaps be justified? What is the Justice High Command going to do for this resounding slap on its face? Let us wait and see.

INFLATION IN WAR-TIME.

(BY B. NATARAJAN, CHIDAMBARAM.)

Much attention has been given in recent months to the problem of combating inflation. In the eyes of administrators and even academic economists, inflation has now become a stock bogey; and they are apprehensive—not without reason—that, if inflationary tendencies were allowed to develop unchecked, they might imperil the entire war economy. In order to explain this mortal dread of inflation, it is well to inquire what 'Inflation' really means. Unfortunately, the term, inflation (like many others in Economics) has often been used without precision, and, therefore, in a variety of senses. Yet, in the context of war finance, its meaning is easily explained.

The supreme object of a country at war is to win the war; and in conformity with it, the tempo of the national economy itself is radically altered; from a peace footing it is switched on to a wartime basis. The slack in the employment of the nation's resources is taken up; production, which is normally below capacity, is accelerated and the volume of output increased. Thus, owing to war, boom conditions are created; workers get higher incomes with the result that the scramble for goods and services is greater than normal. This is one of the odd features of war economy.

And the State has to find the means of paying for the war. "How best to pay for the war?"—that is the fundamental question of war finance. Either by appeals to patriotism or by compelling the citizen to release some of the resources which he would otherwise consume, the State can get hold of every resource which the community is constrained to forego. Transference of resources from civilian consumption to war purposes is indeed the best way of meeting the cost of war. So the Government is vitally interested in the question of restricting public consumption. Every resource which the citizen can do without and is, therefore, in a position to set free for purposes of war, helps the war effort.

In a modern community, such transference of resources takes place not by barter but through money. And the State can raise the huge sums of money it requires for war by three well-recognised methods—taxation, borrowing the genuine savings of the people, and Inflation. Of these, the first two are beyond reproach. However, war cannot be wholly paid out of taxation alone or even mostly by taxation. Taxation beyond a certain point is bad for morale; and it is a matter for the Finance Minister to determine the highest level of taxation which he might safely adopt and the community is willing to accept. Moreover, as the war effort reaches its peak and the war expenditure of the Government mounts up, it may be that the yield from taxes falls far short of the actual needs of the Government; and the gap has to be filled by adopting a policy of genuine borrowing. It is very important that the State should borrow as much as possible of the nation's real savings. But when both these devices—taxation and genuine borrowing—have been exhausted, there may still be left a margin between the revenue the Government

has been able to raise by these means alone and its actual expenditure. In order to fill that gap, the Government is forced to create new money.

When Government thus deliberately expands its currency to finance war, the spending by the Government of money that has been newly created for the purpose has been termed 'inflation' by some economists. And a simple test of inflation is: "Has some private individual or corporation foregone the expenditure of a pound or rupee which he would have otherwise spent, for every pound or rupee the Government spends." If the answer is 'Yes', then there is no inflation. In the contrary case, there is.

This definition has a deeper import. In war-time there is an acute shortage of commodities and services mainly for two reasons. The enormous demand for munitions, army clothes, food-stuffs, etc., created by war has to be met by normal supplies plus any possible increase in output, or in other words, by decidedly limited supplies. Also, some articles of consumption cannot be supplied in time of war at the normal rate owing to a contraction of available tonnage. The civilians' cake is, therefore, fixed. When the State creates new money and pays for the goods it buys with this money, the quantity of money that circulates is greater than that before the currency was expanded; and the inflated volume of money in the hands of the consumer will press against a limited quantity of goods and services. The result is, prices suddenly rise. This explains why, in wartime, owing to deliberate creation of new money at the instance of the Government, prices are inevitably driven up above their normal level.

In the light of this circumstance, let us now slightly recast our definition of Inflation: "As a result of undue expansion of the currency not accompanied by a proportionate increase in the volume of goods and services at the disposal of the community, an abnormal rise in the general level of prices may take place. Then 'inflation' is said to be present."

But we must take care to add that all wartime rise in prices is not purely inflationary. For no fault of money, prices may soar up. Such a change may be sometimes attributed to speculative activity which is characteristic of periods of uncertainty. Also, if free play were allowed to the forces of supply and demand of consumption goods, the extraordinary demand, which does not abate as long as the war lasts, drives up the price level. And, then there are the merchants and the hoarders who, being fortunate enough to possess stocks of the scarce commodities, charge exorbitant prices. Thus the initial rise in prices during wartime may be roughly accounted for by non-monetary causes alone. However, as prices rise, the cost of living goes up and those with modest incomes are hardest hit; and they justly demand an increase in their money incomes to offset the rise in prices so that their real earnings may not diminish. Very often they succeed in their efforts to get higher wages.....The Government which is eager to lay its hands on every conceivable resource by a policy of denial to the citizen, comes sooner or later to the end of its tether and is compelled to pump new money into circulation. This expansion of purchasing power only serves to raise prices up still further. Thus the process usually stigmatised as the 'vicious spiral of inflation' is set up—a process in which rising prices are followed by higher money incomes which lead again to higher prices. If left unchecked, these two tendencies—of rising prices and increased purchasing power—chase each other—one by the lift, the other by the stairs on an ever ascending scale. And what

might appear at first to be simple inflation threatens to develop into galloping inflation.

That there is danger in such a situation is as plain as a pike staff. Indeed, the deliberate adoption of an inflationary device—the method of reducing the consumption of the public by increasing the prices of the things they buy—is an open invitation to economic chaos. In the words of President Roosevelt, "It is not necessary to enumerate the disastrous results of a runaway cost of living, disastrous to all of us—farmers, labourers, businessmen, the nation itself. When the cost of living spirals upwards, everybody becomes poorer because the money he had and the money he earns buys so much less. At the same time the cost of the war paid ultimately from the taxes of the people is needlessly increased. The national debt at the end of the war would become unnecessarily greater. Indeed, the prevention of a spiralling domestic economy is a vital part of the winning of war itself."

CYCLONE HAVOC IN ORISSA.

"The terrible tearing tornado that raged over North Balasore on October 16 is beyond description. It was started at 9 o'clock on the morning on Friday. People had not then taken their food. The wind blew so violently that people came out of their houses out of fear that they would fall down on them. Along with the wind came the rains that lasted till 8 a. m. that night. Not a single house is standing. Trees also have been uprooted. Hundreds of families have been rendered homeless. The number of the dead and the wounded cannot be told. Who can speak of birds and beasts? All over there is a putrid smell. Help is needed most urgently," writes Sri Jagneswar Giri, a pleader.

Another, a second year college student, writes: "From morning 9 till 4 a. m. in the night there was such a terrible cyclone in North Balasore that post offices, schools, dwelling houses, corrugated roofs, have all been blown down. Roads are covered with uprooted trees. The dead bodies of men and cattle are lying all over. Even there are no dogs and jackals to eat these carcasses. They also have been killed. People have no shelter nor have they anything to eat. Famine is impending. The country is in ruins. The coming crop is all wasted. Unless help comes from different associations, North Balasore will be depopulated. In my house 80 to 85 people are lying in starvation. Except rice which may last for ten or twelve days, we have nothing more to eat. We have no house. All our belonging have gone under the earth. I have not a second cloth. Anyway help us. If you delay you must know that North Balasore will be depopulated. Pray help."

These two letters speak for themselves. Besides them I have received another from Mr. Muhammad Hanif, the late Chairman of the District Board of Balasore. He says, "The cyclone has been unprecedented. The sea water rushed into the houses of the people and has created havoc to crops and to dwelling-houses. Please inform Thakkar Bapa. We depend on your sympathy and help."

I appeal to all the representative institutions of the country, such as the Marwari Relief Society of Calcutta, the Ramakrishna Mission, the Bengal Social Service League, Bengal Relief Committee and similar other institutions to come to help. Friends of the Servants of India Society will no doubt send their help to us for distribution in this sore hour of need. All help should be sent to Sri Shyam Sundar Misra, Servants of India Society, Kaligali, P. O. Chandnichouk, Cuttack.

P. O. Jeypore, } L. N. SAHU
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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.

Dominion Status :—For years *The Reformer* was alone in maintaining that Dominion Status even of the Westminster Statute brand, implying, according to one extreme interpretation, the right of secession, could not possibly cover the case of India. Dominion Status is in theory and practice appropriate only for daughter states in relation to the mother country. It cannot correctly denote the relation between a conquered people and their conquerors. That is why Eire, after several centuries of closer union with Britain than India, has insisted on her independent status. South Africa for the same reason can never be a true Dominion. Canada, too, because of the conquered French, must remain always an indeterminate unit, sentimentally of the British Empire but geographically, and factually American. Australia and New Zealand are the only true Dominions and they are both on their way to nationhood. India is not a conquered country in exactly the same sense as Ireland or South Africa. Mr. Amery has recently been at pains to correct his opinion expressed some years ago that Japan's occupation of Manchuria and Northern China was precisely on the same footing as the British occupation of India. He has now discovered that the establishment of British rule in India was the result of an internal revolution and was not imposed from outside. There is a measure of truth in the theory which is by no means new or original. India which absorbed British rule from within, cannot be a Dominion. Moreover, the conditions which constitute the foundations of Dominion Status, racial, religious, cultural, are every one of them non-existent as between Britain and India. Culturally, it is true, within the last two hundred years India has entered the sphere of the English-speaking nations but not exclusively of the British political system. The English language is a link not only with Britain but also with the United States. All this, however, is now superfluous as reasons for discarding Dominion

Status as the goal of Indian political aspiration. Responsible British opinion is coming to recognise the incongruity of investing India with Dominion Status. In the House of Lords, Lord Simon, the Chancellor, called attention to the fact that, from beginning to end of the Simon Commission's Report on Indian Constitutional Reform, the word was not once mentioned. Other important speakers, notably Lord Samuel, too held that India cannot be a Dominion of Britain. In India too there have been significant conversions. If India can be a Dominion, Japan, who is a close imitator of Britain, will immediately seek to regularise her position in China and Manchuria by conferring the same status on them in relation to her. This is a consideration which must never be lost sight of in deciding on the shape which future Indo-British relations should take.

Indian Communists :—Soon after the formation of the British Soviet Alliance several Indian Communists were released from detention. Some of them have even secured Government appointments. It is not clear, however, whether Indian Communists have accepted the radical modifications in the Communist programme and principles made by the Soviet Russian Government under M. Stalin or whether they adhere to the programme and principles of the Third International. The difference between the two has been variously defined. The Stalin slogan is "Socialism for One Nation" while the Lenin and Trotsky slogan was "Socialism for All Nations." Soviet Russia today stands nearer to capitalism than to Marxism. The transformation is due partly to political necessity and largely to the antagonism of the Nazi-Fascist regimes. *Independent India*, edited by Mr. M. N. Roy, the leader of an Indian section of Communists called 'Royists,' has brought out a special number on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Soviet Revolution, but this question is evaded. There is an article on Stalin which may convey the impression that Royists have accepted the transmutations of the Communist platform although they were introduced without any reference to them. It would be well to make this clear. It should be also made clear whether Indian Communists will accept any further changes that may be made by Soviet Russian leaders in the doctrines of Communism. In particular, Indian Communists

should define unequivocally their position in respect of private property. Madame Chiang Kai-Shek has drawn up a scheme of what she calls Chinese Socialism in which private property has a recognised place. In post-war China, she says, though we shall not countenance exploitation, international or national, we shall grant private capital its rightful place, for it implements individual initiative, and the Chinese, being realists, fully recognise basic facts. M. Stalin has been moving towards the same idea. Are Indian Communists doing the same?

Sir J. Singh on the I. C. S. :—Sir Jogendra Singh, Member for Education in the Government of India, is one of the few men in the country from whom one expects something more than commonplaces in speaking on public questions. It was, therefore, disappointing to see him repeating the stereotyped phrases about the Indian Civil Service at a gathering of probationers in training at Dehra Dun. To praise an official for not being open to bribes is about as complimentary as to praise the official's wife for her chastity. Both are assumed as a matter of course to possess these virtues. The German and the Japanese Civil Services have as high a standard of integrity as the British Indian though the scales of salaries are much lower. The true test of the efficiency of the Indian Civil or any other Service is the extent to which it has promoted the happiness, prosperity and contentment of the people. This is particularly the case with the Indian Civil Service because it has not only the administration but also the political direction of the country in its hands. Reading its history in the eyes of the Indian people, it has been a failure. The unrest in India, Lord Morley wrote to Lord Minto, is not due to you and me but to the bureaucrats who have ruled the country for fifty years, since the Government was transferred from the East India Company to the British Crown. Sir Jogendra Singh's encomiums fall flat after that authoritative pronouncement on the work of the Civil Service. The entry of Indians into the Service had not improved its tone. The Indian member of the Civil Service is, with notable exceptions, a worse bureaucrat than the Englishman because he is not sure of the same backing from his superiors as the Englishman is. The brown Civil Service man is in constant fear that he may be suspected of undue partiality for his nationals. This has been aggravated by the communal principle, now an integral part of the Indian system. Even benches of the highest Courts have not escaped the infection. No, we do not want the old tradition to be continued. We want a new and different tradition in which the Indian Civil Servant is Indian and civil and a servant and not the master of the people.

Congress Courtship :—Mr. Jinnah in his statement at a Press Conference complained that, while the Congress had approached China, the United States and Russia for intervention in solving

the Indian problem, it had not cared to approach its own Muslim countrymen. Dr. Ambedkar who has been on a visit to Bombay, in a speech at the Federation of the Depressed Classes, complained that, while the Congress courted the Muslim League, it has not cared to seek the favours of the Depressed Classes. So far as we are aware, the Congress as a body has not sought the intervention of China, Russia and the United States. It has made approaches to the Muslim League and has been repulsed. Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru at the last All India Congress Committee, angrily turned on Mr. S. A. Brelvi who had urged negotiations with the League, with the question if he had no self-respect that he should ask Pandit Jawaharlal to do this in spite of the repeated rebuffs he had been subjected to. As for the Scheduled Castes, the Congress does not regard it as a distinct community and has always been ready to welcome Dr. Ambedkar with open arms.

Pacific Relations Committee:—The Government of India has quite needlessly exposed itself to the charge of indulging in make-believe in the manner of announcing the names of Indians selected to attend the Pacific Relations Committee meeting in America. India was at first excluded from this body on the ground that India is not along the Pacific Ocean. India has not since shifted per moorings. Nevertheless it is now found expedient to regard her as a Pacific Power, and some seven or eight Indians have been named as delegates to attend the next session. Every one knows that the Indian delegates will be no more than ornamental figureheads, that nothing which they say will have the slightest influence on the decisions of the Committee, if it is itself competent to take any decisions. Therefore, nobody would have minded if the Government of India had nominated the delegates. This is what has probably happened but it was thought expedient to declare in the official communique that the persons were selected by Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, without any suggestion on the part of Government, in his capacity of President of the Indian Branch of the Institute of International Affairs. Unfortunately for this propaganda stunt, Pandit Hridaya Nath Kunzru, President of the Servants of India Society, is a member of the managing body of the Institute in New Delhi. He has issued a statement pointing out that no invitation was received by the Institute to send delegates, that Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar ceased to be President three months ago and that a majority of the persons named as delegates are not members of the Institute. Some days have elapsed since Mr. Kunzru's protest was published. The Government of India have not thought fit to contradict any of his statements. They have since announced the addition of another member, Rao Bahadur Shivraj, without mentioning whether he too was selected by Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar who is no longer President or by Sir Sultan Ahmed who is the present President of the Institute at New Delhi. As regards the

personnel of the delegation, there is one to which we take exception not on the ground of character or competence but on the ground of his high position as a judge of the Federal Court. Sir Mahomed Zaffrullah Khan had returned only last month from Chungking where he had spent six months as special envoy of the Government of India. He has already left to attend the Pacific Relations Committee. It does not, we suggest, add to the dignity and detachment of a high judicial officer to be sent on odd errands at the discretion of the Executive Government.

Jinnah-Rajaji Talk:—The talk with Mr. Jinnah for which Mr. Rajagopalacharya went to Delhi from Madras, has ended and reporters have been in the absence of authentic information, indulging in speculation as to its result. A day or two before the talk, Mr. Jinnah in his address to the Muslim League Council virtually declared that he would agree to no arrangement unless it conceded his full claim. The first of his terms, even more important than Pakistan, is that there should be no Central Government of India. Mr. Rajagopalacharya has preferred throughout his present propaganda to ignore this vital point. If the principle of a Central Government is conceded, there is room for compromise but not otherwise. Mr. Jinnah's objection to a Central Government is that Hindus will be in a majority and Muslims will not tolerate it. In a properly constituted Central Government there will be no question of majority or minority. All inhabitants of the country will be absolutely equal. The constitution will ensure it. If it cannot do that, how does Mr. Jinnah leave out the Muslims in the three-fourths of the country which he would leave with the Hindus? Why should Hindus tolerate the rule of Muslim majorities in Pakistan since there will be Hindu minorities, if Muslims cannot tolerate a Central Government of India because Hindus form the majority of the Indian population? The fact is that Mr. Jinnah is playing upon the theological prejudices of the Moulvis and Maulanas to create in the Muslim masses an antagonism to their Hindu neighbours which they do not feel and have not felt in the centuries during which they have lived side by side. It is very probable that he is doing this quite unconsciously. He has never been very much in the good graces of the priesthood and is himself far from being ecclesiastically minded. Mr. Rajagopalacharya is, if anything, more theologically minded than Mr. Jinnah, though he is moved by purely political expediency to court rebuffs in the attempt to avert a danger which cannot be averted by anything which he or Mr. Jinnah can do or refrain from doing. It may be noted that, while Mr. Rajagopalacharya persists in talking of a national government, Mr. Jinnah with equal persistency speaks only of a provisional government.

Education and Proselytising:—There has been some sensation in Bombay academic circles over the reported conversion to the Catholic faith of some Parsi and Muslim girls studying in the Sophia College which was started three years ago by some nuns under the auspices of the Jesuits of St. Xavier's College. *The Reformer* objected to the starting of the institution and to its affiliation to the Bombay University as a retrograde step. It did not occur to us at the time that the nuns might have in view proselytising as well as education. St. Xavier's College has been in existence for over half a century but no one ever heard of any student becoming a convert in that institution. In contrast to this, within two years of its starting, the Sophia College had, if the report be true, netted three souls. It would seem that one or two more probable perverts were saved only by the timely exercise of parental authority. Professor K. I. Shah writing in the *Bombay Chronicle* said that he had approached the University authorities but that they had declined to move in the matter on the extraordinary ground that the terms of affiliation did not include a clause prohibiting proselytising. Those terms did not include several other things which if allowed in an educational institution would create a public scandal. The more correct attitude will be to warn the college authorities that proselytising was not one of the functions of a College affiliated to the University which itself has no religious affiliations and that, therefore, the College cannot carry on proselytising activities without incurring the penalty of disaffiliation. The refusal of the authorities to take action on Professor Shah's representation can only be interpreted as meaning that they share the naive opinion expressed in a letter to the *Bombay Chronicle* by Mrs. Bapsy Sabavala that God is "one's private property." Mrs. Sabavala would perhaps not be surprised if it was pointed out to her that, if God is her private property; she can sell, mortgage or even exchange Him for anything else which took her fancy. However that may be, we have no hesitation whatever in holding that the Sophia College has violated its terms of affiliation in spirit by proselytising the girls attending the institution for educational purposes only. If Government and other authorities had the least concern for the preservation of the spiritual personality of the country, they would firmly set their face against proselytising missions instead of subsidising them indirectly in the shape of education and other grants. We attach much importance to religious freedom but in no country in the world is the scope of religious freedom carried to such unconscionable extremes as in British India. This is all the more extraordinary because the founders of the British Empire so readily set their face against religious proselytism. There is another aspect of the matter concerning the breakdown of Indian family life. That may be reserved for separate treatment.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, November 14, 1942.

THE END OF VICHY FRANCE.

The United Nations have just been through what is the most eventful week of the War. Following on the success of British and Allied forces in the Libyan campaign, American troops in large numbers landed in North Africa and after a brief resistance the French colonies there surrendered to the Allies. Germany for her part declared her intention to march through unoccupied France. Marshal Petain is reported to have met the commander of the German forces on the frontier and protested against the infringement of the armistice of June 22, 1940. News of Admiral Darlan is confused and it was stated and denied that the French fleet had come over to the Allies. Marshal Petain himself, it is rumoured, has fled from Vichy France. The entry of American troops into French North Africa and the breaking off of diplomatic relations by the Vichy Government with the United States of America, though the U. S. A. declared that it still maintained diplomatic relations, mark the end of the curious position which the Government of Marshal Petain and the French State occupied in international affairs, after June 22, 1940 when the armistice was signed with Germany. During these past twenty-eight months, the Allied Nations were able to maintain an attitude of recognition both of General de Gaulle's Free French Government in London and of Marshal Petain's administration at Vichy. This was doubtless a reflection of the attitude of the French themselves, whether in France or abroad. Lt.-Col. Pierre Tissier, now legal adviser to the Legislative Committee of Free France, who has held in the past important administrative offices in the Republic such as those of Principal Private Secretary to Pierre Laval during his Premiership and of Legal Remembrancer to the French Supreme Administrative Court, has given in "The Government of Vichy" (Harrap: 15sh) a picture of conditions in France under Petain which cannot be equalled till the war ends, for its facts.

Central to an understanding of present-day conditions is the prestige of Marshal Petain:

The most curious point (writes Tissier), and perhaps the one most significant of the confusion of the French nation, is that, as the popularity of General de Gaulle increases, the people always join their two (Marshal Petain's and General de Gaulle's) names in common homage. Inscriptions chalked on every wall will contain both names; they will come together on every lip. If we look for an explanation of this paradox it may no doubt be found in the fact that General de Gaulle is the symbol of external, and Marshal Petain of internal, resistance to the enemy. Be that as it may, it is certain that Marshal Petain was able and is still perhaps able to get the people of France to accept measures or reforms they would never have tolerated from anyone else. (Page 86). Very largely the moral authority of the Ministers is in inverse ratio to that of the Marshal. Every time the country puts more trust in Petain, it puts less in his Ministers. (Page 91.)

Three causes contribute probably to this, the least of all perhaps being the despair engendered in a nation by defeat. It is surely understandable that the French people who lived under the shadow of the Nazi control, appreciated the difficulties confronting the octogenarian Marshal; and the respect they felt for one who "had assumed the responsibilities of power at an age when he had the right to rest and in circumstances as tragic as any in the history of the country," must have increased as they saw the conditions he had to contend against. Tissier frankly concedes that the old system prevailing before the armistice needed change; he even suggests that some of the ideals held out by Petain will be warmly supported by all Frenchmen. His thesis is that the application of proclaimed principles has failed under Petain.

Tissier's book which is an one-sided prejudiced, presentation of the case against the Vichy Government, is really much more than it is intended to be. It is an indictment of the very foundations of foreign rule. Of Vichy France, it could be said, in a sense in which Mr Amery even could not say of India, that it was governed by nationals from top to bottom. The administration which was displaced by the Petain regime, had nothing to commend it and the system itself was full of abuses. Yet the Marshal was unable to carry out his scheme of reforms, in spite of his having more powers than any other dictator. Tissier writes that Mussolini and Hitler were restrained by a programme and a party. Petain came on his own prestige. Instead of introducing an element of stability in his Cabinet which, one would have thought, the departure from the old system would make possible, there were even more frequent changes under Petain; and the Ministers chosen were those who were entirely devoted to the Marshal, "either because they were completely in his hands or because he was carrying out their policy." The deficiencies in the Ministers might have been ignored if high administrative posts could be filled with great officials. But the new test of subserviency to policies initiated from above reduced the number of efficient men available while the administration was forced to expand in every direction. Petain's own justification had always been that he was remaining in power only so long as he felt it possible to relieve the sufferings of his people. If he has left now, it implies beyond question that he has seen his own inability to resist the force of foreign domination.

The only thing which throve under the new dispensation, says Tissier, was the police: "In the Vichy regime, the most important organization after the Government is the police." An expansion of police powers and the reorganisation of the force was set on foot to "ensure law and order." There is nothing unique in the experience which France has undergone. What is unusual is the fact that the second greatest colonial power in the world should her-

self experience, in its acutest form, the evils of colonialism. Tissier shows that even initiative and the sense of responsibility were being lost in those short two years in a quotation from Marshal Petain full of bitterness. The Marshal said :

This will to command and to take the initiative for aims that we are pursuing, I would like to inspire it in all who take a share in the government or who hold any particle, however small, of the authority of the State.

We are glad for the sake of France that her period of servitude promises to be short. Nevertheless, it will not have been in vain if through it the peoples of Europe come to appreciate the defects of colonialism. In one sense French has been more fortunate than her colonies—for with her Frenchmen intervened between her people and the dominating power, and foreign control was indirect. Moreover, the terms imposed on France under the armistice were on the expectation of an early end to hostilities and a rapid collapse of Britain. Even if Marshal Petain is still in Vichy or elsewhere in unoccupied France, conditions must change in the direction of greater harshness. Immediately, France will be worse than under the Vichy regime but the end cannot be far off. If imperialism is to go after the war, the initiative will come not from men like Mr. Churchill who has recently declared that he did not become First Minister in Britain to liquidate the British Empire, but from men who have in places like France, occupied and unoccupied, experienced the evils of imperialism.

Elusive Punjab Premier :—On the 4th November a scheme for the partition of the Punjab on the principle of self-determination by the Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus was published in the Press. It was said to have emanated from Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab. It was further stated that the Hindu and Sikh leaders of the Punjab were conferring upon it. The Hindu and Sikh Ministers in Sir Sikandar's Cabinet participated in these conferences. There were comments and criticisms of the scheme in the Punjab newspapers. The *Tribune*, no doubt, from long experience of the Premier, guarded itself in its leading article by pointing out that, though the scheme had been attributed to him, Sir Sikandar himself had not accepted responsibility for it. All the time, about a week, Sir Sikandar made no sign even by way of implication that the scheme was not his. And he would perhaps have maintained silence but for Mr. Jinnah's reference to kite-flying at a Press Conference a few days later. But that reference seems to have scared him. At the meeting of the Committee of the Muslim League at Jullunder on Sunday last, Sir Sikandar is reported to have disowned any connection with the scheme put out in his name. He has since accepted it so far as to repudiate reports that it has been rejected by Hindus and Sikhs.

MUSLIM SOCIAL REFORM.

Hindu Muslim unity will come as an incident of a larger unity and not if pursued as an end in itself. The larger unity will embrace all castes and creeds—Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Parsis, Jews and Europeans and Anglo-Indians who have their homes in this country. The Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha aim at consolidating the position of one community and are, therefore, unlikely instruments to achieve this purpose. The Congress began with a national platform on which every Indian stood in his own human right without reference to caste or creed or race. This great advantage was relinquished when Congress gave formal recognition to communal distinctions, first in the Lucknow Pact, then by its misconceived alliance with the Khilafat agitation and not least by its shortsighted effort at removal of untouchability by legislation affecting Hindu temples. The Muslim leaders of the Khilafat movement became bitter opponents of the Congress. All civil disabilities of the Depressed Classes had been abolished before the Congress came into office. These classes were in every respect equal to the rest of the people in the eye of the law. Their social disabilities were being reduced by methods which have proved effective in reducing the disabilities of women. These methods are not spectacular but are sure in their operation and, what is important, they leave no bitter reactions behind. The Congress, therefore, laid itself open to the charge of being moved by communal considerations. Its attempts to win over Muslims by special concessions in the shape of weightages, lent support to this imputation. The Congress too, therefore, cannot be relied on to achieve the greater unity of which Hindu-Muslim unity will be a necessary incident. The British Government can no more serve this object because Indian unity will automatically eliminate its character as the dominant power. All these agencies are, therefore, bound to attach more importance to superficial differences than to the immensely greater fundamental similarities. These similarities, on the other hand, bulk more largely in the vision of social reformers than the superficial differences.

In its appreciation of British rule, *The Reformer* always had in the forefront the opportunities which it afforded for social reform rather than the economic drawbacks, undoubtedly serious, which have engaged the attention of economists and politicians of the twentieth century. Hindu leaders made fuller use of this opportunity than Muslims. Hence the apparent disparity between the relative status of the two communities. Mr. Jinnah in despair of overtaking the Hindus, wants to put Muslims in a separate pen called Pakistan where he hopes they may develop independently. Here he is mistaken. From every point of view, economic, educational and cultural, Muslims in the provinces where they are in contact with a Hindu majority, are much ahead not only of Muslims in the Muslim majority provinces but—and this is significant—of their Hindu neighbours. This shows conclusively that Mr. Attlee's opinion that Muslims have less brains than Hindus and are dependent for existence on their muscular strength is entirely wide of the mark. In the Hindu majority provinces Muslims have also been influenced by the social reform movement and Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Parsi and Jewish women have achieved a common level of social freedom and public spirit. The most hopeful feature of our times is that Muslim thinkers are coming to realise that politics is but the froth on the surface of a people's life and that the surest way of gaining a place in the sun is

to raise its social and spiritual levels. The *Onward*, an independent Muslim journal published in Allahabad, in its issue of November 7, has an article by Zuhair Siddiqui of Allahabad University which is like a beam of light in the present darkness. Mr. Siddiqui begins by referring to "the immense social progress" made during the last fifty years by Hindus. It was only through social reformation, he adds, that they could advance in other directions as well. He writes:

I do not grudge their progress. I only want the Mussulmans to learn a lesson from it. Hinduism is an essentially conservative religion; Islam, on the other hand, is an enlightened and progressive brotherhood. If the Hindus can introduce drastic and far-reaching reforms in their society, there is no reason why we, Mussulmans, should not be able to revolutionise the very structure of our present society.

The social reform movement among Hindus, the movement for conscious social change, is over a hundred years old. Its early manifestations were by no means praiseworthy. A great immorality, says Emerson, treads on the heels of every reformation. In this case it did not tread on the heels but stalked ahead of the reform movement. Young Bengal, someone wrote, was baptised in brandy. The first and most difficult task of the reformer was to pull the movement out of this dangerous rut. This was effected but in the process the movement got stuck in the religious rut. For fifty years social reform was advocated as a revival movement on the authority of the Shastras. It made little headway. One of the objects in starting the *Reformer* was to place social reform on the basis of reason instead of revelation. The progress, made during the last fifty years, is due largely to the emancipation of the social movement from religious authority. The Shastries and Pandits who controlled the movement, fell into the background. The danger of the movement developing as an irreligious movement was averted by the religious reformers, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Ramkrishna Paramahansa, Swami Vivekananda and Dr. Besant. The social reform movement has now entered on a new phase which demands the guidance of the wisest men in the country. Conservatism is not necessarily reactionary. In fact, true conservatism is never reactionary. Without conservatism we can never be sure that progress made will be enduring. Hindu conservatism has been exacting in its demand for credentials but once it was satisfied that change was for the good of the society, it has accepted it and enfolded it in its protecting care.

The social reforms which Mr Siddiqui urgently demands, among Muslims are the same as Hindu reformers have been working for. They are the abolition of the Purdah, of early marriages and marriages under parental compulsion, of polygamy, the encouragement of widow remarriage, the abolition of extravagant customs and conventions and the provision of vocational education which will enable women to earn their living. Mr. Jinnah has been proclaiming from the housetops that Hindus and Muslims are two different nations with nothing in common. Mr. Siddiqui's list shows that they have at least their social deficiencies in common. These afford a common platform on which the two communities, and, indeed, all others, can unite and work to forge the much-desired unity. Since the Women's Conferences began to apply themselves to social questions this is being already done.

ADMINISTRATION OF LABOUR.*

This book which is the joint production of three Czechoslovak students of public affairs, represents a valuable contribution to the growing volume of literature on the new social order. Discussing the social structure of the world as it should be after the war, the authors examine from the secular standpoint the foundations on which it can be based. They subdivide into three categories, the commonly pronounced theories regarding the future of society:—

- (i) the opinion of those who wish to build the future peace on legality;
- (ii) the opinion of those who wish to build the future peace on power;
- (iii) the opinion of those who wish to build the future peace on a new social economy.

The authors reject the first two theories, on grounds which can be well appreciated by students of social philosophy, and express their preference for those who urge the establishment of a new social economy as the only secure basis for lasting peace between the peoples of the world. The greatest danger to this form of resettlement of the affairs of the world, lies in the aggressive designs of the rulers of those nations who believe that peace can be established through the vesting of power in their hands. The last chapter is concerned with an examination of this danger from the point of view of the smaller nations which have to choose between a German and an Anglo-Saxon hegemony. In a note in the appendix the authors quote with approval the view that one must give the people of every country a sense that the existing order of society has some meaning for them and that they are called upon to play a full and equal part in it. That is exactly what we in India have been urging in reply to the calls made on us to pull our weight in the present world war. Few who express these admirable sentiments, pause to inquire what the large and powerful nations that are involved in the struggle, have done to clear up the doubts and hesitations felt by the subject peoples of the coloured races in Africa and Asia. These can have no interest in the struggle for power that is in progress among the powerful and rich nations of the world unless complete equality in every respect is guaranteed for them. Otherwise the peace that is to be established will, for them, represent a peace based on power.

The main contribution of the authors to the discussion of this problem is their view that the peace based on a new social economy is identified with the emergence of a new outlook on the administration of labour. To that extent the authors seem to concur in the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat propagated by Lenin. This means the end of *laissez faire* and the profit motive and the organisation of the means of production under the control of the community and in the interest of every individual constituting it. From this point of view, labour becomes the main subject of administration, the main factor in building up a new social structure. It is true that, as matters stand at present, owing to the restricted connotation of the term labour, scant need is paid to questions relating to classes of the community who are what may be called owner-workers. These, along with wage-earners, need some measure of protection from the blows of an unorganised economic system. Particularly, if they perform a function which is valuable from the point of view of the community as a whole. The promotion of the interests of these classes, such as peasants,

*An essay on problems of social economy by Frantisek Klug, Vladimir Oustrata, Alexander Kucosi. George Allen and Unwin; Price 8/6.

may have to be safeguarded, the authors observe, by measures such as the introduction of a system of "rentable" prices, that is, prices which would enable the peasants to market their crops and allow them to live at a reasonable standard of life, consistent with the amount of labour put in by them. In the course of the administration of labour in this widened scope, it may be necessary for those in charge to control production and to regulate the freedom of labour; but all such steps, the authors argue, should be deemed acceptable in as much as they are not intended for the aggrandisement of a section of society or the political domination of a group but represent an ordered programme aimed at securing the well-being and prosperity of every individual in a community.

The authors stress, throughout, their view that the new administration they propose must be built on an international scale, the state ceasing to be the supreme authority and becoming subservient to some superstate structure or organism. Only then, according to them, will there be an efficient dynamic organization carrying on an incessant struggle against the inequalities and inadequacies of social life. In the course of this struggle for the establishment of a new social economy, there may be action taken that impinges on the freedom of the individual. Will the new administration the authors examine, provide scope for the individuality of man, for his various gifts and personal qualities, for his uniqueness? This part of the book seems to the reviewer to be the weakest. The authors contest the view put forward by the Webbs in "Soviet Communism: A New Civilization," that the political control by the citizen (his right to disapprove by franchise) is sufficient to safeguard all his interests. The government representative, they aver, is never an impartial and unbiased expert but is merely the mouthpiece of the politically dominant group in the government concerned. The only reply that can be given logically to the difficulty that the authors have pointed out, is to devise some mechanism by which, while regulating production, or restricting freedom of labour, an individual's uniqueness can be protected. It is this paramount consideration that induces Gandhiji, for instance, to conceive of the future economic order in terms of the small unit. That is also the conclusion to which various economic thinkers and social philosophers have come in the West. It is a clear lesson of recent history, observes Mr. G. D. Cole, whom the authors quote, that democracy cannot be real unless it rests on small groups as its basic units—on groups small enough to be completely administered and led by men of normal stature and mental make-up. The farmer, the shop-keeper, the small manufacturer, Mr. Cole adds, should be regarded not as obstacles in the way of a new social order but as valuable checks upon a dangerous agglomerative tendency. Very similar is the conclusion reached by Aldous Huxley who observes: "The most propitious environment for equality is constituted by a society where the means of production are owned cooperatively, where power is decentralized, and where the community is organized in a multiplicity of small interrelated but, as far as may be, self-governing groups of mutually responsible men and women." It is a pity that obsessed by the advantages, from the purely administrative point of view, possessed by the larger units, the authors fail to attach due weight to the defects that centralization involves, defects that can be overcome only by the emergence of the small administration of the cooperative type favoured by Mr. G. D. H. Cole and Mr. Aldous Huxley and accepted by Mahatma Gandhi as the basis of his plan of economic reconstruction.

V. L. M.

INFLATION IN WARTIME.

(By B. NATARAJAN, CHIDAMBARAM.)

II.

A policy of inflation has notable disadvantages. In the first place, it is unfair between the rich and the poor. A certain percentage of rise in prices compels both the rich and the poor to cut down their expenditure in the same proportion; and, beyond doubt, this hits the poor more hard and is a clear negation of the principle of progressive taxation. Let us next take the case of a man with a fixed income of a certain size and also a wage-earner with the same income. As a result of trade union action or by insistent demand, the labourer might secure an increase in his wages and thus annul the effect of the rise in prices; but the man with a fixed income is in a sorry plight. And so long as the distribution of the burden is haphazard and unfair, no system of war finance can be said to ensure equity among the various classes of the community. Nor is this all. The inflationary device is at best only an inefficient means of achieving its purpose—which, to repeat, is the reduction of public consumption and the release of resources for the conduct of the war. The unscrupulous merchant, eager to make hay while the sun shines, derives an illegitimate fortune from an inflationary rise in prices. If the prices he charges for the articles that he sells, are higher than what they cost him at the time he came to acquire them, the merchant makes an unearned profit. Thus the profiteer is secure in his paradise, his appetite growing on what it feeds on. But the very purpose of inflation stands defeated. These disadvantages and other ill effects have only to be mentioned in order to demonstrate that the policy of inflation as a deliberate instrument of war finance is most undesirable.

Is it any wonder, then, that inflation has acquired such a bad reputation? There is, indeed, a remarkable unanimity of opinion today that inflation must at all costs be avoided. However, it is difficult to avoid inflation altogether. Experience has proved that some degree of inflation is unavoidable, mainly because the transition from peace to war economy is not quickly accomplished. The Government which undertakes the vigorous prosecution of the war, has got to persuade the public to forego by way of taxes money which (otherwise) would be spent on present consumption; but the tax systems are somewhat rigid and cannot be modified quickly enough to keep pace with the initial expansion of Government activity. So the Government is driven to the necessity of borrowing the savings of the community; and, if it cannot hope to get as much as it actually wants by borrowing the genuine savings of the people and is itself reluctant to create additional money to cover the entire cost of war, the people themselves may resort to the creation of additional bank credit for the purpose of granting war loans. Thus there is the inherent danger of rank inflation easily passing for genuine borrowing; the margin is not distinct. Moreover, the trouble is that a Government at war spends first and, being then at a loss to find enough resources to carry on the war creates new money. In consequence, inflationary tendencies strike root in the national economy and are not easily expelled from it. Administrators awake to find that, even without their knowing it, they have committed themselves to inflationary methods to such an extent that a reversal is not at all possible in the middle of the war. Inflation must be regarded, therefore, as a policy which governments drift into,

not one which they choose of their own volition. It has a sneaky way of slipping into the economy. For every inch we concede to it, it takes an ell. So the most that administrations can do is to find means of keeping inflation at a minimum; and timely action alone can prevent incipient inflation from developing into a menace to the war economy.

It remains for us to examine how the evil effects of inflation may be staved off. In the first place, the net incomes of the public should be kept as low as possible. The principle that the best way of paying for the war is to transfer resources from civilian consumption to war purposes is exceedingly important if only because it affords the best way of checking inflation. What is needed is an unstinted foregoing of purchasing power by all sections of the community; and both the non-inflationary devices have to be employed to the maximum extent that the community is prepared to tolerate. However, this method of eliminating excessive inflation involves measures of a drastic, unpopular character. And alas for human nature! Such calls for heavy sacrifices grate on the ear. In practice, therefore, some sort of compulsion becomes necessary. This explains why, in this war, governments have adopted schemes of compulsory savings.

Another obvious method of combating inflation is to control prices. The fundamental idea underlying price control is that, unless the government pursues a vigorous policy of curtailing the purchasing power of the public, inflationary forces may break loose from their insubstantial fetters. Control of prices and the stabilization of the cost of living are absolutely essential in order to prevent the onset of wartime inflation. Though, in our fight against it, we are not at all concerned with such rises in the price level as are produced by the fault of commodities themselves—their relative scarcity—yet we cannot look on with unconcern when prices are soaring up with startling rapidity; for sooner or later, inflation slides imperceptibly into the price structure; and excessive rise in prices may be transformed into an inflationary trend. Not only does the regulation of prices save the community from wild inflation; it also releases a good portion of their purchasing power for the benefit of the State, and thus helps the Government to reduce the degree of inflation to the minimum.

Curiously enough, some have maintained that even the idea of keeping wartime inflation at a minimum is absurd. To apply our peace-time formulas to the abnormal conditions of war, they hold, is to lose contact with reality. Indeed they go so far as to say that inflationary tendencies cannot be stamped out; that 'moderate' inflation is in fact healthy for war economy and ought not to be condemned, as it is a balancing force in an otherwise deranged economy. But our whole case is against excessive and uncontrolled inflation; and, as it is difficult to gauge the precise extent of inflation—whether it is great or small—it is best to reduce it to the unavoidable minimum.

In the light of our experience in this war, there seems to be an urgent need in India for measures of drastic Governmental control. The profiteer and the hoarder should not be allowed to grow fat at the expense of the community at large; and their tyranny can be rooted out only by commandeering by the Government of available stocks of at least essential commodities, by opening depots under the auspices of the Government or by arranging for their distribution through co-operative societies.

However, we have not exhausted all the fronts in the war against inflation in India; and a

word about the methods of price control seems called for. Mere fixation of maximum prices does not go far enough; it is merely tinkering with the problem. An ideal regulated price must take into account the disposition of both the seller of an article and its consumer. In this connection, the idea of a "fair price" may be adopted. We may conceive of a fair and reasonable price as one based on the cost of production, or the cost of acquisition of the article with some reasonable percentage of profit allowed on it. This profit ratio is merely a prize to tempt the producer to furnish more supplies of his goods. But the price fair to the seller must be equally fair to the consumer; and if that golden mean could be attained and scrupulously followed, nothing better could be improvised. Of course the fair price of our seeking is not meant to be too rigid. It may be allowed a narrow margin within which to vary in sympathy with other factors. If this idea comes to be adopted, floor and ceiling prices should be fixed on almost all essential commodities and services as well as their varieties, grades, and by-products. Price control which is not all inclusive, is valueless.

In England and other countries with an admittedly higher standard of living, the object of price control during this war has been to take away from the citizens a portion of their purchasing power. With regard to India, however, it has been urged in some quarters that far from checking the civilian's use of his purchasing power on current consumption, the price control authority should increase it. It has been maintained that, owing to the abnormal rise in prices since 1939, the real incomes of the various classes in India—especially the poor—have not definitely increased in spite of the favourable changes in the national income. And if the less fortunate classes should be assured of a constant flow of their essential wants at the basic rate, then their limited purchasing power, being inadequate, should be increased to off-set the adverse effect of rising prices. But this argument is open to an objection. If more purchasing power is placed in the hands of the citizen to meet an initial rise in prices, the economy is apt to get entangled in one of the twists of the inflationary spiral. And what we are determined to avoid we shall unwittingly invite.

Under any equitable system of price regulation in India due regard should be paid to the interests of those at the lower rungs of the social ladder. They must be assured of at least the rock bottom of living—the irreducible minimum of food, clothing and shelter. In war time a certain degree of inflation is always present; and, consistent with the objective we have set forth, there can be no question of withdrawing purchasing power from the poorest in the community. In fact, they may even be afforded a greater volume of purchasing power—but it must be only just enough to cancel the effect of an initial increase in prices; and it is very important that the cost of living should be stabilized at the new level by an enlightened policy of price control.

To sum up: In war economy, a slight degree of inflation is inevitable; and all that lies in our power is to keep inflationary tendencies under check. For there is always the danger that simple inflation, if it is not checked in time, will lead us straight, to excessive inflation which may upset the national economy itself. In order to avoid this disaster we have to practise eternal vigilance which alone is the price of safety.

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

(Copyright.)

MARCH 17, 1933.

Hawaii.

The ladies find Hawaiian lady-singers very pretty and their costumes very beautiful; neither faces nor costumes move me.

I told my companions that the paper's interview with Shaw had one salient idea—Mr. Shaw does not know if Hitler will prove an effective Mussolini or an ineffective Kerensky.

MARCH 18, 1933.

Miss Philips tells me she bought at the White Elephant Auction the presentation to Mr. Shaw by the Bombay University students for which he has no use. The Elephant auction is arranged by the ship to enable passengers to get rid of what they do not want, or to buy what they missed buying.

She has read Euripides! Her mother, she says, was connected with the London Theatre and Nancy Price. Mr. Shaw, overhearing, remarked that the London Theatre was no good. In public estimation it ranks with the Vic.

MARCH 19, 1933.

Sugar plantations and refineries apparently owned from San Francisco, were the chief aspect of the landscape.

I myself have been wondering whether the climate so obviously exhilarating, without rigorous winter or enervating summer, with no noticeable spring and yearlong fall of leaves which precede as a seasonal autumn—Hawaii cannot dread winter or look forward to Spring—does this climate tell on death-rate? Captain Prior was good enough to read up for me the Encyclopaedia Britannica (14th. Edition) article on Hawaii and found there the question treated satisfactorily. The American death-rate is 6.5, the Japanese under 9, the pure Hawaiians 87. The Japs form 47% of the population. The low deathrate among American and Japs may be due to their age-complexion. At Honolulu there is a Japanese Buddhist temple, but today we were told of a Jap Church, probably Christian. Five per cent of the population are Portuguese.

MARCH 20, 1933.

Dr. Brookes had promised yesterday that he would reproduce to me the lecture near Volcano House of which I had not caught a sentence but which had been so appreciatingly applauded. Today, Dr. Brookes said I had missed nothing; that there was a local myth of how a goddess Bali had given birth to the volcano; but the rest was commonplace, and half the pictures were of Vesuvius. The plaudits of ladies could be explained by the handsome face of the lecturer. They were led by a man (ranger in uniform) born and bred in Samoa at a plantation over a volcano, burnt down by it; his whole life has been concerned with volcanoes; and he must know everything about volcanoes; the ranger protested he knew nothing; nothing was known.....

Discussing Einstein and his appointment as fulltime Professor at the Adams Institute at Princeton, I told the story of women's petitioning that an avowed pacifist should not be allowed to land in the U. S. When on landing he was told of this petition, his comment was, "Cackling geese once saved Rome, why may they not save the U. S.?"

Dr. Brookes in taking from me the latest number of the *Spectator* and seeing Norman Angell's article, "Man can abolish war," did not see how Angell, whom Dr. Brookes admired, was going to do it. Wars resulted from Patriotism and patriotism is one form

of sex manifestation; how abolish sex? Did I not think so? I said that required thinking over.

MARCH 21, 1933.

Mrs. Nash came asking for congratulation that she remembered the number of her cabin. I gave the congratulation that she had never disremembered it. I did not know, she informed me, that recently forgetfulness had assailed her. As she passed Mr. Shaw, she offered her sympathy, as she had had a fall herself, somewhere, somewhen. Mr. Shaw replied that Mrs. Nash was a woman, she needed and received sympathy but, being what he was, he received and needed none.

I see a good deal of Mr. Yates. Yesterday he returned me the history of Cosmological Theories with the comment that, while the book was full of interesting curiosities, what does anyone want to be monkeying with old exploded theories? The answer was obvious: Knowledge of previous errors tells us what methods of exploration to avoid and also the possibility that our present assurance might be misplaced. Today he told me of how he learnt the vice of smoking at 22; now at 78, he is sure that it is a vice. Fellow Collegians were all smokers, except he; one of them had to pass into a room for inspection and leave his cigar outside. Not willing to waste it, and fearing the other fellows would finish it, he left it in the charge of Yates who was not going in. The other fellows were even with their comrade, however; they persuaded Yates that his promise was to keep them from touching it, he had not promised not to smoke it himself; but of course Yates, they said, was a milksop and would not dare. So Yates had to dare, the Tempter saw to it that he fell. By the way, I suggest that *shaitan* originally meant Tempter and when Jesus said to Peter, "Get thee behind me, Satan," Jesus meant Peter was the Tempter, not the Devil. Just so Churches and chapels have made play with the text, "I know that my Redeemer cometh," as if it were a prophecy of the Advent of the Messiah; but a scholar says the Arabic means only that some kinsman will come to avenge his blood, the usual blood-feud.

Dr. and Mrs. Brookes searched me inside out. The Doctor is a member of the Reform Club yet he is disillusioned about Democracy. He welcomes the return of the Hohenzollerns foreshadowed by the presence of the Crown Prince at the Reichstag meeting which transferred the full powers of Parliament to Hitler. Apparently Mussolini's achievement has impressed him and he thinks England might have to come to the same, since Demos does not think. The prospect in Berlin is between Communism and Hohenzollerns and though he is averse to hereditary Kaiserdom he is willing to pay the price to avert Communism. Mrs. Brookes insisted on my saying yes or no; my provisionalism declined. It is our ignorance that assumes there are only two alternatives, there is usually a *tertium quid*; the revulsion from present Democracy should be to a larger, that is more real, democracy not a reversion to discredited Great-Man-Power. No mastodon can govern; intelligence, secured from public passions, would be in touch with the movements in the subconscious of crowds through which societies grow. I would be suspicious of some ready-made scheme to save society; by Trial and Error, we shall stumble into things better suited if competent intelligence is present to watch and learn from experience. The return of the Bourbons after the French Revolution and of Napoleon 111 solved nothing.

MARCH 22, 1933.

Dr. Brookes asked if my unbelief did not make me unpopular with Parsi ladies. I pointed out that Parsis

are not believers at heart; there was a noisy loyalty to ritual, to "varasyati" and cow's water and "mathu banu" but they have gone and smoking has come in instead. Parsis and Jews pushed forward in India commercially, made money from Chinese opium through religious indifference when Mohammedans were too uneducated to know the opportunities and Hindus had qualms about 'Kalapani.' And commercial people like sailor lads, see too many religious, too many breaches by one religion of the observance of all the others to preserve much fear of breaches of all or any. Ruskin says that sailors also see too many perils not to pray to an unseen helper, but Francis Galton has an essay on the inefficacy of Prayer where he shows that the lives of most prayed-for kings or ships with clergymen passengers have no advantage. Dr. Brookes, struck with these remarks, confessed that his brother had been a clergyman of the Church of England, but that before his death talked unbelievably. I told Dr. Brookes not to worry about it; it is a regular feature in the Catholic Church, I have been told, that at any time there would be a thousand curates in France bewailing their lot to be compelled to preach week after week what they could not help disbelieving. Twenty-five years ago, one read of Cardinal Gaskell in England, in delirium at death, impotently voicing suspicions that his life-work had been an illusion, a nightmare. When I have been asked to beware of the lucid perception of God at life's end, I have sincerely answered that there is no insurance against senility. Mrs. Brook and I, then, discussed conscience on the understanding that candour would not be resented.

MARCH 23, 1933.

Mrs. Brookes talked of her happiness in her conscience, its unmistakable verdicts, the remorse that followed their non-observance. I said, conscience is not an organ but a faculty; location is not the stomach where we feel the effect of remorse but the brain whence knowledge emanates; for conscience is knowledge knowledge together, science about a particular act or event in relation to the whole of knowledge. The deliverances of conscience, therefore, may be as blundering as other deliverances of the brain, and if most opinion be secret wish-fulfilment, conscience may also be that; at its best conscience represents customary opinion which should be neither valid nor obligatory; morals and ethics are both derived from mos and ethos, meaning manners, custom. I should be proud to reckon with conscience, without elevating it to be my master. As for Happiness we settle down into it too quickly for it to last; we do not want the exertion of thinking. we accept the familiar, we pretend a satisfaction and sublimate it. Truly, truly, there is a divine discontent. Content is smug.

MARCH 25, 1933.

Hawaii.

An interesting note is that the ansluch—union between Germany and Austria,—is not only desirable, but the only salvation for Vienna and Austria, yet the League resists it. The press does not raise the question—What remedy Austria has against the rigid mind of the powers that be at the League? If Hitler were to announce a new flag of United Germany and Austria and mount it over both capitals, is the League or are its Powers prepared to act?

The most interesting item in the papers is yet another interview with Shaw in which Shaw showed himself in the best humour, submitted to the ordeal for an hour, pronounced reporters and cameramen the most incompetent he had met, and yet they felt it a

privilege to be stung by the champion stinger. But they give the small talk of the ship, the conceit, owliness and scowls attributed to Shaw, and refer to his not talking with his wife at meals as something that Mrs. Shaw does not mind being herself fond of reading. Hitler and the Jews also figure largely in the press.

INDIAN EXECUTIVE COUNCILLORS.

Sir,—Sir Jogendra Singh, Member for Education, stated in the Council of State that Lord Linlithgow can claim that he has secured an Indian majority in his Executive Council, while the great positivist thinker and Liberal statesman, John Morley, could not reconcile himself to the appointment of a single India. But, reading Lord Morley's speeches in the House of Lords while introducing the Reform proposals in 1908, and on the second reading of the Indian Councils Bill in 1909, one finds that Lord Morley, in spite of his asseverations that he would not take a step which would lead directly up to the establishment of the Parliamentary system in India, definitely expressed the view that, if during his retention of office there should be a vacancy in the Viceroy's Executive Council, he should feel it his duty to tender to the King his advice that an Indian member should be appointed, and that he had the absolute and full concurrence of Lord Minto himself, Lord Minto being the originator of the idea. In this connection, the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastriar, in his review of John Buchan's "Lord Minto," and in his Mysore University Extension Lectures on Gokhale, remarks that the opposition to the measure came from the King himself, that Morley's tact and firmness overcame this opposition, and that Lord Sinha's appointment to the Viceroy's Executive Council was regarded as a triumph of John Morley's statesmanship. In the light of the above statements, I shall be grateful if the learned readers of your valuable paper threw more light on this interesting episode in Indian politics. The politician of today is slippery of facts, unlike his forbears of yesterday.—Yours etc.,

R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.

MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

"The Viceroy has refused Mr. Rajagopalachari's request to interview Gandhiji. "The Governor-General saw Mr. Rajagopalachari at his request," says a communique. Mr. Rajagopalachari explained the endeavours he had been making to find a political solution and asked to be allowed to interview Mr. Gandhi regarding them. Mr. Rajagopalachari made it clear that he did not represent any party or organisation and could speak only for himself. He was unable to produce any evidence of concrete support for his proposals."

"The Governor-General is most anxious at all times to further all reasonable efforts to achieve a settlement and he made his attitude clear to Mr. Rajagopalachari; but, he added, the attitude of the Congress leaders appeared to remain entirely unchanged. There had been no expression of regret for a policy that had over the last three months provoked so much violence crime and bloodshed, and no sign of any change of heart. The attitude of the Congress leaders appeared to be the same as when it necessitated the arrest of Mr. Gandhi and the Working Committee last August, though those leaders were fully aware of the evil consequences of the policy which they had adopted and advocated."

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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 J. Sarkar on Indian Unity:—The *Modern Review* for November gives prominence to an article on the unity of India by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the well-known author of many standard works of Indian history. Sir Jadunath does not touch on the political controversy on the subject. Nor does he confine himself to literary sources. He writes from his personal experience of different parts of the country. With a passing reference to the physical conformation of the country, its isolation from the rest of Asia by the Himalayas and the triple seas, its uniformity of surface the ground nowhere rising more than 1000 feet above sea level, Sir Jadunath refers to climatic differences as having affected very little the pattern of social life. During a tour he spent a few days in Tanjore which he found very warm, and passed on to Ahmedabad where the cold inflamed his tonsils. He lived in orthodox Hindu homes and he found that the manner of life was essentially identical. He might have fared further north and he would have had the same experience. A visitor from the extreme south finds little difficulty in finding his way about in homes in the extreme north and this is the case not only as between Hindus but also, only to a slightly less degree, between Hindus and Muslims. Sir Jadunath contradicts the common belief that geographical and climatic conditions raised impassable provincial barriers before British rule was established. Pilgrimages from Benares to Rameshwaram were common and the leisurely manner in which pilgrims travelled facilitated closer knowledge between different parts of the country. Hindu, Buddhist and Mughal rulers had contributed to a common cultural and social unity. Sir Jadunath sums up his conclusions thus:

The Indian people of today are no doubt a composite ethnical product, but they have all acquired a common Indian stamp and have all been contributing to a common culture and building up a common type of traditions, thought and literature. Even Sir Herbert Risley, who is so sceptical about the Indians' claim to be considered one people, has been forced to

admit that beneath the manifold diversity of physical and social types, languages, customs and religions, which strike the observer in India, there can still be discerned an underlying uniformity of life from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. There is in fact, adds Sir Herbert, an Indian character, a general Indian personality, which we cannot resolve into its component elements.

The War and Education:—The Hon. Mr. N. R. Sarkar, Member of the Government of India until recently for Education and now for Commerce, in his address to the annual Convocation of Agra University made a timely protest against the sacrifice of educational interests to the exigencies of war. Some people, he pointed out, were so obsessed with the prosecution of the war as the only thing that mattered, that they were prepared to overlook every other consideration. Such people, said Mr. Sarkar, cannot help casting covetous eyes on educational buildings and staffs for war purposes. The former are suitable for hospitals, offices, barracks, A. R. P. post and so on and to the people in question nothing seems easier than to requisition educational buildings as a short-cut solution of the difficulties in finding suitable accommodation. The occupation by the military of the entire premises of the Benares Hindu University recently is the most glaring instance of the tendency which Mr. Sarkar deprecated. He said that in Britain too there was the same tendency but it was sharply corrected by the force of public opinion. One unfortunate feature in the position in this country is that those who ultimately direct policy do not educate their children in India. The short-sightedness of sacrificing the interests of future generations, therefore, does not come home to them as readily as it does to English parents. Even from the point of view of successful prosecution of the war, it is utter folly to neglect such vital matters as the provision of adequate food for the bodies and minds of the people. The much-boasted Civil Service has had no policy except collecting enough revenue to assure the regular payment of pay and pensions, and the railways, post offices and telephones and other conveniences were primarily needed to ensure this purpose. Since the third-quarter of the last century it is difficult to point to a single measure which was adopted directly and exclusively for the benefit of the Indian people as distinguished from the interests of the British Empire.

India has perhaps the lowest income per head of the nations of the world. Illiteracy is appalling. Health and nutritional conditions are such as would have branded any European Government as beneath the scale of civilisation. Against this dismal record is set the imaginary service of preventing communal conflicts and preventing foreign invasion. Mr. Sarker's address is a strong indictment of Government and, although he took care to couple the people with it as responsible for the depressed condition of the country, he well knows that very little initiative has been left to the people. Gokhale ate his heart out pleading in vain for a few crores for free and compulsory elementary education. He was met by the standing reply that the country cannot afford the cost. Today crores upon crores are spent on war. Where they come from God only knows, and, perhaps Sir Jeremy Raisman. The present unrest is an inevitable result of the culpable neglect of education and industrial development and no amount of sophistry can acquit officialdom of the main responsibility for the present deplorable situation.

Sophia College Conversions:—We have received a copy of certain resolutions passed at a public meeting held under the joint auspices of the Young Men's Muslim Association and Anjuman-e-Khuddamul Quran on Sunday last with Maulana Abdul Rauf Khan presiding. The first resolution relates to the compulsory teaching of the Bible to minor girls in Sophia College and requests the Government of Bombay "to do the needful in the matter." There is no Bible teaching in Catholic schools. Even adult Catholics are required to get lessons in religion from the priesthood and not directly from the Bible. Again, it is incorrect to say that such teaching is given to minor children. The atmosphere in a denominational school naturally favours the imbibing of the culture of the denomination by pupils. In the case of a convent the selfless devoted lives of the nuns are bound to make a deep impression on young women especially from homes where materialistic ends prevail to the exclusion of spiritual ones. It is a curious fact that they are from homes which are not lacking in comfort and even luxury. While we agree that proselytising attempts ought not to be tolerated in educational institutions receiving Government grants or in affiliation with the University, we would lay greater stress on the home atmosphere being purified and elevated than on measures of Government as a means of protecting impressionable children from being led away from their ancestral moorings. Catholic monks and nuns have for several years past been deprived of control of education in several countries of Europe long professing that faith. Turkey has prohibited religious teaching in schools controlled by foreign missions on the ground that it tends to lower the Turkish national ideals in the eyes of Turkish children. The decision has been accepted as right by American Missions

working in that country. Even China where the Generalissimo and his wife profess Christianity, has placed strict restrictions on foreign missions more or less for the same reason. The Anjuman meeting in another resolution condemned a history of India by Father Gense and requested the Government of Bombay to proscribe it. In this matter *The Reformer* has always held strongly that proscription of books by Government is a suppression of opinion and detrimental to progress. We have not seen the book to which exception is taken, but we can guess what in it is offensive to Muslim readers. Father Gense must have written in ignorance of the feelings of Mussulmans and the best course is to see him and convince him of his mistake. We are sure he will readily agree to make such corrections as are necessary without any action on the part of Government. It is high time we gave up the practice of rushing to Government for every little thing which we can easily set right ourselves.

Primary School Text-Books:—The Bombay Government appointed some time back a Committee to advise them on the use of text-books in primary schools. The Committee has made its report, a summary of which has been published in the newspapers. As the question relates only to primary schools in which the medium of instruction is the mother-tongue of children, much of the Committee's labours would seem to be superfluous. In every Indian language there are compositions generally in verse form meant for children, which, beside introducing the child to a knowledge of the alphabet embodied the cultural heritage of the community. These compositions are familiar even to persons who cannot read or write. No manufactured text-books can equal these in their appeal to children in the elementary stage. It is remarkable that proverbial wisdom is common to the whole country. Thus the use of these traditional primers promotes the sense of unity in children at their most impressionable age. The Text-book Committee has deprecated the use of a single set of text-books on the ground that it leads to "regimentation." Regimentation is undesirable in the higher stages of education but in the elementary stage it is necessary and beneficial. Each child can not, for fear of regimentation, be taught a different alphabet. A common cultural foundation is essential to build up the child's social consciousness. For many years after the introduction of English teaching in schools, the readers used were the same as those made for English children and they were not at all unsatisfactory. These were superseded by others prepared specially for Indian children, which not only fell far short of the English readers in point of selection and treatment of subjects, but did not fulfil the aim of making them more suitable for Indian children. The manufacture of text-books became a trade. This led to the abuses incidental to trade and every two or three years

Committees have attempted to correct them. The Indian method of teaching language through simple classics, postponing grammar to a more advanced stage, has now come to be recognised as the most natural.

De Gaulle—Darlan—Petain:—The negotiations which the American Commander in North Africa entered into with Admiral Darlan who was sent by Marshal Petain to defend French possessions there, have had curious results. The old Marshal repudiated Admiral Darlan and appointed another French army man as his representative. However both Admiral Darlan and General Nogues arrived at some understanding and the Admiral turned the tables on the Marshal by stating that he was not, as was believed, a prisoner and, therefore, he had assumed command in North Africa; this he followed up with another statement pleading that Marshal Petain was not a free agent and accordingly the people of North Africa should follow the Admiral. As if this confusion were not enough, a Reuter's message on Tuesday gave the reactions of General de Gaulle to Allied negotiations with the men of Vichy and particularly with Admiral Darlan who is generally represented as pro-German while Marshal Petain was only making the best of a bad job. It also gave an extract from the *London Times* commending the arrangement arrived at with Admiral Darlan for its temporary nature for a definite purpose, not committing the United Nations to any future policy. The replies in the House of Commons to questions about General de Gaulle added further to the impression that the Free French leader was being shelved. The reason for this probably lies in the fact that Washington has been slower to recognize de Gaulle than London and, in the eloquent phraseology of Mr. Churchill, the British Prime Minister is the ardent lieutenant of the American President in North Africa. He has to follow him in policy no less than in military strategy. A writer in the *New Republic* (June 8, 1942) charged Washington with a desire to recognize Vichy; at the time Admiral Muselier occupied St. Pierre and Miquelon, the State Department referred to the "so-called Free French" and "for days it talked of returning the islands to Vichy." Then again "when the Nazis forced Laval back into power, the State Department actually urged members of the French diplomatic and consular staffs not to resign and join de Gaulle." The writer, Mr. Varian Fry, in fact, hinted at an arrangement between Vichy and Washington by which the U. S. A. had agreed not to do anything to increase the prestige of de Gaulle. Whilst the *London Times* seems to imply that the present position bodes well for the future as it leaves America and Britain free to evolve a policy towards old French colonies, unhampered by considerations of France's rights as an imperial power, Mr. Fry's article presents American undertakings with Vichy in a light wide enough to cover "help to Vichy to regain control over its dissident colonies." What the

truth is the end of the war will show.

The Press in The Provinces:—As a result of the Government of India throwing the responsibility for press legislation relating to the disturbances after August 8 on to the provinces, a great deal of confusion has arisen in the country. In effect it is a decision on the part of the Central Government to deal with the press on a provincial basis. Unfortunately it is the case that where the provincial administration is reactionary, the press is also weak. Of the twelve provinces—Delhi being counted as one—four are reasonable in their acceptance of the scheme put forward by the Editors' Conference at Bombay; an equal number resist the very thought of an agreement and another four are colourless. The Government of India seems to be under the impression that having shifted the burden it has nothing more to do but watch developments. There might be some reason for the Central Government hesitating to intervene in provinces where there are popular administrations in power. But something can and must be done in the provinces run by the Civil Service which is centrally controlled. The press should develop its technique on two different lines for the two categories: pressure on the Delhi Government to influence recalcitrant civilians and direct pressure on popular governments by, if necessary, a press boycott. No one can accept the bonafides of a Central Government which pleads its inability to control its own bureaucrats. If the civilian-controlled provinces do not come into line, the Editors' Conference will be justified in regarding the Government's reply to its resolution as an attempt at evasion. On the side of the press, it is gratifying to note that the Madras group of newspapers which had suspended, have resumed publication. Their decision is communicated in a statement which suggests that they do not regard the response of the Madras Government as satisfactory. Of course, it is not. We do not think that any province will be inclined to acclaim the relations between the Government and the press there as satisfactory. If it could, there would be no need for any committees or other points of contact between Government and the press. The question is whether there is the machinery and the atmosphere for a free interchange of views between these two organs of society. Every province, which has withdrawn the order of August 8 in effect, answers the question in the affirmative. It is to the credit of the press as a whole that it has always striven for such an atmosphere in spite of grave provocation from government and intense pressure from politicians.

The War:—British and American statesmen seem to have felt that their countries may slacken in war efforts if they did not caution the people that the war was not won and will be won only by increased sacrifices on their part. The feature of the week's pronouncements has been the stressing of the danger of over-confidence.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, November 21, 1942.

LORD LINLITHGOW, MR. RAJAGOPALACHARYA AND GANDHIJI.

Lord Linlithgow's refusal of permission sought by Mr. Rajagopalacharya to interview Gandhiji about his negotiations with Mr. Jinnah, cannot be said to have materially affected the prospects of a solution of the political deadlock. If permission had been granted, the first thing that Gandhiji would have told Mr. Rajagopalacharya would certainly be that he could not form any conclusion without consulting his friends of the Congress Working Committee. He would also have insisted that, unless they were all of them unconditionally released, they would not be in a position to express a free and independent judgment on Mr. Rajagopalacharya's scheme. The members of the Working Committee would certainly have refused to accept responsibility for the disturbances subsequent to their detention and, consequently, to admit the necessity of disavowing the policy which was adopted by the All-India Congress Committee. Unless Government are prepared to avow that they were precipitate in ordering the detention of Congress members, and to set aside their order declaring the Congress illegal, the deadlock, after perhaps a few days' suspense, will return with increased intensity. Mr. Rajagopalacharya's request was, therefore, really a demand for the reversal of the policy of August 8. That that policy will have to be reversed, we have no doubt whatever. Lord Linlithgow himself might admit this but he might prefer to leave the reversal to his successor, whoever he may be, rather than do it himself in view of his commitments to his colleagues. Lord Morley was convinced that the Partition of Bengal could not stand but in view of his having declared it to be a settled fact he felt that he could not himself act but must leave action to his successor. So far as Gandhiji himself is concerned, he had definitely stated his position in his speech at the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay. Gandhiji said :

Rajaji said to me, "I do not believe in Pakistan. But the Mussulmans ask for it, Mr. Jinnah asks for it, and it has become an obsession with them. Why not then say, 'Yes,' to them just now? The same Mr. Jinnah will later realise the disadvantages of Pakistan and will forego the demand." I said it is not fair to accept as true a thing which I hold to be untrue and ask others to do so in the belief that the demand will not be pressed when the time came for settling it finally. If I hold the demand to be just I should concede it this very day. I should not agree to it merely in order to placate Jinnah Sahib. Many friends have come and asked me to agree to it for the time being to placate Mr. Jinnah and disarm his suspicion and to see how he reacts to it. But I cannot be party to a course of action with a false promise. At any rate, it is not my method.

Mr. Rajagopalacharya might say, he has said, that it is a calumny to attribute to Mr. Jinnah the demand for the concession at once of Pakistan. He only wants an undertaking

that the Congress, the Government of India, the Hindu Mahasabha and all others whom it may concern, should guarantee that the result of the plebiscite of the Muslims in the Muslim majority province would be accepted. Mr. Rajagopalacharya may think that the result of the plebiscite will be against Pakistan. Or he may even think that Mr. Jinnah, by his experience of the Provisional Government as he calls it or the National Government as Mr. Rajagopalacharya calls it, will get rid so completely of his fears of a Congress or Hindu majority as to relinquish all thought of Pakistan. But at the moment Mr. Jinnah thinks quite the other way. He is sure that the result of the plebiscite will be overwhelmingly for Pakistan. The Muslim League members of the Provisional Government will use all their influence to ensure that it should be so during the period preceding the cessation of hostilities when the plebiscite is to be taken. Mr. Rajagopalacharya for his part cannot do propaganda against Pakistan because that would be a violation of the understanding, or so it will be construed not unreasonably by Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Jinnah expressed the other day the opinion that Congress or Hindu leaders (they are the same to him) are beginning to see that the demand for Pakistan is reasonable. Had the Viceroy given Mr. Rajagopalacharya permission to interview Gandhiji, His Excellency's action might have given rise to the impression that he was inclined to favour Mr. Rajagopalacharya's tactics.

The Viceroy's refusal is not only intelligible but it is the only one which His Excellency could have in the circumstances returned to Mr. Rajagopalacharya's request. But His Excellency did not take the proper ground. The reason which he has given in the Press statement issued immediately after Mr. Rajagopalacharya's interview, is one which is not only unconvincing but offensive as implying a poor opinion of Gandhiji's steadfastness. His Excellency says that Gandhiji and the Congress have not repudiated the resolution of the All India Congress Committee. Evidently His Excellency thinks that Gandhiji is a man who can be coerced by detention into giving up views which he has formed as the result of mature reflection. Gandhiji would not be the man that he is if his opinions were liable to be altered under duress. If anything, he would be confirmed in them by the attempt by physical detention to convert him to views acceptable to authority. Lord Linlithgow, however, may be excused this mistake because it is the foundation of every rule of one country by another. But Mr. Rajagopalacharya also takes the same view. He claims to be the one man who can approach Gandhiji with any chance of success. As he has not given any new reason, not covered by Gandhiji's clear statement, to support his belief that he will be able to convert Gandhiji to his view, it can only be inferred that he expects that the

three months' internment would have made Gandhiji more amenable to his pleadings. At this juncture, Field Marshal Smut's fervent tribute to Gandhiji comes as a refreshing shower of rain on a hot day. Answering questions at a Press Conference in London last week, the South African Prime Minister said:

It is sheer nonsense to talk of Mr. Gandhi as a Fifth Columnist. He is a great man. He is one of the great men of the world and he is the last person to be placed in that category. He is dominated by high spiritual ideals. Whether those ideals are practicable in this difficult world, is another question.

The Field Marshal is also a philosopher, perhaps the only one in the British Army. If spiritual ideals are of doubtful value in this difficult world, why do the Allied Nations profess, and no doubt believe, that they stand for moral principles as against the Nazi-Fascist's material and militarist aims?

Mr. JINNAH IN THE PUNJAB.

Mr. Jinnah during the last week-end delivered a number of speeches in the Punjab round Jullundur where he had gone to preside over a Muslim Students' Conference, in which he revealed more of his programme and his difficulties than he has done elsewhere in recent years. Mr. Jinnah seems to have declared that he was no more afraid of the British or the Hindus but of his Muslim brethren who pulled in the opposite direction. Mr. Rajagopalacharya who of late has begun to attribute infallibility to Mr. Jinnah as the voice of Muslim India and seeks on that basis to stifle all opposition to his own scheme, might note this admission which is as important as Mr. Jinnah's failure to endorse the Madras leader's gratuitous remark that Mr. Jinnah too was displeased at Lord Linlithgow's failure to allow an interview with Gandhiji. The Muslim League President's candour in admitting openly what every speech of his since the Government campaign against the Congress was launched, has betrayed, is remarkable. The conclusion of Mr. Jinnah's speech to the students was strikingly confused, almost deliberately so. Mr. Jinnah argued why the Sikhs and other minorities should not have the same right of "self-determination" which he claimed for Muslims. This, he said, was because these minorities were not national minorities but "sub-nations." "Have you known anywhere in history," he asked, "that sub-national groups scattered all over be given a national State?" Only Mr. Jinnah could have asked the question in a speech demanding Pakistan for Indian Muslims. The word "sub-nation" is one coined by the ingenious Muslim League President and certainly it is justifiable to use it of the Sikhs in relation to the Punjab Muslims—as it would be to use it of the Muslims of India. But Mr. Jinnah went even more out of his depth in explaining his point. He said that the Muslims of the U. P. who were a scattered 14 per cent were a "sub-nation," who cannot expect anything more than what is due to a minority from any civilised

Government. But the Muslims in the Punjab were a nation and the minorities there were "sub-nations." We should have liked Mr. Jinnah to explain what he has understood to be a nation. If a community is a sub-nation, of what nation is it a part? Muslims of the United Provinces cannot be a sub-nation of the Hindu majority of that province, if Mr. Jinnah's two-nation theory is held as also true. And the United Provinces—Of all British Indian Provinces—only one ignorant of all history would call a nation. Why, again, should the sub-nations of "Pakistan" provinces be denied a voice in the plebiscite? Mr. Jinnah wishes to evade the question as to what will be the status of Muslims in Muslim minority provinces if India is split into Hindu and Muslim States. Their obvious status would be, like that of Hindus in Muslim States, that of aliens owing allegiance to a Government outside the territories they are residing in. It is strange that one who prides himself on his realism, should seek to burke a vital issue like this. When so much is being said for Pakistan and against, it is surprising that this clear point is lost sight of. Nor would it be difficult to show that from this to exchange of populations is but a step and a short step at that. There is a general tendency to avoid the point because those opposed to Pakistan think that even discussing eventualities if Pakistan arrives is accepting the idea; while the advocates of Pakistan naturally do not wish to bring up any difficulties in the way. Mr. Frank Moraes in his recent book, "The Story of India," [Noble Publishing House, Bombay: Rs. 3/—] has an illuminating passage dealing with this. He writes:

Pakistan, far from eliminating the minorities problem, only bisects it, since the different regional sovereign States which the scheme visualises, will nearly all contain minorities within their boundaries. Complete success depends on the willingness of Hindu populations to migrate to Hindu areas and of Muslims to move to Muslim regions. Mr. Jinnah emphatically repudiates this suggestion and frankly it is difficult to visualise such a wholesale uprooting of populations but unless this is done Pakistan is meaningless. In India the problem of population transfer is complicated by other factors. A Konkani Muslim transferred to the Punjab will be lost since he speaks neither Punjabi nor Urdu, and will find it hard to earn his livelihood in that province; equally a Hindu from the Punjab will be out of place in Maharashtra. Pakistan, based on the fundamental misconception that Hindus and Muslims form two separate nations, seeks to cut across racial and provincial divisions. At the first touch of reality its illusory character becomes evident.

The importance of this feature of Pakistan which, hitherto, the *Reformer* alone has discussed, lies in this that the very concept of Pakistan arose and was developed by Mr. Jinnah as the only salvation for Muslims residing in a minority in "Hindu" provinces. Mr. Jinnah never said nor did the Muslim League that Muslims in the Punjab, etcetera, were persecuted by the Hindus. It is remarkable that he should now turn round and in effect tell his fellow-communalists outside the "Pakistan" areas to adjust themselves to conditions there.

DR. AMBEDKAR ON THE INDIAN DEADLOCK.

In an interview with the Bombay correspondent of the *Hindu* of Madras, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar expressed himself rather freely, as for some strange reason all the Indian Members of the Viceroy's Council have been doing during the past week, on the present situation. Dr. Ambedkar suggested that there was no reason for hastening a solution of the deadlock as it would not lead in any way to any strengthening of the war effort. That is what we have been saying all along, only we felt it to be true of proposals for expanding the Viceroy's Council as much as for settling the political differences in India. Had it been left with the Viceroy alone, we should not have had the "eleven Indian Members of the Government of India" thrown in our face at every turn. Parts of the report seem to show that Dr. Ambedkar was misunderstood by his interviewer or not very coherent in his reasoning. Dr. Ambedkar is supposed to have said that the majority forgets that no minority has adopted Ulster's attitude of refusing to be governed by the majority and then proceeded to point out that the Muslims had adopted such an attitude; that it would be dangerous for India if in a desire for shelving Pakistan it was agreed to rest residuary powers in the provinces and that Pakistan for the Muslim League was preferable to giving such powers to the provinces—implying a desire for a strong centre at one breath and denying the need for any centre at all in the very next. We do not know for whom Dr. Ambedkar was speaking when he said that the "principle of Pakistan" is the principle of self-determination and that none can say yes or no unless one knows exactly what territories are included in it. There are several people today who are saying yes or no to the very idea of dividing up India. What Dr. Ambedkar means is that he himself is unable to make up his mind but he wishes to take shelter behind "a large majority of people without political affiliation."

Government of India:—There is a curious misapprehension about the decision taken by "the Government of India" to refuse an interview to Mr. Rajagopalachari with Gandhiji. Sir Purushotamdas Thakurdas in a statement expressed surprise that the Indian Members of the Government of India had taken such a decision. There is nothing, however, to show that the Indian Members were even consulted. One of them has said that their task is only to give their opinion when it is sought. And Sir N. N. Sarkar mentioned at the Sapru Conference in Bombay that the "rules of business of the Government of India provide that for certain purposes a member and the Governor-General are to be taken as the Government of India." The two read together suggest that the Indian Members must have merely acquiesced in a decision taken, perhaps, by the Viceroy and the Home Member.

A BANDRA DIARY.

One insuperable difficulty in the way has been ignored by the writers who have sought to identify Shakespeare with Bacon. It is that Shakespeare's outlook is the antithesis of Bacon's. "There are more things 'twixt Heaven and Earth than are dreamt of in your philosophy," is the direct challenge to the experimental method which Bacon championed. Bacon won for the time being and the hint given by Shakespeare took time to germinate in men's minds. But it has worked and has transformed and is transforming thought in many spheres. The great discovery of the twentieth century is that the conscious mind in man is only a small part of his mind. The sub-conscious or unconscious is not only infinitely larger but it is the part which takes control at times of crises when far-reaching decisions have quickly to be reached. Much of the so-called higher criticism of the Bible was made with the small part of the conscious mind. The Prophets of Religion, on the other hand, always appealed to the sub-conscious which is how they evoked instinctive response from untutored minds to their most profound teachings. Their propositions which puzzled the critics, were self-evident to the generation to whom they spoke. Moreover their people had the advantage of seeing, knowing, feeling the personality of the Teacher behind his words. Words themselves have but little significance except with reference to the personality of the man who uses them. When the critic takes the words as they appear on the printed page he has no clue to their meaning except what his conscious mind provides him with. He merely says what the words would mean if he used them to those with whom he lives and moves. Take this instance. The verse in Luke in which the disciples are advised to make to themselves friends of the Mammon of unrighteousness so that when they fail, he (Mammon) may receive them into everlasting habitations, has puzzled me for a long time. Jesus Christ in the Sermon on the Mount declares that men cannot serve God and Mammon. The same sentiment is repeated by Luke in the parable of the Unjust Steward in which the advice to make friends of Mammon occurs. In fact this parable itself conveys no coherent meaning. The steward is dishonest and gets praised by his master whom he has cheated by compounding with his debtors for half and four-fifths of their debts. The steward's object in doing this was to secure the patronage of the debtors if his master dismissed him as he had threatened to do. In our own time officials have been suspected of placing heavy contracts with firms in which they expected to become partners on retirement. The parable on the face of it seems to instruct the disciples in a rather low kind of cheating. The conclusion that no man can serve God and Mammon is absurdly incongruous in the context. Christian friends, lay and clerical, whom I have consulted have pleaded their inability to explain this passage. But surely it must mean something and something in tune with the central idea of Christ's Ministry. Higher criticism tries to explain it away by postulating that Luke had misunderstood the Master. But Luke had full faith in the Master and could not have consciously put words in his mouth so obviously opposed to the general trend of his teaching. Here our subconscious mind comes to our aid. It tells us that Jesus was really holding up the dishonest steward as a warning and that he was ironical when he told his disciples to make friends with Mammon in order that he may receive them in his everlasting habitations if they failed. He had evidently in mind "realists" who

were trying to stand well with the Roman rulers as well as with the Hebrew people. If Jesus is clear about anything it is that in the abodes of Mammon moth and rust corrupt the treasures laid in them. Proselytising missions are as a rule so pathetically ineffectual in instilling the Christ mind into proselytes because they have no access to the sub-conscious mind of their proselytes.

When a Hindu reads the Bhagavad Gita or a Muslim the Holy Koran, he readily understands the teachings therein because his subconsciousness supplies the necessary direction to his conscious mind to understand teachings in their true sense. But when a Hindu or Muslim child is given Bible lessons in a class or by himself, the critical faculty, which forms a large part of our conscious mind, predisposes him to ridicule or reject them. I was telling a child six years old, of the saying of Jesus that one who has two coats should give away one of them. She promptly objected that, if she did so, the other to whom she gave her coat, will have two while she would be left with only one. I had to explain that Jesus had in mind that the child to whom she should give her spare coat had no coat of her own. I must say that this point had not struck me until the child raised it and I had to improvise an explanation which is not evident from the Bible text. I then told her of Jesus' other instruction. I said if anyone slapped her on one cheek she should show him the other cheek for being slapped. She could not at first grasp the idea and asked me to explain it. When I did, she laughed. In the school which she is attending, she has been told much in praise of Jesus and she refused to believe that he said any such foolish thing. I myself am not sure what Jesus intended to convey by this saying. If one who is angry with me has his anger appeased by smiting me on one cheek, it would be only inflamed by my offering him the other cheek as it would seem to him that I was not taking him seriously. Jesus like all inspired teachers had a profound knowledge of the working of the human mind. These two sayings were most probably intended not literally but as a general counsel not to retaliate in the same coin as the aggressor. Another precept, "Love your enemies," raises the obvious retort that, if I loved him, he could no longer be called my enemy. There are similar precepts in the Gospels which irritate, amuse or even antagonise the non-Christian child mind and predispose it to regard Christianity as a funny religion. This also explains the fact that many aggressive Hindu revivalist leaders were educated in Christian missionary colleges. The reaction to Bible teaching of the Hindu child is totally different from that of the adult Rationalist. The Hindu child does not boggle at miracles. Raising the dead to life, curing the blind by mere touch, much less turning water into wine, do not strike it as improbable or as being beyond the power of a saint. Walking on water, treading on fire, taming lions and such other *siddhis* are commonplaces of Hindu belief. Even Immaculate Conception excites no scepticism. It induces rather surprise that the normal means of procreation which Hindu thought invested with a sacramental character, should be branded as impure by divine resort to the abnormal. But it is difficult for the Hindu mind to understand how the performance of miracles proves anything about the validity of religious or moral teaching, why one should love one's neighbour as oneself because Jesus blighted the fig tree with a mere curse. The Hindu also finds it difficult to understand the parables. Why should nine virgins forget to provide themselves with oil for their lamps and

one of them alone have had this elementary prudence which every Indian girl will have as a matter of course? And why should the ten girls be present to escort the bridegroom unless he meant to marry them all? Compulsory Bible teaching in Mission schools brings Christianity into ridicule and for that reason alone should be stopped without any direction from the University or Government.

Foreign Christian Missions have become out of date. To begin with, the postwar world will have more urgent uses for money than propaganda to make good Hindus and Muslims, indifferent Christians. Then, the greatest lesson of the war or wars is that the Churches have hopelessly failed and their sending missions is like the blind leading the blind. The illusion that the wealthy nations of Europe and America owed their power and prosperity to Christianity is gone for ever. Parodying Kipling's verses in his Recessional on the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria, William Watson wrote:

Best by remembering God say some
We keep our high imperial lot;
Fortune I fear has oftenest come
When we forgot, when we forgot.

Most important of all, ideas of true religion have spread widely throughout the world, to some extent through the study of Hindu teachings in the Bhagavad Gita and the Upanishads. One can hardly open a book on religion or philosophy nowadays without coming on references to Hindu teachings. The old slogan that all non-Christian religions are the work of the Devil has become obsolete along with the Devil himself. Hell of which Dante has given such an intimate account, is now a synonym for the condition of Europe. All or most of the old stock-in-trade of proselytising missions has ceased to be even reputable. The more sensitive minds among missionaries themselves realise that they can help India and China and other Asiatic countries more effectively and with greater appreciation by the people, than by getting them to give up the religion of their forefathers and become Methodists, Baptists and Seventh Day Adventists, none of which have any significance for them. Pearl Buck tells of a Chinese peasant who hearing a missionary say that they would go to hell who did not become Christians, earnestly asked where his (the peasant's) father who died in his Confucian faith, was. In hell, of course, was the ready reply. "Then," said the ancestor-worshipping Chinese, "I will go to hell." There are many men and women among Missionaries who have used their influence to promote real culture and character and have set their faces against the absurdity of mass conversions. They suffer by being obliged to bear the old label which carries with it associations which hamper them in their good work. India will always have a warm place in heart for such people. India reveres all religious Teachers. This is a feature of Indian culture which should be preserved. The unity of India rests on it. Competition among religions for proselytes is a negation of the spirit of religion.

RECLUSE.

MAINLY ABOUT MONEY.

The second part of Goethe's *Faust* seems very apposite to our times. Mephistopheles, having fulfilled the first part of his promise to take Faust through the smaller world, completes his bargain by showing him the greater world. He introduces Faust to the Court of the German Emperor. He is able to ensure Faust the same degree of influence at court as he had among the common people of Part I because of the ruined finances of the realm which the Devil controls by introducing a new financial system. Calculating on the inevitability of men burying gold in times of uncertainty and disturbance, Mephistopheles recommends the issue of notes inscribed:—

To all to whom this cometh, be it known:
A thousand crowns in worth this note doth own.
It to secure, as certain pledge, shall stand
All buried treasure in the Emperor's land:
And 'tis decreed, perfecting thus the scheme,
The treasure, soon as raised, shall this redeem.

There have been several suggestions for reconstructing the Empire after the war and an Empire insurance scheme has even been mooted to tax the unaffected parts to rebuild suffering areas; but none of them equals the Mephistophelean scheme for simplicity or seeming prosperity. It will not, I hope, be lost sight of merely because the second part of Faust is not as well known as the first.

In all things, however, there is a long range problem and an immediate difficulty. Today currency questions, on the practical side as opposed to the theory of it, are much in the air. The Government of India has issued a long communique explaining its policy in regard to the metal rupee which will be read with interest, even though the general public is more concerned at the moment with the shortage of coins of smaller denomination. The communique reveals a curious official hesitancy between giving up silver and clinging to it. It says that its present measure to reduce the silver content of the rupee 'marks the culmination of the policy which had its origin more than fifty years ago when the world-wide abandonment of silver as a concurrent currency metal with gold compelled the Government of India to make the rupee a token coin.' The Government of India, as becomes the successor of Mahomed Tuglak, was ahead of its times. While other states were content to give up silver, we gave up both silver and gold. The Government wanted to abandon the use of this "unduly expensive" metal but at the same time did not want to do it too soon or too rapidly partly because the Government would have got into difficulties on account of the amount it had bought of the metal but more because of the investments of the poorer classes in this metal made at a time when its "free interchangeability with the rupee had given silver an artificial value." It is true that this does not make sense but the argument has the advantage of being based on two contradictory premises and the position is clarified by the naive admission that silver was difficult and expensive to buy when the Government needed it and almost unsaleable when the Government had surplus stocks. The communique in conclusion discloses a fear that the case it has set out against silver might be so convincing that the public might express a preference for any money other than metal coin containing the smallest spot of silver and it ends on a note of reassurance that silver has its uses as currency in combination with other metals and that the present coins contain fifty per cent silver. This forthright declaration is a mistake which, I trust, the Government will not have to regret in the near future. After all, even Wells' inventor of Tonobungay did reach a

point—which marked out success from failure for him incidentally—where instead of using horse-radish as an adulterating compound in his patent medicine, he was able to give his clients pure horse-radish with mutual advantage. Paper has in every way the advantage over silver. It is capable of many uses; almost it is synonymous with modern civilization.

In spite of the Government of India, however, the difficulty today is not the rupee but the anna and the pice. The old saying that one does not care what it is, provided the token rupee can buy one the goods, must give way to a timely recognition of the necessity of its guaranteeing 16 annas change or 64 pice pieces. The thought must be humiliating to an administration which sought to anticipate financial complications by introducing a new two-rupee note, that trouble has actually come from below. Where recurring expenditure can be settled by postponement or payment in lump, the problem goes out of the small change category. But in those instances where the benefit sought is casual, either the remuneration or the comfort has to be sacrificed. Train fares, bus tickets and the like have to be paid for and, if there is any splitting of the difference to be done, it benefits the seller and not the buyer. One solution of the difficulty is to make fares adjustable within fractions of an anna—more feasible on bus than on railways. The best way out, of course, would be to issue paper currency of low denominations. This is a revolutionary suggestion. For, in effect, it would mean reducing the unit of currency from one rupee to perhaps a fourth. There are many people throughout the country today who, I have no doubt, have felt that even four annas was too big a coin to carry about. Anyone who has studied European conditions even casually before the war, must have been impressed by the variations in cost of living in different countries in direct ratio to the size of their currency unit. The lira, after all, varied in value between two annas and three and there are lira notes. And it is not unique.

VIPRA.

INFLATION IN WARTIME.

(BY B. NATARAJAN, CHIDAMBARAM.)

III

Let us now turn to analyse the present inflationary trend in India. In a recent survey of the position, the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India said, "On a review of the facts and figures bearing on inflation—*i. e.*, the course of prices, the extent of currency expansion, the increase in bank deposits and the volume of bank clearings—it may be stated that, although most of the recognised elements of inflation are present, there is no evidence that inflation is present in the country in any serious form." And he added, "that Government realises the necessity of taking steps to keep the situation under control is clear from the various price control measures they have instituted, their taxation and borrowing programmes and the efforts they are making in collaboration with Provincial Governments for the increase of food production."

It cannot be gainsaid that there is an unmistakable inflationary trend in India, though it may not be quite serious at the present time. Since the beginning of the war, India's balance of trade has continued to be increasingly favourable; and owing to increased business activity, especially in war industries and the intensive development of India's resources, the national income of India has shown an increase and the purchasing power in the hands of the various classes on the basis of that income

has grown in volume. Also, as a result of the enormous war purchases and commitments on behalf of His Majesty's and Allied Governments, India has been receiving payments in sterling on a considerable scale; but to those in the country who have provided the goods and services, the disbursements have to be made in rupees. The amounts of such payments are expected to reach the grand total of Rs. 400 crores in 1942-3. Therefore the volume of currency has been repeatedly expanded; and a few figures will bear impressive testimony to this unprecedented expansion.

On January 3, 1941, the total note issue was Rs. 255.37 crores. It had gone up to Rs. 357.12 crores on January 2, 1942. While in August 1939 the active note circulation was only Rs. 179 crores, it reached the figure Rs. 229.96 crores on January 3, 1941, Rs. 258 crores in March 1941; and it rose to Rs. 321.09 crores on January 2, 1942 and to Rs. 497.78 crores on October 1, 1942. Thus, during the years of war, the notes in active circulation have risen by an appreciable amount.

If the whole of this increased purchasing power is allowed to be spent on consumption articles, prices inevitably rise up. Thus the phenomenal addition to the quantity of money in circulation is a factor to be reckoned with in the national economy. As the Finance Member himself put it: "A stage has been reached at which it is the clear duty of the Government to make a beginning with measures of a kind which will assist in relieving the pressure of the enhanced volume of purchasing power on the inevitably limited supplies of goods and services which are available for private consumption at the present time." The increased purchasing power in the hands of the consumers, on the one hand, and the diversion of resources to the war effort, on the other, do impose a strain on India's economy.

But the staggering rise in prices in India during the last three years is not due to purely monetary causes. The blame must be laid also at the door of the commodities themselves—rather the hoarders and the profiteers. When the war began, in 1939, there was a simultaneous outbreak of rampant profiteering. Unscrupulous merchants, intent on making quick profits, charged exorbitant prices for the articles in their possession; or, as it was more common, cornered huge stocks of commodities. And, between the heartless profiteer, on the one hand, and the intriguing hoarder, on the other, the honest consumer was exploited. Public feeling ran high on the question of putting down profiteering; and price control measures came to be adopted. In the first instance, maximum prices were fixed in regard to certain essential commodities and district officers were empowered to take such measures to check profiteering as they deemed expedient. It was also decided to permit increases from 10 to 20% on prices ruling on 1st September 1939. At many of the Price Control Conferences which were subsequently convened by the Government of India, attention was paid almost exclusively to the question of checking profiteering and eliminating black markets. And, in spite of the efforts of the Government to control prices, organized profiteering with its concomitant black market in essential commodities persisted. No wonder, the feeling was widespread that mere prescription of maximum prices was manifestly inadequate and ineffective.

The pity of it was that the Government of India perceived here a divided duty. On the one hand, it was solicitous of the interests of the agriculturist who was slowly recovering from the previous depression, and thought it undesirable to control prices of agricultural commodities and thereby deprive the

cultivator of the much-needed relief which a rise in prices would bring to his door. But on the other, uncontrolled prices bore heavily on the poor; even in normal times, the majority of them are on the verge of starvation, and it would be grossly unfair if, under the exigencies of war, a considerable slice of even their bare means of subsistence is taken away. The Government is, therefore, under an obligation to strike a just compromise between the consumer and the producer. In practice, however, such an ideal is well nigh unattainable; and price control measures have inevitably failed to achieve their object. Nevertheless, every responsible citizen seems to agree that the lurking danger of a spiralling economy should be removed before it bursts forth in all its fury. The authorities in India have more than once stressed the need to devise counter-inflationary measures. And the time has arrived when they must devote themselves whole-heartedly to this urgent problem.

Beyond doubt, it is the scarcity of essential commodities, especially foodstuffs, in relation to the evergrowing demand for them that is responsible—partially at least—for the rapid rise in prices. And other things remaining equal, perhaps the best way of preventing it is to meet the increasing scramble for goods by increasing the volume of supplies correspondingly. From this point of view, the "Grow More Food Campaign" in which the Government are interesting themselves, opens up some possibilities.

We are frequently assured that there is no fear of shortage of essential commodities like sugar, that the position in regard to wheat has improved; that even the rice problem is being tackled with prospects of success. But the difficulty of bringing down to the consumer enough supplies has not yet been overcome. Of course, it cannot be completely got over; it can only be rendered less acute. But even that service of mitigation has not been seriously attempted. Recent experience has revealed that this is essentially a problem of transport; and if difficulties of transport are the real obstacle to a successful operation of the Government's policy, prompt measures should be taken at once to sweep them off. It would appear that the question is now engaging the attention of the Member for Transport.

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

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MARCH 25, 1933.

San Francisco.

Though I have seen towns of California twice, and Frisco thrice, yet the country through which we passed today, was a revelation. New towns, a Holy City of Sun-worshippers, the ancient capital like Monterey, fruit-growing areas reeking with blossoms of the most varied fruits, geranium red sprouting on the wayside like weed, and even dreaded lest its natural growth become uncontrollable, redwood forests preserved in natural growth without human elimination of weeds (which will not choke giant trees 300 feet high and thousands of years old, for another five thousand years) groves, lodges, residences, bays, island rocks, seals bathing, skies, industries both primitive and up-to-date, freshwater lakes, valley scenery, mountains—all were encountered.

When Mrs. Brookes had said that she was happy in her children and the old-fashioned loyalties, Dr. Brookes asked what constituted happiness and was disposed to back Shaw's statement that he had no time to ask if he was happy. Yesterday Shaw told the Frisco interviewers that he felt happy; the

happiest are in the cemeteries. Today, he is supposed to be in Los Angeles, having gone there yesterday by air.

He has made Miss Pearson very happy by going down in spite of his bruises, fetching a photograph and writing over it, "To Jane from G. B. S." Therefore when at lunch at the Olympic Club, Frisco, Sir Walter Preston made comments on Shaw, Miss Pearson declined to discuss him; it was enough for her that he was kind to her and in general humane. Sir Walter suggested she was worshipping a false prophet. She indignantly denied she worshipped anybody but God, that she respected her King, but that she must not discuss the subject further. Sir Walter suggested she might test him by putting him certain questions; the answer was, Why did not Sir Walter put them himself? The two could not sit at the same table amicably.

I told Dr. Brookes that Shaw had given his real opinion in the last line of *Candida*, where the poet says to Parson James, made happy and talking how happy he was by his wife's preference for him over the poet, 'Parson James, I give you happiness with both hands.' Happiness is not true happiness unless it contain another element (Shall we call it worth?) besides itself. Happiness is the symptom of the awareness of the achievement of an object, but no object is satisfactorily achieved, unless in the act of achievement we pass beyond the object, unless we become aware of its implications, to be pursued or avoided. At that moment Mr. Bernard Shaw became visible, when Dr. Brookes said, 'Here passes a first-class fraud, who expresses what does not impress himself.' I did not agree. The truth of a proposition is not in its literal meaning, but in its ultimate reception. If Shaw has been successful in breaking down conventions when they became pure mischief, where else is higher truth to be found? Mrs. Brookes offered to give me, and I shall be glad to read, "Confessions of Oscar Wilde" where Shaw figures.

MARCH 26, 1933.

Santa Barbara.

The strangeness of the East, the gorgeousness of its palaces and temples, the vastness of rivers, mountains, jungles, deserts, the riot of colour, even of dust and filth, the tropical weather with fixed dry and wet seasons, the ever-presence of Sun and blue sky, has only attractions for a Westerner staying never more than two days all occupied in conducted sight-seeing; there is no time for second thoughts. But here, in California, on the Road, getting into and emerging from Hotels which are the last word, where one gets fresh meat and eggs and fruit and milk and vegetables for breakfast, lunch and dinner, where one encounters parks and flowers and yellow-gold of poppy plantations, and all varieties and colour and fragrance of trees, one asks what is wanting here that one hankered for the East? What but things against the sight of which our conductors put blinkers on our eyes, but which the inner eye can now nevertheless bring up to the surface? Before we left Del Monte, we had driven through its beautiful and luxurious sights, made so much of by practised minds. Companions had discovered and plunged into swimming pools, separate for adults and children, and diving platform; and pansies in the gardens which they were free to pluck. The Baron in the barber's room, Mr. Eaton at luncheon table, both dwell on the wonderful hotel at Del Monte, its food, its service, its rooms all with private bath and telephone service. Europe knows nothing of this; has not even conceived it.

I said to the Baron, these Americans have taste! look at the Santa Maria Inn: every table in the Dining Room is a flower-garden reeking with blossoms. Not at all, he felt; he had an American artist friend whose wife, after many years' life in the States, remarked to the Baron, that the Americans were just children, and naughty children at that. He thought the English were licking American boots and spoiling them. I thought, France is not far behind. After refusing to pay up, France is now thinking of paying after all and, while she is studying what would be the elegant form of doing it, the U. S. have intimated that unless France first pays up, she cannot be admitted to economic discussion on the same terms as Great Britain who has paid up.

Mr. Eaton says he was present at the interview of Shaw with pressmen at 'Frisco; in fact, Mr. Eaton led him into it. Mr. Shaw went into it, with the stature of 6 feet 6 inches and, came out smaller than P—, America is not China; in the first encounter with American pressmen, Shaw was worsted or bested. They corrected his knowledge of recent Russian facts; they seemed to know more about Russian communism. And when he tried to carry it off with the pleasantries that the happiest people are in the cemeteries, they remarked he must know they could not have meant that kind of happiness. Mr. Eaton says today there is throughout America an article by Mr. Brisbane with the title, "Mr. Shaw, Don't do that; this is America," and preaching to him that happiness should have feeling behind it, that he would have been understood if he had said Mothers are the happiest race.

MARCH 27, 1933.

Terminal Island.

Interesting information can be picked up in these newspapers. Women are employed in the Income-tax Office, "to ooze out currents of tact to put payers in the frame of mind to be pleased that they had to pay;" and they succeed. And, what is against nature, they do not blab, they keep secrets.

Emile Ludwig, biographer of Napoleon and Bismarck, says, in reference to present persecution of Jews, that Jew and German are like each other in hugging Individualism and quotes Goethe. Hitler is expected to relax under pressure of foreign opinion.

Ten thousand inventors in America received a questionnaire to ascertain their racial origins; the answers of 7,000 revealed that France has three times as many as Britain and Sweden and Germany come after. Inventors agree in nothing so much as being American for three generations; and the comment is that American environment may answer for it more than racial origins.

The titbit of news is the discovery by Californian scientists that Beryllium is radio-active. Since known radio-active elements are heavier than lead and pass into lead ultimately, it had been thought that no element lighter than lead can be radio-active; but that has now to be forgotten.

MARCH 28, 1933.

My English companions were struck by the absence of hedges which ensure privacy of home. I said this was a purely English preference, was subjective, had no objective basis. For travellers, the open American grounds, their flowers, trees and lawns, the giant, dustless date-palms, the red-leaved eucalyptus trees made of mansions greater things of beauty than if hedged round; and that was admitted.

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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.

Who is Responsible? :—The immediate cause of the Indian Mutiny was the greasing of cartridges used in the Indian Army with cow's and pig's lard, outraging the feelings of Hindu and Muslim. When the Mutiny broke out, the fact was denied outright and ascribed to the malevolence of mischief-mongers. Lord Roberts in his "Forty-One Years in India" admits that the greasing of cartridges with the objectionable stuff was a fact, and wonders at the stupidity of such a flagrant violation of well-known susceptibilities and even more at the fatuous belief that the operation could be kept secret. The Partition of Bengal was carried out in the teeth of violent opposition from the Indian public. No one accepted responsibility for it. Even Lord Curzon in the House of Lords repudiated it and Lord Amptill who acted for him for a few months, declared that he knew nothing about how it came to be adopted. The anti-Partition agitation brought bombs for the first time into the Indian scene and stringent measures were adopted on the hackneyed ground that it was the first duty of Government to maintain Law and Order. Some years later the Rowlatt Act was passed against the solemn warning of every Indian public man including Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Mr. Srinivasa Sastry and Mr. Jinnah. When the storm broke, the slogan that "a government must govern" was raised and hell was let loose on the country. Now the bureaucracy maintains that the responsibility for the present troubles—Sir Reginald Maxwell told the Defence Council that they are "now sporadic" but arrests and detentions continue to be epidemic—is with the men who have been kept segregated for over three months. The credit for whatever is good is claimed by the bureaucracy, the blame for whatever is troublesome is thrown upon Congress leaders. Lord Linlithgow has been Governor-General for seven years and for the acts of omission and commission during the septennium, His Excellency must bear or at least share the blame.

An Unintelligible Procedure:—In the leading article last week we showed that Lord Linlithgow's refusal of permission to Mr. Rajagopalacharya to interview Gandhiji in his place of detention, did not materially affect the chances of ending the deadlock. Gandhiji had definitely rejected Mr. Rajagopalacharya's plan of a compromise with Mr. Jinnah on the basis of accepting the claim of a plebiscite for Pakistan and the ex-Prime Minister of Madras had no other scheme to place before Gandhiji. The Viceregal permission, had it been given, would not unreasonably be construed as implying at the least a tentative approval of Mr. Rajagopalacharya's scheme as one which offered a fair prospect of meeting the conditions postulated by his Government. Further, it would require the complete reversal of the Government policy as a preliminary to Gandhiji agreeing to consult his colleagues of the Standing Committee, and perhaps of the All India Congress Committee. A point which we failed to mention, was that Gandhiji himself may decline to be interviewed by Mr. Rajagopalacharya unless he had some scheme other than that which Gandhiji had rejected in his speech at the All India Congress Committee in Bombay. But the larger question still remains, that of the Government refusing to allow visitors access to the detained leaders. If they had been placed before a court on trial and sentenced to terms of imprisonment, they would have enjoyed the right of monthly or fortnightly interviews, according to the class to which they were assigned, under prison regulations. The political prisoners so tried and sentenced enjoy this right at present. What do Government hope to gain by denying this elementary right to political detenus? The authorities may reasonably exclude persons of whose *bona fides* they are not sure. But what is the sense in refusing permission to members of the detenus' family or to persons like the Metropolitan of India? The policy of Government is a greater deprivation to the wives and children of the detenus than to the detenus themselves. It is a sort of vicarious punishment on women and children which it is hard to justify.

Sir Stafford Cripps:—The demotion of Sir Stafford Cripps from Leader of the House of Commons and member of the War Cabinet to the subordinate office of Minister for Aircraft Production, and the consequential changes in the

Churchill Cabinet are reported to have taken the British Press by surprise. But it seems that there is not much regret expressed at the transfer. The failure of Sir Stafford's mission to India was not redeemed by his disingenuous attempts to discredit the Congress leaders. The American Press which he sought strenuously to induce to accept his view of the causes of the failure, turned against him. The *New York Times* published a long letter from him with the ironical comment that it made at least his own position clear. Louis Fischer's articles in the *Nation* were a devastating exposure of the New Delhi enterprise. Mr. Fischer confirmed the version of the Congress President that Sir Stafford had first offered to give Indians practical responsible government but later unaccountably resiled from it and offered substitutes which would have conferred little power while imposing great responsibilities on Indian Ministers. Mr. Fischer quoted an American General who was then in New Delhi as saying that Sir Stafford "was bitched in the back," that is to say, let down from London. Although Moulana Abul Kalam Azad had in so many words charged Sir Stafford in his letter to him with having backed out of his original offer, Sir Stafford never denied the charge. Nevertheless he went on accusing the Congress leaders, and particularly Gandhiji, of having sabotaged his scheme to which they had at first agreed. After the Fischer exposure, his position in Parliament and the Cabinet became untenable. It is also possible that his views on the help to be given to Russia were not acceptable to his colleagues. When he returned from his special Ambassadorship to Moscow, he had declined the position which he has now accepted, as it did not carry with it membership of the War Cabinet. In his letter to the Prime Minister, he now agrees that he cannot continue to be member of the War Cabinet because of the relation between the Minister of Production and the Minister of Supplies. What that relation is, is not clear. The Prime Minister's letter and Sir Stafford's reply both leave no room to doubt that the latter has been tried and found wanting.

Religious Freedom:—No one in his senses can claim that the right to convert must be given to educational institutions in the name of religious freedom. Therefore, it is plausibly urged that the right to bear witness to the faith one holds, is denied by refusing to persons in authority the right to convert the charges entrusted to them and that this is a gross breach of religious freedom. What begins as an appeal for removing a disability, soon grows into a menace to other people's freedom. Leaving this aside, we should like our Christian friends to tell us if they accept the right to preach without reservation or whether they claim this right solely for themselves. We have not seen much fervour for religious freedom in regard to the four missionary Kristagrahis who were hounded out of this country two years ago.

Nor has there been among Christians here or among missionaries any agitation for removing the pledge by which all missionaries virtually agree to acquiesce in all acts of the Government. All There is no use being carried away by phrases, sovereign countries which are struggling to assert their nationalism, have had to get education under State control—Turkey, Iran, and even among Christian countries like the South American Republics—exactly as imperialist powers have done before them. The *Guardian* of Madras thinks it nonsense to talk of the spiritual personality of a country. Possibly it might have some other explanation for the efforts of "Priyashishya" in its columns to persuade Christians to closer participation in Indian popular festivals, etc. His writings are, in fact, an admission that by their education Indian Christians have been torn from their spiritual moorings.

Distortion in the British Press:—The *Free Press Journal* of Bombay has done the public of this country a distinct service which other newspapers in the city have not been slow to recognise by following its lead. It exposed, in its issue dated Saturday November 21, the manner in which the London Press has been misrepresenting Indian news. It appears that *Punch* published a cartoon suggesting that Gandhiji and Quisling were of a type. The Indian press need not worry itself over this since it and probably other similar remarks and suggestions had provoked Field Marshal Smuts to a hot repudiation which the *Times* and *Telegraph* withheld from their readers. Moreover, there are many Indians who have felt that the difference between Hitler and Mr. Churchill ideologically was very small—particularly after the British Premier's pronouncements on India. No country can expect the rest of the world to regard its national leaders with the same reverence as it does. The high light of the exposure, however, is the contributions in the *Sunday Dispatch* attributed to Mr. H. R. Stimson, its Bombay reporter. We say 'attributed' because in a letter to the *Free Press*, Mr. Stimson has repudiated authorship of one of the offending reports. The *Dispatch* in its account of the A. I. C. C. meeting at Bombay in August which was credited to Mr. Stimson, added the following spot of colour:

At one stage the proceedings were stopped while a troupe of dancing girls were brought in to sing and dance to the Congressmen. This apart from when the main resolution was put up was the only time when the majority of the members showed any sign of life.

Seduction, says M. Romain Roland, is the classic accusation of the Anglo-Saxon countries. When a mass charge is made, it is converted into sexual degeneracy, as in the insinuation above. The *Sunday Dispatch* readers must have marvelled at the strong character of its reporter, that, while all the A. I. C. C. members were moved to animation by the dancing girls, he alone modestly kept his eyes on the reactions they showed, instead of on the distraction. Unfortunately for this illusion, it appears that only the write-up man on the

Dispatch—Mr. Stimson has disowned the piece—saw the dancing girls where everyone else saw Desh Sevikas, or women volunteers, singing the National Anthem. It is not impossible that he has confused some function in London which he attended, with the proceedings of the A. I. C. C. There is besides a political misrepresentation which the *Free Press* points out in regard to the fate of amendments moved by Communists to the main resolution. The report has it that they were one by one ruled out of order. The fact, however, is that some were voted out and the movers were persuaded to withdraw others. Mr. Stimson has written to the *Free Press Journal* entirely repudiating both the dancing girls and the Communist amendments references. He has also protested to the Editor of the *Sunday Dispatch* against the practice of mutilating by addition copy submitted by him. But the repudiation lacks conviction. There is no expression of regret that this country has been misrepresented; no indignation against the dishonest methods of the *Dispatch*; no realisation even of what the report must mean to Indians. He has not repudiated it on his initiative but under pressure and he makes that clear in his letter to the *Dispatch* editor; because it gets him into trouble with the nationalist press, the *Dispatch* ought not to use his name, except on messages sent by him. And his protest goes not by cable as one would have expected but by mail, on a three months' journey to London. Mr. Stimson has not understood the seriousness of the trouble yet. It is not a matter that can be settled with the local press. The first emotional reaction is over and we are glad of it. The hysteria of the columnist, like all hysteria, tends to shift the attention of people from the issues involved to personalities. It would be folly to suppose that the *Dispatch* case is unique in anything except the fact of its being known in India. The Press Association of India at New Delhi should take up the matter. The Association has, in collaboration with foreign correspondents, strongly protested against Government censorship in the past. It is equally affected by London offices tampering with Indian messages. This is not something which can be set right with the press in India for the mischief is done abroad and, now that the evil has been exposed, it must be possible to secure that there are no repetitions of it.

Sensation Mongering?—There is, moreover, an earlier article, sent presumably by mail, on Mrs Gandhi where Mr Stimson's imagination has run riot. If Mr. Stimson has a legitimate grouse against the *Dispatch*, the *Dispatch* has an equal grievance against him. Mr. Stimson describes Gandhiji's entry into Bombay with a huge crowd welcoming him. And then,

after fifteen minutes, when the platform had virtually emptied, a frail wizened barefooted, little woman, dressed in a homespun cotton sari, peered timidly from the window of the same carriage. Unnoticed by any-

body she gathered up her bedding roll and started walking three miles towards Birla House, the sumptuous hostel where Mahatma Gandhi was to stay. This was Gandhi's wife, Kastur Ba, and the incident was symbolic.

"Unnoticed by anybody" implies that Mr. Stimson alone saw it happen. He might have offered her a lift or at least carried her bedding roll for her. The fact is, this is a blatant concoction which cannot stand for a moment in India. Therefore, it had to go abroad. The offence is underlined by the four sly words at the end. If Mr. Stimson cares to look back on press pictures of the A. I. C. C. events, he would see that Mrs. Gandhi appears in the photographs beside the Mahatma. No responsible journalist will indulge in such anecdote for mere sensation-mongering. The only purpose we can think of behind this kind of twisted reporting is that there is a type of journalist representing the London press in India who is anxious to create the largest amount of misunderstanding in the British public mind about this country. Unfortunately their activities are facilitated by the strange hankering shown by Congress leaders of the highest rank for the publicity they command. Such a state of affairs could prevail only so long as the reports sent by them to Britain and elsewhere were not read here. Some of the press comments in India seem to show that better standards were expected from the British press. But why? We do not think that, apart from the *Manchester Guardian*, there is a single British newspaper which has maintained a high standard of journalism and a respect for facts. Had Mr. Stimson been really anxious to secure his reputation for fair dealing, he would have apologised unreservedly for what he could not repudiate instead of slurring it over; and have taken steps to sever his connection with a newspaper which had misused his name. From another point of view, the impression created in India is most deplorable. If British pressmen, reporters and write-up men, can distort facts about fellow-subjects in India, what credence can be attached to their atrocity reports against the enemy?

The Pacific Deputation:—A Reuter's message from Washington reporting the arrival of Sir Zaffrullah Khan, states that after a few days in the American capital when he will confer with the British Ambassador and the Indian Agent-General, he will proceed to Canada for the ten days Pacific Relations Conference "at which he will lead the Indian deputation." What has become of Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar who had selected the members of the deputation and who was understood to be the leader of the Conference? Or is it intended that the two men should act as leaders on alternate days so as to satisfy communal claims? Or has Sir Ramaswami dropped out owing to the exposure by Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru of the nominations to the deputation?

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, November 28, 1942.

ADMINISTRATION AND POLITICS.

Writing in the *Political Science Quarterly* over fifty years ago, Mr. Woodrow Wilson, later President of the United States of America, discussed in an article entitled "The Study of Administration" the problems arising out of the administrative functions of Government. That article has come to be a classic and it was reprinted last December in the *Quarterly*. "Bureaucracy can exist," he wrote, "only where the whole service of the state is removed from the common political life of the people, its chiefs as well as its rank and file. Its motives, its objects, its policy, its standards, must be bureaucratic. It would be difficult to point out any examples of impudent exclusiveness and arbitrariness on the part of officials doing service under a chief of department who really served the people, as all our chiefs of departments must be made to do. It would be easy, on the other hand, to adduce other instances, like that of the influence of Stein in Prussia, where the leadership of one statesman imbued with true public spirit transformed arrogant and perfunctory bureaux into public-spirited instruments of just government." We are tempted into quoting the passage by the address which the Governor of Bombay delivered last Tuesday at Ahmednagar at a meeting of the War Committee in which he went out of his way to stress the gulf between the people and the Government. This must appear the more surprising since Sir Roger Lumley has earned the reputation of a liberal administrator who has kept Bombay out of many difficulties experienced in other parts of India. Sir Roger said that the disturbances in the Province since the arrest of Congress leaders had affected the people but not the Government. "To Government," he said, "they are pinpricks, and Government is like an elephant and scarcely notices pinpricks.....Fruits of the Congress Civil Disobedience campaign are murder, violence, arson and robbery at the expense of the public and not paralysis of the Government." Can it be conceivable to any statesman, to anyone who has had experience of administration, to separate so completely the welfare of the people from the interests of the Government? Nevertheless the fact remains that a provincial governor has publicly given expression to these ideas, and a governor at that who is not a civil servant by training but a person from British public life.

In the history of British administration in India it has often been observed that, on the one hand, administrators who had been known for their great sympathy and knowledge of the people and their customs, like Sir Thomas Munro, have opposed democratic measures like the freedom of the press, while, on the other, men brought out from Britain, with the finest traditions of democratic life sometimes extending

to generations, tended to overlook popular sentiment. Wilson notices a similar perplexity in the contrast between British and American democratic systems and the autocracies of Europe. Of America he wrote that the administration had gained strength but it had not acquired department. But, he added, "the countries of the continent for a long time desperately struggled against all change, and would have diverted revolutions by softening the asperities of absolute government... They made themselves too efficient to be dispensed with, too smoothly operative to be noticed, too enlightened to be inconsiderately questioned, too benevolent to be suspected, too powerful to be coped with... The desire to keep government a monopoly made the monopolists interested in discovering the least irritating means of governing." Wilson, it must be emphasised, wrote of the Prussian administrative system and of the French Administration developed by Napoleon. Conditions in India in the early period of British rule developed in a curious manner. The administrator was the first in the field under the East India Company and the transfer of power to the Crown brought in the British publicist as a sharer in control over India with an increasing bias in favour of the publicist. Politics has thrown up a third party, the Indian political leader, who is equally disliked by the first two, the only difference being that the administrator would like to deal with the Indian politician quietly whilst the publicist has a desire to prove him wrong and discredit him with the Indian public. And every conflict in the political sphere drives a rift in between the Indian and European members of the services. That is why we have frequently urged the necessity, from the point of view of efficient administration itself, of policies being pursued which do not divide the loyalties of government servants.

The need for a bureaucracy has always been recognised by a revolutionary party with something of a shock. In Soviet Russia the grand accusation against Stalin had for years been that he subordinated the interests of the Communist Party to the building up of a bureaucracy which he intended should usurp political power. The Yugoslavian Communist, Ciliga, in his "Russian Enigma," however, explains how he realised, during a period of imprisonment when he studied the writings of Lenin, that the process was not only approved but initiated by Lenin himself. Ciliga regarded it as a betrayal which was woven into the revolution itself. But Wilson with truer insight denounced as a besetting sin of Americans, "the error of trying to do too much by vote." "Self-government," he observes, "does not consist in having a hand in everything, any more than house-keeping consists necessarily in cooking dinner with one's own hands. The cook must be trusted with a large discretion as to the management of fires and ovens." Wilson divides the growth of

governments into three periods: The first is that of absolute rule; the second is when constitutions are framed to substitute popular control for absolute rule; and the third is the development of administration. He warns us against the dangers involved in the "business of manufacturing constitutions." There seems to be no end, he observes, to the tinkering of constitutions; "your ordinary constitution will last you hardly ten years without repairs or additions." In India there is neither popular government nor any profound consideration for the sentiments of the people. The administration is neither responsible nor responsive. Tinkering with the constitution is encouraged under spacious appeals for agreed solutions. Of a piece with Sir Roger's complacency about the Government is his unwarranted assumption that the disturbances of the past three months are part of the Congress campaign of civil disobedience. If there is definite proof, would it not be proper to place the leaders on trial?

THE STORY OF INDIA.*

Mr. Frank Moraes has produced a very readable book which is intended to explain to the visitor from abroad, India and things Indian. The criterion by which the "Story of India" should be judged, therefore, is whether the reader rises from it better acquainted with this country. Intellectually, it is necessarily a publication in words of one syllable but the writer is to be congratulated on his wide range, from Indian religions to the footwear and dress of Indian women, from politics to the birds of India. One is astounded at his ventures into the realms of poetry, of painting and of literature from the earliest times. If the foreigner in India assimilates a tenth of what is written in this little book of 200 pages, he will have learnt more than most Indians know. It is natural but unfortunate that the "Story of India" is sketched in black and white with no shades of grey in between. Perhaps it would have been better to have left for more leisured times the references to such things as would not immediately confront the traveller. The Mahabharata and Ramayana are two such subjects. The Mahabharata is not, as Mr. Moraes remarks, a picture of warfare between Dravidian aboriginals and Aryan invaders; it is the record of a dynastic war. It marks a much later stage in Indian civilisation than the Ramayana. There is a line on Hindu society which puzzles us and must all the more puzzle the outsider: "Hindu Society may be likened to an inverted pyramid with its apex perched precariously on Brahmin pre-eminence." If the sentence means that the Brahmins form the apex then surely it is not different from all other societies where the priest and the teacher is in the minority. If an inverted pyramid can remain so for five thousand years or more we must revise our opinion about the normal position of a pyramid.

It is in the India of today, however, that the foreign tourist will have to move and in that sphere he will find Mr. Moraes a sure guide. Politically he errs, if anything, in a somewhat uncritical evaluation of Gandhian ideals. The past twenty years are marked out from the preceding period of Indian history not so much by the twin ideals of non-violence and truth which other Congress leaders also pursued before Gandhiji, but in the fact that Gandhiji's

special brand of them became generally accepted. Even those who opposed the Mahatma had to oppose him on his own ground. Here more than elsewhere the shades are left out. Gandhiji himself has not been altogether unaffected by the trend to violence of the war years. How else can one account for his message to Poland, "Poland's violence will count as non-violence," on its collapse under German aggression? Mr. Moraes pays a tribute to non-violence which is a trifle sweeping. He writes, "Non-violence may not work in practice but it is difficult to resist the conclusion that as an ideal—as a moral weapon—it indisputably ranks higher than violence and coercion." There is much here that begs the question. The moment it is used as a "weapon," non-violence becomes coercion, a form of it which only circumstances can decide whether it is better or worse than violence. The sophistry that the man of non-violence only injures himself, even if his cause is wrong, might hold true if non-violence is discussed in individual relations. But on national issues all who follow the lead of the non-violent man, share or bear his sufferings.

There is a similar partiality shown to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru which shows that the author is at any rate on the side of the angels. This, however, is an amiable weakness, welcome amidst the general tendency to be overcritical. Yet we are glad that he recovers his sense of humour in dealing with ten other leaders. In his account of Dr. Ambedkar whose future career, we are told, is well worth watching—Can the word "future" be applied to one who has become an Executive Councillor under Lord Linlithgow?—Mr. Moraes says that "to him is largely due the elevation of the Depressed Classes to a political status." Surely, it should be the other way about—to the Depressed Classes is largely due the elevation of Dr. Ambedkar to his present political status.

On the whole, Mr. Frank Moraes has done a difficult and somewhat thankless job well. There is no special pleasure or little kudos in compiling even a superior guide-book but if introductions to countries have to be written for the casual visitor, we would much rather they were as lively as the "Story of India" which is profusely illustrated.

THE PARABLES OF JESUS.

Sir,—There are certain comments in the 'Bandra Diary' of the Recluse in your issue of November 21, with regard to which I should like to make some observations. He refers to the parable of the 'Unjust Steward' given by Luke and says that this parable itself gives no coherent meaning. It is further observed that "the parable on the face of it seems to instruct the disciples in a rather low kind of cheating." He also says that Christian friends, lay and clerical, whom he consulted, pleaded their inability to explain this parable. I should like to give here some extracts to show that there is an explanation, and a very satisfactory explanation, offered by some commentators and that the so-called inconsistency does not exist.

Mr. Charles Gore in his book "A New Commentary on Holy Scripture," "admits that there are difficulties in the details of the parable but that these difficulties are unimportant. The main lesson is plain." It is not too much to say that popular difficulties among us about it have been due to two stupid mistakes—that 'the lord' who 'commended' the unjust steward, was the Lord Jesus or God, and that 'make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness' is an encouragement to adopt the ways of the money-grubbing world. Mr. Gore says:

*Noble Publishing House, Bombay: Rs. 3/-.

Our Lord intimates that some 'unfaithfulness' in respect of money was observable in the company that is some desire to cling to it, corporately at least. They were as monks vowed to poverty individually, but still capable of corporate greed. So our Lord tells them the story of the steward reported to his master for wasting his property, who thereby loses his position, but has a moment of time left him before the blow falls. So he uses this moment with cleverness and decision. Probably at some sacrifice of his own perquisites, as well as his master's interests, on the instance he secures his future position by gaining the goodwill of the tenants. So the master when he finds it out declares that he was a clever rogue. And our Lord says: 'why leave this cleverness to rogues? Let the children of light imitate, not the worldliness, but the cleverness of the children of darkness. You too have your momentary hold on things of this world—its money, for example, which is the common instrument of unrighteousness. Convert it, then, swiftly and unhesitatingly to your own purposes—the purpose of your world—the eternal world. Give it away at once in such manner as to secure yourselves friends in that eternal world, which abides when all that belongs to this world has passed 'like a dream when one awaketh.' Tolstoy in his "Four Gospels Harmonized" observes thus with regard to this parable:

The meaning of the parable, if we are to believe the words of the Gospel, is very simple: to secure his life, a man gives to others his false possessions, which do not belong to him. This man has secured himself through the false possessions which are not his own, that is, he has given what is false and not his own, and receives in return what is real. Jesus says, And you do the same: Give up your imaginary property, your carnal life with everything which is supposed to belong to it. But, if you do not give up this false property, which is not in your power, how are you going to get the real life? The carnal life is expressed by property, and the word giving even has the meaning both of possessions and of life. Give up your property that you may receive life.

I should like to give here one further extract. Conrad Noel in his *Life of Jesus* refers to this parable and says that Jesus, of course, did not mean that they were to be as slippery as was this unjust steward; but, be as alert and alive for the new world, as he was for his own interests in the present age, where smartness and sharp practise are considered as good business.

The Recluse further on makes a reference to the parable of Ten Virgins. I should like to correct a small slip that it was not one Virgin alone who had the prudence to have oil but five Virgins. Tolstoy says with regard to this parable: "The parables make it clear that there is no time for the Son of Man. The night watchman is made a night watchman for the very purpose that he may not sleep the whole night for he cannot know the time when he may sleep. Even such the girls met to receive the bridegroom, and even such it is with the Son of Man." Charles Gore also emphasises that in the parable of the Virgins, it is the watchfulness which must be exercised.

The moral, however, which the Recluse wants evidently to draw from his references to these parables is that the sub-consciousness of a Hindu or a Muslim enables him to understand the teachings of Gita or the Koran in their true sense, but that when a Hindu or a Muslim child is given parables like these in a class or by himself the critical passage which forms a large part of our conscious mind predisposes him to ridicule or reject it. I am sorry I cannot agree with him in this view. If this view is accepted, it means striking an axe at the very

possibility of the conversion of a man to another religion. I do not think that a Hindu cannot appreciate the teachings of Christ whether they be in the form of parables or in any other form. Teachings of Christ or the Gita or any such book or Prophet of universal appeal can raise an echo in the hearts of all. It is not that a man, born Hindu, will always remain a Hindu and that he will not be able to respond to the Message given by Christ. The Recluse gives the example of a small child, who does not appreciate but ridicules the message of Christ with regard to a man who has two coats giving away one of them, and holding the other cheek when one cheek was slapped. I do not think that there is anything incomprehensible about these teachings or about these parables. There is an universal appeal in them and the message of non-violence for instance, of Mahatma Gandhi or Tolstoy or the Quakers, is based upon these teachings. Conversion is not an impossible thing; nor is it a thing to be condemned. At least it cannot be tabooed by any such theories which the Recluse puts forward in his Diary.

Yours etc,
ISSU DAS.

A BANDRA DIARY.

The courtesy of the Editor has enabled me to acquaint myself with the contents of Issu Das's comments on some observations of mine published in last week's *Reformer*. I am gratified to see that the parable of the Unjust Steward which had puzzled me, had also puzzled such eminent thinkers as Gore, Tolstoy and Conrad Noel. Their explanations quoted by Issu Das are intensely interesting. But I prefer my own to theirs because I have worked it out myself and because it is simpler and less involved than theirs. For the benefit of those who may not have read it or having read, may have forgotten it, I repeat what I said last week:—

Jesus was really holding up the dishonest steward as a warning and he was ironical when he told his disciples to make friends with Mammon in order that he may receive them in his everlasting habitations if they failed. He had evidently in mind "realists" who were trying to stand well with the Roman rulers as well as with the Hebrew people.

All the three authorities quoted by Issu Das agree with me that the parable should not be interpreted literally. Some element should be supplied by our own minds in order to make it harmonise with the general trend of Jesus Christ's teachings. There is one remark which I should like to make on Gore's explanation. It is a minor point and not quite relevant to the interpretation of the parable. He describes the disciples as monks. It means that they were celibates, I would remind readers that Peter, the first of them, had a mother-in-law whom Jesus cured of a fever; and a mother-in-law necessarily implies a daughter-in-law who evidently was Peter's wife.

The only difficulty in the way of my explanation of the parable that I can think of, is my attribution of irony to a saying of Jesus. Irony is a kind of humour and throughout the Gospels there is not a trace of humour discernible in the utterances of Jesus. The inference to be drawn from this is confirmed by the fact that Jesus was easily roused to violent outbursts of anger especially against the Pharisees. In passing, I have, from my study, perfunctory no doubt, of conditions in Palestine under Roman rule, formed the impression that

the Pharisees were a highly cultured and broadminded people. Many of them admired Jesus and wished to shield him from being victimised as a political revolutionary. In respect of many of the matters for which Jesus denounced them, they were not always in the wrong nor Jesus always in the right. People who are given to violent wrath, are generally lacking in a sense of humour which is practically the same as a sense of proportion. I am, therefore, somewhat diffident as to whether an explanation which attributes irony to Jesus, can be accepted as conclusive. At the same time, I am aware that the Gospels are silent on large spaces of Jesus Christ's earthly sojourn and that even through their grim narrative one can discern that there was another side to his nature. He was kind to children and to erring women, and associated with publicans and sinners who must have found his company genial as well as elevating. Perhaps the meaning of this parable and other episodes in the Gospels is to be found in the remarkable capacity of Jesus to love sinners while hating sin.

* * * *

Issu Das says that what I said of the reactions of a Hindu child to some of the precepts of Jesus imply that a Hindu cannot appreciate the teachings of Jesus. When a Hindu "appreciates" Christian truths in the sense that they are irresistible as influences on his behaviour, it is because these truths are as much Hindu as they are Christian. Deussen brings out this point clearly. The Bible, he says, tells us to love our neighbours as ourselves but does not say why we should do so. The reason is to be found in the Vedanta, in the Vedic epigram, *tat tvam asi*, that thou art. Your neighbour is yourself. It all depends on what Issu Das understands by the word "appreciate." Intellectual appreciation is possible but an idea to become motive must be assimilated into one's inner consciousness. It may exist even as an emotion without in the least affecting behaviour. It has value only as a slogan. This often happens even within the sphere of one's own inherited culture. Hinduism, as I remarked sometime back in this Diary, goes all the way with other religions including Animism. It can, therefore, understand and appreciate them all. But, while it goes all the way with other religions, it does not stop where they stop. It pursues its course beyond and when it ceases to do so and not till then it will cease to be a living religion. Thus it happens that Hinduism has qualities peculiar to itself. One of these, Ahimsa, has acquired a world-wide vogue through Gandhiji's writings. There are others. This explains why, while Hinduism is able to appreciate other religions, other religions are unable to appreciate it. As for conversion from one religion to another, I am strongly of the opinion that such change of labels is unworthy of a person of intelligence. So far as Christianity is concerned, proselytism is directly opposed to Jesus' own precepts and practice. He never baptised a single soul. He himself lived a Jew. He enjoined those whom he cured of disease to go and offer the customary offerings in the Jerusalem Temple. More than that he denounced those "who compass sea and land to make one proselyte; and when he is made, make him more the child of hell than yourselves." Jesus conceived and intended his message as the leaven that leavens the whole lump, which it cannot do if it is cut off from contact with the lump. I have for some years been convinced that Christian missions to India under British rule are but the religious counterpart of the political and economic exploitation and that it is a total contravention of the spirit and even the letter of the

teachings of Jesus Christ. The crucial test came when the Japanese occupied Burma. All the world knows what happened. The evangelists are no doubt waiting for General Wavell's plan to materialise before resuming their interrupted vocation. I have known Christian missionaries of high character, men of long vision, who refused to participate in the hunt for recruits to the fold. When persons drawn by their personality, went to them seeking conversion, they advised them in the kindest way to remain in their households, practise the precepts of Jesus, admonishing them that thus they would be best fulfilling the duty which they owe to humanity. It is more easy to practise the Christian virtues in a Hindu environment than in any other. The hero of Hinduism is always a saint. The hero of Western Christianity is the soldier. William Booth created his Salvation Army with uniforms, drums and trumpets and military titles, as more attractive to English minds than the half-naked sanyasin who turns his back on the world and with his staff and begging bowl fares forth in the great adventure of faith. The War has brought the two ideals sharply face to face in India and, in the last analysis, that is at the bottom of the "deadlock" which is engaging the attention of so many worthy people.

RECLUSE.

THE UNJUST STEWARD.

Sir,—It is surprising that a very simple explanation of the parable of the Unjust Steward narrated in Luke alone, has escaped one who has evidently read the Gospels as intensely as Recluse has. The parable was apparently spoken towards the end of his ministry by Jesus and it seems to me that it was a prophetic warning of coming events. He was in effect telling them that they were going sorely to disappoint him—as the steward had the master in the parable; that they need expect no more service under him; and that they had better make friends with the Mammon of unrighteousness as it was with him that *they* must make their abode. The reference to a man not being able to serve two masters becomes clear on this interpretation. This explanation also shows, I think, why the story was suppressed by three out of the four Gospels. The weakness of Christianity is that it asks one to accept the disciples as well as Christ.—Yours etc.,

INTERESTED.

CONVERSION AT SOPHIA COLLEGE

Sir,—In view of the controversy going on in the press and the many conflicting, incorrect and unfounded statements made therein, I proffer the following statement of facts:—

One Parsi girl became a Catholic on September 13th. She had fully made up her mind to take this step before she came to College. I urged upon her the advisability of telling her parents before doing so, but she refused on the plea that they would effectively prevent her from carrying out her project. I, therefore, refused to make any arrangements for her baptism; so she made all her own arrangements without informing the College authorities.

On the evening of September 13th she told her parents that she had been baptized that morning.

On September 15th she visited the Archbishop of Bombay together with her father and sister and a Dasturji. In their presence she promised to study Zoroastrianism and they promised to let her live peacefully at home.

The family did not keep their promise, and such was the constant emotional strain to which the girl was subjected at home that she felt unable to go on living there, and came to College on October 2nd. Her relatives came to ask her to return, but, as they would give her no guarantee of freedom, she refused to do so.

As regards the "waiting list" mentioned in the press, it does not exist. One other Parsi girl has been removed from College because her parents feared she would follow her friend's example. Otherwise, I know of no other student who has any intention of becoming a Catholic.

I have heard that anonymous letters have been received by parents. To give one example only:—One was informed that her daughter and her daughter's friend had become Catholics. Both these students are still at College protesting that they have no intention of changing their religion.

As to any propaganda, or moral persuasion, every one of our students could witness to the fact that none has taken place. Reference to Christianity must, of course, be made in the course of studies, but it is against our most sacred and cherished principles to use force or pressure to make any one change his or her religion.

Religious instruction classes are held for Catholics only and not for non-Catholics, as the primary concern of the College is education and not proselytising.

At the special request of some of the friends of the institution, I have agreed to inform the parents or guardians of any student of the College who intends to change her religion, as soon as the College authorities are aware of the same.—Yours etc.,

Sophia College,
November 7, 1942

C. ANDERSSON, R. S. C. J.
Principal.

[Principal Andersson naively avows that she entered into a conspiracy of silence with her student on the latter's plea "that they (the girl's parents) would effectively prevent her from carrying out her project." In other words, Principal Andersson assumed that the parents would be acting against the interests, spiritual as well as secular, of their own daughter by preventing her from becoming a convert and that she (Principal Andersson) had a sacred duty to prevent the parents from restraining their daughter from forsaking her ancestral faith. Principal Andersson would have served the true interests of the Catholic religion as well as of the girl who confided in her, if she had impressed on the latter that, if she really believed in the Catholic faith, she should say so to her parents who had the first claim on her confidence and plead with them deferentially to acquiesce in, if they cannot approve of, her abandoning the faith in which she was born. Andersson's story of the girl agreeing to be instructed in Zoroastrianism and declining instruction on the ground that the family did not keep its promise to let her live in peace, because her relatives asked her to remain in the old faith, as well as the intervention of Archbishop Roberts in the tangle, provide matter for amusement rather than for serious comment.—*Editor.*]

LORD MORLEY AND THE VICEROY'S COUNCIL

Sir,

With reference to my speech regarding Lord Morley's share in securing admission of an Indian to the Executive Council and Mr. S. Iyengar's question in the *Social Reformer*, I have not got my books with me, but if he would care to look into Morley's "Recollections" (two volumes) and Lady Minto's life of her husband, I am sure he will find that I did not speak without reason. It is years ago that I read these books and my impression is that Lord Morley was persuaded by Lord Minto.

I appreciate greatly your confidence in me. I can assure you that what I said to the L. C. S. probationers is true. Even an Editor could not guarantee the regular appearance of a newspaper and continuance of a well-considered policy without good and honest ancillary services and the Indian Civil Service has much to its credit.—Yours etc.

New Delhi.

JOGENDRA SINGH.

[The long-drawn discussion between Lord Minto and Lord Morley relating to the appointment of an Indian to the Executive Council of the Governor-General is fully set out in the second volume of Morley's *Recollections*. The idea was first suggested by Lord Morley. "I suppose," wrote Morley at the fag-end of a long letter (June 15, 1906), "the notion of a Native in your Executive Council would not do at all. Is that certain? I daresay it is and it would frighten that nervous personage (naturally nervous), the Anglo-Indian." Lord Minto responded to this calculatedly casual suggestion with the impulsive avowal, "I have very nearly on several occasions suggested to you the possibility of a native gentleman on my Executive Council, but thought it would be premature to say anything about it." A week later the Viceroy wrote: "I would for the present put aside the possibility of a Native Member of Council." Lord Morley seemed to acquiesce for the moment but he again and again returned to the topic and, against the unanimous opposition of the India Council, Lord Kitchener, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Curzon and the Tory party, of King Edward VII (who said that the Prince of Wales agreed with his view), got "the gentleman who can only jump hedges" (Curzon's phrase) to jump the hedge of the Indian Executive Council Member. The King in giving his assent wrote "evidently with much strong feeling, 'protesting' against the whole proceeding but admitting that there was no alternative against a unanimous Cabinet." Lord Sinha was appointed and at the very first meeting of the Executive Council he lined himself with his new colleagues, "I am rather amused—a grim sort of amusement—at what you report of your new member of Council," wrote Morley, "the people of England do not understand the position here and they must be taught to do so. I would like..... To put a Socratic question or two....." It has been necessary to enter at some length into this old history because Sir Jogendra Singh is a scholar and a man of letters and his opinion on a point of this kind is important beyond the confines of New Delhi. Lord Morley was the last Secretary of State of India who strove with all his strength to maintain the British character of the Government of India against a tendency—strong even in his days—for it to lapse into Taarist methods. We can understand Sir Jogendra Singh's chivalrous desire to uphold the Viceroy whose administration has few admirers and many detractors. But his choice of ground was unhappy. As shown above, his estimate of Lord Morley's share in the reform is totally wrong.—*Editor.*]

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

(Copyright.)

MARCH 29, 1933.

Hollywood.

I recognised the studios at Hollywood, the villages, the waters, the artificial structures put up for representation. For companions, the relation of every home with particular world famous artists was an added delight in which I had no part. I had never heard their names or their title to fame. I recognised only Charlie Chaplin.

We were led round to see from a 'palisade' the Roosevelt Highway extending 2000 miles along the Pacific Ocean, right up to Mexico, and overlooking the island of Cataline with its glass-bottomed boat fame, owned, (island, boat, steamer which carried to the island, everything,) by Mr. Wrigley, whose son, it was said, was a passenger on our "Empress."

I was deep in Frank Harris' Oscar Wilde, his life and confessions, lent me by Mrs. Brookes; there is a chapter in it by Bernard Shaw entitled "My Memories of Wilde," which and other references to Shaw, shown by the index, I read first of all and finished.

Shaw has returned from California, of which he has seen nothing, neither at San Francisco nor Los Angeles; he flew to the home of Randolph W. Hearst, the newspaper magnate, where he met Marion Davies and thrice he has flown to the ship. I believe he was forcibly landed midway, *i. e.* some miscarriage compelled landing.

Shaw's memories are very kindly to Wilde, but not with indiscriminating kindness, and there is shrewd insight; it is seen and shown that it could do Wilde no good to have been made a god of; that he talked without knowledge about music, literature, art, that he lacked industry, sobriety and honesty, a lack which genius does not make up for. Frank Harris, the author of this biography, comments on this that industry, sobriety and honesty are qualities possessed by nine men out of ten. Shaw retorts that, if so, only the tenth men have come his way.

Dr. Brookes asked for the *Times* with the Population Trap article; and I passed on to him the latest *Spectator* also, with the article on German Terror. I explained that a member of the Reforms Club, disillusioned about Democracy and Elections, will be apt to be swayed in favour of Hitlerism which might be another monster. Dr. Brookes said, for him, Germany has the choice of Hitlerism and Communism from which Hitlerism can save Germany; he admits it is a choice of evils, but for Dr. Brookes, Communism is by far the greater evil, after experience of Bolshevism in Russia.

MARCH 30, 1933.

When to Mrs. Starr and Mrs. Lawrie I repeated the remark that Oscar was overeducated and, therefore, unfitted for life by Oxford (Frank Harris); and that there is such a thing as too much style for matter to carry, and Oscar suffered from that (Shaw); Mrs. Lawrie jumped upon me to take care, I too might be overbookish and unacquainted with life.

MARCH 31, 1933.

I have done about 200 pages of Oscar Wilde, whose life is an epic worth reading and whose sexual perversions figure in the story as ultimately ruining him, as a part of the epic. No Puritan need blush to read the book because of Wilde's bad reputation.

Mr. Shaw's typist was in distress this morning at some of Mr. Shaw's papers being misplaced. When Mrs. Shaw came up to inquire what instructions she should carry to the typist, Mr. Shaw was overheard to reply, "Give her my love." At the passport

examination at San Francisco, Mr. Shaw was seen to go up to the desk in front of the queue that had been waiting, and was attended to, even in preference to a lady who had been half through with her papers. Miss Pearson was in the queue and had the fairness to tell me that she cannot understand that inconsiderate action of Mr. Shaw. She says he turned to the queue after he had been served, to remark, 'if only they knew what I had gone through.' I suppose he meant the interviewers who, according to Mr. Eaton, bested Mr. Shaw.

Yesterday Mrs. Starr had expressed wonder what two people like Mr. Shaw and myself found in Miss Pearson. She can only bore Mr. Shaw; and what could a broad-minded man like me find in common with Miss Pearson's narrowness and autocratic laying down of the law on so many questions. I replied that I cannot speak for Mr. Shaw. For myself, Miss Pearson is an excellent companion; being deaf and unwilling to foist my unwelcome company, I can only be grateful for such company as comes my way. The best breadth of mind is the willingness to fit, and learn from, what looks narrow and opposite. The narrowness may be the thorn encirclement which, when pierced, admits to the Rose.

APRIL 1, 1933.

Have spent some time in explaining to good people that Oscar might have been a bad man; but his life does not confine itself to details of lewdness, hardly touches them; but the story of the rise to fame more dazzling than Byron's and of a fall which was like a crash through an earthquake, and the connection of both rise and fall with the special feature which alone most people know as characteristic of Oscar, is not like the reading of pornographic literature.

Mr. Webster (Senator) spent 150 minutes with me today. He knew Tilden Smith and his office in London, Adelaide House, and his deputation of 3 miners from his Kent collieries to Russia to investigate working conditions. He adduced that episode to confirm a deputation of economists from Quebec who had made the same investigation with same results, unfavourable to Russian collieries. Why then should G. B. S. set up a different view of the Russian system and call upon young Chinese students to be communists of the Russian type? He also brought into the discussion his private investigations of the growth of Japan, the need of the Western World to make terms with her, the relative growth of Westernisation in Japan and China, the policy of restricting immigration, the difference between the Chinese at home and at Los Angeles, the conviction of Canada that so far as trade is concerned, unification with the U. S. is called for, and not adopted only for reasons of sentiment, his own education through Life and not with books alone. I adopted most of his statements about present actualities but showed cause to modify his outlook on the future, every way, taking his education through Life as restricting his outlook.

The education of life has many advantages. It checks romanticism but it has handicaps of its own; its outlook is that of the established order and of difficulties of change, that of the priests of the Temple who crucified Jesus. It exaggerates the responsibilities of the Shaws by overestimating their influence with the public and by overvaluing the pressure of the crowd with the slavish mentality of docility to Shaws or Gandhis. The Hitlers may score temporary successes, but are usually overwhelmed by the vital factors which come to the surface when the Hitlers feel most secure, and

see no need for cautious handling. A Shaw making pronouncements on a thousand subjects is obviously not in touch with the details of any, it is an advantage to specialists that the Shaws should have full liberty of say from the general standpoint; specialists may then ask if the coruscating Shaws have thrown out any really vital sparks. The Shaws may point out to the Canadians who see the advantages of union with the U. S. A., that science is annihilating distance, that very soon the question will arise whether the U. S. A. and the Britain Empire may not form one polity and when it becomes desirable as well as practicable, it will be speeded up if Canada be British rather than a province of the U. S. A. The capital might then be neither Washington nor London. I had hoped during the war (1914-1918) that the British and French Empires might form such a union; the principles of local autonomy and federal participation are reconcoiling the world to Freedom and Empire (*Imperium et Libertas*); that such federal unions would simplify the regulation of population questions and questions of disarmament and world economics.

APRIL 2, 1933.

It looks as if old ladies emulate younger ones going about in trousers, but cocktail parties also increase. Miss Philips a moment ago told me she had been invited to and partaken of so many, she is giving one in return, and I must stand by her. It took some doing to convince her that I would feel less unhappy to be ducked under water than to stand the ordeal of fitting into a crowd, however small.

APRIL 3, 1933.

I have finished Oscar Wilde and also a large part of the appendix, about 20 or 30 pages more will complete everything. The book has moved me, though why, it would be difficult to say. Before I started on the appendix, my eyes were filled with childish tears, my heart was idly stirred; for the very same Love was in my ears which in boyish days I heard. Never for years has similar hysterics overcome me; there was nobody in the room, the tears could only purify as with fire.

SOCIETY AND THE INDIVIDUAL.

Society is but the character of an individual. It is the expression or manifestation of a spiritual relationship between man and man, between soul and soul. But this relationship works or asserts itself through the heart and not the head, through instincts and emotions and not through intellect or reasoning. Society is an infinite unit and, because it is infinite, its movements can only be comprehended through instinct, through intuition. It is infinite not merely spacially but also temporally. It involves not only the entire human life, living in the present but also the endless future generations. And, because society is boundless both in space and time and is beyond the range of any external measurement, its life can be comprehended only from within, through feeling or intuition and not from without. The intellect or reasoning which divides or separates individual from individual is an anti-social force, while the social life is ultra-rational and emotional by nature. And from out of the infinite run of the social life towards an endless future, there arises a spiritual thirst for greatness which is responsible for keeping alive before society an ideal and a hope for future happiness or progress. The more the ideal is achieved, the greater is the intensity of the chase for its realisation. And the emotion for the ideal is the true incentive for social growth. But that emotion must only work through the individual by creating in him an attitude of love or spirit of self-

sacrifice and preparing him for a struggle for that ideal.

It is through this ideal which belongs to society as a whole and which demands from every individual member of society a spirit of self-sacrifice not only in the interests of all others, living in the present, but also in the interests of future generations, that each individual is related to the other and under a bond of love or self-abnegation. And it is here that the social or moral self which recognises all social duties and demands, coming from without, and the spiritual self which feels for others from within and yet dreams of a free and ideal form of life, identify with each other. Morally society has to be recognised as a force demanding a particular type of conduct and spiritually society has to be felt as a force working and moving through infinity. But conduct and feelings come only from within. Shelley has demonstrated in his "Defence of Poetry" this infinite moral relationship that works through identifying oneself with social life, through a process of imagination. This speaks of how and what we actually act when we feel the pains and pleasures of others. When one feels the pain of another's suffering, it means he has placed himself in his position or identified himself with his suffering. And then only he contemplates helping him. Therefore, each word of kindness, each deed of help, speaks of this fundamental moral relationship. But this "love thy neighbour" attitude is by itself a recognition of one's innate oneness with society, for it is impossible to place oneself in the position of others unless both society and the individual are essentially one.

The social question is thus a question of self-expansion or development of social consciousness or seeing one's own self in the experiences of others and at the same time recognising a social problem in each of his own personal riddles. Man in his personal or spiritual dreams is confronted with social duties and demands and, when he actually approaches and analyses them, he finds that those problems and duties also transcend the immediate interest or a finite end and that society is equally spiritual, equally dreamy or idealistic. Morality and spirituality are synonymous.

In the march of social idealism is involved the sacrifice of each individual in the interests of society and on the part of society as a whole the sacrifice of the interests of the present in the interests of the future. Each individual is involved in this pursuit of society after a pleasure which always remains to be achieved and can never be brought under a measurable possession. Thus every member of society is a social personality and a spiritual unit. He is always a dreamer and pursuer of unseen paths. His path is a path of love, love of society, love of infinite universe.

Quite opposite to this force of love, runs the force of intellect as an implement in the hands of physical appetites and which prompts a divided economic interest. And selfishness is the product of this economic hunger and it clings to the individual as long as the want lasts and in the absence of proper protection by society or state from the ravages of that want. It even extends to the building up of a barrage against future want and it is this barrage that takes the shape of all capitalisms, monopolies and economic policies. But even this selfish intellectual struggle for the gratification of a want is bound to run subordinate to the higher social law of love. For gratification of one's want is only possible when he is prepared to look to the wants of others and gratify them. To this world of wants and appetites belong the code of rights while duties belong to the world of love.

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W. G. GROUNDWATER,

General Manager

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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.

Asia and Europe:—Mr. L. S. Amery observed in a recent speech that there was no such entity as Asia. This is quite true so long as there is no talk of an entity known as Europe. The slogan, "Asia for the Asiatics," is the inevitable reaction to the self-assertiveness of Europe as entitled to dominate the world. So long as Europe cannot get rid of her self-consciousness, Asia, whether she likes it or not, cannot but think of herself as an entity different from Europe. The same is true of nationality and communalism. The British are a nation because the Germans, the French, the Dutch and others are nations. Hindus are a community in relation to Muslims, Parsis, Jews and so on. The argument may be pushed farther. Mr. Amery, as an individual, is really the consequence of the existence of other individuals. So long, therefore, as Europe, Britain and Mr. Amery are distinct entities, Asia, India and Gandhi must remain distinct entities also. When European statesmen give up Europeanism, the cry, "Asia for Asians," will cease to have any meaning and not till then. The best way of countering the Japanese slogan, is for Britain, now that France is gone off the map, to relinquish her pretensions to Anglo-Saxon supremacy, which Mr. Churchill at least has no intention of doing.

Lord Linlithgow's Successor:—Following a message that Mr. Churchill was shortly to announce Lord Linlithgow's successor in the Viceroyalty of India, there has been considerable speculation as to who is coming out to India. The message mentioned that it would be a surprise choice and that several cabinet changes would follow on the announcement. The only surprise that could be given in regard to the appointment, is either that it is to be one of the British royal family, like the Earl of Athlone who has been Governor-General in two Dominions already, or some total nonentity in British

politics, who would take instructions from Whitehall. Otherwise every possibility has been discussed threadbare from General Auchinlech to the Duke of Devonshire. Press reports cabled from Britain seem to indicate that Lord Halifax is a favourite but it is hardly likely that the British Prime Minister who was not an admirer of Lord Halifax's Indian policy, will offer him the Viceroyalty at this stage. Lord Halifax has not even the merit of novelty so far as India is concerned and it would be surprising if his tactics of a decade before prove successful now.

Viscount Cranbourne on Colonialism:—Viscount Cranbourne, Secretary of State for the Colonies, who has been mentioned as a probable choice for the Viceroyalty of India, has chosen this moment to make a pronouncement on the subject of Colonialism which reveals how unfitted he is for such a position. Lord Cranbourne explained to a London audience that Malaya, etc., were lost not because, as it was hastily and mistakenly believed, the peoples in those areas were not associated with the administrations there, but because of poor equipment. He asked those who held the other view to explain why the Dutch Indies which was "the best administered" of colonies, and the Philippines with its representative institutions had suffered the same fate; why Thailand, though independent, had succumbed. Mr. Owen Lattimore, till recently political adviser to Generalissimo Chian Kai-Shek, explains the case of Thailand:

Her nominal freedom had in fact always been a patronized freedom under the benevolent supervision of Britain and France, and government, under this undeclared protectorate, was exercised by a small and corrupt clique. There is evidence that this clique had decided in advance to break away from the vague protection of countries whose colonial prestige had weakened rapidly in the dubious years of appeasement, and to court Japan as a new overlord. Instead of strengthening the national morale, they themselves undermined it by attacking the Chinese in Thailand.

As for the Dutch East Indies, one reason why the Dutch East Indies put up some sort of resistance, is believed to be that race discrimination was less fierce there than in Malaya; a Eurasian was in fact in a responsible position in the army. Lord Cranbourne's reference to the Philippines is on a par with the juvenile Philippines skits of All India Radio pleading the Filipino example as an instance of the futility of independence as a factor for

strengthening morale at the very time when Filipinos were putting up a determined resistance to Japanese aggression. Lord Cranbourne failed to mention the news item now circulated in India—probably it has not yet reached Britain—that members of the civil service are still holding out in parts of Burma, even though military resistance had broken down some months ago, as an instance of the great success of the colonial system, British style. There was more towards the end which revealed the mentality of the Colonial Secretary. Lord Cranbourne referred to the dangers of a Colonial Charter which might lead to over-simplification; it was their (British) policy to establish “ourselves in far-flung countries with the good will of the local peoples and our aim has been to retain as far as possible the existing social structure, traditions and customs.” This speech is more worthy of a curator of a museum than of one who has the least claim to administrative office; the “good will of local peoples” is a bit of verbal trimming which does not fit in with the rest of the speech as it does not fit in with colonialism. Lord Cranbourne’s reference to Britain and the British people marked the peak in a speech of ascending naivete. Self-praise, he said, was alien to the British; and he suggested that to their reticence was due the failure of Britain and other nations to realise that in the nineteenth century for the British Empire “the old idea of exploitation gave place to the new doctrine of trusteeship.” The Oxford University Press has published recently a collection of Mr. Amery’s speeches on India under the attractive title, “India and Freedom,” appropriately bound in mock-khadi. If, after reading that, anyone can still speak of self-praise as alien to the British; if one can remember Mr. Churchill’s excuse for diluting the bitter truth because other races in the Empire could not take misfortune like the British; if disclaiming self-praise for one’s nation is not the worst form of national vanity and self-delusion; then we have yet to know what self-praise is. We have said that Lord Cranbourne’s utterance marks him as unfit for the position of Viceroy of India. But it would be wrong to infer that he is a less likely choice for that reason than if he had not spoken as he did. It is quite possible that the very reasons which we have cited to prove his unsuitability, may commend him to those who for the moment determine the fate of India.

Mr. Churchill and Sir Stafford Cripps.—The *New Statesman* in its comments on one of Mr. Churchill’s speeches on India candidly avows that it had wiped out the favourable effects of Sir Stafford Cripps’ mission to India. And it goes on to rebuke Sir Stafford gently for charging Gandhiji with the responsibility for the breakdown in the negotiations without being able to substantiate it precisely. We ourselves think too much was

said for and against the suggestion which is the most trivial of charges to raise on issues affecting national and international questions. If Gandhiji felt that the Cripps proposals were ruinous to India, surely he had at least as much right to influence the Congress which in its present form owes everything to him, as Sir Stafford had to offer them to that party. That a man who claims to be and is acclaimed in his own country as a serious and responsible leader, should indulge in such peevish tactics, and that Indian politicians should solemnly rebut them, show to what straits British and Indian politicians are reduced. The *New Statesman* makes much of the sincerity of Sir Stafford’s efforts for India. It is no use British newspapers and publicists stressing this point which makes Indians and probably Americans as well who are familiar with Sir Stafford’s place in British politics, wonder whether the British press is trying to convince itself of Sir Stafford’s sincerity. In India, at any rate, there has been great disillusionment and writers in the American press have been even more outspoken in their condemnation of the manner of negotiation.

Federal Court ;—The Indian Federal Court was started before the Federation of India of which it was to be an organ and it has, therefore, very little work for the three judges who constitute it. Sir Zaffrullah Khan, one of them, was sent to China for four months and has now been deputed to attend the Pacific Relations Conference in Canada. It was stated in a Press message that Sir Maurice Gwyer, the Chief Justice, would have been sent on that or some other mission but for his being ill. Sir Maurice will reach the age-limit fixed for retirement next April and the name of his successor was announced a few days ago. He is a Mr. Spens. He is by no means in the first rank of British lawyers and there are Indian lawyers of greater or equal eminence whose selection might mitigate the halo of superfluity which now surrounds the Federal Court. We have suggested that the appointment of an Indian Governor-General would be politically a desirable departure from current practice. The Chief Justiceship of India is only less important than the Viceroyalty and there is no reason why it should not be filled by an Indian. Evidently, the British Government is resolved to do nothing to conciliate India politically by casting aside the racial discrimination which has given and is giving cause for much resentment. Sir S Varadacharya, the senior judge, is a lawyer of eminence and he would have maintained the dignity of the office as well as Mr. Spens.

Parsi Manifesto :—A manifesto, signed by more than a thousand Parsis including many men prominent in professional life, has been issued protesting against the mention of the community, in his recent speech by Lord Cranborne in the House of Lords, among those who were opposed to the Congress movement. The signatories aver that their sympathies are

wholly with the national ideal. The Anglo-Indians passed a resolution at a conference recently held in Allahabad declaring their strong opposition to the vivisection of India for the sake of Pakistan. These two communities are the smallest minorities in the country and their opposition to the Muslim League project is, on that account, of exceptional significance.

Madame Chiang Kai-Shek:—It was announced early this week that Madame Chiang Kai-Shek had arrived in the United States and that she had entered a hospital for treatment for the after-effects of an accident which befell her five years ago. The reason given seems purposely intended to convey that it is purely a diplomatic reason and that the First Lady in China has more important objects in view than a rest cure. This is confirmed by the announcement a day or two later that Madame Chiang Kai-Shek is expected in London shortly. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt's recent visit to England and soon after that the Chinese lady's visit will, we trust, convince the British Prime Minister that the time demands that he should put aside his Anglo-Saxon prepossessions and concede to other nations and races an equal right to fulfil their destiny. Of late, there has been little news from China. Mr. Winston Churchill said in his recent broadcast that the war in Europe may end sooner than the war in Asia. It is not unlikely that in order to fulfil this forecast munitions and reinforcements are concentrated in North Africa, and China suffers in consequence. Mr. Churchill's expectation has provoked different reactions in different countries. In India, it is suspected to mean the perpetuation of Imperialism. It may be that Madame Chiang Kai-Shek's visit will have the effect of warning Mr. Churchill that China has claims which cannot be postponed till the end of the war in Europe.

The Chinese Ministry of Information:—The Chinese Ministry of Information has been releasing a great deal of material from its Calcutta office which will be found very useful by Indian publicists and the press, particularly as news from Chungking comes to India in trickles. The more lasting releases have been two books by Dr. Sun Yat Sen, a record of China in the fifth year of war, an article on the Political Council and an exhaustive bibliography of publications dealing with China during the past six years. The Chinese Ministry modestly claims its list of books to be a "selected" bibliography on China. The list, however, seems exhaustive. Its merit lies in its startling objectivity—it gives books published in Japan and even the writings of the superciliously sympathetic like Auden's and Issherwood's "Journey to a War." We are reprinting the list in two parts and the first appears elsewhere in this issue. The Chinese Ministry would render a further service if it could make accessible the books presenting the Chinese point of view throughout India. We understand that this is

being done and that further some of the material, as, for example, "China in the fifth year," are being issued in Hindi at prices considerably below the English editions.

Two Revolutions:—During the latter half of the eighteenth century there occurred two revolutions whose sequel we are witnessing today. The first was the American Revolution which achieved its greatest triumph when the successor of Lord North acknowledged the other day that he was the ardent lieutenant of the successor of George Washington. This declaration is bound to have more far-reaching consequences than Mr. Winston Churchill intended it to have. For instance, the British Indian Empire has been said to have been created to compensate for the loss of the American Colonies. The lost Colonies have become the powerful ally of the mother country in the course of a century and a half. Not only that but they are at present taking a leading part in defending the Indian Empire. Are they defending it for Britain? Not by any means. Whether they are conscious of it or not, they are bound by historic necessity to transform the political system in India so as to approximate to their own ideals. The other Revolution which followed the American, was the French Revolution. The French Revolution to all appearance has liquidated itself. France is now under German control. It may be mentioned that France gave important help to the American Colonies in their Revolution and America is repaying the service by the action she is taking beginning with the French North African Colonies. American policy in this region has created some apprehension in Britain which has promoted the Free French movement of General de Gaulle. The United States Government has followed the policy of maintaining relations with the Petain regime, no doubt on the principle that a Government which functions from within France has the greater claim to be recognised as its legal Government than one which operates from foreign soil. Admiral Darlan remained with Marshal Petain and was his most important coadjutor. He was sent by Marshal Petain to North Africa when the Americans occupied it and in consultation with the American Commander, he agreed to carry on the civil government while the Americans dealt with the military situation. Meanwhile Germany overran unoccupied France. With the scuttling of the French Navy in Toulon, all France came under Nazi domination and Admiral Darlan has, in the name of the Marshal, now virtually a prisoner, assumed the office of Chief of State. General de Gaulle naturally does not like this turn of affairs.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, December 5, 1942.

INDIAN CHRISTIANS IN THE U. P.

Professor N. G. Jordan writing in the *Indian Witness* of November 19, calls attention to a sensational decrease in the Indian Christian population of the United Provinces during the decade 1931-1941 as disclosed by the figures of the last Census. The population of the United Provinces at the Census of 1931 was about 25.5 millions. Of this less than 1,75,000 were Indian Christians. During the decade the total population increased by 13.7 per cent. The Indian Christians, however, showed a decrease of 22 per cent. Taking the two percentages together, Professor Jordan estimates that the decrease in the Indian Christian community works out at 35.7 per cent or more than one-third. The decrease, he shows, is not accounted for by emigration. On the contrary, there were newcomers into the area and, if their number is taken into account, the loss amounts to exactly two-fifths. Sociologists sometimes advance dearth of women as a cause of decreased population. Professor Jordan shows that the Indian Christian community has a slightly higher percentage of women than the other communities. He also dismisses decrease in fecundity, as inapplicable to Indian Christian mothers. Foul play in enumeration has been suggested as the cause of increase or decrease in the Census figures in some communities. Professor Jordan does not believe that it can be alleged as the cause of the decrease in the Indian Christian figures. If it were, he says, it can be easily exposed by the district superintendents in the missionary fields. He concludes :—

When two-fifths of a growing community falls off in ten years that took fifty years to build it with an immense amount of money and a large number of consecrated men and women, it is time to take the challenge; it is time to ascertain facts, and, if possible, to suggest remedies to ward off the menace of extinction.

That, with much expenditure of money and the devoted labours of many earnest missionaries, only less than one per cent of the population of the United Provinces was enrolled as Christians in half a century, is itself a fact of startling significance. The decrease of this minute fraction by two-fifths in the last ten years is an aggravation which calls for explanation. We hope Sir Maharaj Singh who has been elected to preside at the next All India Christian Conference, will devote part of his address to this phenomenal set-back to the Indian Christian population in the United Provinces.

Meanwhile we may suggest some probable reasons for the fall in the Indian Christian population. The foremost cause is probably the intensive propaganda for the uplift of Harijans which has been in progress on Gandhiji's initiative for the last ten years. During the

short period during which Congress Governments functioned in seven provinces, several concessions were extended to Harijan children in educational institutions. These concessions were claimed also for converted Harijans on the ground that their conversion has had no effect on their social and economic condition. This plea was accepted in some provinces and refused in others. Anyhow it showed the scheduled castes that, converts or no converts, they had to look to popular Governments for support for raising themselves in the social scale. Those who were not converted, got these concessions as a matter of right while converts got them as a matter more or less of grace. A man who applied for a Government job even outside the quota fixed for the scheduled castes, was likely to get preference if he described himself as a member of that group rather than as a member of the Indian Christian community which had no special quota of its own. A scheduled caste man may hope to rise to be a Member of the Legislative and Executive Councils so long as he remained in his caste but, if converted, his chances fell to vanishing point. This is one cause why conversions from among the scheduled castes may be expected to dwindle in the future.

Another reason may well be the growing feeling among younger missionaries that proselytising is not the best way of helping to raise a community. Pulling it out of its native soil by the roots, is not the way of helping the growth of a plant. No more is proselytising the way of promoting the growth of personality. During one hundred years of missionary effort, not a single Indian Christian has established a name for spiritual eminence with the solitary exception of Sadhu Sunder Singh who was certainly not the product of missionary propaganda. The more thoughtful missionaries have lost enthusiasm for proselytising work and some, the more conscientious among them, have retired from missions. One or two have preferred to work independently without affiliation to any mission board. A third cause is, of course, the liberal views which are rapidly spreading among Hindus regarding the injustice of the treatment so far accorded to these classes and the efforts that are being made to abandon the old attitude of discrimination against them. The growth of the nationalist sentiment in India has not left Indian Christians unaffected. The younger generation is largely nationalist and is in high revolt against the subservience of their fathers to foreign missionaries who make invidious race distinctions in respect of the terms of mission employment. This feeling has not been removed by the selection of an Indian here and there to be a Bishop, full or partial. The lesson has not been lost on young men and women in the community. Without any malpractice on the part of census enumerators, Indian Christians, especially in the countryside, might have returned themselves as Hindus or Muslims.

In the background looms the large decline in the prestige of the European nations which send missions, as followers of the Christian faith. It may be possible to assess the value of each of these causes with more particularity when the statistics of the Indian Christian population in other provinces and for the whole country are subjected to analysis.

A BANDRA DIARY.

The *Guardian* of Madras observes with reference to the criticisms evoked by the conversion of some non-Christian girls in the Sophia College for Women, that it is not Christian Missions alone that accept converts from other faiths: The Muslim does it; the Arya Samaj does it; the Brahmo Samaj does it. The *Reformer*, it may be recalled, had a controversy a few years ago with the Arya Samaj leaders on their proselytising activities. When a Hindu avows himself to be a Brahmo Samajist or Arya Samajist or Sikh, there is no material change involved in belief or practice. In the Punjab, Sikhs and Hindus, except occasionally in the political field, have most things in common. Intermarriages are not uncommon. The pattern of social life is the same. As for the Arya Samajists, in the Arya Marriage Act they are described as a class of Hindus and in fact they claim to follow Hinduism in its purest form. The same is true of the Brahmo Samajists. An increasing number of educated Hindus nowadays are Buddhist in belief but they are still members of the Hindu community. These religions, therefore, stand in a class apart from Islam and Christianity. Islam has no organised proselytising propaganda conducted by foreign missions and converts to that faith are mostly the result of social assimilation due to the two communities living side by side under virtually identical conditions, chiefly in Bengal and the Punjab; there is no social barrier between converter and converted. Accession to the population of Islam by conversion from this cause is, moreover, almost negligible. The Hindu and Muslim communities have become stabilised and increases and decreases of population among them are generally explained satisfactorily by birth rate and migration. Whatever may be the theory, Indian Muslims as a community are as much averse to proselytism as Hindus. More than that, Indian Christians themselves complain that foreign missionaries make mass conversions and that the task of assimilating these are left to the Indian Christian Churches, the missionaries themselves having no intention of becoming one with their proselytes. It may confidently be said that the bulk of the Indian Christian community does not approve of the proselytising activities of foreign missions. Left to itself, the Indian Christian community would be content with converts through assimilation from and to other religion.

The *Guardian* draws an analogy between proselytising and social reform which is even more superficial. The same arguments as those urged against conversion to other religions, says the *Guardian*, have been used against social reformers by orthodox Hindus. As a matter of fact, orthodox Hindus have often told social reformers that they (the orthodox) would be quite pleased if the reformers became converts to other religions instead of being a thorn on their side by remaining Hindus. The trials through which reformers in the early days had to pass, were more severe than fell to most converts. The convert went out of the fold and there was nothing more to be feared from him. But the reformer continued to be of the household and could not be got rid of. Excommunication after

a short trial was given up as ineffective, and in many cases it was impossible. Hinduism has no head of the Church, like Catholics, whose fiat is valid for all Hindus. Petty persecution was the principal weapon of the orthodox and petty persecution can be more excruciating than the burning of a man at the stake. The patience and loyalty with which the trials were borne, first weakened it and then rendered obsolete and eliminated even the desire to hurt the reformers. The reforms were accepted and that was the supreme reward of the reformer.

The *Guardian* is the organ of a fine group of men who are striving to establish continuity between Christian and Hindu religious cultures after breaking it up. The social reformer followed exactly the opposite course. He never allowed the continuity to be broken even when it was severely strained. New light from other sources he welcomed but without blacking out the old lights. The new orthodoxy includes the social reforms to which the old orthodoxy bitterly objected. It is not the orthodox Hindus but the reformers beginning with Raja Ram Mohan Roy who have most strongly opposed proselytising missions. Both the Arya Samaj and the Brahmo Samaj had in fact the prevention of religious conversions by foreign missions as one of their principal objects. The problem of Harijans is an entirely different one. The Harijan's disabilities are not self-imposed. To these the Hindu community owes reparation for the neglect to raise their status.

This discussion has strayed widely from the limited scope with which it began and it is time to end. Friends who insist on the right of self-determination, completely ignore the obligations which a man owes to the society and religion in which he is born. Hindus and Asiatics, generally, conceive civilisation as consisting predominantly of Duties. The doctrine of Rights which came to the front in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the West, is at the root of the instability which haunts the religious, social, economic and political institutions of the West. President Wilson, when he spoke of the right of self-determination, never intended it to apply to his own country. Abraham Lincoln, the greatest and the most democratic of American Presidents, fought to keep the Southern States in the Union. President Wilson himself never suggested the extension of self-determination to British and French possessions. He meant it only for the benefit of the Hungarians, the Czechs and the Poles who formed part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. He did the same about the doctrine of equality. When the Japanese delegates got an amendment in favour of race equality adopted by a majority of the Committee of the Peace Conference, against the opposition of the delegates of the United States and the British Commonwealth, he sabotaged it by ruling that only amendments which were adopted unanimously can go before the Conference. The question of proselytism is different from that of an individual avowing himself a follower of another religion or preaching a religion of his own. It concerns only the organised attempt to attract converts from other faiths often by grossly misrepresenting the tenets of those faiths and blatantly exaggerating those of the proselytiser. It is the first duty of a man to work to improve the environment in which he is born and bred. To run away from it in the hope of finding satisfaction in another fold is a selfish and most often a futile proceeding. No one can escape his own shadow.

RECLUSE.

CONVERSION AND BELIEF.

Sir,—You will kindly excuse me for again requesting you to extend to me the courtesy of some space in your columns. "Recluse" says that "when a Hindu appreciates Christian truths in the sense that they are irresistible as influences on his behaviour, it is because these truths are as much Hindu as they are Christian." He adds: "Deussen brings out this point clearly. The Bible, he says, tells us to love our neighbours as ourselves but does not say why we should do so. The reason is to be found in the Vedanta, in the Vedic epigram "*Tat twam asi*, that thou art. Your neighbour is yourself." It would be perhaps impertinent for me to say with regard to a scholar like Deussen that he is wrong in saying that the Bible does not give a reply in the case above stated. The Bible does give a reply. The Quakers consider that there is the inner Light in each individual Soul and that this is the link which unites all in fraternal and neighbourly love. This Inner Light has the same deep and penetrating truth as *Tat twam asi*. St. Augustine observed: "It is the inward master that teacheth, it is inspiration that teacheth." William Wilson writes: "We believe that the light of God shines in all men. This belief has two necessary implications for our Peace testimony; one proving negative—We cannot disregard, injure or destroy any human being, for as such he is a potential Temple of God." Ahimsa is as much a tenet and a fundamental doctrine of Christianity as of Hinduism—perhaps more. Unfortunately the different Churches have through their combination with the State perverted the doctrines of Christ and the Cross is made to fit in with modern war and its excesses. The Society of Friends, however, stands away from this and has boldly proclaimed since its inception its strongest opposition to war. I agree with "Recluse" that Christian Missions to India under British rule are but the counterpart of the political and economic exploitation and that it is a total contravention of the spirit and even the letter of the teachings of Jesus Christ. For this, however, Christianity, as such is not responsible. I have long since held the view that, if the teachings of Christ were not perverted in this country by the joining of the Church and the State, Christ would have been enthroned in the hearts of many. The opposition of the people to the State has extended unfortunately to Christianity. Quakerism, however, has kept the lamp burning and has dissociated itself from making the Bible one of the instruments of Imperialism.

I am surprised that a liberal and tolerant reformer like "Recluse" should say with regard to conversion that "such change of labels is unworthy of a person of intelligence." There are the following alternatives open to a person who wants to sincerely follow some religion: (1) He follows the religion of his fathers; (2) He merely gives himself the label given to him from birth; or (3) He changes to another religion. While mass conversion may be condemned, there is no reason for condemning a conversion based upon faith and reverence. What otherwise happens, and "Recluse" seems to approve of it, is that a man calls himself, say, a Hindu, believing all the while, say, in the tenets and beliefs of Christ. This is responsible to my mind for some hypocrisy. There is a film showing in Bombay at present, "*Juwal*." The hero says that, as the Society stands at present, there are many of us who have married women other than those we loved under some circumstances or other. Similarly, there are many of us who lead this double life in religion. Who can

say what should be the course to be chosen by an individual?

"Recluse" observes that, so far as Christianity is concerned, proselytism is directly opposed to Jesus's own precepts and practice and that he never baptised a single soul. It must be remembered that Jesus sent out his disciples through the length and breadth of the country for the purpose of proclaiming the new Gospel. This was symptomatic of his earnest desire to convert people. There was, of course, no question of coercion or mass conversion; but like every great Prophet or Avatar he wanted to spread the Light as far as possible. Baptism is not an essential part of some forms of Christianity, say, for example, Quakerism. Jesus, otherwise did draw away fishermen from their fishing occupation and asked them to catch the faithful, in their nets and leave off their fishing trade. I cannot agree with "Recluse" again, when he says, that the hero of Hinduism is always a saint and that the hero in Western Christianity is a soldier. This may be true with regard to certain forms of Christianity, but not with regard to others. Swami Vivekananda once said that the creed of Jesus was good for India and the creed of Krishna was good for the West. A saint in rags is revered by Christians as much as by the Hindus. There are Christian sadhus and fakirs not only in India but even in the West. Thousands of Priests and Nuns who have left off their everything and chosen to stay in the Convents or go sacrificing their all to places and islands infested by lepers, signify that the ideal of renunciation and asceticism is not less appreciated in Christianity than in Hinduism. It is an universal ideal and, whether among the Mahomedans, Christians, Buddhists or Hindus, it is held in the highest esteem.—Yours etc.,

ISSU DAS.

SIR M. ISMAIL ON INDIAN UNITY.

Convocation addresses nowadays attract little interest. They are listened to by the new graduates to whom they are addressed as a part of the formality of their release from academic security. During the long hour taken by the high personage chosen to deliver the year's address, the young graduate is preoccupied with the question which confronted Tennyson's young man:

What is it that I should turn to lighting upon days like these?

Every door is barred with gold and opens but to golden keys;

—with a slight variation necessitated by the virtual demonetisation of gold all the world over. These are the days of paper currency—inconvertible paper currency which, according to the old text-books which are probably still used in the Universities, was the *no plus ultra* of fiscal depravity. The doors nowadays are barred with paper and open only to paper keys. Generally the Convocation orator is a successful man of the world and he imparts or tries to impart to his young but none too eager listeners the qualities which he likes to think have made him what he has become. The most interesting figures in history however are the men whom their contemporaries regarded as tragic failures:

Seven cities claimed great Homer dead

Through which the living Homer begged for bread.

Socrates was condemned to drink poison for misleading youngmen, Jesus died upon the Cross for proclaiming his message of peace and goodwill which antagonised orthodox Jews as well as their Roman overlords. They have had many successors

whom the world remembers with gratitude as men who strove greatly and whose failures have benefitted humanity more than the successes of generals and statesmen. It may be suggested to our universities, at least for a change, to get some tragic failure of our own day to deliver the Convocation address.

Such is one's feeling about Convocation addresses generally. But there are exceptions. Sir Mirza Ismail's Convocation address to Patna University graduates is one of these. What makes it an exception is not the views expressed by Sir Mirza on the functions of Universities and high schools but the resounding blow which he administered to the idea of separation and division as fundamentally opposed to the University spirit.

If there is any real message that I have for you, especially to the young men with whom our future rests, said Sir Mirza, it is just this that, throughout this country, we must not, in any sense whatever, be separate. Ours must be the virtue, ours the power and glory, of a single nationhood. There are those who, looking far, too far, ahead, despise talk of nationalism, conceiving that the only worthy citizenship henceforward is citizenship of the world. There are others whose view is precisely opposite, who prefer to think that India is not, and cannot be, one nation, and that a permanent conflict of interests exists, which makes impossible any singleness of consciousness and constitution. To me, India, one Nation, is a most inspiring thought and a most reasonable one. I see, too all around the growth of this consciousness. This is the land of all of us, to whatever race and creed we may belong.

Coming from a seasoned administrator of wide and varied experience, and a Muslim, his pronouncement should make politicians who are ready to compromise in order to secure a small immediate settlement, to think hard. There is no conflict between universalism and nationalism so long as it is not forgotten that the whole is greater than its part. Narrow nationalism which has for its slogan, "My country, right or wrong," can breed nothing but strife and bloodshed as it is doing today. No nation has a monopoly of good men nor of wicked men. If good men in all nations combine together, they can easily bring round the bad men to see the light. Unfortunately, however, it is the bad men who are more energetic in organising themselves against the good. Universities which should be foremost in working for the co-operation of good men, have themselves been captured in several countries by the narrow nationalist and have become subservient to him.

Sir Mirza Ismail's remarks on the absence of the Chancellor from the only function of the University in which he is expected to preside, were both a rebuke and an admonition—rebuke to the Chancellor, admonition to the students. Sir Mirza said:

I am sorry to think that the graduates will have to look back on a Convocation which lacked the presence of His Excellency the Chancellor. His presence would have been both an honour and a pleasure to me personally, and would have lent distinction to the occasion. I hope and pray that happier times are in store for us all, that happier relations will soon be re-established and that you, young men and women of the University, will offer him a warm welcome... Those who make it difficult for him to attend bear a grave weight of responsibility.

Matters should have come to a very serious pass, indeed, if the Governor of a Province in his ex-officio capacity of Chancellor of the provincial University has to absent himself from the most important annual function of the University for fear of hostile demonstrations from students.

NON-VIOLENCE AND NATIONALISM.

(BY J. M. GANGULI, CALCUTTA).

One very bad and far-reaching result of the propaganda of non-violence during the last two decades and more has been that it has led people to keep one thing in mind and utter another. This hypocritical attitude has had the most demoralising effect on them, damping their spirit and weakening their mind, and leaving them absolutely without courage, dash and determination. The doctrine of Ahimsa has not been new in Bharatvarsha. It is as old as Hindu Philosophy, for it is a basic idea of it. But when it was conceived and evolved and truly practised by several persons, it was not meant, nor understood to be, a mass principle to which all must submit, and which all must at least profess, irrespective of their environment and sphere of living and action and the stage of their mental and spiritual advancement. Not only was that sort of implication not propagated but even the contrary of it was held to be the right course in many circumstances. That was what the great Rishis who propounded and could practise true Ahimsa, explained and what Sri Krishna said to Arjuna.

Ahimsa, then was not held up as an absolute rule of life for all, but, rather, the feeling of selflessness was to be the deciding consideration, in those who wanted to follow the path of righteousness in their actions. That selflessness came, when the urge to motion sprang from the desire to follow the injunctions of dharma, to uphold and defend the cause of justice against the forces of evil, to safeguard the interests of the weak and to work for the general good and welfare. Thus, though Ahimsa was understood to be the sublime ultimate ideal to which purity of thought and action and disinterestedness in outlook gradually and automatically led people, it did not leave people cramped and undecided at the cross-roads of action, not knowing what to do and which way to go—whether to adopt the violent method, at least to some extent, to achieve what they feel to be a righteous object or to remain inactive letting evil forces overcome the good. This attitude of indecision does not help the cause of Ahimsa and does not lead people towards it; but only takes away their confidence and weakens their faculties. The result is that, when they find things going the wrong way—and that because, as they think, of their non-violent inactivity—the reaction in them is more towards violence than before. That has been the case in India as the result of mass and indiscriminate preaching of Ahimsa. The demand made on people to practise it as a means of their political emancipation has made matters much worse, because the spirit of non-violence develops through the evolutionary process of spiritual development, and can not be all of a sudden adopted and put into practice as a means for the attainment of a particular object. The resulting increased reaction towards violence has been further stimulated by the fact of immediate success of violence all over the world and by the further fact of its success in India in repressing the spirit and activities of non-violent opposition to dominant violent forces.

All those considerations should have been deeply in the minds of the political leaders who unfortunately very often are not thoughtful students of human psychology and who seldom stop to comprehend themselves the full implications of a doctrine or idea, which they start preaching. Usually, of course, they preach it not because of its intrinsic merit, but because of its expediency, as they think, in helping a party or national cause. But the serious

mistake they commit is in not putting it before the people as the best expedient under existing circumstances, and in emphasising its intrinsic and absolute value. That lack of straightforwardness leads to inevitable trouble as soon as the results promised by the leaders begin to default, as they must, because of so many essential conditions having been left out of account. People begin to doubt in their mind even the ultimate values of Ahimsa and, though they yet openly profess abhorrence of violence out of fear of a repressive Government, they feel within themselves that violence alone succeeds. Such mental attitude and outward conduct can not lead to progress and cannot train people in the path of confident self-help and national progress. That is why there is so much diffidence and demoralisation in the country. People feel an urge and an impulse within, but under the penalty of being severely repressed and of being outcaste also from their political organisations which have adopted some unconvincing and unsuccessful creeds, they have to hide and suppress them. Like a man, therefore, who is dismembered of his effective limbs, they can only look forward to some miraculous remedy that might come out of a war, which might weaken the over-ruling power, and to appeal to foreign people across the seas and beyond the mountains. The leaders of the people also do the same thing—appealing to foreigners and begging their merciful intervention petitioning shamelessly over and over again the ministers and the officials of the Paramount Power, bustling and hustling through the country interviewing and holding conferences with odd people and issuing silly memoranda and passing purposeless resolutions. That is all, and there is no effective action—Nothing to invigorate people or to infuse confidence in their faculties.

Rather a curious thing in connection with the present national movement in the country has been the popularisation of the Geeta, which the leaders often carry in their pockets, though a very significant teaching in it, namely, that it is not for all to follow the same way, but each person should follow his individual method has been left out of consideration. That teaching was impressed on Arjuna when he was asked to adopt the means of violence. It is most unwise to tear off portions according to convenience, from the Geeta or other religious books, and use them to suit some purposes. But it is a modern tendency which shows nothing but impudence, to feel oneself competent to judge and pick portions from the teachings of master-teachers and use and interpret them as one likes.

The propaganda of Ahimsa in a country like India, where the idea was far from being strange and foreign, would have been far more successful if it was held up as a great ideal for human achievement, which alone ensured lasting peace and happiness, without absolutely ruling out violence for the generality of people. If non-violence was to be emphasised it should have been clearly explained to them that it was because the violent method was not much likely to succeed in the present circumstances, that the violent spirit was to be kept suppressed. The non-violent course should only have been advised as an expedient, which was to provide them with scope and freedom to do mass constructive work and thereby produce mass unity. Such plain-speaking would not have killed their spirit and demoralised them as at present.

BOOKS IN BRIEF.

Sokol: The Czechoslovak National Gymnastic Organisation by F. A. Safer. George Allen and Unwin, Price 6s.

This little book gives the genesis and growth of the world-famed Sokol organisations of Czechoslovakia and its ramifications and functions in Slav Europe before the fall of Czechoslovakia. The whole movement was conceived about 80 years back, in the mind of Dr. Tyrš who was inspired by the classical Greek conceptions of physical, enlightened well-being and youthful health. The book should be a guide and an inspiration to anyone who is interested in the youth of India.

Civil Defence in India by Seth Drucquer, I.C.S. Oxford University Press, Price Rs. 1/6/-

Good technical books on A. R. P. and Civil Defence are rarities and most of them are too technical for the general reader. This book is handy and quite comprehensive and does not limit itself to mere Air Raid Precautions but also includes chapters on panic, evacuation, etc. The author has consulted many books on the subject.

Youths Unite! by Jawaharlal Nehru. Hamara Hindustan Publication No. 1, Price 4. as.

In these days of communal wrangling it is refreshing to read this speech of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who sees things from an international perspective. In this thought-provoking speech meant primarily for students, Pandit Jawaharlal emphasises the value of clear analytical thinking and condemns interested communalists who actually instigate students to form separate communal students' federations. Students would be well-advised to read this little booklet.

Imperialism Unmasked! by Louis Fischer. Hamara Hindustan Publication, Price 8 as.

This booklet is a collection of articles written by Louis Fischer in the *Nation* of America. It is a penetrating analysis of the Cripps Mission. The author has had close access to all persons and documents involved in the Cripps' drama and the book reveals how the various currents and cross-currents of Imperialism intrigued to prevent the handing over of real power. The articles will startle ill-informed American public opinion into better and sooner appreciation of the Indian situation.

We 'Cover' Life by Lata K. Panjabi, G. S. Kalyanpur, and Khoshis L. Punjabi.

United India Publications:—Price 8 as.

This is a small volume of literary compositions and essays covering various aspects of life and written in a free and light style. A gallant effort, though somewhat amateurish in its attempt, at poise and sophistication is noticeable in places. Makes interesting reading on the whole and these three young writers deserve encouragement.

Jinnah Sahib 'Please'.

A Hamara Hindustan Publication: 8 as.

A collection of speeches, articles and statements, that were made on the arrest of the Congress leaders, urging Mr. Jinnah to come to settlement. The book is apparently intended to reveal the unreasonableness of the position taken up by Mr. Jinnah; it suffers from looseness and lack of continuity.

The Mind and Face of Germany.

An Anthology, selected and edited by N. Ganquhar. John Murray, London.

Hear the Nazi leaders and theorists condemn themselves out of their own mouths. This is an anthology of revealing extracts from a wide range of leaders and exponents of Nazi philosophy like Hitler, Goebbels, Spenger, Rosenberg, etc., and the intelligent reader will be able to reconstruct for himself the philosophy and aims of Nazism, its fantastic doctrines of Race-and-Blood superiority and German-Nordic Religion, its soul-destroying regimentation and glorification of war and its many other absurdities and novelties.

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

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APRIL 4, 1938.

A good understanding between passengers and myself appears to have been established. Mrs. Marston and Mrs. Wright are very close and inseparable friends; and I had a discussion which showed human incidents between them. Mrs. Marston finds the steamer crowd a disappointment. Her own fault, I point out; they pose so much, and Mrs. Marston is out to seek reality. I point out that reality is infinite; each one's perception of it is only an aspect and two complementary aspects, if seriously attended to, may enlarge reality for both; inattention to either would be distortion. Mrs. Marston, before Colombo, was invited to cocktail parties which are numerous daily affairs on the ship. She got tired of drink without intelligence, ceased to attend, and is no longer invited. Her disillusion became greater when men openly announced the numbers of their cabins. I agreed that there is that but she should agree that there is not only that. Not all pose-seeming is only pose; one does not see one's own pose. Mrs. Marston asked if I had anything in herself in mind. Of course with only a fortnight left, I could not afford to economise disagreeable truth. She posed in her apparent pre-occupation with her dog. Love me, love my dog, is the saying of the woman but not of wisdom. The two parts have nothing to do with each other, except for Blind Love.

She attributed her own disillusion to the fact that she was a Canadian British, 39 years of age, and there were not many people of her years. I said that statistics showed that there had been 31 between 30 and 40, and 50 between 40 and 50, so that one might expect 40 between 35 and 45. Mrs. Marston was surprised; then asked me to help Mr. Condon to interview Shaw for his paper; just then Mr. Condon came along and I indicated to him Mr. Shaw going along to be tortured by pressmen; instantly Mr. Condon ran to join them and at dinner thanked me.

There was the daily paper, and yesterday's interview with Mr. Shaw; this time the passengers are reported to have said, "He is a darned sport." He explained his repugnance to Americanism; they are all so standardised; they have no individualism, as Russian Communists have. A girl passed by him (she joined the ship at Los Angeles, and is going out at Havana) and thanked him for being such as a dear; he had put his autograph in her book. Mr. Shaw blushed crimson. "You are Martha, aren't you?" was all he asked. When she went away, he turned to Miss Pearson, said Martha was nothing to him but Mrs. Shaw had asked him to relax his rule and he would not displease her.

Miss Pearson joined me in conversation with the Purser, who was luncheoning with her. He was courageous, declared his Unbelief, shook hands with me for being of the same company, declared to the surprised Miss Pearson that he was not behind me even in Atheism, was a great admirer of Shaw's literature, but could not forgive his irresponsibility in asking Chinese students at Hongkong to turn Communists of the Russian pattern. He himself was a socialist of sorts. When he turned to me for support, I declared for Shaw. Law and Order are good things, but within limits. When pretence for Law and Order choke other good things, the limits are passed. A Shaw has vision (the Purser hastened to admit that vision) and indicates when those limits become due to be overpassed.

On the deck, Mrs. Nash and Mrs. Gill invited me

to a talk. I spoke of Shaw's memories of Oscar Wilde. Major Gill burst out into gibes about Shaw's irresponsibility. I said Shaw owes no responsibility to those who misunderstand him; they cannot influence the course of mankind; the able ones will know the limits of his pronouncements and seeing a world in distress and noodles in the saddle, we shall do well to repeat the medicine bottle's label, 'To be shaken before taken.' Our Governments need to be shaken and a Shaw can shake them.

APRIL 5, 1938.

The weeklies bring much newsthe English population reaching a limit in 1940, and then beginning a decline; the American population reaching a maximum of 146 millions in 1965; the origins of development of prostitution in Manchuria and China being the destitution of Anti-Bolshevist Russian families whose women enable survival only by this trade. Mr. Yates has read a history of prostitution; thinks it abominable, yet universal through all ages and climes. How is it to be abolished? I decline to characterise as abominable what is obviously necessary to survival. The Hetairae in Greece were the noblest women; in India, prostitution is sanctified by being attached to temples. For the growth of populations, the bearing passion had to be unruly or women would decline pregnancy; and, during pregnancy, there must be some means of satisfaction. When prostitution is taken as normal, resort to it would be less. Syphilis has ceased to be a terror. When passion, like hunger, can be appeased by Burrough's and Wellcome's tabloids, there will be no need for prostitution.

APRIL 6, 1938.

Last night before going to bed, Miss Philips told me not to work so hard. I told her, she had seen me at work only on a letter to you; and that she would have been shocked at my not being shocked by the prevalence of prostitution. She was not shocked, when I told her the whole tale, nor did she withdraw her booking of me for the Havana excursion. I became curious to see if I would not shock Miss Pearson; but she was not shocked. Only she persistently feels that the institution is contrary to the will of God. But, while she was telling me important truths, she complained, I had three times invited talk with passing people. I could not be concentrating my mind, the third slip was too much for her; she smilingly but firmly put an end to the conversation. She was right. I never could concentrate attention even during college lectures, and growing deafness means less reason for attention to what I cannot hear.

CONVERSION.

Sir,—I hope you will excuse this intrusion on your columns. But a remark of "Recluse" in 'A Bandra Diary' requires elucidation. "Recluse" remarks that he is strongly of the opinion "that such change of labels is unworthy of a person of intelligence." "Recluse" is here speaking of conversion. "Recluse" does not give any reasons why he calls conversion a mere change of labels and why he considers this change of labels 'unworthy of a person of intelligence.' Is the religion which a man inherits with his birth so sacrosanct that a person who gives it up honestly for another which he believes to be better, should be looked upon as lacking in intelligence? I shall be glad to know what "Recluse" has to say to this question. Have we no right of self-determination in this sphere?—Yours etc.,

VEERBAL H. MEHTA.

CHINA AND HER WAR WITH JAPAN.

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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.

Next Bombay Governor:—The name of the successor of Sir Roger Lumley in the Governorship of Bombay was announced last Saturday, Colonel the Right Hon. David John Colville, M. P. Colonel Colville is also a commercial magnate and Mr. Winston Churchill has perhaps selected him as the best person to counteract the influence of Indian industrialists whom he accused, in his famous statement on Indian affairs, of instigating the political movement in this country. Otherwise, there is no apparent reason why this Member of Parliament who knows nothing about Bombay or India and about whom India knows nothing, should be selected for an important key position. The highest post which he rose to in British politics, was Secretary for Scotland in the last Chamberlain Cabinet. That the selection is not universally approved in Britain is evident from Reuter going out of its way to mention that Col. Colville plays the bagpipe and he is the first politician who had held the position of Secretary of State to accept the post of a provincial governor. Col. Colville might have done as well as any other English or Scotch politician in normal times but the Governor of Bombay now is the Government of Bombay with Advisers. Mr. Amery told the House of Commons not long ago that there was no Indian who could take charge of the Indian Finance or Home Department and he no doubt thinks that no Indian can be Governor of Bombay. This opinion is not likely to be shared by many in this country. An Indian will at least have the advantage over Col. Colville of knowing something of the province and the people, which are of special importance at the present time. The new Governor will either depend on his Advisers or be guided by dictates from Whitehall. The appointment of an Indian would have had an important political effect. It would have gone some way to show that the British Government have confidence in Indians, which evidently the British Government does not want to do. Col.

Colville will receive, of course, the welcome due to a Governor-Designate. Otherwise he will have to grope his way as well as he can in the mounting complexity of the Indian scene.

Lord Linlithgow's Term Extended:—Lord Linlithgow in a speech at Quetta some time back had intimated that he would be shortly vacating his office. Since then speculation has been rife about his successor and last week it was confidently stated in the British Press that the name of the next Indian Viceroy was on the point of being announced and that there would be important consequential changes in the Cabinet. The announcement on Monday that His Excellency's term has been extended until October 1943, therefore, created some surprise. The terms of the communique are somewhat unusual. The British Government express their confidence in Lord Linlithgow. Mr. Louis Fischer in his article in the *American Nation* had mentioned that Sir Stafford Cripps before coming out to India with the Cabinet proposals, had suggested to the Prime Minister that Lord Linlithgow should be "removed" but that the Prime Minister had objected that that would be inconvenient and assured him that Lord Linlithgow would make no difficulties for the Lord Privy Seal. Sir Stafford Cripps has been put out of the War Cabinet. It is impossible to resist the inference that this has facilitated the acceptance of a third extension by Lord Linlithgow, though it would seem that Government had tried to find a successor and have failed. The situation in India is so unsatisfactory that no statesman with a reputation to lose can evidently be persuaded to undertake the responsibility of clearing up the mess into which it has drifted. It is also probable that few prominent British statesmen share Mr. Winston Churchill's views as to India's present and future status in the Commonwealth. Lord Linlithgow by accepting the extension under the circumstances has placed the Cabinet under an obligation to him. It may be that His Excellency has made conditions in consenting to continue to be Viceroy and, if one of these is that Mr. Amery should quit the India Office, there may be some hope of a change in the Indian policy during the next nine months. The fact of his son broadcasting from the Berlin Radio while the sons and daughters of hundreds of Indians are being sentenced to terms of imprisonment under the Defence of India Rules for trivial offences, must be embarrassing even to

such a self-centred man as Mr. Amery. The next few days will show whether the extension of Lord Linlithgow's term has any significance except the obvious one that the British Government could find no one of passable competence to take up the job. Credit has been claimed to Lord Linlithgow for keeping the war out of India. The war has not come to India and Lord Linlithgow has been Viceroy since the commencement of the war. But the Russian, Chinese and American factors in keeping the war from spreading to India are at least as important as Lord Linlithgow's foresight.

The Viceregal Deadlock:—A Friend writes: "The Indian deadlock has had its repercussion in the deadlock about a successor to Lord Linlithgow. This connection will not be apparent to Sir Roger Lumley who proclaimed the other day that the Government elephant is impervious to the pinpricks of public disorders. But it is the fact all the same and that it is so will become increasingly evident with every passing day. The comments of the British Press on the extension of Lord Linlithgow's term are significant. Not one of them suggests even remotely that the extension is beneficial on its merits. The papers which do not openly disapprove, are driven to find far-fetched reasons for the nomination. One bluntly avows that Lord Linlithgow has supported the Commander-in-Chief. This view of the Viceroy's duties will make Curzon turn in his grave. The more extreme papers, no doubt, regard it as His Excellency's crowning achievement that he had declared the Congress an unlawful body, placed its leaders in detention and does not allow any one to interview them. Further measures along this line will earn for the Viceroy stronger support from this section of the English Press. Another journal surmises that Lord Linlithgow is retained for a further period in order to give Col. Colville, the Governor-designate of Bombay, time to get acclimatised in India. The implication is that by October next the Colonel will be qualified to step into Lord Linlithgow's shoes. A larger view of the matter, however, suggests that the difficulty of finding a man to accept the appointment, not long ago a coveted post for ambitious British politicians, is at bottom the reflex of a revolutionary change in men's ideas. A century ago it was not disreputable to be known to own slaves. Today no one would like to be even called a slave-owner. A similar change is coming over men's minds in respect of owning subject nations and countries. Conscientious Britons feel it derogatory to rule over subject races. On the other hand, subject races are becoming less and less amenable to take orders from alien masters. It is safe to prophesy that the time is not distant when no one but an Indian will be found suitable to fill the Indian Vicerealty. British statesmen act only out of sheer necessity. They can not look ahead."

The Way of Bureaucracy:—We recently instanced, among others, the passing of the Rowlatt Act

in the teeth of universal opposition from Indian public men, as typical of the method of bureaucracy of stirring up resentment and then invoking a few catchwords in support of repression. The first place in the December *Calcutta Review* is given to an article by Mr. H. C. Mukherjee headed, "The Rowlatt Bill in the Legislature." Mr. Mukherjee gives a list of members who supported the late Mr. V. J. Patel in his opposition to the measure. The list includes Surendranath Banerjee, M. A. Jinnah, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, B. N. Sarma, Mahomed Shafi, Tej Bahadur Sapru, the Raja of Mahmudabad and the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastry. Mr. Mukherjee quotes passages from the speeches of these members. Sir Surendranath Banerjee warned Government that the passing of the Bill would lead to countrywide agitation and alienate the people from Government. Similar warning was given by other speakers, prominent among them being Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Srinivasa Sastry. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru told Government that they were throwing the country into a whirlpool of agitation such as it had never witnessed before. Sir George Lowndes met these warnings with the pragmatic assertion that no reasonable Government can give way to threats. The speeches of Indian members contained a good deal of sound reason besides the warning. Government would not listen to reason and it treated warnings as threats. Mr. Mukherjee quotes a long passage from the late K. T. Paul's "British Connection with India" describing the failure of his efforts to bring about an understanding between the Service members and the Indian opposition. "The Service," it writes, "was really incapable of sharing the change of attitude in so many circles in Britain, which had made it necessary for the Cabinet to make the Declaration of August 10 which had resulted in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report and in all those extraordinary moves for giving Indians recognition and opportunities in the highest spheres of Imperial administration." The Rowlatt legislation left its impress on Indian opinion as the Ilbert Bill controversy had done thirty years earlier. The tendency is inherent in the bureaucratic system. "In the long run," quotes Mr. Mukherjee from Sir George Schuster's "India and Democracy," "a government will always encroach upon freedom to the extent to which it has the power to do so; this is almost a natural law of politics, since, whatever the intentions of the men who exercise political power, the sheer momentum of government leads to a constant pressure upon the liberties of the citizen." The only possible check on this tendency is for men who exercise political power to be such as are subject to the force of public opinion not only through the Legislature but through membership of the social and national organisation.

The Missionary Pledge:—We publish this week a letter from a missionary referring to our

remark about the missionary pledge and asserting that neither our correspondent nor his friends have given any such pledge, though they have heard much about it vaguely. We are posting Mr. Child who curiously is a Methodist himself, a copy of the booklet on the Kristagraha movement which ought to enlighten him. If any other missionary feels similar doubts he may clear the point by applying to this office for "A Missionary and His Pledge" (Re. 1/-) of which a few copies are still available. The *Dnyanodaya* of Poona, however, goes one step further in the official mission attempt to keep its workers ignorant of facts. It asserts that every candidate for the mission field "receives the searching counsel before leaving his or her own country, 'Unless you are going to love the people of the land to which you are going, and unless you are resolved to adapt yourself to the customs of the people and are resolved to do all you can to help them, don't go there.'" What a loss is this to imaginative fiction that the English editor of the *Dnyanodaya* chose proselytising as his profession! The *Dnyanodaya* has shown its love for the people of this country in strange ways, the latest being to quote Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and Mr. Jinnah without comment in matters on which it does not dare to express an opinion. The three famous Memoranda A, B, and C, which govern missionary activities, is of course, conveniently forgotten. The Tambaram publications on the Church (Oxford University Press) writes of these :

The British Government, after consultation with the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland and the International Missionary Council, issued a document known as Memoranda A, B, and C, covering the admission of non-British nationality missionaries to India.....In this document the Government, although recognising its own obligation to maintain public security, expressed its appreciation of the value of the work of the missionary societies and welcomed their co-operation in the future. It placed on the Conference of British Missionary Societies the responsibility for recommending to the British Government missionary societies in Great Britain and Ireland whose good faith and responsibility they would guarantee, having received from any non-British society a declaration that all due obedience and respect should be given to the lawfully constituted government and that, while carefully abstaining from political affairs, it was its desire and purpose that its influence, in so far as it might be properly exerted in such matters, should be so exerted in loyal co-operation with the Government of the country concerned and that it would only employ agents who would work in this spirit.

The language is vague and confused—as of men who are ashamed of what they wish to compass. Of Memorandum C which relates to individual missionaries, the report speaks with touching naivete, "The responsibility for investigating their suitability from the Government point of view is left to Government authorities themselves." Missionaries are notoriously other-worldly folk and possibly they do not understand the meaning of these phrases as the ordinary citizen does. Even so how can the *Dnyanodaya* with its knowledge of what actually goes on, shut its eyes to facts? It is true that it is possible to

interpret these conditions liberally. But any missionary who thinks that the Government of India and those at the head of missions in India are going to give any chance for liberal interpretations, will wake to find himself out of the country.

The War :—To the lay man depending entirely on the war news published in the Press, the situation in the different fronts today appears to be less clear than it was two weeks ago. In Russia, the fight for Stalingrad and the Caucasus is not ended. The Germans have been checked but not ousted. In Africa the Germans are still holding positions which they were expected to abandon after the recapture of Tobruk and the other centres which they had occupied. In French Africa the Americans are involved in a wordy controversy about the relative claims of Admiral Darlan and General de Gaulle to be Chief of State after the fall of France under the Nazi yoke. In the Pacific, the Japanese have been defeated in some battles but they are regarded still as a serious menace to Australian freedom. On all fronts, decisive events are momentarily expected. India, therefore, enjoys a respite which, it may be hoped, will soon become complete immunity from the horrors of war on her own soil.

Sir Stafford Cripps' New Role :—If any doubt was present in the public mind that Sir Stafford Cripps has accepted a minor role in British public life, it would have been removed by the speech which he is reported to have made recently in London on—of all subjects, housing! The man who was fancied for the task of acting as ambassador to the Empire and for delicate missions to Russia, is now devoting his energies to telling his own countrymen that they should have better houses. We do not underestimate the value of better houses, even of houses fit for heroes to live in. But they are built not talked into existence. As a matter of fact, if Sir Stafford had taken the trouble to read Dr. Christopher Addison's "Betrayal of the Slums" published after the last war, he would have realised that this was the wrong time for men who seriously mean what they say, to start out on better-houses campaigning. Dr. Addison comments on the steady diminution of Government's intentions as time wore on. In 1919, the Minister in charge of the Housing and Town Planning Bill had to "resist proposals which would have made the task exceed the limits of any possible form of execution." By July 1921 the State decided on "a definite reversal of policy" and in March 1923, the Minister of Health expressed the hope that "future State intervention in any form will be not required and that the building industry will return to its pre-war economic basis." Five days later he is reported to have said in an interview that the country should get back to the old economic system. It is possible that Sir Stafford is learning by experience to prepare a determined public opinion against any lapses after the war this time. It is equally likely that he is recovering his balance after demotion at the expense, luckily this time, of his own people.

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BOMBAY, December 12, 1942.

INDEPENDENCE AND UNITY.

The pattern of the political peace which will follow the end of hostilities, is slowly taking shape behind the victories and defeats of military campaigns. The last war ended on the note of self-determination, which was no more than a specious plea for balkanising the larger states. From the cutting up of Austria-Hungary, the creation of the Baltic States and the setting up of Poland in Europe, to the Arab countries carved out of the Ottoman Empire and later still to the disintegration of the Chinese Empire, the process was one of breaking up large political units into less than their component parts. That conception has worked itself out in twenty-five years. It is generally realised that a Central European block of States, a federation at the least, is essential for the stability of European conditions; Russia has been compelled by wartime exigencies to sacrifice the autonomy of its member states and it is not likely that they will return to any large measure of independence from Central control after the war; and in China the Communist propaganda for autonomous republics with which they sought to win support from Muslim China, has given way to resistance to a common aggressor and, if China is allowed to press her views at the Peace Conference after the war, it will be probably found that she seeks the restoration of Manchuria as well as a measure of control in Malaya and Burma. The United States of America will, if she is to continue her interest in affairs outside America, have similarly to proceed further along the road of centralisation. And in South America, too, there are bound to be repercussions of what promises to be a world trend towards the setting up of large politico-economic units.

The process has been at work in the British Empire as much as elsewhere. In Canada shortly after the war broke out, the report of the Rowell-Sirois Commission was published which pleaded in the interests of war efficiency no less than for the better organisation of Labour and the security services that there should be a strengthening of the Centre. The differences in legislative and executive measures between different parts of Canada and the consequent inconvenience, had, decided the Commission against what, in Indian political language, is known as provincial autonomy. The question has the greatest importance to India but, owing to the peculiar methods of news services, there has been little information made available to this country, as to whether the findings of that Commission were accepted, rejected or shelved. Now we are told that a Constitutional Convention at Canberra in Australia has unanimously agreed to give increased powers to the Federal Government for post-war reconstruction. One

of the measures is "The Constitution Alteration (War Aims and Reconstruction) Bill" which has for its object the altering of the Constitution and empowering the (Commonwealth) Parliament to make laws for the purpose of carrying into effect the war aims of Australia as one of the United Nations. Much is made of economic security and social justice in the post-war world but it would be fair to infer that the Australians are finding the federal machinery cumbrous at the moment and are getting rid of it. The Bill carries a clause which allows even the abolition of the Upper House, the Senate, whose members are elected on the basis of States representation. The Bill, it is said, in effect substitutes a unitary government for the existing Federation. There is a second measure contemplated which confers legislative autonomy on the Commonwealth Parliament, and cuts loose from the controlling strings of Britain. Naturally the two Bills have roused a certain amount of controversy and they are regarded in one quarter as revolutionary in the extreme. But it is obvious that Australia, which has tasted some freedom in her dealings with the U. S. A. direct since the war came to the Pacific, is anxious to have more of it.

All this has significance for India. Though Mr. Amery has told us time and again that India's future constitution must be worked out by Indians themselves, British politicians have shown little tendency to allow Indians a free hand. In fact, from Schuster and Wint to Sir Stafford Cripps, there has been a sudden enthusiasm for constitution-making on the part of British publicists and a new-found interest in India. All the arguments trotted out in favour of the Federal system rather create the impression that it is to be foisted on India whatever its fate proves to be elsewhere. The contemplated Australian move, it is true, is only within the Statute of Westminster and the words, "Dominion Status," are still applicable to the Australian system, even if the proposed far-reaching changes are carried out. But it is obviously stretching the phrase to its widest meaning and it would be well to drop it altogether. At any rate, in India no political party has shown any interest in Dominion Status and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in his speeches at the No Party Conference has warned his public to watch the developments of inter-imperial relations elsewhere. The Conference organisation, now that it has little work to do in regard to Indian affairs, might concentrate on collecting and making accessible in India the fullest information regarding the proposed changes in Canada and in Australia. From another point of view, developments have obviously gone beyond Mr. Churchill's grasp. His reference to holding the Empire reveals how out-dated his imperial policy is. But Mr. Churchill has always had a soft corner for the Dominions, the more truculent the softer. When he talks of Empire, he means colonies.

KEDARNATH DAS-GUPTA.

Kedarnath Das-Gupta is dead. The newspapers on Monday evening published the news that he had passed away in a New York Hospital.

When I met him in London in 1937, he had already been a family friend since some five years earlier when two of us had met him in the U. S. A. He was cordiality personified. It will be strange news to many but Kedarnath had an affectionate nature which he hid behind a shield of banter. Before we parted in London, he pressed me for six hours to give up the return journey and accompany him to America. He offered to send, and actually did send, a cable to Bombay asking that in the interests of my future I should go on to America. I told him that he was wasting valuable money. He would not be denied. I, already nostalgic after five months in Europe, told him that to study journalism as he had put it in his cable was an inadequate reason; he should add rhetoric. He did. It was sufficient indication to the family that I was not supporting the suggestion. He sent the cable off. Then in a final effort he offered me five pounds to stay on in London till the reply at least was received. It was only when I left my Paris address with him that he accepted my leaving London. What he did next astonished me. Picking up his Gandhi cap and stick, he said he would accompany me to the station. On the way he spoke eloquently of the American people and of the country. Britain, he said, was not a patch on America. He paced me up and down the platform. Then he stopped and gripped my arm. It will not cost you, he said, a penny, not a cent. He vaguely promised to make me a junior Secretary along with him and Charles Weller if I stayed. I was not tempted. Then he tried another angle. Must I leave on a Thursday? Thursdays were always unlucky—anything might happen—the train even—. I told him that, if he would but accept the fact that I was going, we might talk of something worth while. Then he stopped walking. We sat down on a bench and he told me of his ambitions for the World Fellowship of Faiths. He thought it had a great future and he smiled happy as a child as he said, "I know. You should carry on the work in India when you get back." I laughed. It seemed too incongruous for me to do it. He looked reproachfully at me and said, "Yes. But you believe in nothing." The last I saw of him was at Victoria Station, a big ungainly figure, leaning on his heavy stick, a tired smile hovering on his lips, waving frantically as my train steamed out.

Kedarnath was a unique personality even among those sons of India who have made their homes abroad. Often when he tried to keep me by his side while I planned site-seeing tours in Britain, he would hold out as an inducement the material I could get from him for articles. He showed me one on him in the *Modern Review* with great pride and asked me what I thought of it. His face fell when I was uncomplimentary but he rallied round with the suggestion that he would give me material for a better life sketch than that. Though he looked on me, or encouraged me to look on myself, as a future biographer of his, he did not tell me very much about his past—particularly his past in India before he left for the West. He had been a bohemian in his early days in Europe and had apparently moved fairly closely with several eminent actors and actresses and playwrights. There is a screen version of Shakuntala done by him in English in collaboration with Lawrence Binyon. And he referred to some of the stage stars and somehow you felt he was not just making it up. But there were just two glimpses

of the past he gave me. Kedarnath had a somewhat ungainly gait and he explained why he had to be careful in catching buses and trains. He said that he had sustained an injury as a result of an accident when a platform at a public meeting collapsed. That was all; he never referred to it or encouraged others to question him. The other reminiscence was coupled with an admonition to me, after a whole day of enduring tobacco smoke puffed at him, to follow his example and give it up. He said that he did so partly because he caught a secretary sneaking a cigarette in between his papers to induce in him a healthier and more human attitude; and partly because an eminent actress, a friend of his, had been unable to give up the habit by herself. He never referred to his life in India. And he went out of his way to show that he would not come back even for a brief stay. We were discussing plans for an All India campaign and session for the World Fellowship. I asked him when he would come. He smiled and said, "Nev-ar. Weller will come there and you must help him."

Kedarnath was not a complex personality yet those who met him tended to oversimplify their estimate of him. It was a genuine desire to be of help to Indians going abroad which made him take infinite pains over such of them as came his way. But he was also afflicted with a flair for publicity. I remember when a report of one of his meetings at the City Temple was flagrantly distorted and I remonstrated with him to send a protest, he calmly rejoined, "But look at the full column of publicity he has given me. Besides the misrepresentation"—there was much about dark-skinned Hindus in coloured turbans chanting hymns in an incense-laden atmosphere—"is such as would attract others." The two combined made well-known Indian publicists who had contacted him, feel that he had got more out of the association than they had. Moreover, Kedarnath, when he undertook to show you the ropes, believed in no half measures. His strong point was economy. Any fears I might have had about expenses on hearing he was residing at the Savoy gave way to annoyance when he consistently took me round the corner to less expensive Chinese and Indian restaurants. So far as the cheaper eating-houses were concerned, there could be no better guide. One had to be firm with him, particularly when spending one's own money. Whoever you might be, he assumed you could not afford it. Often that left regrets to take home.

The anxiety to help was part of his being; nor was it confined to Indians alone. Travelling on an economy ticket to Manchester, we fell in with a woman member of the police force who was getting off a station earlier. Kedarnath had elicited from her the purpose of her visit, the profession she followed, details of her family, her interests in general and the train back she proposed to take—it happened to be the one we ourselves contemplated at our lectures in Manchester. He distributed leaflets of his meeting to her though I nudged him not to waste literature as she would not be interested; and promised to keep a seat for her on the return journey as she might not find room otherwise. True enough, coming back, he lumbered to the door and insisted on my jumping down, finding her and bringing her in. A string of questions followed on her entry about her brother in hospital, the health of other relations, how many old faces she saw and a thousand things that would not have occurred to me. He dozed off then and woke up only to enquire how she was going home, since the bus and tram was not running so

early. When we got off, he commandeered a taxi and dropped her home before going to his hotel, as he told me next day. I twitted him what was behind it all, as she did not look interested in his meetings. He had done, he said in an outraged tone, the least that anyone would do.

He thought I was a poor journalist. Had he been in my place, he said, he would have seen Baldwin, Churchill, Halifax—every time he added a few names—and asked them what they thought of India. If they did not want to talk on that I might interview them on a subject which evidently had a great appeal for him, "How Man may conquer Fear."

Such was Kedarnath Das-Gupta. What makes his loss irreplaceable is that he was so much the antithesis of Indian leaders, lecturers and publicists who went abroad. Attention to detail was a passion with him and he seemed almost to revel in the drudgery which goes into the work of all organisation. He had a peculiar talent for attracting voluntary workers and making them shoulder all kinds of responsibility. Once he entrusted someone with a job he forgot all about. He told me to collect four speakers within two hours for his City Temple meeting. I was a stranger to London and had to cover long distances to get them. He must have known this better than I did. Yet when I turned up at the hall five minutes late, the only question he asked was, "Well, where are those fellows?" Above all, he had a keen sense of humour.

S.

A BANDRA DIARY.

Issu Das, while agreeing that foreign Christian missions are but the religious counterpart of the economic and political exploitation by Imperialist Powers and that the soldier is the hero of Western Christian nations, urges that the Quakers, also known as the Society of Friends, are an exception. I gladly recognise the fidelity with which the Friends have striven to maintain the pacific teachings of Jesus Christ and to practise his way of going about doing good. The Friends are the Christians who come closest to the Hindu ideal. I have always felt drawn towards them not as a potential convert but as one who admires people who tread the hard and narrow path of conscience when they can more pleasantly stroll along the broad and open road of conformity. The Friends, however, do not seem to share the views of Jesus Christ as regards making money. It is difficult to think of a millionaire Friend as the follower of the Teacher who declared that it was easier for the camel to enter the needle's eye than for the rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven. This, by the way, is one of Jesus Christ's extravagances with which I do not agree. An American writer commenting on this saying has remarked that it could have occurred only to a Jew. Jews are generally but unjustly believed to attach undue importance to wealth and, therefore, relinquishing wealth was a great virtue in a Jew. People who hold that material wealth is not the highest aim in life, will not regard its sacrifice as the greatest sacrifice. Hinduism, for instance, does not regard the possession of wealth as a sin. Indeed, it makes it incumbent—spiritually incumbent—on all except teachers and public servants, civil and military. The whole social economy of Hinduism is founded upon the producing and distributing classes functioning freely and energetically. It is their dharma. The power of wealth, however, is qualified by the duty to maintain

the religious, cultural and social, including political, institutions, since the men who manage them cannot make pursuit of wealth their pre-occupation. The rich man as such, therefore, is not spoken of in any Hindu scripture in the terms of Jesus Christ's denunciation of him. I think this is true also of Muslim religious writings. The greatest obstacle to the wide acceptance of Marxian ideas in this country, is this deep-rooted attitude towards wealth and wealthy men. The multi-millionaire Friend, therefore, does not strike an Indian as an incongruity. But there is another feature of the Friends which runs counter to a fundamental principle of Hinduism and, I think, also of Islam. The Friends, like other Christians, believe that Jesus Christ was not only a Son of God but His only son. This is a big pill for a non-Christian to swallow. A Hindu believes that the Divine assumes human form whenever righteousness declines and the wicked flourish. God has not surrendered His power to incarnate after Jesus or any other Teacher. In fact, Hinduism holds that God resides in us all and that every one of us is a son or daughter of God. Christ himself in one place proclaimed that all men were children of the Most High. There is nothing in the Gospels, so far as my reading of them goes, to support the idea that Jesus Christ proclaimed himself to be the last of the world teachers. On the contrary, his saying that God has not left Himself without a witness at any time, distinctly implies that God will not leave Himself without one at any future time. This is one of the points on which Christ's words agree with the Hindu teaching while Christianity has adopted a dogma which runs counter to them.

With all my admiration for the Friends, however, I cannot reconcile their inclusion of animal food in their dietary with the gentle and humane creed of the sect. The Vedic Hindus indulged in both animal food and intoxicating liquors and I have always felt the renunciation of these as one of the greatest achievements of Hindu civilization. I make these observations with some diffidence because I have known men of high spirituality who did not find it necessary to abstain from meat. Gautama Buddha himself compromised with ahimsa so far as to permit the eating of meat by his monks, provided it was not killed specially for their entertainment. He did this in pursuance of the rule that a bhikshu should never ask what food is put into his bowl by house-holders. Hindu orthodoxy is uncompromising in this matter. More than orthodoxy is inherited aversion. The besetting habit of thinking in pictures has associated in my mind meat-eating with horrors of the slaughter-house which I have never witnessed. On one occasion, I regretted that I had not got over my aversion to animal food. An Indian friend had invited me to visit the Cowley Fathers at Mazagaon. These are members of the Church of England which has its own monastic system. When I was introduced to the Rev. Father Nicholson, I at once felt that I was in the presence of a truly holy man. He was calm, serene, thoughtful and kind. There was in his eyes the light which comes of meditation. The atmosphere of the place was itself pervaded by the same serenity. I was invited to join the Fathers at dinner. On a bare table we were served with bread and one dish and a glass of water. Father Nicholson himself handed round the bread. The other dish consisted of some meat preparation and my friend considerably called my attention to it. I then wished that I had overcome my inherited aversion to meat. Father Nicholson asked with some concern what else I would have. "Some more bread," I meekly answered and there

has been referred to in various papers that I have seen during my short time in India—I only arrived in January, 1940. But I have never taken such a pledge and know of no one who has done so. Moreover, it must be evident to you if you read the *Madras Guardian* that many statements of groups of missionaries and of individual missionaries on the present situation have most certainly not shown a spirit of "virtually agreeing to acquiesce in all acts of the Government." If we support the Government's policy it is because we understand it is to be the best in the circumstances; if we oppose it, then it is because our conscience so dictates. But certainly there is no question of a pledge extracted from us. With best wishes to your stimulating paper.—Yours etc.,

PHILIP J. CHILD

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

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APRIL 7, 1933.

Mrs. Millinger had talked to me for an hour and a half; she explained her differences with Miss Pearson on the ground of Miss Pearson's bad and arrogant temper. I said, with so much frank confidence from her, I could not be less confidential. Miss Pearson might be arrogant, but Mrs. Millinger is not without limitations. When the limitations of two people are different, they usually antagonise each other, instead of treating the limitations as complementary, and enlarging outlook.

Mrs. Millinger says Christ and God are in me even if I deny them by name. What matters it if I do not gain the names, if I do not lose the soul behind the names? And thus it happens that God-intoxicated men and women on the ship tolerate my virtues behind to justify their welcome to my company. Dr. B———exchanged with me names of books we like and are to write them down, each for the other, but protested that I was holding a class; I corrected him—I was holding a levee. Mrs. Marston tried three times, and got entangled with Mr. Condon and a new acquaintance, Mr. McLames, (an English lawyer) in discussion of Mr. Shaw's humanity. Mr. McLames would not believe in Shaw's genuineness, would not accept Shaw's statement that industry, sobriety, honesty are the very rare characters which Oscar Wilde lacked. Mr. Condon agreed that Shaw showed sense and insight in that remark, and that in unguarded moments he was a very humane man, but asserted that his professional satire gave an acid flavour to his utterance. He illustrated by an actress professing admiration for Shaw, going gushing to him and Shaw asking where her husband was, she answering that he had been dead some months, and Shaw retorting should she be congratulated or condoled with. Helen Keller, the blind American genius, professing similar devotion, was repelled, the papers say, with the remark, 'Why do you Americans always say the same thing?' Such incidents puzzle Miss Pearson; they don't me. Why should a man be wished never to say a foolish thing? Why should the utterance of genius be treated as foolish without reflection? Why should genius be called to interviews on unconsidered issues?

APRIL 8, 1933.

Your judgment about Miss Pearson is the general judgment; she is much too positive whether it is the Bible under discussion, or the diabetes treatment, and this judgment can be passed on anybody; energy. It requires thinking on experience to wealth's beware of pseudo-scientific arguments. It

has taken science itself over a century to get rid of bug-a-boos like the ether. Nobody would now touch the *Materia Medica* of half a century ago.

The truth is that the mental constructs which we call ideas, the framings of blundering growing minds, are essentially evanescent, fallings from us, vanishings, blank misgivings of a creature moving about in worlds not realised; doomed to pass away. Whatever Cole says is to be reckoned with by me; but in his 'Ten Years of Labour Policy' he failed to size up the crumbling economics of Europe and America which made Labour Policy impossible; and he himself, Mr. Cole, has said that the cry 'Back to the Land' is silly, calls back to monotony and to rheumatism.

Dr. B———tells me a very large number of Jews have taken this ship from N. Y. in the hope of boycotting the Europa, a German ship. I have suggested that their reason may be the same as that of Einstein, who does not want to return to Hitler's Germany and has, therefore, accepted lectures at Madrid and Paris this summer. The Hebrew passengers may have felt that the law running German ship is German law which is now Hitler's law which assumes that Jews have no right to exist in German jurisdiction. Dr. B——— does not believe that German commerce or culture owes much to Jews.

Mrs. Myer came to bid good-bye; she has sent Mrs. Lawrie her four shillings claimed. Mrs. Nash also bidding good-bye, thought Mrs. Lawrie must be a Jewess. She treats her as an equal among passengers and Mrs. Lawrie appreciates it, but Mrs. Lawrie has not the manner of this station..... Mrs. Nash will be glad to escape from the tittle-tattle which she has to endure on the ship. People come to her for advice, and complain of malicious invention.

Judge Pulliam gave me a long talk today and heard from me a longer.....

I did not tell the Judge Frank Harris' assertion to Oscar Wilde that pure Reason incarnate is to be found in the Prejudice which can stand the scrutiny of Reason. The thought and the phrase appeal to me. Mrs. Starr, in her college, has a Memorial Hospital commemorating her father John Wister, and to it, is proposed to be attached Botanical Research and to the Laboratory she wants to give the name of Jamshedji Tata, whom she had met on one of Cook's Egyptian steamers. Both she and her father had been greatly struck with that personality. Not knowing that she had come for this definite object, I kept her amused with my amateur philology.....but she broke through all this and at last extracted a promise of my help in her plan.

APRIL 9, 1933.

Nature says that it is well-known that it is fats which enable hibernating animals to survive, it is not so generally known that the same fats help the aestivating creatures. An article on diamonds greatly interested Mr. Yates, who has a theory of his own of reducing carbonic acid of the air, and crystallising the carbon. I showed him this article which proves that artificial crystallisation has not at all always been possible, that the claims of Sir William Crookes, and of the inventor of the Electric Furnace, have not stood. If eminent scientists' claims about ascertainable physical events must be re-examined and even refuted, what becomes of the swallowing of spiritualist phenomenon on the testimony of Crookes or Wallace, Lodge or Doyle?

Mr. Yates and Gardner had a theory that a forgotten gardener in 1900 discovered vitamins and nobody knows what they are. They were surprised

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SCARCITY OF PAPER AND MILITARY REQUIREMENTS.

Sir,—In a communication addressed to the *Dnanprakash* of Poona during the last week, a correspondent while describing the difficulty of the printers and writers in regard to the scarcity of paper in the market has mentioned military needs as the most important cause of this scarcity. The correspondent adds that Government have put a ban upon the manufacture of any other paper excepting those required by the military and this military requirement is nothing else than the toilet paper. To anyone accustomed to the ways in India which are in consonance with the climatic condition of the country, this comes as a surprise. May I, therefore, suggest that in India at least this use of paper is not only not satisfactory but involves positively consequences deleterious to the health? Indeed, in this connection medical science also will endorse the Indian practice. I would, therefore, respectfully suggest to the authorities to make the use of water compulsory. —Yours etc.

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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.

Another Abortive Conference?—Since the failure of the Cripps Mission and more especially after the arrest of Congress leaders and the declaration of the Congress organisation as an unlawful body, there has been on the part of other parties and no parties leaders a demand that a Conference should be called by the Government of leading Indians with a view to bridge the gulf which is widening every day between the people and the Government. Mr. Amery has refused to take the initiative and the Government of India itself has no initiative in the matter. After much searching of heart, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was persuaded to call, under the auspices of the Standing Committee of the No-Parties Conference of which he is President, a conference of leaders of parties other than the Muslim League and the Congress. The Conference in effect became an All-Parties Conference before which Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru placed a tentative scheme which had been approved by the Standing Committee of the No-Parties Conference. The *Leader* of Allahabad gives the fullest available report of the proceedings. Indian political leaders have adopted the bad habit of the bureaucracy of shunning the light and, therefore, the Press was not allowed access to the Conference session. The *Leader* in its first day's report noted that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru appeared very happy at the tone and temper of the speeches made, though it also reported the remark of one member suggesting that, without the co-operation of Government, no settlement could be expected. The second and concluding day's report in the same journal, contained the observation that, when the Conference broke up, "the members' faces did not betray the same happiness as could be noticed yesterday afternoon" and this caused an impression on the minds of some onlookers that there seemed to be generally a feeling of pessimism about the ultimate outcome of these settlement efforts. One leader was overheard to remark, in reply to a question, that there was nothing to be very optimistic

about but one need not be pessimistic either. A very safe remark. The two leaders who interviewed Mr. Jinnah, Dr. Shyam Prasad Mukherji, lately Finance Minister of the Bengal Government, and Mr. Rajagopalacharya, late Madras Premier, are said to have communicated to the Conference their impressions of Mr. Jinnah's attitude. After the close of the Conference the Standing Committee of the No-Parties Conference met to consider a statement to be issued to the Press. It was thought that Sir Tej might call another meeting but when and where the reporter could not say.

Better Deadlock than Pakistan:—While the local journalist's impression was far from optimistic, the Allahabad correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* startled its readers by announcing that the All Parties Conference had agreed to Pakistan. This was promptly contradicted by Sardar Tara Singh, the Sikh leader who attended the Conference. The Sardar, in a Press statement issued soon after the conclusion of the Conference, declared that he was uncompromisingly opposed to Pakistan which will mean the extinction of his people. Mr. Rajagopalacharya, of course, sees nothing sacrosanct about the unity of India and has been finding reasons for compromising on it, which are as ingenious as they are unconvincing. One thing which he and every other Indian should remember, is that it is not this or that political party or community which protests against the vivisection of India. Five millennia of history oppose an impassable barrier to the advocates of and compromisers on Pakistan. The Nazis have carried geo-politics to absurd extremes. But geo-politics embodies a scientific principle. The Government of India conquered Burma on the ground that the safety of India required that the Government of India should have also Burma under its control. That was when there was no thought of giving India self-government even of the illusory type of the Hoare scheme. A Pakistan on the North-East and North-West would be ten times a worse threat to the flanks of the rest of India. It will impose on India intolerable burdens, while it will find itself without sufficient resources to maintain the standard to which its people are accustomed. India will have to go to its help practically on every occasion just as she has to go to the help of Burma and Ceylon which, in the days

of their brief self-government, did everything possible to make Indians feel that they are not wanted within their borders. It will be an extremely short-sighted view to take that the deadlock, such as it is today, will be solved by conceding Pakistan in whole or in part. As a matter of fact, the deadlock is really more in the minds of the leaders who are so eager to solve it than in actual fact. If there was really a deadlock, the Government will be the first to feel it whereas the Governor of Bombay assured us that Government does not feel it more than an elephant feels a pinprick. For our own part, we had rather have the deadlock than break up the age-long unity of India.

Jam Sahib in England :—We had occasion to comment on a speech which His Highness the Jam Saheb, colleague of Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar in the War Cabinet in London, made soon after his arrival in the British capital. The speech was unhappily worded. It might easily have been interpreted by impressionable minds to mean that Gandhiji's death would solve the Indian problem. His Highness, no doubt, wished only to convey an idea of the extent of the influence which Gandhiji wields in India. Words more than guns require careful handling. They carry beyond the gun of the longest range yet invented and are as effective a thousand miles away and a thousand years hence as they are in one's immediate vicinity and one's time. Though in that case, His Highness showed himself rather a novice in public speech, he has in other speeches shown himself to be possessed of the courage of his convictions in no ordinary measure. In another of his speeches, His Highness boldly avowed himself a champion of personal rule. Britain is fighting for democracy which is, among other things, a negation of personal rule, though British democracy sees nothing inconsistent with the doctrine of democracy in entrusting India to the practically personal rule of Lord Linlithgow. But even the Viceroy has to be guided by the Secretary of State who at least nominally is responsible to Parliament. Naked personal rule is distasteful to the weakest type of democracy. The Jam Saheb was educated in England and is familiar with, if not like his uncle, a master of, cricket which is the model on which parliamentary procedure is based. He knows the English mind inside out, knows that, for all its professions of democracy, it is at bottom an admirer of personal rule by the strong silent man especially in India and the Colonies. The Indian Civil Service man is an imitation Prince, is remunerated like one, and comes to think of himself as one until he finds himself stranded in a London suburb. The princes recognise only the White man as their equals in this country and the White man regards the Princes as about equal but not quite his equal. The Indian Civil Servant is all for personal rule, detests red-tape and would be happy if he can revert to the ancient method of administering summary justice under a

spreading tamarind or banyan tree. The Jam Saheb urged that, whatever may happen to the world after the war, the treaties and sanads of the Princes must be maintained inviolate. So they should be. But we fancy a time may come, and that sooner than many think, when the heirs and the younger generation of the Princes may come to look upon these treaties and sanads as incompatible with their duty to their country and their people and will, of their own free will, relinquish the rights and obligations which they impose on them. There are already signs that a new ideology is beginning to pervade the Princely order. They are straws as yet but they show which way the wind is blowing. If historical precedents count, it is an Indian ruler who will most probably lead the movement of Indian independence.

Press Black-Out in Bombay Province :—On Thursday the city press announced that following an emergency meeting of Bombay Editors the preceding day, it had been decided to suspend publication on the coming Friday. No reason was given and no reason was necessary. Several factors give clues which are clear enough for the public in these times. The first of these is that, among the newspapers suspending, are many which opposed the idea of suspension when it was pressed hard last August. Secondly, sections of the press which are not Congress-minded, have joined the suspension. Thirdly, among those who have not joined and the only newspaper of importance among them at that, is the *Times of India*. Curiously enough this divergence between the *Times of India* and the rest of the journalistic world, is brought into prominence a day after Mr. Francis Low, Editor of the *Times*, paid an extravagant tribute to the flaming idealism of Mr. K. G. Pearson, Managing Director of the same newspaper, at Karachi where both are believed to have gone on a business week-end. In itself the tribute was surprising because usually idealism is expected from the editor and business instinct from the managing-director of a newspaper and circumstances inevitably make it such that no editor has a very high opinion of the man with whom he has to put up a frequent struggle for the soul of the newspaper. Perhaps now that both are back in the city, the *Times of India* which is appearing on Friday, will explain to its readers why the others have closed and it has not; and what difference in journalistic ideals prevents the *Times* from reacting, as other newspapers do or in any other noticeable way. The concerted action in Bombay Province is a notable one and does credit to the province as it is the first time in the history of Indian journalism that concerted action has been set on foot. The Standing Committee of the All-India Newspapers Editors' Conference which meets this week in Bombay, has been well-timed beyond the hopes of any conscious planning. It faces a situation which takes the whole subject of press

rights out of the sphere of discussion and resolution.

American Ambassador to New Delhi :—It was announced a few days ago that President Roosevelt has appointed Mr. William Phillips as his personal representative at the Viceregal Court in New Delhi with the status of an Ambassador. An American journal, without any suggestion of being ironical, remarked that Mr. Phillips' position in New Delhi will be analogous to that of Mr. Myron Tyler, the President's personal representative at the Vatican. Ambassadors are accredited only to sovereign States and the nomination of one with the status though not with the designation of Ambassador may be regarded as a recognition of India's status as a sovereign State though still politically and legally a dependency. There is much of this sort of contradiction between India's technical and actual positions *vis-a-vis* the rest of the world. In practice this works out in a rather unfortunate way. India has to bear all the obligations of a sovereign State without any of the rights and privileges of a sovereign State. The poor Indian peasant who carries rather than wears on his head a huge turban with only a sparse loin-cloth to cover his nakedness, suggests itself as the most obvious analogy. For our part, we do not view this development without some apprehension. President Roosevelt has shown himself unable to resist British pressure even in matters on which he had expressed decided opinions. Not long ago a leading American publicist remarked that the people of the United States have not yet got over their colonial mentality. This applies to political as well as to other matters. Mr. Phillips, we are told, comes to India with an open mind. That is itself ominous. Most men who profess open minds, often do so in order to conceal their reactionary predilections. This is more especially the case with Americans whose historical antecedents preclude a neutral attitude on the question of Indo-British relations. President Roosevelt has to face a considerable volume of public opinion which regards the British domination of coloured races as opposed to the fundamental principles of democracy. Mr. Phillips has announced that he will spend a large part of his time travelling and establishing contacts with Indians. He will not meet Gandhiji or Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The men whom he will be able to contact at present and for some time to come, will necessarily be men who are anti-Congress and anti-Hindu, besides, of course, high officials. Miss Katherine Mayo also came with an open mind and she saw only outraged child wives and reported accordingly to the English-speaking world. We should not be surprised if Mr. Phillips reports to President Roosevelt that India is not ripe for self-government and Lord Linlithgow's Government, with a majority of Indian members in the

Executive Council, evolved as it has been out of Indian conditions, is the best form of Government which democracies, like Britain and the United States, can devise for a country with so many conflicting interests. An Ambassador to a dependency can never take any other line.

Mr. Sarker's Apologia :—Speaking at the Indian Merchants Chamber in Bombay last week, the Hon. Mr. N. R. Sarker, the Commerce Member of the Government of India, asked the commercial community to remember the serious limitations under which Indian Members of the Executive Council have to carry on their duties. First, there were the limitations imposed by the Government of India Act. Then there were limitations arising from the Indian members not belonging to a single political school of thought, and so on. These limitations were all present at the time when the Indians accepted their memberships. Indeed, it is safe to say that, if they had not done so, if they had stood out for the removal of the limitations, these would largely by this time have been things of the past. It has been clearly an instance of small reforms being the enemy of great reforms. It is almost certain that, but for the association with him of Indian members, Lord Linlithgow would not have taken the fateful step of detaining Gandhiji and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, without trial, and proclaiming the Congress an unlawful body. The Indian members were trotted out as the authority for these steps before the world. It has been said that it was originally intended to deport these men to East Africa but on the intercession of the Indian members they were kept in India on the latter agreeing to the prisoners being denied the right of interviews. There was a more imperative reason against the deportation. The detenus would have been beyond reach of the Indian Government. The danger of the Africans becoming infected with the dangerous satyagraha idea was great. General Smuts would have had something to say about the manner of detention in Africa and he has recently stated his opinion of Gandhiji and, by implication, of the detention of Gandhiji in unmistakable language. The Indian members were welcome to believe that their intercession decided against deportation. That is an additional advantage which can be exploited. There was no concession in giving up the proposal of deportation. After all, deportation would have meant wider publicity to the action of Government. Nahas Pasha was deported but had to be brought back to become the Prime Minister of Egypt. From every point of view, the accession of a majority of Indians to the Executive Council has been of no benefit to the people. The situation has progressively worsened and the Indian members are unable to do anything except plead piteously their limitations.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, December 19, 1942.

EUROPEAN OR WORLD FREEDOM?

A message to the *Bombay Chronicle* from London reports that the distinguished author and humanist, Pearl Buck, speaking at a meeting of Nobel Prize winners in New York, protested that the war was no longer a fight for freedom but a war only to save European civilisation. She added: "If somewhere this year there could have been a man great enough to have declared that this war was a war for the freedom of all peoples, we would not have had to face, as we do face, another war, of which this is only the beginning." President Roosevelt has declared that the Atlantic Charter applies to the whole humanity. He has more than once proclaimed that freedom from fear is the great end of the present struggle. But this evidently does not satisfy Pearl Buck and we must admit that she is in a better position to know than anyone else what exactly is the significance to be attached to the President's declarations. She might have had in mind the absence of any response from the British Premier who had declared soon after the signing of the Charter that it applied only to countries overrun by the Nazis in Europe. Nor has there been any expression of approval from any of the other Allied Nations which had a colonial Empire, notably Belgium and Holland. On the other hand, by assuring France that it is the intention of the American Government to restore to her her African Empire, President Roosevelt would seem to have gone back on his declaration that the Atlantic Charter had universal application. In confirmation of Pearl Buck's statement, may be quoted also the remarks of Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, on a manifesto recently issued by the Federal Union Movement in Britain and America. The manifesto consists of two paragraphs. The first defines in general terms the belief of the signatories that the basic freedoms which were the great heritage of western civilisation, can be best preserved and extended by forming now a Federal Union of all peoples who enjoy or are prepared to give a guarantee of individual freedom. The second paragraph indicated is the outline of such a Union. It runs as follows:

We believe that the world imperatively needs an all-inclusive international organization in which the United States, the British Commonwealth, China, Russia, India and the other powers known as the United Nations should take the lead; that this association should be organized immediately, that it should include in its membership as many countries as can be induced to join; that it must be organized upon a limitation of national sovereignty; and that it should contain such elements of federalism as are found to be practicable.

The manifesto had explicitly included China and India among the countries which should take the lead in the new

world organisation. Mr. Amery's remarks suggesting that Europe alone should be considered are, therefore, of special significance. His observations are reported as follow in the *Hindu* of Madras, December 16:

To hold up the conception of a United Europe, to go on preaching it and working for it, until inter-European quarrels are increasingly envisaged in the light of a wider patriotism and until inter-European war is felt to be civil war, that is a task well worth our while. Some day that conception may even find a constitutional form to express and consolidate it. Personally, I doubt whether that form will be federal. To my mind the system of free co operation, political, economic and cultural, which we have developed in the British Commonwealth, involving no constitutional impairment of national sovereignty, is both easier of acceptance and better adapted to modern economic and political conditions. A European Commonwealth may be a distant goal. But it is at any rate sufficiently realisable to be worth working for.

Mr. Amery's comment on the manifesto excludes, it will be noted, not only Asia but also America. Mr. Winston Churchill, as an American on his mother's side, cannot leave out America and has, therefore, hit upon the formula of Anglo-Saxon leadership, though America is no longer Anglo-Saxon, being, indeed, a cross-section of Europe. Mr. Amery's mother was a Hungarian and the Anglo-Saxon formula does not appeal to him. Europe exhausts all his sympathies and he is content to have European collaboration for his goal.

Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan delivered the Kamala Lectures in the Calcutta University. Sir Sarvapalli's thesis was the philosophical soundness of the Gandhian ideology. In his opening address, Sir Sarvapalli observed that the present war was the last act of disintegration preceding the eventual birth, through a long period of travail, of a world community. Pearl Buck, however, thinks that this war will not be the last any more than the previous one was. That war was, according to President Wilson, to end war. It never did that. According to General Smuts that war itself never ended and the present war is merely a continuation of the conclusion of the Treaty of Versailles. We think that Pearl Buck is right. So far as their war ideologies are concerned, there is no difference between the Allies and the Axis Powers. They both aim at killing as many of the other side as they can manage with the same weapons, the same tanks, the same air bombs, the same submarines, the same newly discovered ray which is said to make darkness visible. All the intellect and ingenuity of both sides are enlisted in the production of contrivances which will destroy the largest amount of life and property in the shortest time and with the least damage to themselves. The differences between the Allies and the Axis Powers relate to their peace aims. It is assumed without proof that it is possible for a human being, because he is called, or calls himself, a statesman, to have two sets of aims in life one diametrically opposed to the other. Abundant proof can be adduced, on the other

hand, to show that war aims and peace aims will necessarily have at least their basic objects in common though they may be described in different forms of words.

Pearl Buck's words suggest that she believed so long that the nations were fighting for some great ideal but that something has happened now to relinquish it in favour of a lesser one, namely, European civilisation or, as it may be more fairly styled, European savagery. Open your daily newspaper any morning and what meets your eye on the front page? So many towns bombed, so many ships sunk, so many men killed. The tale of wounded is a worse tale which it is thought wise not to disclose. Behind the bland announcements stretches a limitless vista of desolated homes, widowed wives, orphaned children. True, there are Red Cross and other societies to provide what are called "amenities" for the fighting men. But what amenities will compensate for young and promising lives cut short leaving cruel gaps in the love of their kith and kin? We referred last week to Sir Sarvapalli's assurance to the graduates of the Benares Hindu University that India has a mission to the world. That mission is a very different mission from what many of our leaders envisage. If India, like the monk, Telemachus, who put an end to gladiatorial fights in ancient Rome by throwing himself between the rival combatants though he himself was stoned to death by the infuriated spectators for interfering with their enjoyment, can stop future wars by an act of self-immolation, it will be in the line of her ancient tradition. But that she can not do. She has, indeed, no choice left to her. Perhaps Sir Sarvapalli is right in hoping that the present war will lead, if not immediately in the not too distant future, to the elimination of the war spirit among the nations. This has happened twice before in Indian history. It may happen again in world history.

Political Relativity :—A curious instance of political relativity comes from Parliament. When Mr. Churchill mentioned in the House of Commons that the number of assaults and injuries sustained by lathi charges and other official acts of violence were 500, he asked members to remember that this was a small figure for a population of 350,000,000. Mr. Amery in the House of Commons last week said he was awaiting details from India as to the number of cases of whipping, flogging and of burning people alive. He said it would take time but he was sure that there were "at least" two cases of murder by burning! Proportionately, this is even less than the Churchill ratio taking the Congress membership of three million alone. We are not surprised that the Amery-Churchill mind works in this way. What is a problem is how they get away with it with the British public.

BIRTHDAY OF A BOOK.

On Friday the 18th December a celebration took place in many places in India which is unique. The event commemorated was the birth of a book. In no other country has a book received the honour of a jayanti. The Gita Jayanti is at once a testimony to the religious and literary character of Indian culture. The date, according to the *Mahratta*, was fixed from astronomical data found in the Mahabharata, which show that the first day of the battle of Kurukshetra was the Ekadasi or eleventh day of the bright half of the Margashirsa month. According to a South Indian authority it was the seventh day of the bright half of the month of Kirtika. The difference of four days (the months overlap in the solar and luni-solar systems observed, respectively, in South India and the larger part of the rest of India) was the subject of discussion among scholars and astronomers. The question was set at rest by reference to Professor Apte, Superintendent of the Observatory at Ujjain, who, from his own independent investigation, decided in favour of the eleventh which falls this year on the 18th December.

Books are not born in a day. They take several months and in some cases they have taken several years to be born. But the Gita is no ordinary book. The whole of it, according to traditional belief, was flashed on the mind of Arjuna amidst the shouts of slogans and the tramp of armed men, eager for the word of command to close in deadly battle. No dream, it has been said, lasts longer than ten minutes. Most dreams last less time. We know from experience that a long and involved story can be compressed in a dream. The cinema furnishes another instance. The possibility of the message of the Gita having been conveyed to Arjuna in a short interval, need not, therefore, be dismissed offhand. To those to whom this may seem too esoteric, may be commended Ruskin's theory in explanation of the setting of Greek myths which bear a close resemblance to Indian epics. Ruskin says:

A myth, in its simplest definition, is a story with a meaning attached to it, other than it seems to have at first: and the fact that it has such a meaning is generally marked by some of its circumstances being extraordinary, or, in the common use of the word, unnatural. Thus, if I tell you that Hercules killed a water-serpent in the Lake of Lerna, and if I mean, and you understand, nothing more than that fact, the story, whether true or false, is not a myth. But if by telling you this, I mean that Hercules purified the stagnation of many streams from deadly miasmata, my story, however simple, is a true myth; only, as, if I left it in that simplicity, you would probably look for nothing beyond, it will be wise in me to surprise your attention by adding some singular circumstance; for instance, that the water-snake had several heads, which revived as fast as they were killed, and which poisoned even the foot that trod upon them as they slept.

—*The Queen of the Air.*

It will be noted that Ruskin uses the word 'myth' not in the popular sense of a fable. He, indeed, concedes that a myth may be true. However that may be, it is the traditional belief that the whole Gita was communicated at one sitting. The consensus of opinion among scholars that the poem has come down to us much as it left the hands of its author with practically no variations, shows the high veneration in which it has always been held in India. Dr. Kunhan Raman, the learned Curator of the Adyar Library, in his introduction to the Gita recently published with the commentary of Sri Upanishad Brahmayogin, thinks that the Gita has assumed its present important position because the Acharyas, beginning with Shankara, accepted it.

as something of Divine origin. But surely the Acharyas themselves glorified the Gita because it had long previously attained high sanctity in the eyes of Hindu scholars. Dr. Kunhan Raman's remark that there is nothing in the text itself which marks out the Gita so prominently that its importance would have been recognised by modern scholars but for the initiative and guidance of the Acharyas, is clearly negated by the fact that many students of the Gita have never read the commentaries of either Shankara or Ramanuja. Every year, too, new writers are coming forward with their own interpretations of its teachings. The Gita has now travelled to many countries and has become part of the new thought. Cohen-Portheim prints a couplet of the Gita as the motto of a section of his book "Time Stood Still" in which he describes his experiences in a British detention camp during the last war.

The Bhagvad Gita has a universal appeal. It reverently puts aside the Vedas as of limited spiritual value. Its own teaching is open to all women and sudras who were forbidden to study the Vedas, are expressly declared to be eligible to salvation through the Gita. Contemplation and devotion are important but most important of all is work in a disinterested spirit. By work is not meant what is paid for in wages. Wages as the fruit of work should not count as a motive. By work is meant dharma, the duty which a man or woman feels morally bound to perform whether it results in loss or gain. Every individual is a part and function of the Universe. On his or her doing her part, fulfilling his or her function faithfully, depends the well-being of the Universe as well as the salvation of the individual. Caste is not determined by birth but by behaviour. Karma is not inexorable. It can be overcome by disinterested action. Aldous Huxley in his "Ends and Means" expatiates on the spirit of detachment as essential to spiritual progress. The Gita proclaims the same truth over and over again. At the same time, the Gita recognises that souls in different stages of development need different means of approach to perfection. It recognises them all as leading to the same goal. Even the worst sinner is assured of salvation if he fixes his faith on the Supreme. But personal religion is not necessary to all. Those who adore the Impersonal Unmanifested, desiring the well-being of all creatures, are held in high reverence. But this is a course which is very hard for the embodied to follow. Telang has brought out in the Introduction to his English translation in the Sacred Books of the East series points of resemblance between the teachings of the Gita and those of the Sakyamuni. Their attitude to the Vedas and to caste are specially mentioned. Their attitudes were similar but there was a difference. The Gita dissents but never breaks away from the Vedic tradition. Neither the Buddha nor the Gita dispensed with caste. Buddha, indeed, was rather proud of his Kshatriya origin. Sri Krishna bases caste on qualities though these govern birth also. There is one important difference between the two great Teachers which has not been noticed either by Telang or other scholars. It is as regards their attitude towards propaganda. Buddha enjoined his disciples to proclaim his teachings to all men. Sri Krishna, on the other hand, enjoins that the minds of the masses should not be unsettled and that the Gita should be imparted only to those who are eager to understand. The learned should set an example by their lives for the masses to follow. The man who is not disturbed by the mass-mind and who does not disturb it, is dear to me, says Sri Krishna. That may be one of the reasons why Buddhism deteriorated and was absorbed by

resurgent Hinduism of which the corner-stone was the Gita. In another matter too, there was a difference between Buddha and Sri Krishna. Buddha admitted women to his order with reluctance and with considerable reserve. He is said to have remarked that he had expected his teaching to flourish for a thousand years but after the admission of women it would survive only for half that period. Sri Krishna declares without qualification that his teaching was open to women. Speaking of women, Sri Krishna has come in for much malignant criticism because of the stories of his relations with the Gopis. Anyone not blinded by fanaticism can see that no man—not even an avatar—could have had carnal relations with some thousands of women. The obvious meaning of the legend of the Gopis is that Sri Krishna was so absolutely pure-minded that women felt that they could be devoted to him without any carnal taint in their devotion. The Gita says that the emancipated man moves among objects of sense without being tempted by them. To the pure all things are pure. To the prurient all things are prurient.

THE ANDHRAS.*

(By S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAM, CHIDAMBARAM)

This 'Early History' of the Andhradesa is the work of Mr. K. Gopalachari who was a research student of the Madras University during the years 1934-36; and his thesis was approved for the Doctorate degree of that University.

The Andhras were an ancient Indian race mentioned in the Aitreya Brahmana (5th Century B. C.) in the Puranas, in the Asokan edicts and in the foreign accounts of Ptolemy and in the Periplus. They are said to be of Dravidian origin; but they were so Aryanised in historical times that they seem to have shed most of their Dravidian affinities.

The earliest Andhra kings known to history are said to be of the Satavahana Kula and they used Prakrit—not Telugu—as their official language. Their original home is a matter of dispute. Some hold that it was in the East corresponding to the modern Vangi or Andhradesa with either Srikakulam or Amaravati as the capital. But this is against all existing evidence. The coins of the early kings and their inscriptions are found in the region of the Western Dekhan round about Bombay—*vis.*, Nanaghat and Nasik.

The author agrees with the Jaina tradition and holds that Paithan or Pratishtana was in all likelihood their capital. According to the Puranas—Matsya, Vayu—they were 30 Kings who ruled nearly 460 years and the period of their rule should have lasted from the 3rd century B. C. to the 3rd century A. D. (284 B. C.—225 A. D.).

The first King, Simuka, is mentioned in a label of a relievo-statue in a cave at Nanaghat. The second King was the younger brother of Simuka, and in his time, an officer of his in charge of the Samanas excavated a cave (No. 19) at Nasik. The third King was Satakarni and his queen was Nayanika. This queen carved the sculptures of the early members of the royal family and engraved another inscription at Nanaghat, recounting the Asvamedha and a large number of other sacrifices—nearly twenty in number—which she performed with her royal consort. The performance of the Asvamedha sacrifice testifies to the rise of the Satavahanas to imperial position.

* Early History of the Andhra Country—The Satavahana Empire—Madras University Historical Series—No. 16. By Mr. K. Gopalachari, M. A., Ph. D.—General Editor, Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.

Subsequent kings are shrouded in darkness. Hala, the 17th king, was a great patron of letters. The *Saptasatakana* and *Lilavati* were works due to his direct inspiration.

The northern part of their empire was assailed and conquered by members of the Kshaharata race, chief of whom was Nahapana. Against the foreign aggressor, Gotamiputra Satakarni fought a long and bitter struggle and recovered most of the lost territory. Gotami, his mother who survived her son, gives in an eulogy the achievements of this ruler, the greatest of the Satavahanas. He is said to have destroyed the Sakas, Yavanas and Palhavas, to have rooted out the Kshaharata race and restored the glory of the Satavahana Kula. His kingdom comprised the region of the Dekhan from the Vindhya to the borders of the ceded districts besides Malwar and Southern Kathiawar; and it should have stretched from sea to sea, West to East.

His son was Vasishthi-putra Pulumayi. He tried to keep unimpaired the hard-won conquests of his glorious father. One feature of the social life of this age is the use of the metronymics as a prefix to the names of the later Satavahana kings. These metronymics—Gotamiputra and Vasishtiputra—represented the gotras of the preceptors of the Kshatriya families from which hailed these royal ladies.

Then came the Saka invasion. Chasthana renewed the attack on the Andhra Kingdom in the North-West. Under his grandson, Rudradaman, Sourashtra, Malwar, the Konkan and a good bit of the Dekhan plateau fell into the hands of this foreign Mahakshatrapa, and were finally lost to the Andhras. Then came their gradual eastern migration and final extinction in the first quarter of the 3rd century A. D.

The Andhras were followers of the Brahmanical religion, but they also made large gifts to the shrines and ascetics of the Buddhist creed. Buddhism seems to have had a greater hold on the people; but there was perfect religious toleration in the land. The wonderful Karle-chaitya, the caves at Nasik, the stupas at Amaravati are lasting monuments of the Satavahana rule in the Dekhan.

That industry and trade flourished under the Andhras and the extensive foreign trade of the Dekhan is well attested by the *Periplus*—a work of the first century A. D. written by a foreign seaman. Broach, Sopara, Chaul and other important parts carried on extensive trade. Andhra coins with designs of masted ships point to their maritime activity. A few bold and adventurous spirits ventured to the Far East to develop colonization in a new and unknown region.

It is the history of this first important dynasty of historical times that ruled over the Dekhan, that Mr. Gopalachari has attempted to present in his thesis. A galaxy of scholars—Bhagavanlal Indraj, Bhandarkar (R. G. and D. R.), Buhler, Senart, Rapson, Smith, Fleet, Sukthankar, etc.,—have laboured hard to elucidate this history; and the author had "the difficult task of challenging great names and accepted conclusions." Yet, in the words of the General Editor, "the thesis does not claim in any way to revolutionise our interpretation of the history of the period," but, he adds, "its value consists in a large number of detailed suggestions confirming results now generally accepted by stronger arguments or bringing forward fresh points of view." This modest claim is more than justified by the author. He has toured the important centres of Andhra antiquity and collected valuable data on the spot. His discovery of a new inscription in the

chaitya at Karle, and his valuable suggestions of new readings of some of the Andhra inscriptions already published add greatly to the value of his work. (Most of these have since been published in the *Epigraphia Indica*). His maiden effort in the fields of Paleography and Numismatics deserves to be praised; this is all the more remarkable that it is from the pen of a young research student who has worked under the guidance of his Professor for about two or three years. We have also to commend the critical spirit he has exhibited in the selection and interpretation of the original documents.

The book has a few select illustrations most of which the author has collected during his tour.

The map is unsatisfactory. I do not believe in a map to illustrate a whole period of four or five centuries. There cannot be a map of the Satavahana Empire; there is so much of kaleidoscopic change at every stage. The author would have done well to draw a map of the glorious period of Gotamiputra Satakarni. I take it that the map is intended to indicate places of interest in the Satavahana age. The Tamils always held the Tirupati Hills as their northern boundary and called the people who lived to the north of it as Vadugar, the Northerners, which in later times came to be applied to the Telugues. It is very likely that this hill marked the southern limit of the Andhra expansion instead of Cuddalore in spite of the fact that Andhra coins were discovered there.

There is a slip on page 80. Jinaprabhasuri, a Jain monk, is said to be of the 14th century A. D. instead of the 14th century of the Samvat era as found in the original.

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

(Copyright.)

APRIL 14, 1933.

Dr. B.—tells me this morning that the *Daily Herald* is his favourite paper, that the *Times* is too solemn and ponderous for him, that he had been a candidate for Parliament and had been defeated by only 72 votes, that he had given up politics because people only take to it for self-advancement, professionally or socially, and he would not accept my suggestion that there are degrees. When he asserted the selfishness of politicians, I asked him to consider that some were more worthily and some less worthily so—*i. g.*, Asquith and Lloyd George. Dr. B.—did not agree.

Dr. B.—thought Dickens, at the end of his life, was getting impossibly drunk; he had to be taken away from lecture platforms.

At the Royal Hotel in Honolulu, Dr. and Mrs. B.—had complained of laxity of service.....their steward on the ship thought they were heavy drinkers.

Some attempt is being made in the U. S. to measure heredity in its potency with cancer; 52,000 rats of whom one-half were irritated with a worm parasite, the other half controls, were experimented with; the conclusion seems to be that, whatever the heredity, without the irritant, there is no cancer; with the irritant, given time long enough, all would get cancer. Heredity determines susceptibility and shortens the time in which the same irritant can give cancer.

Another item in the *New York Times* is that 'spurts' of energy can be traced to starch. For 'spurts' oxygen has to be given faster than it could be carried to the muscle tissues. In these emergencies, glycogen or animal starch stored in the muscles undergoes two quick chemical breakdowns: (1) gives

lactic acid in large amounts; (2) gives tressose-phosphate. Energy sufficient for short but violent exertion is the by-product of both processes. "But if the extra stress keeps up, the heart has time to increase its rate of beating and to pump more oxygen-charged blood to the muscles."

A third communication is on the successful treatment of progressive muscular weakness in children and adults with creatine and glycine by Dr. Alf Chamartin of the University of Virginia. In the *O. P. Gazette* this morning it is said in a London telegram that Dr. Rees, deputy director of the Institute of Medical Psychology, considers children are destructive because over-repressed. "One little girl chops the heads of all her dolls. This little girl felt she was fighting against the repressive attitude of her mother who had always stood between the child and freedom." "Cruelty in small children is not wickedness."

Miss Perry had asked me if I had never been drawn to Reincarnation. I had said that, after the faith of my forbears had left me, I had adopted the fanaticism of the ethical societies which had stuck to me till I was 60. Reincarnation appealed to me because it seemed to give consistency to the ethical view of life, by enlarging life itself. The seeming consistency has now vanished because the distinction between good and evil which makes ethics, has itself vanished. I illustrated it by the statement in geology that volcanic eruption provides that sufficiency of carbonic acid in the atmosphere which, without it, would not be there, nor would life on earth. Is a volcanic eruption good or evil?

Present beauty and past devastation are not separate products, but ends of one process, each end essential to the other. Good and evil are not separate creations but essential elements of one pattern. The explosives which blew up men and cities during the Great War, could be used effectively to explode obstructions in mines. There is both good and evil for everybody in one process—the credit and discredit cannot be separated.

Miss Perry acknowledged the force of this presentation, but still murder is murder. She asked, When is murder not murder? I retorted, How about wars, capital penalty, slaughter of lambs? But, she persisted, what good can there be in those two fellows on the sofa opposite murdering each other? I argued that my inability to give reasons would not prove that the reasons did not exist; that the Great Fire of London enabled Wren to rebuild London; that the Black Plague established modern economics; that slavery was a substitute for slaughter and established the dignity and profit of labour; that the battle of the Kilkenny cats rid humans of caterwauling; that two monsters destroying each other is a human relief; that, if those two innocent-looking Englishmen were potential monsters, their mutual murder would be a conceivable good; that, if there were higher intelligences to whom human activity would be one rest-disturbing noise interfering with their plans, the complete extermination of our race would be a consummation devoutly to be wished.

But, Miss Perry still questioned, does not the need of volcanic eruption for carbonic acid and life, prove design? Possibly but is it a beneficial design? The breeding of lambs is undoubtedly designed, the care men take of lambs, the pastures, the pens, the shepherd dog, all show limited beneficence, but the purpose and end are slaughter; is it beneficial design? Are we equating our human world with its alleged directing beneficence to the lambs and their pastures? This loose distinction between good and evil breaks to pieces the whole fabric of the argument from design.

Miss Perry had been inspired, to dwell on the beneficial Designer of Volcanic Eruptions that made a life possible on earth! But what becomes of omnipotency? He had only to create, in a breath, a solid globe provided with air that never failed.

I had felt that if the full alleged difference between right and wrong be an illusion and if the Tree of Knowledge be of Knowledge of Good and Evil, then it required a serpent to persuade a she that the difference was real and abysmal, and of course she would ram it down the throat of her he; the Lord was for once right; the Garden of Eden was no place for staging Good and Evil; he, the Lord, did right to expel them. Eve was only a rib of Adam; and all the rest in the Garden were beasts and how can the question of wrong and right arise? So, the unbeliever justifies Genesis.

I was favoured with talks by Mr. Mure who showed me Prince Bulow's Memoirs he is reading and regaled me with experiences at Corfu where the Kaiser and other Royalties have residences and where Mr. Mure had been travelling. Mr. Mure thinks Prince Bulow is unreliable, but not when he considers the ex-Kaiser a fool. That he is, Mr. Mure criticised the policy of Mr. MacDonald and the four Powers' Pact which the *Times* acclaims. I expressed surprise at the criticism. Is not Mac Scotch? But a Scotsman is clever not infallible, Mr. Mure said.

APRIL 15, 1933.

Mrs. Lawrie bounces about showing she can do everything, getting Scotchmen like Mr. Mure to confess that they had known her uncle Col. Lawrie (I understand one of them told her he had been cautioned as a boy against the Colonel) and she assures me she is Scotch, not a Jewess.

Mrs. W. J. Locke came up to return the latest *Times* and *Spectator*; she recommended me to visit Corfu and Corsica, and talked of spiritualism and Russia. About the first she said, she was disgusted to find Lady Conan Doyle retailing for a fee to strangers at a public meeting, her intimate spiritualistic experiences which ought to have been sacred to her. Mrs. Locke does not believe in Spiritualism and Mr. Locke did, the only subject on which they differed; she, however, did not deny his right to think, as he pleased; only she denies the right of Spiritualists to propagandise and thrust their unproven views on others. In Russia she toured for weeks, the name of Locke was a charm; but it was easy to read between the lines, because the capable guards were so naive; they would lead her to see the horrors of old prisons where wax-works were used to illustrate the sufferings of prisoners under the old regime; and thence take her to see ordinary men blown up for some crimes against the State. She did not see any horrors in the old prisons. Madame Tussaud would have done the wax-works much better; she did feel the horror of the patriotic executions. She was taken to see the opera where they sing execution of royalties; the singing and acting appeared good, but she could not stand the atmosphere of the plot. She was horrified. They gloried in the Five Years Plan; she only saw engines rusting and American engineers resigning because they could not get output. Nothing is punctual—trains or raw materials or service.

Two years ago German engineers were to be or were shot for alleged sabotage; this year, Vickers engineers are being tried. The campaign against sabotage was started by Stalin in his speech on the Five Years Plan last year; it looks as if the Five Years Plan, at least in agriculture, had failed, and the powers that be wish to manufacture scapegoats. People's faces are expressionless; they go in want.

and fear, adults are willing to pick up from the ground anything though they refuse haughtily if offered; boys would not accept confectionary from tourists, but walk past cars of tourists, to pick up from the ground any stealthily cast there; furtive looks when picking up betoken the fear of being reported if seen.

APRIL 17, 1933.

Mr. Mure says at midnight he went into the Empire room and found and heard the most beautiful violin performance of his life. A (French) lady came forward to ask the player to give another piece she named; the player said that that was the one he had just played; and hastened to pack up and out. Mr. Mure could not give the player a name; I suspected it was Amadio but Miss Pearson says Amadio's eminence is with the flute, not violin.

Shaw once asked Miss Pearson if she had read Heartbreak House; she had not only read it, but seen it acted; she alternately laughed and cried; Mr. Shaw thought that was high appreciation, real praise. Yet, when I told her that, summing up this voyage of unflinching content, I now discover a thread of dissatisfaction running through it all; that I have been a fool through life, a fool on the voyage, taking unconsidered opinion for knowledge. Miss Pearson quotes scripture, tells me to despise ologies, be as a little child and I should enter God's Kingdom. O Sancta Simplicitas ! I thought but did not say.

A BANDRA DIARY.

Kedarnath Das Gupta's name will ever be associated with the Fellowship of Faiths which he inaugurated along with the Century of Progress at Chicago in 1933. Forty years before that the first Parliament of Religions was held in the same city. Swami Vivekananda began his dynamic career with the outstanding success which he achieved at the Parliament. The Fellowship of Faiths was an advance of profound significance over the Parliament of Religions. In the Parliament, every religion came forward to press its claims to pre-eminence. Each religion had its champion and it was a sort of gladiatorial show. In the Fellowship all religions recognized that they had a common object and that they were bound together by a common inspiration. No better proof could be given of this than the refusal of the Catholic hierarchy and of important sections of Protestant leaders to associate themselves with Das-Gupta's great enterprise. But he did not falter. With practically no organisation of any kind behind him, he succeeded in interesting leaders of thought in America, Europe and Asia and in securing their presence and co-operation as lecturers. The late Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwar presided at one of the sessions and delivered an address which read in cold print strikes one as compact with deep thought and earnest inspiration. The proceedings of the Fellowship forms a magnificent memorial to Das-Gupta's power of imagination and energy. It may be hoped that, now that he is gone, the Fellowship will not be given up. Das-Gupta felt that the Fellowship was the special concern of India and there will be many in this country to whom the idea will strongly appeal.

I have received the following letter :

"In your recent discussions with Issu Das you mentioned some of the likenesses between Christianity, or the interpretation of Christianity held by Friends, and Hinduism, but I read on with interest to see if you would mention any of the unique differences. You mentioned only the belief that Jesus was

the Son of God. In the various religions of the world there are many elements that are found in common with Christianity. You are quite correct in saying Friends, and for that matter, most other Christian groups, believe Christ to be the Son of God. Perhaps you might have gone on to say that the unique feature of Christianity is an outgrowth of the belief in Christ you have mentioned. As yet I have not discovered anything similar in Hinduism—that is, Christianity offers a release to the wrong-doer. It gives him a method of starting over again—a second chance (in this very life). It offers forgiveness. Even from a practical and a material point of view this furnishes one of the most important forces that is working towards an improvement of the life of the individual and society. But even more it meets one of the deepest hungers we know. Granted, as you have written, much work of the Church to-day fails to carry this essential and central truth into the heart of Christian work; nevertheless, this is the heart of it and if the connection is lost the work will die out even as a limb will lose its life if derived of the life-giving sap. And one more thing. This forgiveness and the release and uplifting power that comes from it, is available to all men regardless of station or condition, for it is based on the unconditioned love of God."

The writer says that, while Christ promised forgiveness to sinners, Hindu teachings hold out no such promise. Actually, however, Hindu scriptures do much more. The Gita again and again declared that the worst sinner when he takes refuge in the Supreme, must be regarded as a Sadhu because he quickly becomes one. Christianity (not Christ, again) postulates that the sinner should first repent and then believe in Christ. In the Gita, devotion to God (not the profession of devotion) automatically destroys one's sins and makes one proof against future assaults of sin. In other words, the Gita holds that only by a living faith can men become and remain sinless. Morality is an incident and an inseparable incident of religion, and not the whole of it. This attitude towards religion and morality follows from the conception of sin as avidya or ignorance. "To know all, is to forgive all" exactly expresses exactly the Gita idea.

RECLUSE.

CONVERSION AND SOCIAL REFORM.

I.

Sir,—As an occasional contributor to *The Reformer* for nearly fifty years, I beg leave to make a few observations, on the ever-green topic of conversions.

Whereas it is open to any person to hold the view that Jesus is only one among many prophets, those who are of this opinion ought to give to others, who hold a different view—namely that Jesus is unique—the same freedom to hold that opinion, and to express it. A mark of genuine democratic progress and culture was the observation of an Englishman that, while he differed absolutely from another Englishman, he would fight to the last to give freedom to the latter to express the views with which he disagreed.

In a healthy society, freedom of opinion involves also the right to implement opinion in conduct, subject to the minimum of restrictions. To the question whether conversion should be discouraged, because it breaks up society or customs, or Society be altered so as to permit of conversions from conviction, there could be only one answer. Society, no less than the State, exists for the individual, and not *vice versa*. Hindu Society in the past had made these adjustments, one member going to the temple and another of the same

family to the church, for worship. At a time not so long ago, when there was not sufficient scope for active religion and social work in Hinduism, a Hindu Sage is reported to have told a Hindu that there was no harm if he became a Muslim or a Christian for doing such work. This Rishi, to whom all religions were alike, knew that what is important for an individual is freedom for self-expression. A Social Reformer, it seems to me, contradicts the basis of his creed when he prejudices converts, by calling them perverts, without adducing evidence for such condemnation. Social Reform, within the four corners of Hinduism, will not hereafter butter any parsnips. When Pakistan is in the air and young students uphold that dangerous creed, it is a simple matter of expediency, to close the door to mutual recriminations about conversions and to throw the doors wide open for social integration between men of different creeds.

I am opposed to mass conversions, and I do not believe that the unbaptised are damned. The old adage of saving brands from the fire of Hell is no longer there. But if any person wishes to become a baptized Christian, or a Muslim from conviction, it is both wrong and inexpedient to condemn it. A person's convictions, are, I think, exceedingly precious, more precious than the whole world outside. I would humbly request readers of your paper to read and consider the 10th verse of St. Mathew, Chapter 18, if they wish to perceive what is meant by uniqueness mentioned earlier. If Hitler and Mussolini, and Churchill and Roosevelt should hear that verse read to them and, if they realise that Jesus knew what he was talking about, it seems to me that Peace, when it comes, would be a worthwhile Peace. It is the little ones all over the world, English, German, Negro, Indian, whose angels are beholding the face of His Father in Heaven; when men and women of all countries realise this truth, the labels of caste and creed, of race and continent, will to cease breed bitterness and strife.—Yours etc.,

K. CHANDY

II.

Sir,—With reference to Recluse's article against proselytising missions published in your issue of last week, your readers will be interested in the following experience.

When I was in London in 1938, I used to attend religious sermons preached in Hyde Park. A Jewish gentleman who, as he told me, was a native of Poland and who for several years past had been residing in England, daily came to Hyde Park and discussed religious subjects with Christians assembled there. At that time Hitler was oppressing the Jews in Germany and the Christians in Hyde Park told the Jew that unless and until the Jews all over the world abandon the religion of their ancestors and adopt Christ's religion, their sufferings will continue to fall on the Jewish people. But the Jew quite truly told the Christians that salvation of soul it was not necessary to abandon the faith in which a man was born and that as Christ has said describing the Day of Judgment, salvation of soul depends on a man abounding in good works in his life on earth, and giving up the sins of pride, covetousness, hatred, impurity. The Jew also ridiculed the dogma of the Churches that the blood of Christ would wash away sins saying that Christ has taught the doctrine, "As a man soweth, so shall he reap." Proselytising is not needed.

Yours etc.,
ZOROASTRIAN.

Mr. Chandy's contribution is confused thinking with a vengeance. He asks for freedom of expression "subject to a minimum of restrictions"—the missionary pledge? But obviously when the people of a country and its Government are at loggerheads, and when the power of imposing restrictions are placed with Government, there is bound to arise a great deal of injustice to the people. The moment Mr. Chandy accepts the need for restrictions, he is merely begging the question when he says that there must be freedom. What he says amounts in effect to this, that he must decide what restrictions are necessary. This would, we concede, satisfy Mr. Chandy but nobody else. His dragging in Pakistan is an attempt at bolstering up a weak case. It is the argument of the little boy who threatens to walk out of a game with his bat because he cannot have things his own way. And here the bat is his elder brother's. To Mr Chandy's implied question, "Why object to baptism and conversion?", "Zoroastrian's" experience gives the unanswerable reply, "Why make salvation dependent on baptism?" Mr. Chandy's rejection of mass conversion and his tolerance of the unbaptised shows that he accepts it intellectually. But apart from this letter we have not seen any attempt on his part to make his views effective.—*Editor.*]

BOMBAY NEWSPAPER STRIKE.

A statement issued by the Secretary of the Bombay Press Advisory Committee says:—

In accordance with the decision reached at an Emergency Meeting of Newspaper Editors held on Wednesday, the 16th instant, under the auspices of the Bombay Press Advisory Committee, the undermentioned newspapers are suspending publication for one day. No issue of these newspapers will appear on Friday, the 18th instant:—

1. *Ajmal* (Daily Urdu)
2. *Alhial* (Daily Urdu)
3. *Bombay Chronicle* (Daily English)
4. *Bombay Samahar* (Daily Gujarati)
5. *Bombay Sentinel* (Daily English)
6. *Bombay Vartman* (Daily Gujarati)
7. *Free Press Journal* (Daily English)
8. *Hilal* (Daily Urdu)
9. *Iqbal* (Daily Urdu)
10. *Inquilab* (Daily Urdu)
11. *Jam-E-Jamshed* (Daily Gujarati)
12. *Janmabhoomi* (Daily Gujarati)
13. *Khilafat* (Daily Urdu)
14. *Lokamanya* (Daily Marathi)
15. *Navakal* (Daily Marathi)
16. *Navshakti* (Daily Marathi)
17. *Nootan-Gujarat* (Daily Gujarati)
18. *Prabhat* (Daily Marathi)
19. *Sandhyakal* (Daily Marathi)
20. *Sangram* (Daily Marathi)
21. *Sanj Vartman* (Daily Gujarati)
22. *Social Welfare* (Friday Weekly English)
23. *Vandemataram* (Daily Gujarati)
24. *Vishwamitra* (Daily Hindi)

All newspapers of Ahmedabad,—*Sandesh, Samachar, Prabhat* and *Bharat*—are suspending publication on Friday.

The three leading Surat papers,—*Gujarat, Gujarat Mitra* and *Pratap*—have also decided to suspend publication on December 18.

The following Poona newspapers have taken a similar decision: The *Dnyanaprakash, Sakal, Prabhat, Samachar*, the four dailies, will have no issues on December 18, and the bye-weekly *Kesari* and the weekly *Maratha* will have their issues on Saturday instead of Friday.

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W. G. GROUNDWATER,

General Manager

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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 Sikandar Hyat Khan:—The sudden death, of heart failure, on Saturday of the Punjab Premier, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, is a distinct loss to public life at this juncture. Sir Sikandar deliberately limited his outlook to the progress and prosperity of his province and consequently his policy and methods were not only provincial but in some cases even opposed to all-India interests. His efforts were directed to evolve a purely Punjab policy free from the influence of all-India movements. Notwithstanding temporary success, they were bound to fail because the Punjab is an organic part of India and Indian interests cannot be separated from Punjab interests. Sir Sikandar had no definite political ideas, not at least any which was easily discernible, but he was keen on holding together the important communities of the Punjab and was a moderating influence in Punjab public life.

Darlan's Assassination:—The last war was precipitated by the assassination of the heir to the Austro-Hungarian Emperor. The assassination of Admiral Darlan comes in the course of the present war but it is bound to lead to sinister complications. The murdered Admiral was sent to North Africa by Marshal Petain with the object of opposing the American invasion of French territory. On arriving in Algiers, the Admiral was persuaded that the interests of France would be better served by his co-operating with the American Commander. Marshal Petain, he felt, was not in a position to function freely as Chief of State and, in the name of the Marshal, therefore, he assumed control and established the French capital in Algiers, under the aegis of the American Commander, General Eisenhower. This was resented by General De Gaulle and his group who denounced the Admiral in strong terms. It was stated that the Admiral would himself withdraw or disavow his declaration constituting himself Chief of State. This he did not do. But, in one of his last statements, he declared that he was fighting for the freedom of France and, as soon as that end was achieved, the French people will choose their own form of government. His position was a dangerous one. It almost invited his removal in some way as the readiest means of solving what had all the elements of a deadlock. But assassination never changed the course of history. The spirit of the assassin is infectious. And therein lies the chief danger of the Darlan murder. One point of resemblance between the Grand Duke's assassination and the

Admiral's is that the assassin in both cases was an immature young man. In the former case he has been proved to have been the tool of an organisation. In the present case, the assassin, said to be of mixed French-Italian parentage, is reported to have made a complete confession which is kept a secret.

Power and Justice:—His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury and His Holiness the Pope issued messages on Christmas Day on the world situation. The messages though addressed primarily to Christians have a significance also for people who profess other religions. The Archbishop says: "We must lay a sure foundation of justice, supplying to justice the power which will ensure its maintenance against greed, ambition and aggression." The context shows that by "power" the Archbishop does not restrict himself to spiritual power. In fact, it is obvious that His Grace does not believe in the power of religion to root out of men's minds greed, ambition and aggression. Power is the attribute of the Most High and religion should be, therefore, the greatest power against the evil propensities of human nature. Can it be that the head of the Anglican Church sincerely believes that, unless buttressed by physical force, moral force which is justice, has no survival value? In other words, that God, unless He has Mammon as His ally, cannot protect the righteous against the unrighteous? We can only hope that Reuter has not conveyed, perhaps he has not understood, the real purport of the message of the Archbishop. Of course, the Church of England being a national Church can not but be influenced by the nation's secular interests. Nevertheless, religion is superior to armed might and, if it becomes subservient to the latter, it must be held to have failed of its highest object.

The Pope's Message:—His Holiness the Pope also broadcast a message on Christmas Day. His Holiness occupies a difficult position. He has a powerful and not too scrupulous neighbour within a stone's throw of his capital. The Catholic hierarchy of which he is the head, is itself a small State whose constitution has no point of affinity with the democratic ideas professed by the Allies. It is, therefore, inevitable that the papal message should consist largely of general expressions of sympathy and goodwill for all sufferers, whatever may be the source of their sufferings. While there is no direct reference in the Pope's message to the democracies and Fascists, His Holiness is unequivocal about the Soviet system. He condemns it as opposed to the Christian faith. As a matter of fact, the tendency in the democratic countries is strongly in favour of the Soviet State, especially after the gallant defence it is putting up against the Nazi invasion. His Holiness has chosen this critical time to denounce the Soviet Government which at the moment is the most powerful barrier to the success of the Fascist—Nazi Powers. On the other hand, when Italy invaded Ethiopia, His Holiness blessed the enterprise. In Spain, His Holiness has

favoured the Franco regime. His message is in no respect a vindication of the right of religion to supremacy over secular power any more than the message of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Both expressly or tacitly acquiesce in the right of the State to control international relations without interference from religious authority.

Pakistan and the States :—Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya's advocacy of Pakistan is characterised by a fervour noticeably absent from that of many members of the Muslim League. Even Mr. Jinnah did not go beyond declaring that the Muslim League for good or evil had nailed its flag to the mast of Pakistan. Mr. Rajagopalacharya, however, is not content to expatiate on the merits of his proposal to accept Pakistan tentatively as a step to get the co-operation of the Muslim League for the formation of a national, more correctly coalition, government at once. He falls foul of every one who has the temerity to differ from him. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan of Travancore, has drawn upon himself Mr. Rajagopalacharya's invective by venturing to remark in a Press statement that hardly any ills that India may be subjected to, can "compare with the Ulster phase" which Mr. Rajagopalacharya wants India to pass through. Mr. Rajagopalacharya turns upon him for this innocent observation the wrathful contempt which he poured upon Lord Linlithgow for His Excellency's guarded remark about the geographical unity of India "for practical purposes." Lord Linlithgow, Mr. Rajagopalacharya declared, had gone back on his approval of the Ulster phase in his interview with himself. The Madras ex-Premier denies Sir Ramaswami the elementary right to express an opinion on his compromise with Pakistan because, forsooth, Sir Ramaswami was a protagonist of the Princes' right, explicit in the status, to stand out of the Federation scheme if they so desired. It is difficult to see any analogy between the States preferring to remain out of the Federation and two Provinces which have been for centuries and are today an integral part of British India, demanding to separate from British India and set up as independent sovereign States. The two things are as different as a girl declining to marry a disagreeable suitor and a mother of a family abandoning her children, not to mention their father, in exercise of the right of "self-determination." Even if the analogy held and even if Sir Ramaswami had in the past claimed the "Ulster Phase" for the Princes, it is all to the good that he now recognises the need in the interests of the States themselves as well as of India of a strong central government, and admits that it can exist without infringing the vital rights of the States. A very significant declaration to this effect was made by the Maharaja of Kashmir on the eve of Sir Stafford Cripps' mission. An otherwise pointless controversy raised by Mr. Rajagopalacharya has served a highly useful purpose in eliciting this declaration from so powerful champion of the States as Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer.

Mr. G. L. Mehta on British Rights :—We are afraid that Mr. G. L. Mehta's statement in the Press on the claims advanced by the Chairman of the Associated Chambers of British Commerce at the meeting which was addressed by His Excellency the Viceroy, and the Viceroy's observations thereon, lays itself open to be interpreted as a claim on behalf of nationalist India to discriminate against British interests. We are sure that this is not what Mr. Mehta meant and it certainly is not the attitude of Indian nationalists as a body. We did not understand Sir Stafford Cripps' statement to the deputation of British commercial

representatives at New Delhi to mean anything to this effect. The nationalist position is or should be that, so far as outside capital and outside technical assistance may be necessary to develop Indian industries, British capital and technical help will not be discriminated against in favour, say, of American or Russian assistance. We rather think that Indian nationalism may not be averse to show some preference to British over other nationals in this matter. It is natural that this should be so because, when the dust of present political controversies is laid, as it will be at no distant date, both Indians and Britons will readily recognise the affinities which have grown up between them during two centuries of intimate and not unfruitful connection. The Chairman of the Associated Chambers said that his group asked for no more than that it should enjoy in India the same rights which Indians enjoyed in Great Britain. He did not mention the Dominions whose members enjoy in India rights none of which Indians enjoy in the Dominions. Will the British Chambers agree to exclude Dominion nationals from their membership because they deliberately refuse to let Indians set foot in their territories except as tourists? Taking Britain itself, are the Chambers prepared to concede all the rights which Britons enjoy in India? The Briton has a free field in India for industrial, political and even religious exploitation. Much of the industrial exploitation is made possible by the profits of economic exploitation added to those of political exploitation in the shape of employment on fancy salaries of Britons in the civil and military services. It is, in fact, an extreme instance of feeding a dog with its tail. Is there any chance of an Indian occupying a position analogous to the Viceroy in Great Britain or the colonies? Will proselytising Hindu or Muslim missions be accorded the same facilities, financial and other, in Britain as Christian missions are accorded in India?

"Dawn" on Akbar :—There is force in the suggestion of *Dawn*, the Delhi organ of Mr. Jinnah, that the recent celebrations of the fourth centenary of the Emperor Akbar, savoured more than a little of propaganda for Hindu-Muslim Unity which is anathema to Muslim League ideology. Akbar's idea of Indian unity was that Hindus and Muslims should merge themselves in his eclectic faith. This, of course, was an impracticable idea and Akbar himself did not persevere with it when he found that his best friends among Hindus as well as Muslims did not show any enthusiasm for his project. But the *Dawn* goes to the other extreme in holding up Akbar as a charlatan and no better than other charlatans who happened to occupy imperial thrones. Akbar was certainly much ahead of his time if any man can be said to be ahead of his time. He undoubtedly wanted to rule over a united people, which by itself was a great idea. His methods were rough and ready and that was, perhaps, why the results of his endeavours did not last much beyond his own life. The enforced intermarriages were always of Hindu princesses with Moghul Princes and in no single case was a Moghul Princess married to a Hindu Prince. Such methods bring their own inevitable reaction and Aurangzebe was historically and logically their consequence.

Notice to Contributors :—Owing to the reduced size in which *The Reformer* appears from today, it is necessary that all articles and letters sent for publication should be as short as possible.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, January 2, 1943.

THE FUTURE OF ASIA.

We noticed in *The Reformer* of September 26, 1942, Mr. Owen Lattimore's article on the war as it affected Asia in the July *Foreign Affairs*. The Foreign Policy Association, New York, has published a report on "Asia in the New World Order" by Mr. Lattimore which supplements that article. Mr. Lattimore was till recently Political Adviser to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek. His writings show that he has been deeply influenced by modern Chinese political thought. The Chinese Ministry of Information at Calcutta has rendered invaluable service in making available in India two books by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen with which every political-minded Indian should make himself familiar.

Mr. Lattimore opens up new lines of thought in his Report. In a reference to Communism, he asks Americans to realise that the majority of the Chinese and Indians are opposed to Communism for the same reasons as are the majority of Americans—"by long established social habit and by intellectual and emotional response." The extent of Communist expansion, he points out, will depend more on the democracies than on Russia herself. He places the recognition of all nations as equal on a new basis when he observes that only then can the moral right to criticise other states for lapses from democratic standards be present. "It is after all," he shrewdly remarks, "the senior democracies, the Western democracies, who set the tone of world democracies. If we jealously preserve it as a privilege of our own, and in dealings between our countries and those we consider 'inferior', use lower standards than we do in our own political life, we make it harder for other countries to attain to democracy."

While Mr. Lattimore uses this argument in condemning the tendency of the Western democracies to look down on Russia, and China, he pursues the thought in his discussion of the colonial system. The collective ownership of a people by a people, he asserts, is as much a negation of democracy as the individual ownership of a slave by a master. He adds:

In the quarter-century between world wars, the control which these enlightened democracies exercised over their possessions was, in spite of certain mild self-restraints here and there, as essentially authoritarian in its legal sanctions as the control of Germany today over countries like Norway or Poland. It will do us no harm to put this bluntly to ourselves.....The question in Lincoln's day was not whether slave-owners ought to be more enlightened or whether the legal institutions of slavery ought to be milder. Nor was it a question whether cultured, sophisticated slave-owners, at their best, have more social virtues than raw, ignorant, inexperienced democrats at their worst. Least of all was it a question whether the Negroes of North America had reached a point of political development where they were qualified to govern themselves and vote.

Mr. Lattimore views the position of America in its proper perspective. He commends the Philippine deal—Independence guaranteed in a specified number of years—as setting a date for independence; up to that date the ruler has to prepare the people for freedom; if they are not fit after that date and if self-government causes trouble to other free peoples, the greater blame, he remarks, attaches to the trustee people. But he asks Americans to realise that they have been an integral part, and economically a very important part, of the democratic-undemocratic

complex of the Western democracies and their colonial possessions. They have, he points out, a strong conviction of their just claims within it; and he denounces the Open Door policy as a demand for equal access and equal opportunity while evading equal responsibility. It was a similar consideration which led Dr. Sun Yat-Sen to assert that China had in reality a position inferior to the colonies where the assumption of power by one imperial state inevitably threw the responsibility on that state for the well-being of the colonial people. In his lectures on Nationalism (*The Three Principles of the People*), Dr. Sun Yat-Sen pointed out:

Economic oppression is more severe than imperialism.....The common people are easily provoked by political oppression but are hardly conscious of economic oppression.....China is the colony of every nation that has made treaties with her, and the treaty-making nations are her masters.....If we were the slaves of one certain nation and some natural calamity befell China, the master-nation would appropriate funds for relief as an obligation and distribute the funds as a duty, while the subject-people would expect this relief of their master.Semi-colony is not the right designation for China; I think we ought to be called a hypo-colony.....Subjection to one power is a far higher and more advantageous position than subjection to many powers.

Whatever the case was in 1924 when Dr. Sun Yat-Sen wrote his book, the war with Japan and China's national revival has changed the position.

It is against this background that Mr. Lattimore sets the Indian problem. India, he says, is not only a part of the colonial order; India is the colonial order. As long as India remains a colonial possession, the economic and social structure of the world will be affected by the fact that there is a colonial order. If India ceased to be a possession, the colonial order as a whole would drop to secondary importance. Mr. Lattimore reminds Americans that the possession of India and other colonies determines the character of Britain. "India does a great deal, while Canada does very little and Australia practically nothing, to keep the 'old school tie' in use as a political instrument for garrotting British democracy." America's attitude to freedom in India is, he continues, a practical question which determines the centre of gravity of the whole society of Britain. In a telling paragraph Mr. Lattimore goes to the heart of the problem. He states the war issue thus:

It is almost impossible to imagine, in an abstract way, how wide the gap would be between Indian troops fighting to defend the soil of India, and Indian troops fighting in the Near East or Egypt. The implications are so far-reaching that we shall not fully realize them until we are involved in them. Defeat in India would mean the fall of British rule as well as the defeat of the Indian army. That is obvious enough; but victory would have results quite as momentous..... Victory for what? Victory for whom? Victory over submission to Japan and at the same time for submission to Britain? Victory for British rule, or victory for Indians able to defend India and Indian civilian sufferers from an alien invasion which their earlier alien invaders and present masters had been unable to prevent?

We have not seen a more lucid exposition of the Indian national position. There are other comments in the American press which are slow to come out to India, to show that this feeling is becoming general in the U. S. A. The *New Republic* in commenting on Mr. Churchill's speech in September, observes that obviously his confidence in the Indian situation arose out of the assurances of British military experts in India that the attitude of the Indian people makes no difference to the defence of India against Japanese aggression. The *New*

Republic adds that similar complacent and confident statements were made at other places without, as events later proved, justification. Mr. Lattimore, however, has raised the question for the first time to the level of principle while the American discussion is confined to expediency, the interests of the United Nations. It is likely that the argument of war necessity will weigh more with Mr. Churchill and Mr. Amery than the moral issues involved.

A BANDRA DIARY.

My friend, Mr. Joseph, takes exception to my statement that Hinduism is not opposed to the possession of wealth. He quotes some Sanskrit verses to the contrary. Sanskrit has a vast literature of greatly varying degrees of merit as authorities on Hinduism. Yagnavalkya is a colossal figure in Hindu philosophy as well as jurisprudence. He owned much wealth and when he entered the vanaprastha or hermit stage prescribed by the shastras, he wished to divide his property between his two wives. One of them, Gargi, waived her claim and decided to follow her husband. The instruction given to her on metaphysics constitutes the bulk of the largest and most important Upanishad. Even more to the present topic is Yagnavalkya's action in annexing the large herd of cows with gold tied round their horns which King Janaka had offered as reward for the best discourse at a Philosophical Conference. Before even the Conference opened, Yagnavalkya ordered his disciples to drive away the cows to his Ashram. The other members naturally protested. Yagnavalkya coolly answered that he wanted the cows badly and, therefore, he had commandeered them without waiting for the result of the discussion which he was sure would be in his favour. And so it turned out. Yagnavalkya silenced all the philosophers who attended except one who pressed him hard. Yagnavalkya told him that the point he had raised was too abstruse to be discussed in a public assembly.

Two emphatic pronouncements by leading Indian Christians confirm our observation that they, as a community, are opposed to mass conversions. One of them occurred in the course of a letter by Mr. K. Chandy published in the *Reformer* of 19th November. He declared categorically that he is opposed to mass conversions. Mr. Chandy comes of what may be called an indigenous Christian stock, the Syrians, who have been in India from the second century, and his opinion, on that account, is entitled to special weight. The other and even more vigorous condemnation of mass conversions comes from a different but nonetheless authoritative source. The *Guardian* of Madras represents a fine group of Indian Christians who are earnestly striving to restore to Indian Christianity its Indian background. The *Guardian* wrote in an editorial in its issue of December 10: "Mass movements, very many thinking Christians hold, do more harm than good to the Christian religion." In the face of these pronouncements, it behoves foreign missionaries to reconsider their attitude to this important question. Many missionaries will be glad to have definite indication of the attitude of the Indian Christian community to this burning question by a resolution passed at the forthcoming All-India Conference.

That Jesus Christ was not born in the year in which the Christian era begins, has long been a commonplace to those who have paid any attention to the subject. A writer in the *Indian Witness*, the Methodist journal, has brought together the data for the conclusion that Jesus was born perhaps six years before 1 A. D. These data are largely names

and events connected with the Roman regime in Palestine. The writer in the *Witness* goes further and suggests that Jesus was born not in December but in August or September when shepherds in Palestine are out keeping watch over their flocks all the night, as mentioned in the Gospels. The writer explains that the new star which the wise men of the East saw at the birth of Jesus was probably a "conjunction of the planets...one behind the other" which looked like a single planet. If two planets were one behind another, there will be an "occultation" or eclipse of the one by the other and no augmentation of light. The term "conjunction" means that the two planets will be at the zenith at the same hour, and, of course, they would not look like one. If, as the writer says, a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn occurred, according to astronomical calculation in 7 B. C., the "Wise Men of the East" who were familiar with the aspect of the sky, would not have taken them for a single star. We had, and are still having, a really new star in the sky which shone with a brilliance exceeding that of the brightest stars for the last two months and it is probable that such a new star appeared when Jesus was born. Our new star appeared in the South whereas the new star of Bethlehem rose in the East as seen by the Magi.

May not the new star be the harbinger of a new birth bringing hope to the hearts of men at this sad hour of strife and unlimited bloodshed and agonising misery? A local scientist has explained that the new star is merely an old star which has exploded and that its extraordinary brilliance—I myself beheld it with wonder some days before its appearance was announced in the Press—was just the flare of a light before it goes out. This may be quite true but, all the same, it may have a more than scientific significance. Why should this star explode at this particular time? One may or may not be a believer in astrology as a guide to human affairs but one need not maintain that the stars have absolutely no relation to happenings on our earth. I was looking into Sir James Jeans' "Stars in Their Courses" the other day to see whether he has anything to say about the explosion of stars. I did not find any reference to it, but I came upon a statement which arrested my attention. In the section on gravitational attraction, this eminent astronomer observes:

Since Newton's day, the facts of astronomy have proved beyond all reasonable doubt the truth of his conjecture that this force of gravitation acts throughout the whole of space: every body pulls every other body towards it, no matter how distant it may be. Newton's apple not only exerted its pull on the earth, but on every star in the sky, and the motion of every star was affected by its fall. We cannot move a finger without disturbing all the stars.

Is it superstitious to deduce from this that every man and woman is a function of the universe and that on their doing their work in life as conscientiously as they can, depends, to some extent, however small, the ordered working of the universe? This is a belief which lends both dignity and humility to human activities.

If the movement of a finger affects all the stars, is it commonsense to believe that the movement of thousands of men and machines all over the world has absolutely no effect on them? Mind is a thousand times more "gravitational" than matter. Words spoken thousands of years ago continue to exercise enormous power over after generations. The angry passions, the wholesale massacres, the assassinations, the woes of women and children rendered protectorless

by the devastation of war—is it reasonable to think that these have no disturbing effect on the universe? Those of us who cherish the “superstition” that we live in a moral universe, that it is governed by an All-Just Power which is All-Merciful too, must continue to hold that the crimes of men will surely meet with their inevitable reward and that the “Power which is not which makes for righteousness” will assert itself before humanity perishes in defending what it calls its civilisation.

RECLUSE.

CALCUTTA AND THE AIR RAIDS.

Whilst there is general agreement that the public of Calcutta has stood the air raids well, the press of that city shows unanimity in expressing its disapproval of the behaviour of the more responsible section of the citizens. The *Statesman* has been the most outspoken in its comments—probably because its position gives it the confidence that its criticism will not be suspect. In contrast to the attitude of the press—for, even though restrained, the press has been quite definite in its dissatisfaction with the release of raid news, with the attitude of the higher officials, etc.—are the exchange of messages between the Government officials, Governors and heads of departments, the effusion of ministers and the banal congratulation that “Calcutta can take it.” There is in all this a sickening lack of proportion and it is unfortunate that, instead of getting on with their work, the highest authorities in the country think it necessary at a time like this to utter encouraging commonplaces. The amount of enthusiastic surprise at the toughness of Calcutta would seem to imply that it was unexpected; coupled with the official communiques that the damage was slight and the attacks on a small scale, this is scarcely complimentary. Now that raids have started, we trust the official mind will study the press comments and adjust their system of information in accordance with public criticism. The *Statesman* charges the bureaucracy with eighteen hours delay in news of the raids. This is ridiculous from any consideration. From the point of view of public morale, it is devastating that the public of an area should read of a raid personally experienced, in the newspapers two days after its occurrence. From the point of that bugbear of the pressman and delight of the official, “information useful to the enemy,” Indians have had three years to study the reactions of raiders and raided from a dispassionate and fairly safe position. If one thing stands out clear, it is that the raiding party has always an exaggerated idea of the damage he has done which silence on the other side helps to inflate. The first necessity now is internal peace and Government as the political power should set aside all prestige values to secure this end.

MR. JAYAKAR ON NATIONAL EDUCATION

Presiding over the All India Educational Conference at Allahabad, the Right Hon. Mr. M. R. Jayakar defined on broad and liberal lines the conditions which constitute national education. A national system of education can only be established and maintained by an authority which realises that its own stability and prosperity depends on the growth of the sentiment of unity among all classes of the people. In the circumstances of India, those who work for the building up of a national system in any field, must rely solely upon public support and must be prepared even for opposition from the political authority. That, in spite of this drawback, the Indian educational system has been developed into a

powerful nationalist influence is due almost entirely to the inmate genius of English language, literature and history. Less than a quarter of a century since its inception, some of the higher Anglo-Indian hierarchy got alarmed by the effect of English education on the Indian mind and set themselves in various to thwart ways it. But this was no easy task. Lord Curzon's University legislation which, it was feared, would curtail the number and limit the functions of Universities, actually increased their numbers and enlarged their functions. The demand is for more universities. It is a legitimate demand, provided care is taken to define their scope so as not to militate against Indian nationalist ideas. But educational reconstruction should begin from the bottom. John Dewey, the eminent American educational reformer, has condemned in strong terms what he calls “the Primary Education Fetish” consisting of instruction in the three R's during three or four years. The significance attaching to reading and writing as primary and fundamental instruments of culture, he says, has shrunk proportionately as the immanent intellectual life of society has quickened and multiplied. The relegation of the language tyranny to its proper place, will solve one of our most irritating educational problems, arising from the linguistic patriotism of different provincial areas. As the great majority of youth in all countries do not proceed beyond the primary stage, the primary school should aim at training children to observe, think and learn in the everyday environment into which they pass on leaving school. Secondary and higher education can not be reformed without this fundamental reform, as experience has proved amply. The crux of the educational problem everywhere is the finding in adequate numbers of teachers who will regard it as their vocation. More than for universities, we want the highest types of intellect and character for elementary schools. No country can afford the large sums of money needed to pay adequate salaries to such teachers, and, indeed, men of the right type will not be attracted to the profession by high salaries. The village schoolmaster in the old days was proud of his calling and enjoyed the respect of his neighbours as a social worker. The primary school teacher at the present day has in addition to his teaching to do many, almost menial, duties and is often employed to canvas at elections for this or that candidate. At a time of economic stringency the teaching profession is the first to come under the administrative axe. The standard of education can never be raised independently of the standard of the society for which it exists.

THE EDITORS' CONFERENCE.

Mr. K. Srinivasan of the *Hindu*, President of the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference, has released a message to the press declaring that January 6, 1943 will be observed by a complete suspension of newspapers throughout India, and that from January 1, 1943 the resolution enforcing a ban on all Government announcements, notices or declarations will come into operation. Mr. Srinivasan observes that he is reluctantly forced to take this step because the Government has failed to respond to the representations of the press.

The action proposed is not perhaps very sensational; certainly it does not compare, from the spectacular point of view, with the decision to suspend altogether. But what is remarkable is that the Anglo-Indian press—the *Times of India* and the *Statesman*, the two more important out of the four,

were present at the Standing Committee meeting in Bombay—has been associated with the decision. There has been no hustling in this matter. In fact, we understand that a section of the press has felt that there was unnecessary delay over the implementing of the resolution. Now that it has been set in operation, we are confident that no section of the press will break the solidarity which has been achieved with so much patient effort; certainly none can do so without incurring the charge of bad faith. This is not a political issue; it is purely a matter of asserting journalistic rights. The credit for holding the different sections of the Indian press together up to this time, in readiness as it were for such a decision, goes almost wholly to the President. His task has been rendered the more difficult by the fact that in the short and very often stormy period of its brief two years, the Editors' Conference had not developed, what is essential to every organisation, a sense, among any appreciable section of its members, of loyalty to the institution. Now that the issue has been joined, we have every confidence that the Conference will gather strength.

THE HINDU MAHASABHA.

Apart from its rather hectoring tone which, however, is nowadays the accepted tone of public speeches, the presidential address of Mr. V. D. Savarkar at the session of the Hindu Mahasabha held at Cawnpore this week, must command agreement for its main propositions. The most urgent need of the Hindus, as of other communities, is social and economic. But, as Mr. A. O. Hume pointed out many years ago in justification of the predominantly political direction which he and his colleagues gave to the Congress movement, the Indian people must first gain their self-respect by means of self-government before they can be expected to deal with zeal and energy with their social and economic problems. This had become the more urgent since the British Indian system, unlike the Hindu and Muslim systems, involved a progressive encroachment on the social and family life of the people, though professedly such interference was against the policy of the Government. As Sir Narayan Chandavarkar once observed, the British Indian Government, in its tendency to establish itself as the supreme power in this country, had deprived all existing institutions of their vitality and power of initiative. The reform of the political system, therefore, has become urgent because the bureaucratic system holds up all progress. The President of the Hindu Mahasabha denied that the Mahasabha was asking for any special privileges. It only asks that every citizen should have equal rights with every other, that, in the words of the once revered Queen's Proclamation, none should be harmed, none favoured because of his race, creed or colour. That this basic principle of British rule is violated by the system of communal franchise and preferences needs no proof at the present day. The Hindu Mahasabha, in so far as it demands the restoration of equal citizenship as the basis of Government, must command the support of all Indian nationalists. The division of the country into two or more parts according to religious beliefs of the majority, will make this restoration impossible, and, therefore, the Mahasabha, with all who take a non-partisan view of Indian affairs, is strenuously opposed to Pakistan. As regards the War effort, Mr. Savarkar exhorted and indeed insisted on Hindus enlisting in the Army, Navy and Air Force in large numbers, and it is evident from official figures that the Mahasabha's appeal is having effect.

THE HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION.

Twenty-three years ago a Commission was instituted to publish selections from the records of Government, chiefly selections of papers relating to the past history of India. The work of the members is thus that of historiographers and not that of historians. They are to collect materials for the historian and not to write history themselves. This does not mean that the collection of materials is a less responsible task than that of writing history. The historian in large measure will have to work on the materials collected and also the collector can not go far unless he has a general idea of what will be useful and what useless to the historian. No old record, however, is likely to be valueless and even the preservation of records is a valuable public service. Much excellent work has been done in India, under the auspices of some of the Universities, in historical research. It may be said that today we have more facilities for studying the historical trends of Indian history than twenty years before. The one distinct trend which comes out, is that India prospered internally and was safe from external dangers when she had a strong government at the centre and that she suffered in both respects when the provinces became bloated and threw off the authority of the centre. This is the lesson which Indian history enforces from all points of view and at all stages. For the Centre to be strong, it will have to be sufficiently representative of all the progressive elements in the country. Mere armed strength is no strength. Sir Jogendra Singh who presided at a recent conference, called upon the Princes to descend from the spectator's gallery which they are now occupying and take the initiative in bringing about the Federation which, he thought, would solve all or most of our problems. In this invitation every thinking Indian will concur. Only the Princes' intervention will not be of much effect unless they have the backing of their own people. They have already to a large extent neglected to secure this, relying upon treaties and sanads. Their representative in London, the Jam Saheb, is unintentionally doing propaganda which is likely to hurt the Princes more than to help them. We have repeatedly urged that the more enlightened Princes should dissociate themselves from the less enlightened, who are the larger number. By the pretence of all Princes being of one order and one mind, they have antagonised even the section of the Indian people—a large one—who are opposed to the doctrine of the "clean sweep."

THE HINDU EPICS.

"Interested Reader" writes: "In considering the chronology of the Hindu epics, there are two simple facts which are decisive:—The first is that the Rama avatar is prior to the Krishna avatar. Secondly, the Ramayana is mentioned in the Mahabharata but there is no reference to the Mahabharata in the Ramayana. A closer acquaintance with these two Hindu classics would enable writers who feel called upon to discuss reincarnation, to see the doctrine of Karma in better perspective. Fatalism implies a supine acceptance of limitations; Karma is something bigger; it is, to put it briefly, destiny and exertion and that is the message of the heroes and heroines of the Ramayana and Mahabharata. The Karma discussed generally is the fatalism of despair, of the Indian peasant borne down by indebtedness and hopelessness."

SINHA'S KASHMIR.

Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha has laid the increasing number of people who resort to Kashmir for a holiday, under a debt of gratitude by producing a book which supplies all the details of information which a tourist most needs. Dr. Sinha has reinforced his personal observation of the features of Kashmir by references to most of the authorities who have written of the country. The book is especially intended for men who not only have the time but also plenty of money to spare on a holiday. This, of course, is a limited class. About the people, the institutions, social and religious, and the trend of ideas in Kashmir, Dr. Sinha is, perhaps intentionally, reticent. It may be because a very comprehensive account of these is given in the last Administration Report of the State issued some months back. Dr. Sinha's "Kashmir" is published by Ramnarain Lal, 2, Katrak Road, Allahabad and is priced Rs. 2/8. The title of the book, "The Playground of Asia," rather underrates the part which the country has played in the history of Indian civilization and culture. To millions of India, Kashmir partakes of the sanctity which attaches to all Himalayan shrines. To scholars it is the land where Asvagosha flourished. Shankaracharya's sojourn in it seems to be commemorated by the names of certain roads and streets mentioned in Dr. Sinha's book. Kashmir also developed its own school of Shaivism as did South India. But the tourist is a Gallio who cares for none of these things.

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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.

Professor Bhansali's Fast—The news that Professor Bhansali who had undertaken a fast to persuade Government to look into conditions in Chimur, had decided to give up the fast as a result of negotiations carried on Dr. N. B. Khare, was published in the Press on Wednesday. On Thursday details were available which showed that the C. P. Government had consented to allow full freedom of movement to Professor Bhansali and others who wished to visit Chimur; no restrictions to be imposed on comment or news; and that Mr. M. S. Aney had agreed at last to go with Professor Bhansali to Chimur. The press in India had declared a one-day strike on January 6 to protest against Government's order in some provinces banning not only all news or mention of Professor Bhansali but even any reference, even indirect, to the banning order itself. There has been a consistent effort on the part of the few newspapers which did not join in the hartal, to misrepresent the demonstration as a political move. This is only natural since they wish to justify their own failure to protest against a deliberate attack on the press. If the press had sat quiet under an administrative decree which suppressed one category of news and even suppressed the knowledge from the public that news of that category was kept out, then there would have been further inroads on not the freedom, but the very functions, of the newspaper. The *Times of India* in a long rigmarole on its non-conformist attitude, gives as one reason its dislike of political fasts. Even this opinion, whatever its worth, it could only express after the order was withdrawn. Its pious hope that the old relations between Government and the Press will be restored, is one which no one else will believe likely. The old relations are gone and the governments, from the provinces concerned to the Centre, may console themselves with the thought that unconsciously they have rendered the Press in India a distinct service. Next time there is a hartal, the newspaper reader will know what kind of action has provoked the decision. Special thanks are due to the Government of Madras which by the impulsive measures it took to declare itself a Government based on the spoils system, precipitated the crisis and made some climb-down by Government inevitable. We have heard much in recent days of the ineffectiveness of a one-day suspension—not only from those who tried their best to make the suspension ineffective. But no one, among them, has suggested a better method. We have no doubt whatever that

had the press swallowed the Bhansali order, the mentality which inspired it, would have spread from that category to all news unpalatable to the administration, just as it spread from the C. P. to Delhi.

Chimur Communique :—A Government which forbids enquiry into grievances widely felt and expressed, puts itself in a very vulnerable position. The Government of the Central Provinces seems to realise this. Its lengthy statement rejecting totally the allegations made by responsible Indians regarding happenings at Chimur, was a unique document which, with the speeches of Governors of provinces in the last few weeks extolling the Police, provides indispensable material to the future historian of the causes of the decline of the British Empire. Notwithstanding the exuberant faith in the Police and the military, the Central Provinces Government felt it desirable to fortify itself by the findings of a special tribunal and issued another statement pointing out that the latter fully bear out the assumptions of the first statement. The very emphasis of the language used shows that the authorities fear that their reasoning by itself will not convince everybody. They are right. The Governor of the Central Provinces has undertaken a task which Edmund Burke declared was impossible. A Government which speaks of "mass perjury" requires overhauling.

No Inquiry Needed :—From a purely political point of view, the public would be well-advised to abandon the demand for an inquiry, now that the C. P. Government has been so resolute in denying one. In politics, one does not always or even often win the case when one has won one's point. Even an inquiry which confirmed every one of the allegations, would not have produced the effect which the C. P. Government's obduracy has had on the public mind. We are surprised that the lack of foresight shown by the C. P. Governor, should have been repeated at New Delhi where the Government of India seems to find a snug refuge in the cave of "provincial autonomy." That there is still a demand for an inquiry must convince any intelligent person that the demand rests on a genuine feeling of grievance and is not a political stunt. To convince the people that Chimur was clear of any blame is what is needed, not to convince the C. P. Government.

Hallett's Grand Cross :—The item in the New Year Honours which should attract most attention is the G. C. I. E. conferred on the Governor of the United Provinces, Sir Maurice Hallett. This decoration is conferred as a routine procedure on the Governors of the three Presidencies before they leave for India. This and a bodyguard and a band are the relics which distinguish the British public man who comes out as Governor from the Governors chosen from among members of the Indian Civil Service. Its conferment on Sir Maurice Hallett is, therefore, a

sign that his work has received the approval of his superiors in London. Having regard to the consensus of opinion not only among Indians in this country that Sir Maurice has shown himself to be the most reactionary of Civilian Governors, it is a certain indication of the gulf which divides British official values from those cherished by the Indian public. The honour conferred on Sir Maurice can not but be regarded as a calculated slight to the Indian people.

Indian Science Congress :—The thirtieth Indian Science Congress is to be congratulated on its successful session in Calcutta. At the previous Congress twelve months ago the President and the venue of the next session were fixed following the usual practice. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was to preside and the thirtieth Congress was to meet in Lucknow. As the time approached for holding the session, difficulties, due partly to political developments, cropped up. Lucknow, it was found, could not make the necessary arrangements. Other likely University centres were approached without success. In the last resort, Calcutta, which is the principal centre of higher scientific studies in India, gallantly undertook the responsibility. Another difficulty was about the President. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is under detention. It would have been a graceful tribute to Science which knows no politics, to have given him leave to preside over the Congress. This was, perhaps, too much to expect from the present regime. The organisers themselves did not ask for it. They seem to have tried to get the address, which the Pandit was believed to have prepared, to be read at the opening session. This they were not able to do. There was a little scene when the Congress commenced, due to some students demanding that the address of the Pandit, whose portrait they had installed on the platform, should be read. They persisted in their demand, notwithstanding the statement of the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Dr. B. C. Roy, that attempts to get the Pandit's address had failed, and only retired on an assurance that a resolution protesting against the withholding of the Pandit's address would be brought before the Subjects Committee. If Government had really refused to allow the Congress to have the benefit of hearing what the Pandit had to say on Science, it can only be described as an act of melancholy meanness.

British Ministers on India :—The remark which the Prime Minister let slip in his famous statement on India in the House of Commons, that there were more white troops in India today than there has been since the establishment of British rule, let in a flood of light on British policy much more than the rest of the whole long dissertation. Later, Mr. Attlee, then Deputy Minister, gave the House his illuminating exposition that the Hindus, being more dependent on their brains than the Muslim, would be the sufferers by the withdrawal of British rule. Now comes Mr. Herbert Morrison with his profound observation that British Dependencies and Colonies demonstrated their contentment under British rule by not throwing it off when after Dunkirk, Britain was not in a position to assert her authority! To remind him that, so far as India was concerned, it was the declared policy of her leaders not to embarrass Government during the war—Mr. Subhas Bose who did not agree, left the Congress before he left the country—is useless because such a consideration would never occur to a Western statesman. But he will understand the analogy of the solitary prisoner who preferred from sheer habit to remain in it, when the Bastille fell during the French Revolu-

tion and all the other prisoners had joined its ranks. Even he had to leave later when the Bastille ceased to be the great prison-house of France.

Collective Fines in Baroda :—A Baroda Press Note announces that among measures adopted to celebrate the Maharaja's thirty-fifth birthday, is the remission of the collective fines imposed on 14 villages for "being concerned in abetting the commission of acts of sabotage to railways, etc." Although the remission is made as an act of grace, its merit does not suffer from its being also an act of justice. Collective fines are a reversion to medieval methods when the line of demarcation between revenge and justice was not defined. The State in its blind fury hit every one within its reach hoping that some of the blows may fall on the guilty whom it had not the means, even if it had the will, to identify. Collective fines are a confession on the part of authority that it does not enjoy the confidence of the people. The Nazis have levied them in Norway and other occupied countries where large sections of the population are either in open revolt or are sullenly defiant of the invader. We take it that the Maharaja's Government by remitting the collective fines on fourteen villages, also indicate their decision to abandon this relic of barbarism as a measure of justice for all time. The example of Baroda may well be followed in other Indian States.

Origin of Pakistan :—In his Presidential Address to the fifth Political Science Congress at Agra on January 3, Principal Gurumukh Nihal Singh said that the theory of Hindus and Muslims being two nations was the natural and inevitable consequence of accepting religious belief as the basis of the political franchise. *The Reformer* has throughout maintained that not communal representation but the concession of weightages to Muslim and European minorities was the true cause of communal tension. Hindus and Muslims are separate communities. They do not intermarry nor do they eat together. That is a fact which in itself is of no more political significance than the fact the French Canadian are different in race, language and religion from their British compatriots. Even if there were no separate electorates, Muslims, generally speaking, will show a preference for Muslims just as Parsis in Bombay do for Parsi candidates. The same tendency prevails among Hindu castes. Separate electorates make no material difference. It is the concession of weightages to particular communities that is the cause of mischief. But for weightages no community would care to have separate electorates. As for the immediate cause of the Pakistan cry, Principal Gurumukh Nihal Singh's explanation is probably right as representing a psychological process but historically the idea of Pakistan is clearly derived from the Report of the Peel Commission on the Hebrew-Arab dispute in Palestine. The Commission, while recommending the partition of Palestine as the solution of the problem, went out of its way to suggest that the solution of the Hindu-Muslim question in India might be found in a similar process. The Arab opposition to the proposal was supported by Indian public opinion but the Muslim League, while opposing partition in Palestine, started demanding it for India. The idea did not originate in an Indian brain. The idea is typically British. Principal Singh after giving some dozen causes which culminated in Pakistan, had no solution except the hackneyed one of composite Cabinets. The moment you mention this device, new differences arise as to the proportion and portfolios to be assigned to the component units. Pakistan is simply a diversion that has helped Mr. Amery.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, January 16, 1943.

AMERICA AND WORLD PEACE.

A few days before the opening of the new Congress last week, the American Government issued a White Paper narrating events during the ten years, 1931-41, to show that the United States Government has throughout this period worked to promote a peaceful solution of international differences. It is not explained why 1931 was selected as the starting-point. Having regard to historic sequence, 1921 or even 1904, would be more appropriate. It was in 1921 that Britain in response to American pressure denounced the Anglo-Japanese alliance which had been of the greatest use to the British Commonwealth during the last War. Britain realised this mistake and when Japan occupied Manchuria, she declined the American invitation to intervene jointly to check Japanese aggression. The reason given by Mr. Neville Chamberlain was cynically candid. In the narrative of events in the White Paper, there are gaps, such as the attribution solely to French desire for security of the rejection of President Hoover's proposal in 1932 to abandon offensive armaments. M. Litvinov, now Soviet Ambassador in Washington, would have smiled when he read the bland statement in the White Paper. He had moved some drastic amendments based on President Hoover's disarmament proposals. The American Ambassador voted against them and in support of a resolution which rejected them on the ground that "the principle of unanimity in international gatherings was the bulwark of national independence." (Foreign Policy Association Report on the World Disarmament Conference, January 18, 1933). It is rather naive to take credit for a proposal against which America itself voted with Britain and France. The greatest defect in the White Paper, however, is that there is nothing in it to show what America actively did to promote the adjudication of international differences by other means than war. Adjudication means the examination of the legitimate grievances of the parties concerned and the indication of a peaceful way of removing them without injuring their interests or hurting their susceptibilities. A responsible Japanese statesman publicly stated that the suggestion that Japan should declare a Monroe doctrine for Eastern Asia, first came from President Theodore Roosevelt after the Russo-Japanese war. That was, of course, long before 1931 but history is the unfolding of a panorama which had its origin in the distant past and, if Theodore Roosevelt, as President of the United States, had made the suggestion, Franklin Roosevelt should at least explain why he denounces it as an act of aggression.

The passage in the President's Message to the Congress which has arrested attention is that in which he declared that, if Germany, Italy and Japan or any one of them, remained armed at the end of this war or were permitted to re-arm, they would inevitably embark again upon the ambitious career of world conquest. Said the President:

They must be disarmed and kept disarmed and they must abandon the philosophy and teaching of the philosophies which has brought so much suffering to the world. After the first world war, we tried to achieve a formula—a formula for a permanent peace based on a magnificent idealism. We failed. But we, by our failure, have learned that we cannot maintain peace at this state of human development by good intentions alone.

President Roosevelt is perhaps unique in holding that the Treaty of Versailles was based on

magnificent or even modest idealism. By the time that Treaty was finally adopted all the idealism which President Wilson assiduously proclaimed had evaporated. The formula to which the President referred stipulated for concurrent disarmament on the part of the victors and the vanquished. According to the admission of Mr. Lloyd George, the victors had entirely failed to carry out their part. Now President Roosevelt proposes that the United Nations should keep their arms and force Germany, Italy and Japan to give up theirs and to remain disarmed like India. From a purely practical point of view, the wisdom of the President's declaration is more than doubtful. The British point of view which for a brief interval seemed to favour the complete vanquishment of Germany, rapidly veered round to the more human and sensible view that the German people should and can be weaned away from Hitlerism. The British policy now is to stimulate and strengthen the forces of discontent with the totalitarian regime in Germany and Italy. The President's declaration cannot but thwart the efforts to provoke revolt in these countries. It will prolong the war because the President's declaration will convince the Axis people that there is no hope for them but in fighting to the bitter end. As matters stand, the victory of the United Nations seems to be practically assured. But when the victory is won will the United Nations remain united? They must be kept united for the purpose of keeping the three Axis nations, passionately fond of arms, disarmed. Then, again, the President ignores the tremendous possibilities of passive resistance by the conquered peoples. The President's faith is sublime but the sublime is sometimes a near neighbour of the ridiculous. In any case, the presidential declaration will doom India to remain unarmed as she has been for a hundred and fifty years. The Europeanists who will ultimately dominate the post-war settlement, will insist on disarming and keeping disarmed the coloured nations, and China cannot be sure that she will not come under the same ban. There is already talk of isolationism raising its head in the United States. What has once happened may happen again. The United States will wash her hands of responsibility for post-war conditions and retire into her shell. The world will resume the status quo and prepare assiduously for the next war with a different alignment of belligerents. The President's Message is certainly not a message of hope for the future.

THE HINDU MAHASABHA.

"The Hindu Mahasabha," said Dr. Shyam Prasad Mukerji, the Working President of the Hindu Mahasabha, moving the principal resolution at the Cawnpore session, "re-emphasises that it is fundamentally opposed to any constitutional scheme which undermines the integrity of the Indian nation and Indian State which must ever remain one and indivisible, gives sovereign powers to provinces and does not provide for a strong central government." With every word of this declaration we cordially agree. We are particularly pleased with the emphasis laid on a strong central government. Throughout India's long history a strong central government has always ensured her internal prosperity and her security from external aggression. Today we witness the dire consequences of a central government powerless to control the vagaries of headlong provincial satraps. Not only powerless to control them, but obliged to accept for its own policy their wild-cat measures and to force it on other provinces less inclined to go against the recommendations of the central government. A strong central government is not a government strong numerically.

It means a government which has a policy of its own, based on the conditions of the country as a whole and has the will and the strength to enforce it on recalcitrant provincial satraps. Lord Linlithgow himself is a well-meaning man indisposed to interfere with the discretion of his colleagues and subordinates. The Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for India have publicly given a blank cheque to the Civil Service. The representatives of that Service are on the Viceroy's Executive Council and the Governors of the majority of provinces are Civil Servicemen; and between them they are able to impose on the Viceroy and his eleven Indian Councillors whatever policy or measure they think best to adopt in order to put down any opposition to the authority of the bureaucracy. For years there has been no weaker central government in India. A compilation of its ordinances is enough to show the panicky state of mind inspiring them. Some of the ordinances—for instance, the one declaring that currency notes which had a political slogan written on them would cease to be legal tender—betrayed a complete ignorance of the elementary facts of life. We do not know if the ordinance is still in force. This is not the kind of central government which the country wants. It wants a central government which will be strong with the strength of sympathetic understanding of the country's needs and sentiments. The need and importance of such a central government in the interests of all parts of India has been recently emphasised by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore. The Muslim League, and the Congress in its anxiety to propitiate the League, have declared themselves in favour of vesting residual powers in the provinces, which in effect means the emasulation of the central government. The Congress has lost in influence by this act of unthinking subservience and, but for the dramatic action taken against it by Government, this fact would have been more evident than it is.

The Hindu Mahasabha, while recognising clearly the importance of India's integrity and the embodiment of in a strong central government, is not helping the realisation of its object by antagonising other communities or parties. Mr. Savarkar's denunciation of the Congress and the Muslim League does not take us far towards the goal. On the contrary, it creates unnecessary obstacles. We are sure that there are many men in the Congress as well as in the Muslim League who think much like Dr. Shyam Prasad Mukherji on the importance of the unity of India and a strong central government. It is indeed unthinkable how any one with a superficial knowledge of political trends can fail to see that the separatist idea is completely out of date. Countries which have practical experience of working federal constitutions are striving to recast their constitutions so as to strengthen the central government. Minority communities with the solitary exception of the Muslim League party are against the partition of India and for a strong central government. The Anglo-Indians have declared emphatically their opposition to the partition of India. The Indian Christians at a meeting of their central committee held at Nagpur have done the same. Parsis and Sikhs have expressed their attitude in unmistakable terms. Obviously it is the part of statesmanship to rally all these forces under one flag. The Mahasabha has grown in strength and influence under the dynamic leadership of Mr. Savarkar. Even Mr. Rajagopalacharya, who has been dallying with Pakistan, has been obliged to acknowledge that the Mahasabha is now the one party which can by wise action redeem the present situation. He evidently

wants the Mahasabha to modify its opposition to Pakistan as a preliminary to negotiate with the Muslim League. We earnestly trust that Mr. Savarkar and his colleagues will not be lured by the prospect of a small illusory gain into relaxing their hold on the great principle of Indian unity under a strong central government.

The way in which they can help forward national progress is clear. It is to widen the definition of Hindu and throw the Mahasabha open to all Indian communities. The definition of "Hindu" by the Mahasabha now includes all communities following a religion which had its birth in India. They include, besides Hindus of all sects, Sikhs and Jains. Buddhists too are eligible for membership. A Chinese, Ceylonese or Burmese Buddhist will be admitted to the Mahasabha without question. The Rev. Uttama was one of its leading members some years ago. Parsi scholars have been admitted on the ground that Zoroastrianism has close affinities with the Vedic religion. Only Christians and Muslims have no place in the Mahasabha under the present definition of the term "Hindu". Christianity has existed in India longer than any other religion except Hinduism. Christianity is, therefore, an indigenous religion and this historical fact should not be obscured by the prominence of proselytising missions during about a century. Indian Islam, while retaining traces of its Arabic origin, has assimilated many features which mark it out from Islam as practiced in other countries. Several incidents of recent history may be cited to prove that Indian Muslims have special tenets which are foreign to Islam elsewhere. It is an undeniable fact that Indian Muslims have largely retained the impress of the ancient religion to which the great majority of their forefathers belonged in historical times. The word, "Hindu," means an inhabitant of India. There is no such religion as Hinduism. Sir Syed Ahmed and Sir Akbar Hydari both suggested that "Hindu" must be substituted for the word "Indian" which includes Red Indians. In Europe and America all natives of India are known as Hindus. There is thus an overwhelming weight of argument in favour of the Hindu Mahasabha opening wide its doors to all children of India. In this respect, it has an immense advantage over the Muslim League which must ever be confined to the followers of one particular religion. We trust that the suggestion will receive the earnest and favourable consideration of Mr. Savarkar and other leaders of the Mahasabha.

A BANDRA DIARY.

Science means knowledge. The exclusive use of it to mean only knowledge gained by the experimental method is an etymological usurpation. All knowledge comes of experience which is derived not alone or chiefly by the experimental method. The human mind without which there is no knowledge, has its own laws which in its deepest layer are not capable of experimental verification. "Science" tells us only the "how" and not the "why" of things. When Dr. B. C. Roy in his opening address lamented the diversion of scientific discoveries intended originally for the benefit of humanity to its destruction, he missed the central truth which as a Hindu he should not have missed, namely, that preservation and destruction are two aspects of the cosmic process. The American Poet, Whittier, grasped it and gave expression to it in some striking lines:

So wisely taught the Indian seer,
Destroying Seva, forming Brahm,
Who wake by turns Earth's love and fear,
Are one, the same.

The divorce of science from morality, which is what Dr. Roy laments, is the direct result of the artificial distinction which the West has made between the human mind and its physical environment. There is no reason whatever why the Indian scientist, with his ancient heritage, should make the same mistake. Sir Jagdish Bose realised that it was the mission of the Indian scientist to bring Western science in line with Indian intuition. That the path of every aspirant to knowledge is strewn with obstacles is an elementary truth. The aspirant for scientific knowledge is under a constant temptation to use his knowledge for destruction and only a rigorous ethical discipline can help him to withstand such temptation. This is evident in present-day India where our scientists have been enlisted in war effort. Indian scientists should take warning from the example of Japan.

The *Sadhana* is a little monthly published by the Andhra Brahma Sevasram, Cocanada, devoted as its name implies to religious and social topics. In the December number the leading article is devoted to the "Teaching of Jesus Christ." The writer observes in the course of the article: "The Disciples of Jesus, *except Judas Iscariot* (italics are mine) could not understand till the very end the mission and purpose of Jesus—the necessity of his suffering, his death and his resurrection." The name "Judas" has become synonymous with "traitor." The phrase "except Judas Iscariot" suggests that, so far from being a traitor, Judas was the only disciple who understood the real character of the mission of his Master unlike his fellows who did so only after Calvary. This is akin to the view which is presented in the remarkable book "Nazarene" by Sholem Asch, translated by Maurice Samuel from the original Yiddish. The book took nearly thirty years and extensive research involving several journeys to Palestine, to compose. It purports, in the form of a novel, to be a narrative of happenings in Palestine by two men who were themselves actors in the great drama. In the opening sentences we are told:

Not the power to remember, but its very opposite, the power to forget, is a necessary condition of our existence. If the lore of the transmigration of souls is a true one, then these, between their exchange of bodies, must pass through the sea of forgetfulness. According to the Jewish view, we make the transition under the overlordship of the Angel of Forgetfulness. But it sometimes happens that the Angel of Forgetfulness himself forgets to remove from our memories the records of the former world; and then our senses are haunted by fragmentary recollections of another life. They drift like torn clouds above the hills and valleys of the mind, weave themselves into the incidents of our current existence. They assert themselves, clothed with reality, in the form of nightmares which visit our beds.

A more satisfactory and complete theory of transmigration is found in Hindu philosophy and was generally believed to be peculiar to it. That there was a similar theory among the Jews, was a surprise to me and led to my reading "Nazarene" with special interest. The two characters who recount their past experiences, were Cornelius, a subordinate of Pontius Pilate as Captain of the Roman guard in Jerusalem, and Jochanan, a disciple of the Nicodemon who accompanied his Rabbi, when he visited Jesus Christ secretly.

A "Gospel of Judas Iscariot" fills a large part of the book but it stops short at the last scene. But from it, as well as from the story, as told by Jochanan who knew Judas well as he was a frequent visitor of Rabbi Nicodemon. It appears that Judas was himself a very learned man and an implicit believer in the Messiahship of his Master. Judas, indeed, believed in this so completely that he

was impatient at the delay in fulfilling the Messianic destiny and his object was not to betray his Master but to hasten the vindication of his transcendent power. Judas fully believed that heavenly intervention would protect his Master and bring about the downfall of Edon, that is, Rome.

The Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastry in the comments which he made at a Mylapore institution on the suspension of publication for a day last week by the majority of Indian journals, was labouring under a serious misconception. The suspension was not intended as a protest against the refusal of the Central Provinces Government to constitute an independent enquiry into the Chimur complaints. It is no unusual thing for Governments in India to refuse enquiry though this has become rather obstreperous of late. If newspapers suspended publication for that reason they will have to fail to appear for several days in a year. The *Reformer* has all along held the view expressed by Mr. Sastry that suspending publication is a form of non-cooperation about which as a political method it has never felt enthusiastic. In all the fifty-three years of its existence it has never once suspended publication. The immediate cause of the resolution, adopted without dissent by the All India Editors' Conference, was indicated by Mr. Sastry himself. It now went much beyond Freedom of the Press. It affected the personal honour and integrity of men who have adopted journalism as their instrument of public service and disabled them from reacting like human beings to a human appeal.

RECLUSE.

HINDUISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

The January number of the *Prabuddha Bharata*, organ of the Ramakrishna Mission, has an article with the heading "Hinduism of Kerala Christians" by Professor P. J. Thomas. The Syrian Christians, so-called because their Church Services are in the Syrian language, claim that their ancestors were high caste Hindus who were converted by St. Thomas, the Apostle. The community numbers about one million and its most noteworthy characteristic until recently was that it was in close contact with Hindu society. Propagandists who enlarge on Hindu intolerance and persecution may read with profit Professor Thomas' account of the treatment of the Syrians by their Hindu neighbours. The whole article deserves perusal by foreigners who wish to know the truth about India. The Syrians obtained a social status in Kerala which was not below that of caste Hindus. In many an old metropolis of Kerala, writes Professor Thomas, the church even today stands in close proximity to the royal palace and temple and was generally built on ground presented free of tax for all time and perhaps with funds granted by the Hindu rulers. Offerings were often made by leading Hindus to these churches. The concord between Hindus and Christians extended to social as well as religious matters. They participated in each other's festivals. Professor Thomas quotes Mr. K. Chandy's observation "that in popular belief the temple god and the saint in whose name the church was dedicated, were associated together and that certain Christian families received *prasadas* (offerings made to the Deity) from the temple." Even today members of some old families continue to visit temples. The legend about the martyrdom of St. Thomas is evidently invented to give the crown of martyrdom to the Apostle. The Tamils of Mylapore were not different from the people of Kerala in respect for

religious men. If this state of things had continued, Christianity would have become one of the national religions, that is, to say one representing Indian tradition and culture. But it did not. Nevertheless, Professor Thomas says, the question of Hindu-Christian relations is much simpler than the Hindu-Muslim one, but political forces are now tending to make it less simple. The Hindu-Muslim question is not more difficult as the Professor thinks. The same process of assimilation as among Christians had been operating in the case of Muslims also and political forces are tending to obstruct it as in the case of Christians not in Kerala only but all over the country. If the leaders of all the communities decide to oppose the effect of political differences, as they will do when they realise the benefits of cooperation, the problems will need no solution because they will cease to exist.

THE FUTURE OF PRINCES.

Speaking at a luncheon given by the Overseas League in London in honour of the Jam Sahab of Nawanagar, the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, said that the ruling princes of India were essential and indispensable in the life of India. They were not merely museum-pieces, as was sometimes suggested, he added. "They are responsible rulers of territories and their responsibilities are by no means small." Mr. Amery went on to say that the responsibility of the Princes was primarily for the good government of their people "in accordance with such methods as suited the dispositions of their people and in accordance with the spirit of the times." Mr. Amery is under an illusion if he believes that the people of the States have different dispositions from people in British India. They are closely bound to one another by ties of blood, tradition and religion, and they have imbibed the spirit of the times to the same extent and in the same sense as their brethren in British India. Just as the latter are struggling to have their Government made responsible to themselves, the States people also desire to have their rulers responsible to themselves. Their aspirations are the same. By understanding and cooperating with their people, the Princes can make themselves essential and indispensable elements in the life of India. This is being made easier by the fact that British India is progressively declining to, if not below, the level of some Indian States. It is of happy augury that some of the leading Princes are keenly alive to this circumstance. Otherwise, Princes no more than less exalted individuals can claim to be indispensable to the life of a people. The Jam Sahab, we are sorry to see, has in his speeches in England not shown himself in tune with the spirit of the present time or with the ancient Rajput tradition. In his speech at the luncheon, for instance, he said that the Princes will take any form of Central Government but they wanted the British Navy. The British Government themselves want to develop an Indian Navy to relieve them of the responsibility of protecting the route to Australia and incidentally the shores of India. Would the Jam Sahab object to that? His Highness further observed that, if India got independence, a number of other countries will soon put an end to it. Most countries of the world, including Great Britain, are in the same predicament. They are nevertheless struggling to be free. A man or nation who does not wish to be free because freedom may be lost, may as well commit suicide. Character can only grow in freedom and Princes who wish to dwell in constant protection can not develop vitality which is the will, not the mere wish, to live. Russia and China alone can claim that they have defended unaided their freedom.

MR. AMERY AND REUTER.

"Careful Reader" writes:

"In the past few weeks I have seen several references in the *Reformer* to the reply which Mr. Amery was supposed to have made in the House of Commons on the subject of appointment of Indians to the Viceroy's Executive Council. The facts are that Mr. Amery actually said: "There is no question of any particular appointment being held on grounds of race or of the present European members being retained....." Unfortunately, owing to a most regrettable mistake in transmission, for which Reuters have accepted full responsibility, the original version of the reply put out in the Indian press gave the exactly opposite impression. Reuters subsequently issued a correction which, as far as I am aware, appeared in most of the daily newspapers, and it would appear that this escaped your notice for I find in as recent an issue as December 12, the *Reformer* stated in an editorial note that "Mr. Amery told the House of Commons not long ago that there was no Indian who could take charge of the Indian Finance or Home Department....." I trust that this explanation will satisfy you that Mr. Amery was grossly misrepresented."

The *Reformer* made three references to Mr. Amery's estimate of Indians as probable members for these departments. In the very first—October 31—we wrote that "whether we take the original or the corrected version of Mr. Amery's reasons for not appointing Indians, etc., it must be plain to the most obtuse intelligence that Mr. Amery at least has no great opinion of the capacity of the Indian members of the Executive Council, past, present or future." Again on November 7, we remarked that "he (Mr. Amery) had recently refused to give Indians the portfolios of Finance and Home Departments"—a mere statement of fact since Reuters correction did not contain an announcement that Indians or an Indian had been appointed to both or one of these portfolios. The third comment is quoted in the letter. The impression carried away by "Careful Reader" is wrong for the simple reason that his quotation from Reuters correction is incomplete. The message went on ".....merely for the reason suggested by the Hon. Memberbecause of difficulty in finding suitable Indians for the purpose." The use of the word "merely" in this connection does convey the idea that the racial reason is also present. Mr. Amery gave two other reasons: Efficiency and continuity. Neither of them conveys the impression that Mr. Amery meant no reflection on the ability of Indians. The fact that Reuters issued a correction which it prefaced with an admission that it had committed a "most serious error," has misled "Careful Reader" into the assumption that Mr. Amery said nothing derogatory to the ability of Indian members of the Council. The correction really is an amplification of the words "suitable Indians" and like all amplifications it has brought out the implications even more painfully. Reuters extreme penitence is not justified by the trifling difference in the two versions. It is possible that Mr. Amery did not mean what he said but that is a point which only he can settle. So far he has not gone back on his words.

So far as the present Members are concerned, Mr. Amery's feelings are shared by the general public who have, unlike Mr. Amery, not put them there. Nor can we seriously challenge that estimate seeing that Mr. Amery's slight has been accepted by the Members without protest.

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Turkish Journalists in India:—The object of the Government of India in inviting a delegation of Turkish journalists to visit this country at this juncture is not patent. Government must have had some purpose in view. This is not the time for organising goodwill missions. The situation in Turkey is by no means free from danger. In India, too, neither the internal situation nor the risk of danger from outside can be regarded as propitious to receive foreign visitors. The Turkish journalists will appreciate frankness and, to be frank, the position of their country as an ally and neutral at the same time, though it may be well understood by the British Government, is not equally well understood by the Indian public. During recent months, Soviet Russia has had to face a powerful enemy and it has done so to the admiration of the world. When revolutionary Turkey was in just such a predicament, Soviet Russia came forward to help her maintain her achievement. Turkish help or even the prospect of such help would have relieved the Soviet Government appreciably. Then the manner in which the Turkish Republic solved its minority problem, by exchange of populations with Greece, does not appeal to every one as the most humane or effective solution of the minority issue. It is a method alien to Indian tradition. How far the delegation will be in a position to explain matters to the satisfaction of the Indian public which has throughout taken a keen interest in the Kemalist movement, remains to be seen. Indian Muslims favoured at the time a less drastic revision of the Turkish constitution. In this they had the support of a considerable section of non-Muslims in this country. But both Muslims and non-Muslims recognise that the Turkish leaders knew best what the conditions of their country demanded, and have accepted without question the wisdom of the changes which have been introduced in the political and social life of the people. At the same time, there is no ground for the nervousness displayed in certain Muslim circles at the tour programme arranged for the deputation. The Turkish Republic has expressly provided in its constitution for the complete separation of Church from State. Turkey is not now a Muslim State any more than Soviet Russia is a Christian State. The Turkish journalists if, as we believe, they are men with open minds, will not take a partisan attitude on Indian problems, communal or political. Though the present time is not

what one would have chosen to greet the deputation, still as the members are here they will receive a warm welcome from all sections of the population.

Bombay Under Governor's Rule:—A booklet compiled by the Government of Bombay records its principal activities during the three years November 1939-1942, the period during which the province has been without Ministers and has been governed by Sir Roger Lumley with the help of Advisers. At the outset Sir Roger set himself as far as possible to follow the lines initiated by the Kher Cabinet in all important matters. On the whole he has kept to this policy and with good results. Only in the matter of Prohibition has the method followed by Government been unfortunate. The following is quoted from the review:

Though High Court decisions compelled Government to relax the excise restrictions on the possession, sale and consumption of foreign liquor in some areas, the following measures are still in force in the areas in which Prohibition was introduced: country liquor and toddy shops are closed and heavy countervailing duties have been imposed on the import of country liquor and toddy; the rates of increased assessments on sales of foreign liquor continue; licenses for "off" sales of foreign liquor have been granted only to selected licensees, none of whom is in the vicinity of labour areas; foreign liquor licenses have been granted only to approved hotels, clubs and gymkhanas; and the ban on the opening of bars continues.

The Reformer, in commenting on the High Court decisions, pointed out that the assumption underlying them, namely, that the Abkari Act was a purely revenue measure, was not correct and that it has been officially declared over and over again that the Government policy and the aim of the Act was to control consumption through taxation and that the revenue was only an incident of the policy. The Federal Court has since decided that provinces have the right to legislate on lines similar to the Bombay Act. The Bombay Government in the light of the Federal Court decision should have reimposed the restrictions on foreign liquor which it has not done.

Professor Shirras on Indian Reform:—Reuter sends a summary of the concluding lecture of Professor Findlay Shirras, for some years Principal of Gujarat College, to Trans-Atlantic Servicemen in Oxford. The Professor's very first statement is historically incorrect. "Ever since self-government in India became the British policy in 1917," he said, "the divergence of racial and sectional interests had been noticeable." Professor Shirras forgets that it was Lord Curzon's Bengal Partition that fanned into a flame the communal agitation which had been smouldering for many years, and that Lord Minto's decision to make religious belief the basis of the Indian franchise furnished it with fuel for want of which it was rapidly dying out. The Lucknow Pact of the

National Congress confirmed it. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report, while declaring that communal electorates were undemocratic, regretted that the Lucknow Pact stood in the way of their setting aside the communal principle in their proposals. Maulana Mahomed Ali, in his presidential address to the Congress at Cocanada, revealed that the deputation in reply to which Lord Minto made his declaration and of which the Maulana himself was a member, was "a command performance," a fact which finds curious support in Lady Minto's reminiscences. Professor Shirras' second point was that both the Montagu and the Hoare Reform Acts were a mistake, because they were framed in Britain whereas Indian constitutional reforms should be settled in India as the Cripps proposals contemplated. This is a mere quibble. So long as India is governed from London, Indian reforms must necessarily be finally approved in England if they are to come in a legal and peaceful manner. It is only if Britain relinquished her control that there can be an agreed solution as between Indian interests. His third proposition that one party alone can not be invited to form a government, is but a repetition of Mr. Amery's stock excuse. If one party, be it Congress or Muslim League, undertakes to run the show, why not let it try its hand? The responsibility for conciliating the others into cooperation or repressing them into submission, will be that of the party in power. The political centre of gravity of every country is somewhere within its own people and it will discover itself only when the State is not upheld by foreign bayonets.

China and the Post-War World:—Even those European observers who feel and say that, by the attitude of her political parties in not wholeheartedly supporting the war, India has deprived her millions of their rightful voice in post-war reconstruction, do not stop to consider how they are going to deal with the hopes and aspirations of the Chinese who were in the war long before any other nation and are still fighting. If they were familiar with Chinese political thought, they would be glad that they have not to deal with another large mass of four hundred millions, equally complicating the international situation. Reuter reported the other day an American press comment to the effect that China would be the leading nation after the war in Asia. Japan was eliminated by reason of her alliance with the Axis. India was ruled out because she was not yet a free nation. What will China's leadership be? A great deal of light on this point is thrown by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen's "Three Principles of the People" which the Calcutta office of the Chinese Ministry of Information has now made available to the English reading public in India. We recommend all who toy with schemes of reconstruction, to study this volume carefully. Dr. Sun Yat-Sen expressly denies the myth that the Chinese are historically a peaceful people without an imperial tradition. "When China was strongest," he writes, "her political power inspired awe on every side and not a nation south and West of China but considered it an honour to bring her tribute...the only country in Asia that deserved to be called imperialistic was China." There is an illuminating record he has given of an interview he had with the British Ambassador during the last war when Britain wanted Chinese troops to join the Allies. The following extract which we reprint gives his farsighted reply :

Our civilization has advanced two thousand years beyond yours. We are willing to wait for you to progress and catch up with us, but we cannot recede and let you pull us back. Two thousand years ago we discarded imperialism and advocated a policy of peace, and today the thinking of the Chinese people has fully

realized this ideal. You also set up peace as your goal, in the present war. At first we heartily approved, but really you are still fighting, though talking peace; you are talking force, not justice. I consider your characteristic appeal to force as extremely barbarous.. We are opposing China's entry into the war and the sending of troops because we are not willing for China to become an unjust power like you...A real result would be the awakening of the martial spirit in China...Because we hope that China will cherish her moral code of peace for ever, therefore we are not willing to enter this great conflict.

Today we see the defensive nationalism for which Dr. Sun Yat-Sen worked incessantly, in operation in China. Unless the great powers take into account the needs of the Chinese people in a reconstructed world, the defensive spirit will change into aggression there as elsewhere. Nationalism thrives on denials, repression and in opposition. Yet so far little effort has been made to harness the tremendous forces let loose in China to the cause of stable peace.

Perils of Personal Interviews:—It is necessary to say a word of warning with reference to the method of personal interviews as a means of ascertaining the political situation in India. We do not think that the Personal Representative of the President of the United States in New Delhi intends such interviews to be the principal means of studying the Indian situation. The one or two interviews which he has so far had with Indian publicists would have shown that this method is unlikely to lead to any reliable data. The controversy which has arisen over Sir Stafford Cripps' personal interviews furnishes a lurid illustration of the perils of personal talks on public issues. Mr. Phillips is at some disadvantage as compared to Sir Stafford. The latter had been to India before and had met Indians in England and had a background, however, defective, of acquaintance with Indian affairs as an English publicman. Mr. Phillips comes with an open mind that is a blank mind, and the impressions he forms are more likely to be influenced by the personality of individuals than by the trends of Indian historical evolution. Individuals who interview an influential representative of a great Power will naturally try to press their point of view upon him without regard to its intrinsic importance. The safe course for Mr. Phillips is to be guided by the publicly declared policies of important bodies which have acquired by their work a recognised standing in Indian public life.

Food Stocks and Government Control:—The Bombay Government has issued an Order under the Defence of India Rules prohibiting the keeping of more than one month's supplies of rice, wheat, jowar and bajra, the penalty for doing so being three months' imprisonment. The requirements are described as those of household or establishment. Establishment is not defined. It may mean office establishment or household establishment in two or more places in the City and suburbs. There are several difficulties if this is intended to be worked seriously. In the first place no one can say with any precision what is a normal man's consumption, as the quantity varies from man to man. Then again the formalities of invitation to dinners are not very rigorously observed in Indian household, very often the number of persons dining in a particular house being the number present at the dinner time. Mr. Amery in the House of Commons last Thursday expressed his appreciation of the difficulties of tackling the Indian problem and announced that Britain was going to export wheat to India to relieve food shortage! This is a surprising development, that a dependency should have to be supplied by the imperial power with foodstuffs.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, January 23, 1943.

THEN AND NOW.

When the last World War was declared twenty-nine years ago, the Government of India was able to count on the enthusiastic support of the whole country. In the famous telegram which Lord Hardinge, then Viceroy, sent to the Prime Minister, he recounted the numerous ways in which the unanimous desire found expression, of the people and Princes of India to do their utmost to help Britain. The Viceroy reported :

Hundred of telegrams and letters have been received expressing loyalty and the desire to serve Government either in the field or by co-operation in India. Many hundreds have also been received by local administrations. They come from communities, associations, religious, political and social, of all classes and creeds, also from individuals offering their resources or asking for opportunity to prove loyalty by personal service.... The Delhi Medical Association offer the field hospital that was sent to Turkey during the Balkan war, Bengalee students offer enthusiastic services for ambulance corps, and there were many other offers of medical aid.

Of special interest are the last two items. Notwithstanding the special efforts made to enlist the support of the Indian medical profession there is today considerable difficulty in securing a sufficient number of doctors for the Army. At the last War the Indian medical profession volunteered in large numbers for war service. The eagerness of Bengalee students to render service is even more significant. The agitation over the Partition of Bengal had barely subsided when the last war began. Hundreds of students, mostly from Bengal, had been convicted of crimes of violence and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Some had suffered the extreme penalty of the law. The credit for converting these students and making them feel enthusiastic about the cause of the British Empire, belongs to Lord Hardinge. In his opening address to the Legislative Council on the outbreak of the War, Lord Hardinge observed with reference to the sending immediately on the declaration of war of a large expeditionary force to France :

The fact that the Government of India are in a position to help the mother country by the despatch of such a large proportion of our armed forces, is a supreme mark of my absolute confidence in the fidelity of our troops and in the loyalty of the Indian people.

Speaking in the House of Lords three years later, Lord Hardinge repeated with added emphasis this same faith in the Indian people. He said:

It is the fact that for the space of some weeks before the arrival of the Territorials the British garrison in India was reduced to about 15,000 men. The safety of India was thus imperilled in the interests of the Empire as a whole. In such a cause I was naturally prepared to take risks, and I took them confidently because I trusted the people of India, and I am proud to say they fully justified my confidence in them.

What a contrast to the statement of the Prime Minister that there were more White troops in India than at any time since the beginning of British rule and that that was a guarantee of the security of the British position here! Yet the same Mr. Winston Churchill was a member of the British Government when Lord Hardinge depleted India of White soldiers in order to help Britain!

What was the secret of Lord Hardinge's confidence in the people of India and of the people of India in him? It was simply this. Although he was by training a diplomatist, when he came to India he severely eschewed diplomacy in his dealings with the

Indian people. Instinctively the people felt that they had in him a true friend. Gandhiji joined the band of recruiters and worked hard to popularise army service. Let this fact be remembered by those who impute to Gandhiji the responsibility for the disturbances which have followed his arrest along with other Congress leaders.

The contrast between the situation then and now needs no elaboration. The country which rallied then as one man to the cause of the Empire, is today aggrieved, sullen, gravely anxious about the future. Gandhiji, then an admirer of the British Government, has completely lost faith in it. So have large sections of politically-minded Indians. The trust which Lord Hardinge felt in the people and which the people felt in the Viceroy, is totally absent. The bureaucracy lays the blame on the political leaders, particularly Congressmen. What has happened to make these men lose faith in Government? It is idle to linger on past events but, in view of the persistent attempt to blame the people, facts must be stated. The passing of the Rowlatt Act and the Jalianwalla shooting shook public faith to its foundation. The way in which it was sought by high officials to evade the plain meaning of the Declaration of 1917, stands out prominently among the causes which have brought about the present estrangement between Government and the people. It took ten years and thousands of arrests and convictions before Lord Irwin could be got to declare on behalf of the British Government that the Declaration meant and was intended to mean Dominion status for India. In this interval Dominion Status had lost all attraction for Indians as they came to realise that it was not what the population, history, culture and civilisation of India can accept. A Dominion is a small community descended from the same stock as the British and unable without British help to maintain itself as an exclusive unit in a large territory which it sparsely peoples. India wanted to be herself a sovereign State. The Liberals and others did not appreciate this demand for some time. But when the present War broke out and the slogan of Free Nations rent the skies, they too veered round and took up the chorus. Today all parties, except Dr. Ambedkar and the Jam Sahab, are united in the conviction that India can thrive only as a free, sovereign State. The British Government has accepted that demand for implementing at the end of the war. If independence is the right thing and has to be given, there is no point in postponing it until after the war, especially when Indian leaders undertake to make their full contribution to the success of the Allies. But British statesmen are never graceful givers. When the goal is reached, they will get little credit for it. The United States, Russia and China will be acclaimed as the powerful friends who forced Britain to grant what she is pledged to grant.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

The following notice was sent to subscribers on a post-card dated January 6:

There will be no issue of the *Indian Social Reformer* on January 9, 1943. Though the instructions of the President of the All India New-paper Editors' Conference in pursuance of the resolution passed by the Standing Committee, referred specifically to newspapers bearing the date January 6, it was suggested that it will be in accord with the spirit of the resolution if the *Reformer* due this week was dropped to mark its support of the resolution. Hence this announcement.

There was accordingly no issue of the *Reformer* on January 9. The issue of the January 16 is numbered 19 in the current Volume, LIII, that of January 2 being the 18th.

ANGLO-INDIANS' FUTURE.

The *New Leader*, the organ of Madras Roman Catholics, in its issue of January 17 discusses in a leading article the future of Anglo-Indians. This term is now statutorily reserved for persons of mixed parentage whose father or grandfather was a White man. On a rapid review of the endeavours made in the past to settle Anglo-Indians, or Eurasians as they were called, on land in different parts of India, the *New Leader* concludes that Anglo-Indians have no aptitude for agriculture. Some of the experiments were made under the most favourable, almost laboratory, conditions and with influential support; but all of them failed and "failed miserably." A new attempt, the *New Leader* urges, should now be made in a different direction. An Anglo-Indian journal has suggested mass emigration to northern Queensland where there are large parts absolutely undeveloped which, while not suitable for White occupation, are eminently fitted for a community born and bred in India. The *New Leader* disapproves of this plan on the ground that Anglo-Indians are congenitally incapable of making good cultivators as proved by the unbroken failure of Indian experiments. The *New Leader* observes that Anglo-Indians have never been more prosperous than they are today. About 80 per cent have joined the armed forces and are enjoying salaries which in the pre-war days were beyond their wildest dreams. Those who still remain on the railways which have long been their special field of employment, receive considerably increased emoluments. War prosperity, however, is illusory. When the slump comes after the war, as it must inevitably, there will be grave problems for the community. The *New Leader* thinks that Anglo-Indians, while they have no aptitude for agriculture, have a natural bent for mechanical trades. They make excellent technicians. The *New Leader* thinks that in Independent India there will be no scope for them. It, therefore, suggests the allocation of a little state for Anglo-Indians—Anglistan—"a little state bordering the sea where they could live their own lives, maintain their own traditions and cling undisturbed to their own religion and culture." This suggestion the *New Leader* describes as a "demand" for an opportunity to make good by the Anglo-Indian community.

Both the schemes—namely, mass emigration to Queensland and the carving out of an Anglistan on the analogy of Pakistan—are based on the assumption that there will be no future for Anglo-Indians in Independent India. There are no grounds for this assumption. The leaders of the Anglo-Indian community from the time of White to the present-day have stressed the rights and duties of members of the community as natives of India. The late Sir Henry Gidney strongly advised his community of late years to identify itself with Indian interests and so does Mr. Antony, the present President of the Anglo-Indian Association. So far as the rest of the Indian population is concerned, it will make little difference if this small community of about 150,000 men, women and children, migrate to Queensland or remain in their native land. The Anglo-Indian journal which recommends mass migration does not say if it has secured the consent of the Australian Commonwealth to lift the ban on the entry of coloured races in favour of the community. If the colour bar is raised, we should think that the Chinese will have priority as China's gallant defence against Japanese aggression is a major factor in the defence of Australia. Then there is the difficulty pointed out by the *New Leader* of Anglo-Indians

having no aptitude for agricultural pursuits. What Australia badly needs is population to bring waste lands under cultivation. If Anglo-Indians can not do that, there is no more likelihood of their making good in Queensland than there was in the many experimental schemes in India itself catalogued by the *New Leader*. This objection applies equally to the *New Leader's* own scheme of Anglistan. The basic need of every society is food. The means of securing food is agriculture. No profounder truth has been enunciated by sociologists than that the land really belongs to the people who cultivate it, whoever may be the political rulers. If Anglistan has to depend on cultivators imported from abroad for its food and, if it is able to secure labour on what can only be servile terms, it will be a kind of South Africa without the means at the disposal of South Africa to keep down the native Africans. The very number of the community, barely 150,000, is against the possibility of an independent, self-contained state such as Pakistan is postulated to be.

Then there is the fundamental difficulty that the Anglo-Indian community is not a stable, well-defined community like the Jews and the Parsis whom it numerically resemble. Many Indian Christians pass themselves off for Anglo-Indians. The fairer complexioned Anglo-Indians at the other end pass for Europeans. Thus at the top and at the bottom the community is exposed to constant fluctuations. On the other hand, an increasing number of Anglo-Indians—the more thoughtful and responsible among them—favour merging into Indian nationality. We are inclined to think that this central group is in the right and that the future of the community will be best advanced by throwing in its lot with Indians. The fear that there may be no scope for Anglo-Indians in Independent India, is altogether unfounded.

MR. WALCHAND HIRACHAND.

It was Archimedes' arrogant boast that if he were given just enough room to stand outside our Earth and a short length of wood or metal for a lever he would lift her out of her orbit and set her rolling in a different one. It was a bit terrifying to see this repeated minus the lever, on the paper jacket of a volume presented to Mr. Walchand Hiraohand on his sixtieth birthday by members of the staff of his industrial enterprises. On the lips of the ancient philosopher the boast was excusable as due to the ignorance of the constitution of the Universe as known in his day. He, perhaps, thought that, if one could jump a few feet out of and above the earth and maintain himself there for a few hours, he would be in a position to change the course of the earth as a pointsman does that of a railway train. In our day, men fly into the stratosphere almost every day and they have found they must take plenty of oxygen to keep themselves alive there and that, if they climb a few miles higher, they lose consciousness and no amount of oxygen can keep them alive. The saying of the Greek philosopher, therefore, has no point nowadays. As an aphorism summing up Mr. Walchand Hiraohand's career it is positively fulsome. The art of judicious praise is the same as the art of appreciative criticism. Undue praise does more harm to its subject than undeserved blame. The former evokes the jealousy of the gods, the latter calls forth the sympathy of men. There is nothing in this record of Mr. Walchand's enterprises, which are represented as an unbroken series of triumphant successes, to suggest the omnipotence which the compilers of this complimentary volume evidently

believe him to possess. The technique of success in any particular kind of business once learnt, there is nothing extraordinary in its application to new and wider spheres. Figures are given in the volume to show that Mr. Walchand's activities which could be once computed in thousands of rupees, are now to be computed in crores. That proves him to be a successful businessman. But it tells us little of what Mr. Walchand is as a man, which is what people who have no personal interest in Mr. Walchand's business career, would like to know. The little that it does tell, is nevertheless interesting. Mr. Walchand's grandfather emigrated from Dhar in Central India to Sholapur as he found that a petty Indian state in a corner of Gujarat offered no adequate scope for his business of banking. That was ninety years ago. The family religion is Jainism. It became naturalised in the Mahratta country. The women still dress and speak Gujarati but the men have adopted the dress and language of Maharashtra. Mr. Walchand's father was opposed to his son leaving the safe financial business of the family and taking up Government contracts for making roads and bridges, which involved waiting on the favour of officials. But the son persisted and, when the father found that the contracts resulted in profits, he withdrew his opposition. Mr. Walchand passed his Matriculation examination and for a short time studied in the St. Xavier's and Deccan Colleges. He had for fellow-students Sir H. P. Modi, Justice Wasudeo and Sir Byramjee Jeejeebhoy. The editor and compiler has made the most of the material at his disposal. Mr. Walchand is just past sixty. In the many more years, which his friends wish for him, he will no doubt crown his successful business career with services which will diffuse the blessings of health and education among the illiterate and ill-nourished masses of India.

THE FALLING RUPEE.*

Professor C. N. Vakil has demonstrated by means of statistics collected mostly from official sources that the Rupee has been depreciating and is likely to depreciate still more with serious consequences to the economic structure of the country. This has been evident to laymen for several months past and Professor Vakil has supported the general impression with the technique of the expert economist. In *The Reformer* it was more than once pointed out that control measures were bound to fail unless the currency retained its normal value. India is supplying enormous value in materials and services to the Allied nations and, if these were paid for in what Prof. Vakil calls "durable assets" or in gold, the Rupee instead of depreciating should be appreciating. India will then have to pay fewer rupees to discharge her foreign obligations and she will be purchasing her foreign requirements at less cost. What she is now getting is British securities which cannot be disposed in any immediately productive way. In all transactions between India and Britain, terms favourable to Britain and unfavourable to India have been invariably preferred. Britain, for reasons the validity of which it is unnecessary to investigate at present, felt justified in forgiving herself the war debt she owed the United States. According to the Lord's Prayer, one whose debts are forgiven, should forgive the debts owed to him by his own debtors. In the case of India, Britain has not followed this precept. Not one copper piece has been forgiven us in consideration of India's services and contributions during the last war which, according to the official publication, were pro-

portionately larger than those of the Dominions. Prof. Vakil has shown that the rise of prices in India is higher than in the United Kingdom and the United States and that the price control in India has been ineffective—a fact admitted publicly by the Commerce Member of the Government of India—and that it can not be effective so long as the present financial policy leading to inflation which is in operation, is persisted in. Prof. Vakil calls attention to the paradox that, while taxation has increased considerably and loans have been raised, the public debt has slightly decreased. This he deduces from the fact that the additional rupee debt is less than the reduction of the amount of sterling debt. This appears to be due to response to the Rupee loans raised to replace the repatriated sterling loans not being adequate, and the consequent considerable increase in the issue of Treasury Bills. Prof. Vakil thinks that there was really no need to raise the Rupee loans to replace the repatriated sterling debt, and that they were really needed to meet revenue deficits. If this process continues not much benefit will accrue to India from ceasing to be a debtor country.

LEO TOLSTOI OR KARL MARX?

Speaking at the inauguration at the British Broadcasting Corporation of the serial filmed version of Tolstoi's "War and Peace," M. Maisky, the Soviet Ambassador in London, said that, while Tolstoi's philosophy did not appeal to the Russian people, they admired and were proud of him as a literary genius. Tolstoi's literary genius was dedicated to the service of his philosophy. "War and Peace" itself is a magnificent exposition of Tolstoi's philosophy enforced and illuminated by his experience of actual conditions in War and its consequences. Tolstoi was the outcropping of Russian genius from the very depths of the Russian soul. To reject his philosophy and to admire him as a literary artist is like rejecting the Sermon on the Mount and admiring the excellence of the doors and lintels which Jesus Christ wrought in the years when he helped his father, Joseph, at the carpenter's workshop. Tolstoi, however, thought and wrote not for Russia only but for the whole world. His rejection by the Russian people only confirms the old experience that a prophet is not honoured in his own country. Instead of the philosophy of Tolstoi, their fellow country-man, the inheritor of Slavonic idealism, the people of Russia have accepted the materialistic philosophy of Karl Marx, the German Jew. The Nazi invasion is in a sense the continuation of the conquest intellectually of Russia by Karl Marx. Russia may find, she is already finding, that she cannot throw back the Nazi invader without discarding the Communist philosophy. Lenin himself discovered that the Bolshevik revolution was the Tsarist regime with a little Soviet oil. The splendid success which has attended the Russian resistance to Nazi aggression, will not be assured of its full fruition unless the Russian people accept and act upon the philosophy of Tolstoi who was, their own flesh and blood in preference to the alien philosophy of Karl Marx who combined in himself the failings of two of the most stiff-necked races on earth. M. Maisky's view that the Russians did not take to Tolstoi's philosophy, is temporarily true. Ultimately and after wandering in the Marxism wilderness, they will seek peace and security, where alone, they can find them in the philosophy of their own race. Marxism has already got much diluted in its application in Russia. Its essential international class war has been openly abandoned. At the end of the war, Russia will co-operate with Great Britain and

* (New Book Co., Bombay Price Rs. 1-4-0).

the United States in evolving an economic system which combines the benefits and rejects the excesses of Capitalism as well as Communism. In this achievement, the philosophy of Tolstoi will be found to be of more essential service than that of Karl Marx.

A BANDRA DIARY.

The Mahabodhi Society of India at its fiftieth annual general meeting unanimously elected Dr. Shyam Prasad Mukherji, President, in the place of the late Sir Manmathanath Mukherji who succeeded Sir Asutosh Mukherji in 1924 and continued in the office until his death two months back. Dr. C. J. Paq, Consul-General for China and Vice-President of the Society, presided at the general meeting and Mr. Raja Rewa Hewavitarne, Member of the Ceylon State Council, seconded the condolence resolution on the death of Sir Manmathanath Mukherji at the emergency meeting which was held on the same day under the new President. The fact that all three, Sir Asutosh, Sir Manmathanath and Dr. Shyam Prasad, are orthodox Hindus has a special significance. Foreigners think that Buddhism was expelled from or extinguished in the land of its birth. I remember Mr. Leonard Schiff telling me two years ago that Christianity was Judaism meant for export just as Buddhism was Hinduism meant for export. The comparison, superficially correct, is radically wrong. Buddhism has remained in India, absorbed in Hinduism. The Buddha is the tenth incarnation of Vishnu. Post-Buddhist Hinduism was Buddhism plus Brahma at the heart of the universe. Nirvana of Buddhism was Brahma-Nirvana of Hinduism. Shankaracharya was greatly influenced by Buddhist doctrines and Gaudapada, the teacher of Shankara's teacher, has been described by modern Indian authorities as one who, if he was not actually a Buddhist, was profoundly influenced by Buddhist doctrines. There is, therefore, nothing strange in Hindus taking the lead in the Buddhist renaissance which has been in process for the last twenty years and more. The late Dr. A. L. Nair was an ardent Buddhist. He founded the Bombay Buddha Society and built the splendid Vihara in Lamington Road which is a haven of peace in this bustling commercial metropolis. The question is often asked, Will there be a revival of Buddhism in the land of its birth? As observed above, Buddhism never died out in India and it is, therefore, absurd to speak of its revival. Nevertheless it is true that there is a growing interest in the personality of the Sakyamuni as the first and greatest Teacher of a world philosophy.

Though truths in manhood darkly join,
Deep seated in our mystic frame,
We yield all blessing to the name
Of him that made them current coin.

Buddha demonstrated the abstruse truths of Hindu philosophy in his own life and character. He clothed them with flesh and blood. He was the embodiment of the attributes of a *stotrapragmny* (harmonised personality) set forth at length in the Bhagvad Gita.

The October number of the *Adyar Library Bulletin* is a Besant number. It reprints extracts from a lecture delivered by Dr. Besant at the Madras Presidency College in November 1914, on "Relativity of Hindu Ethics." Dr. Besant likened the four stages prescribed for a Hindu's life to the four castes. The student stage when he has to serve and learn, corresponded to the Sudra caste. The householder's life corresponded to the Vaisya caste. "All other orders depend on him;

he is the wisest of this world." The hermit stage had its counterpart in the Kshatriya caste. The last, Sanyasi, stage was the Brahmin. The parallel is by no means obvious especially for the hermit and the sanyasi. Dr. Besant explains the resemblance to consist in the fact that Kshatriyas and Brahmins, like the hermit and the sanyasin, have no rights—they have only duties. "I saw Mr. Asquith used my favourite phrase the other day," she said, "that the weak have rights; the strong have only duties. There is a great truth in that phrase. The Sanyasin (and the Brahmin) has no rights. He has renounced them all. He has given up every claim; he has taken up service as his one duty." The revival of this Brahmanical ideal in all its purity and strength is the only way of emancipating India and bringing peace to mankind. Dr. Besant called the four-fold system the most perfect system that had ever been given to a nation in a religion. Other European authorities including the eminent sociologist, Patrick Geddes, have expressed themselves similarly. The four stages, however, are not separated by iron walls as the four castes have come to be. A man may be a public man, said Dr. Besant, and yet be a sanyasin. The Gita says that, whoever does his duty without attachment to its fruit, is a sanyasin, not he who gives up the sacrificial fire and religious rites. Not only a public man but a soldier, a merchant and even a mendicant can be a sanyasin if he does his work in a spirit of disinterestedness, as unto God, not as unto men. The Gita clinches the whole matter by declaring that Work is Worship. Dr. Besant concluded her lecture by avowing that, "after a study of the great religions of the world some forty years and more," she found "none so perfect, none so scientific, none so philosophical and none so spiritual as the great religion known by the name of Hinduism." The future of India, she told the young students whom she was addressing, depended upon their understanding and cherishing in its pristine purity the ancient religion which they inherited.

In the last issue of the *Dnyanodaya*, there is an editorial headed, "The Bible Proved by Archaeology." From the contents of the editorial, it appears that what the writer meant was that some of the legends of the old Testament have been confirmed by archaeological research. Archaeology not only in Palestine but in India as elsewhere has established the reliability of tradition to a greater extent than literary records as sources of history. Wilcox showed that the tradition of the Red Sea having parted to let Moses and his compatriots cross over to Palestine was a figurative account of a temporary drying up of a part of the Red Sea due to a volcanic eruption. Other Old Testament legends such as the fall of Jericho have been similarly confirmed by traces discovered by archaeologists on excavating the sites. In India from ancient times, the importance of tradition in the interpretation of the Scriptures was recognised. European Orientalists relying mainly on written material have fallen into grave errors. The tide turned some years ago when excavations in different parts of the country brought to light evidences which confirmed tradition. Writings may be forged. But traditions can not be faked by the most despotic ruler. All traditions, however, cannot be unearthed from underground. For instance, the legend of the Prophet Jonah having sojourned in the body of a whale, could not be verified by evidence derived by excavation. Only superficial critics, however, will dismiss offhand such legends as idle inventions. The ancients were too fully occupied with the routine of their daily lives to have had the time or inclination for indulging in imaginative flights. Here the research worker has to

adopt another method. The legend embodies a true story in figurative language, the key to which must and can be found only in tradition. It is preposterous to assume that the ancients deliberately falsified history in order to mislead their descendants. Their sole object in making records—no easy or profitable occupation in their time—was to hand down inspirations and experiences which had been helpful to them and may be helpful to posterity. The modern scholar approaches ancient legends in a very different spirit from that of the mid-Victorian exponents of the Higher Criticism. He approaches antiquity, whether of his own race or those of others, in a spirit of reverence.

RECLUSE,

THE FOOD SITUATION.

The cry from almost every part of the country is scarcity of food grains and small coins. Food riots are reported from some places. His Excellency the Governor of Bombay broadcast on his return from a visit to New Delhi a short statement on the result of his representations to the Viceroy and the Government of India on relief for Bombay City and Province. The utmost he could say was that, except as regards wheat, the City and Province might feel assured of adequate supplies until well into April provided the promises made by other provinces are fulfilled. Rather a big proviso seeing that the shortage of food stuffs prevails in nearly all parts of the country. After April, Sir Roger Lumley said, the situation will be determined by the Government of India. His Excellency stated that it is intended to introduce rationing in all the large towns of the province as soon as the information needed is collected and the machinery for administration is got ready. Meanwhile detection and prosecution of persons who hold back stocks are being vigorously pursued.

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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.

Casablanca Decisions:—Long messages have been published this week containing descriptive and appreciative accounts of the ten days' conference at Casablanca in French Morocco between President Roosevelt and Premier Churchill who had flown to the place with large staffs of political, military, naval and air experts. Stress is laid on the meeting being unconventional. M. Stalin was invited but could not attend owing to his preoccupation with the war in his country. Russian opinion has of late expressed itself strongly on the failure of the Allies to open a second front in Europe and M. Stalin might have thought it wise to let Britain and America settle their plans without his presence. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek was also invited and he too excused himself on similar grounds. That the absence of the two leaders has not been without effect, is shown by the fact that in the communique issued prominence is given to Anglo-American resolve to create a diversion of the Nazi assault in Russia by operations against the Nazis at vital points and to send munitions to China to help her throw off Japanese aggression. A concrete result of the conference was the reconciliation between De Gaulle and Giraud which they ratified by shaking hands in the presence of the President and the Premier. The differences between the two French Generals seriously interfered with the operations in North Africa. The reconciliation should facilitate them. Anything which brings the end of the war closer even by a single day, is welcome and though previous experience warns us not to build too great hopes on "historic" meetings and "momentous" decisions, the aspect of the war as it appears today on the Russian and African fronts encourages the hope that the Casablanca meeting may have more gratifying results. General Rommel's army has been retreating for days and has retreated into Tunisia. In Russia the long siege of Leningrad has been raised; in Stalingrad and the Caucasus the Nazis have had severe reverses amounting almost to a rout. We have had little news from China of late, which may be taken to be good news. The British Indian Army has gained a foothold in Arakan. There is a lull in the bombing attacks on Bengal and Assam. Altogether, the situation has never been so much in favour of the Allies during the four years of war.

President Explains:—The Casablanca Conference resolved that the war should be carried on until the Axis Powers surrender unconditionally. The

President, indeed, suggested that the Casablanca meeting should be known as the "Unconditional Surrender Meeting." Doubts are felt whether the President's declaration that the Axis Powers would be disarmed and would be kept disarmed, might not lead to the undue prolongation of the war by driving the people to despair. President Roosevelt explained at Casablanca that unconditional surrender did not mean the destruction of the Axis countries and populations but the destruction of their philosophy of hate and fear and subjugation of their peoples. A philosophy can not be destroyed by force. A philosophy of hate can be conquered only by a philosophy of love. In order to achieve this, the Allied Powers should each in his own sphere exhibit love in dealings with those over whom he holds sway. If this is not done, if precept is not followed by practice, no impression can be produced on the hateful philosophy. The Indian people, to take one instance, should be convinced that the policy which one of the two important Allies follows in their affairs is based on love. Hitler will readily agree that the first duty of a government is to govern. It fits in well with his philosophy. Something more and something better should inspire a policy which aims at the destruction of the philosophy of hate and at the extension to all humanity of the philosophy of love.

Prohibition in Bombay:—We referred last week to the pronouncement of the Federal Court on the powers of a provincial legislature to enact Prohibition. The Bombay Act was not before the Court but a reference to it occurs in the judgment. It reads thus:

Both the Bombay and Patna High Courts seem to have been a good deal influenced by the view that the Acts they were considering were exclusively excise or revenue Acts and that nothing was to be found in them indicating the intention of the Legislature that they were to be, or could be, used for the purpose of a policy of total or partial prohibition..... There is no reason in theory or principle why an Excise Act should not have a double object, the benefit of the revenue and the improvement of public health or morals by a greater control of the liquor trade; the Licensing Acts in England are an example.

When the Bombay judgments were delivered, there was a talk of the likelihood of an appeal by Government to the Federal Court. The Government did not appeal. Instead, under the Governor's powers, an amending Act was passed exempting foreign liquor from the provisions of the Prohibition Act. Even after the Federal Court had declared the Behar Act, and by implication, the original Bombay Act, valid, the Bombay Government has not reimposed the restrictions on foreign liquor. This raises the important question how far the pronouncement of the Federal Court is binding on provincial Governments except when they are parties to a suit. The manifold confusions caused by the Government of India Act of 1935 severing all links between the provinces, are

daily making themselves felt. If the Bombay Government did not feel they were bound by the Federal Court's expression of opinion, they, if they were in earnest about following the policy of the original Act, should have made a reference to the Federal Court and got its decision on the Bombay Act. That the Bombay Government neither changed its amendment nor referred the matter to the Federal Court, can only mean that they were not anxious to have Prohibition applied to foreign liquor. We have daily complaints of the increase of drunkenness in Bombay and the responsibility must be accepted for it by the authorities concerned.

Contempt of Court :—Contempt of Court cases have been noticeably on the increase in the last few years. Either journalists have become less careful in their comments on judicial proceedings or judges have become excessively sensitive to Press comments on their proceedings. While both these causes might have contributed to the increase, it is also possible that the selection of judges has also had some part in it. The practice of nominating temporary judges to cope with arrears of litigation is bad in principle. Equally bad is the temporary withdrawal of permanent judges from judicial functions for committees and deputations by the Executive Government. The Press reflects public opinion. Journalists fully appreciate the importance of maintaining the independence and impartiality of the judiciary which has its closest analogy in the independence of their own profession. No law of contempt protects them from undeserved reflections from officials and others in authority. Nevertheless they manage to maintain their independence. Eminent judges, both in Britain and India, have held that the law of contempt should not be invoked except in extreme circumstances and that the status of judges should of itself be sufficient to protect them in the discharge of their responsible function—the most responsible in the state.

Mr. Jinnah's Outburst :—In a speech in which he declared his adherence to Pakistan, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, denounced Lord Linlithgow and Mr. Amery for referring even vaguely to the unity of India. Using a phrase first coined by Sir Stafford Cripps, Mr. Jinnah obliquely regretted the freedom allowed to "the Hindu Press." His specific grievance was that the press had not supported his policy. This is an old story and most political parties in the country have at various times felt that the press in India was not using the freedom, or whatever semblance of it it might have won from the Government, to further their ends. The frequent vehemence of language used in giving expression to this natural disappointment on the part of politicians has not infrequently led to grave doubts on the part of the press of the oft-repeated assertion by national leaders that the advent of national freedom would usher in the journalist's paradise. Mr. Jinnah's reference to the press being free, coupled with his enthusiastic support of the arrest of Congress leaders, gives a foretaste of things to come if he assumes control. A good part of a politician's tirade has to be written off as necessary steam to carry him forward but it would be unwise to ignore the obvious implications of such pronouncements.

Wheat from Australia :—An explanation of Mr. Amery's promise to send wheat from Britain for the relief of India comes from Australia. It was stated by an Australian publicist that, if shipping was available, Australian wheat could be sent to India. The Commonwealth Government, we were told, would be most willing to give help to India

as this would be a very valuable market for Australia. We can understand the Australian attitude because, after all, national interest are paramount in any government anywhere. What is difficult to appreciate is the policy pursued by the Government of India which puts into the shade all other historic examples of altruism. We were told, some two weeks ago, that it was true that Indian grains were shipped overseas but it was added that the amount sent out was negligible and that it would in no way have served the needs of the Indian people in the present difficult days. Then it was announced that supplies were coming in from Australia and that considerable relief would be obtained from this source. For some strange reason, the Government of India in this matter fights extremely shy of publishing figures. We may not be consulted before the event—for military necessity and the other paraphernalia of wartime diplomacy make secrecy a useful plea—but at least the public would like to know at what price Indian grains were bought here for export abroad and how much we have to pay for Australia's wheat.

Ceylon-India Tangle :—The action of the Ceylon State Council in passing by an overwhelming majority two resolutions regarding the introduction of labour from India and the import of rice for feeding the population, smacks not a little of trickery. For nearly a year the Ceylon representative, Sir Baron Jayatilaka, has been assuring the Indian public of the friendship and goodwill of Ceylon in order to get the Government of India to allow the export of rice to his country. He has succeeded in securing his object not because the Government or people of India believed in his professions but because they felt that India's interest in Ceylon as a part of itself required that the Ceylonese should not be allowed to starve. Sir Baron has latterly been negotiating for labour from India. This stands on an entirely different footing. No civilised country will send unskilled labour to another country. It is a bargain in flesh and blood, in human lives, and is derogatory to national honour. Promises of equal citizenship are of no use. In South Africa and elsewhere they have been flagrantly violated. In Ceylon itself just before the outbreak of war the anti-Indian policy of the Government forced the ever subservient Government of India to ban emigration of unskilled labour though at the time it meant a great loss of income to needy workers. At the present time Indian labour is fully employed in war efforts and there is no need for it to seek outlets in other countries. There is a rumour that the Government of India have acceded also to this demand of Sir Baron under pressure from the British Government. Having secured the two urgent needs, the State Council now adopts a pompous attitude in keeping with its prewar attitude. This is nothing but trickery, and a low kind of trickery at that.

Violence and Non-Violence :—The Reformer has deprecated from time to time the thoughtless denunciation of Non-Violence by advocates of India's participation in war as being calculated to let loose the forces of anarchic violence which had been brought under control mainly by Gandhiji's propaganda. The expected has happened. The detention of Gandhiji which has now lasted for six months has left the field free to the anarchists who believe in arson, pillage and murder as the time-honoured method of securing national freedom. In passing we may note that the Reformer's view that the assassination of Admiral Darlan would not solve the French deadlock has been confirmed by subsequent events. In India some of those who a few months ago were denouncing non-violence are now proclaiming that violence will not lead to national freedom.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, January 30, 1943.

EASTERN ASIA AFTER THE WAR.

The American quarterly review, *Foreign Affairs*, for October has two articles bearing on the future of Eastern Asia. Mr. S. R. Chow who occupies a high position in academic and political China, writes on "The Pacific After the War." N. Van Kleffens, Foreign Minister of the Netherlands since July 1939, follows him with a paper on "The Democratic Future of the Netherlands Indies." India does not come directly in either of the contributions. Mr. Chow passes it by with a casual reference. Mr. Kleffens does not mention India at all; nevertheless his article has considerable interest for Indians. The Pacific countries are Japan, China, Burma, Malaya, Netherlands Indies, the Philippines; and Japan, Mr. Chow says, must be disarmed after her defeat in the war. China's relations with foreign powers will have to be readjusted at the same time. The unequal treaties which China had been obliged to enter into with these powers should be abrogated. This has already been done. Korea with her 22 millions should be constituted into a separated and independent State. Mr. Chow next touches lightly on "the most urgent case of India." He quotes Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek's hope and belief "that Britain, without waiting for any demand on the part of the people of India, will, as speedily as possible, give them real political power so that they they be in a position to further develop their political and spiritual strength." Mr. Chow dismisses India after referring in a non-committal way to Britain's contingent assurance that India will have political freedom when all the Indian leaders get together and devise a scheme which would be satisfactory to all of them. Indo-China which claims Mr. Chow's attention next, should "be guaranteed good government and should be given a fair chance to prepare themselves for self-government." She should not be restored to the French, not under pre-war conditions. Malaya and Netherlands Indies come under a different category. "One must admit," observes Mr. Chow, "that, with the exception of India, hardly any of them has reached a stage of political maturity which would ensure a successful exercise of immediate freedom." He adds:

It is pretty well agreed that the subject people of the Pacific region should not be returned to the position they occupied before the war. Yet it would be premature and even dangerous to leave them to themselves immediately after the war in a region where international relations as well as racial problems are so complicated. To do this might create chaos instead of order.

Mr. Chow's suggestion for the subject peoples in the Pacific region is that they should be subjected to a period of tutelage either under an international commission or under a colonial or mandatory power which should follow a policy similar to that of the United States in the Philippines. Mr. Chow dismisses the suggestion of a federation of the Pacific nations as impracticable. After several pages of discussion of principles, it is disappointing to find that Mr. Chow thinks that "as a matter of fact, responsibility for the administration of the large colonies and dependencies will probably be resumed by the original ruling Powers, except perhaps in the case of Indo-China." The Mandate for Indo-China, if the system is adopted, should, he claims, go to China. Mr. Chow concludes with a constructive suggestion or what he intends to be one: A Pacific Association

with an International Secretariat and an International Force to enforce its authority. Will this function more effectively than the League of Nations?

The Dutch Foreign Minister's article is a special plea on behalf of the Netherlands Indies to be left under Dutch control. The heading of the article is intended to suggest that that would be the best way of ensuring democratic government in that former Dutch dependency. As a matter of fact, Mr. Kleffens' faith in democracy is not very profound. After dwelling on the difficulty of applying democratic principles to people varying in race and culture, Mr. Kleffens indicts western democracy itself as being more or less a fraud. He writes:

Let us remember also that our own conception of democracy is undergoing a searching test, a severe crisis. The nineteenth century ideal to which we tenaciously cling, that of government by the people, for the people, has in practice become a form of government in which the rights and liberties of the citizen are in grave danger of being pulverized between the enormous mill-stones—party machine, organized capital, organized labour. In this form of government, too, the man in the street now regards himself as a more or less skilled worker rather than as a co-director of policy.

The lines of Mr. Kleffens' claim to have the Netherlands Indies left restored to the Netherlands, are more or less identical with Mr. Amery's plea for retaining India under British tutelage until all its leaders agree upon a single plan which is acceptable to him. But, while the British pledge to India is for ultimate independence within or without the Commonwealth, Mr. Kleffens' idea is what we should call "Closer Union." Since the beginning of this century, Netherlands Indies is one of the four component parts, equal in constitutional rank, of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The people have the same rights as the Dutch. Recently a prominent Javanese became a member of the central government in the Netherlands Kingdom. After setting forth in painful detail the differences in race, culture and language among the people of Netherlands Indies, and the difficulty, almost impossibility, of uniting them, Mr. Kleffens gravely declares that the Dutch "far from following a policy of 'divide and rule' like that now applied by the Japanese, assiduously fostered the sense of political cohesion among all the numerous and various cultural and economic groups in the islands." Mr. Kleffens frankly admits that, until the beginning of this century, Dutch rule in the Netherlands Indies was "primarily for the benefit of foreign elements." In 1900 a new and beneficial policy was adopted of development of the country for its own sake and in the interests of the native population. The result of this new policy has not been very different. The income per head of the population of the Netherlands Indies is the lowest in the world except for India.

THE FALLACY OF COMPROMISE.

One of the distressing features of Indian public life at the present time is the facile acceptance of the fallacy which has been proclaimed, as if it were an eternal verity, namely, "compromise is the soul of politics." This maxim fits in well with the interests of the British nation, many of which can not be justified on the ground of principle. But for a country situated as is India, adherence to principle is more essential than compromise. Compromise implies that two parties who want to make a bargain, have each something to give. There can be no compromise when one party has everything and the other party has nothing. Britain is in the position of the former, India in the position of the latter.

All analogies are only partially true and the analogy of India's relation to Britain as that of a slave to a master, is an exaggeration. But for argument's sake we may use the analogy. Slavery is a status which does not depend on the weight of the chains wherewith the slave is bound. It is only galley slaves in ancient Rome who were chained to their oars. Other slaves had the freedom of their limbs without which they could be of no use to their masters. It would be no compromise but complete surrender of his right to freedom, if the slave negotiated with his master to reduce the weight of his chains or the hours when he wore them. *The Reformer* has never accepted the doctrine of compromise being the soul of anything. The idea of compromise is the negation of soul. It is quite true that reforms take time to permeate society and for a considerable time the reformer has to be content to see his ideas progressing slowly. But all the time he must press forward with his principle. One who is content with half a loaf will never get a whole bread. British statesmen who are always preaching the gospel of compromise, seldom practice it where their own interests are concerned. "Nail your flag to the mast," is the motto which they adopt when they are fighting for something which they really value. That is the motto which India must adopt in her struggle for freedom.

The Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastry spoke in Madras on Sunday on the Hindu-Muslim question. He thought that the question should be settled by a compromise between the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha. On the same day speaking at a meeting in Bombay, Mr. Jinnah declared that the key to the solution of the question was in the hands of Gandhiji. When Babu Rajendra Prasad, presumably at Gandhiji's instance, offered a settlement some years ago, Mr. Jinnah wanted that the Mahasabha should endorse it. So far as the central issue is concerned, the Congress and the Mahasabha are in the same position. They are opposed to Pakistan. So happily is Mr. Sastry. On the other side, Mr. Jinnah who is the Muslim League for the time being, is set upon Pakistan as the only hope of salvation for Indian Muslims. Where is the room for compromise between these two extremes? We agree with Mr. Sastry that the position of the Congress, as distinguished from that of Gandhiji, has been weakened by the condition that residual powers should rest with the provinces, which was embodied in the last resolution on Indian Federation. We also agree with him that the Lucknow Pact of 1916 negotiated by Lokamanya Tilak gave away the whole case against communal electorates with weightages. We also agree with Mr. Sastry in his condemnation of coalition cabinets. These commitments of the Congress have certainly increased the difficulties in the way of countering attacks on the unity of India. Mr. Sastry thinks that, therefore, there is no use talking of one man one vote as Mr. Savarkar did in his address at the last Mahasabha Session. On the contrary, that is, to our mind, the more reason why the invidious distinction made between voters of different religions should be made the main target of our political efforts. *The Reformer* has again and again declared that not communal electorates but weightages are the root cause of the failure of the constitutional reforms both of 1919 and 1935. The Muslim League and the Congress are both committed, for their own reasons, to the weightage principle. Therefore, we cannot expect either of them to help the country in throwing off this incubus. The Hindu Mahasabha has always stood against weightages. It has never asked for any weightage for Hindus. Mr. Sastry's mind seems to run on a further

concession of weightages as a means of conciliating the Muslim League. That method has been tried and has hopelessly failed. It is a wrong method. Even in politics there is right and wrong. It is not respectful to our Muslim fellows to assume that they are unable to distinguish between the two and should be humoured by concessions even though they are altogether wrong in principle. The body politic like the body physical has its own resources for overcoming disease. Even in cases of deadly plague many patients get cured without any medical aid. It will be wise to let the Hindu-Muslim solve itself.

Mr. Sastry was less than just to the Mahasabha when he suggested that it had espoused the cause of Indian unity because the Muslim League has raised the cry of Pakistan. The creation of "an Indian Ulster" was never suggested by any one as a solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem before the Muslim League, following the inspiration of the Palestine Royal Commission's *obiter dictum*, adopted a resolution three years ago making it the main plank in its platform. But the difficulty of the Mahasabha, as we pointed out last week, is that the definition of a Hindu in its constitution is too narrow and does not include Muslims and Christians. If this definition is widened, as we suggested last week, so as to include all creeds and races who have made India their home, this difficulty will be removed and the Mahasabha will become the rallying centre of all Indian Nationalists. Mr. Sastry spoke of civil war. Civil war is a thing which, when it comes, has to be faced. It is not a thing to talk about.

A BANDRA DIARY.

The *Guardian*, an Indian Christian weekly, which stands for harmonising Christianity with Indian religious tradition, concludes an editorial headed "Imperialism in Religion" with the following observations:

Ancient Hinduism of our land was made by God-intoxicated men and it is spiritual wisdom to take the best out of it and use it as the base for Indian Christianity. The Bhakti doctrine developed by Narada Sutra far exceeds anything which the Western Church and, consequently the imitative Indian Church, have known or practised. When zealous Christians wish to convert the heathen, they will do well to remember that.

Sir Francis Low, speaking at a reception given to him at Karachi, referred to the recent one-day suspension of newspapers in pursuance of a resolution of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference and to the abstention of his paper from joining the rest of the Press. He reminded his hearers that this is a time of war and that there were restrictions on newspapers in Britain and the United States. Indian Editors have agreed to similar restrictions but the particular restriction against which the Editors' Conference was obliged to demonstrate, was, as I said before, an attack on the manhood of journalists apart from its assault on the freedom of the Press which we have not had in this country for more than generation. The Indian Press is a licensed Press and the Executive has the power at its discretion to forfeit or enhance the security deposited by newspapers. Over and above this, newspaper editors are instructed to withhold publication of particular items and not to mention that they have been so instructed! One does not know if the *Times of India* still thinks that the one-day hartal was futile. The full story of the abrupt withdrawal of the orders concerned has not been told. It will be some day and then it will be found that Bhansali's "political fast" and the suspen-

sion of newspapers for a day, was far from being futile. They have struck a resounding blow at the self-complacency of the bureaucracy. Sir Francis pleaded that unity among journalists should continue to be maintained, notwithstanding the Times of India's defection on this occasion. I do not see why it should not, provided it is clearly understood that British-controlled newspapers in India are here not to uphold the freedom of the Press or any other freedom but to support the administration for the time being, whenever it is in conflict with the people. In my fifty years experience, I have never known an English controlled newspaper stand up against repression though I have known that the editor personally admitted that it was wrong and, even outrageous.

Rummaging in a heap of publications for a reference the other day, I came upon a title which arrested my attention. I left the reference stand over and turned over the leaves of the pamphlet. It was on "Veerashaiva Philosophy of the Shaivagamas" by Siddarappa Dundappa Pawate of Hubli, published by Veerappa Basavappa Bileangady, also a pleader of Hubli. I have read of Basava as a social reformer of the 12th century who preached against caste and advocated the remarriage of widows and other reforms. But I have been under the impression that Basava did not accept the authority of the Vedas and that the sect of veerashaivas was, therefore, outside the Hindu pale. I remember having pointed out to the late Lord Brabourne that the nomination of Mr. Kambli as the Hindu member of his Executive Council was like selecting a Calvinist to represent Catholics. Mr. Pawate's purpose in this publication is to show that Veerashaivism is based on Vedic authority, that it does not disavow the authority of the Vedas and is, therefore, a sect of Hinduism like other Shaiva and Vaishnava sects. Mr. Pawate writes:

True it is that some European scholars and antiquarians recognise the merit of the teachings of Basava and admire the broad sympathy of his heart, the wide sphere of the social reforms effected by him. Yet those also think that Basava broke off from orthodox Vedic principle. The present essay is an attempt to remove these misconceptions and show that the Lingayat religion as taught by Basava has its beginning in the time past and is equally old and consistent with the Vedas...

That there were two, perhaps more, strands of religious thought from ancient times is well known. The germs of all of them are to be found in the Vedas. One of these was represented by the Agamas which lay down the rules of worship in temples just as the Vedas are the authority for sacrificial rites. The Shaivagamas are claimed by Shaivites, the majority of whom are not Lingaiyats but Hindus following the Varnashrama, to be the essence of the teachings of the Vedas. The interest of this book at the present time is that it supplies some links between the religious culture of Mohenjo-Daro and current Hinduism. The Linga worship, traces of which are found in Mohenjo-Daro, evidently spread over the whole country. The heroes of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata were themselves worshippers of Shiva. They themselves later became objects of worship and Shiva worship in large parts of the country became overshadowed by the new cult. Only in South India at one end of the country and in Kashmir and in Nepal in the North did Shaivism persist and develop special doctrines independently of each other. Veerashaivism in the Kanarese country is another link. In a series of articles in the Mythic Society's journal (Bangalore) the writer who himself had worked at Mohenjo-Daro, has controverted the

theory that the Vedic or Aryan Culture was unconnected with the Indus Valley culture and was an importation from abroad. The theory of an Aryan immigration which has long held the field, is discredited by scholars at the present day. The theory favoured now is that, if there was migration, it was from India outward and not from abroad inward. Mr. Pawate gives in parallel columns many passages from the Bhagavad Gita which are identical word for word with passages in Jain scriptures. He maintains that these were copied by the author of the Gita and that Veerashaivism is older than the Gita.

RECLUSE,

A JAIN CLASSIC.

After serving with distinction in the Indian Finance Department, Mr. Jagad Prasad, who has many friends in Bombay, joined the Kashmir administration as Financial Adviser. He relinquished the office about a year ago and has been occupying himself with research in the literature of the Jain religion. He has published under the auspices of the Bharatavarsiya Anathrakshak Jain Society, Delhi, an English translation of an important Jain classic known as Asta Pabuda, or Eight Presents by Kunda Kunda, a South Indian Jain saint. Mr. Jagad Prasad says that Kunda Kunda is regarded by Digambar Jains as the oldest and the greatest authority on the Jain doctrine. The period when this saint lived has been estimated variously as from the third century B. C. to the fifth century A. D. Perhaps it was much later. One of the most striking similes in the book is the likening of a man without faith to a needle without a thread. "A needle without thread is lost but not one with a thread." The use of stitched clothes came into vogue during the Mahomedan period. There is no Hindu caste of tailors. The village community included potters, weavers and smiths, but there were no tailors in it. From ancient times Hindus wore unstitched clothes, and even now strictly orthodox people wear only unstitched garments at religious functions. Some years ago Mr. V. P. Madhav Rao, then Dewan of Travancore, was stopped at the doorway of the temple as he wore a sort of shirt. The use of needles and thread was an innovation and cannot be dated earlier than the eighth or ninth century A. D. As Kunda Kunda uses the thread-needle simile as one familiar to the public of his time, he cannot be placed earlier.

Kunda Kunda, though he was a Digambar Jain, takes a liberal view, and insists that mere nudity will not lead a person to nirvana. Mental purity is essential. Jagad Prasad observes in his introduction: "The difference between the Digambara and Svetambara sects relates only to some trivial details in the daily routine prescribed for monks and does not affect any point of principle whatsoever." Nearly all religious quarrels rise over trivialities. Truly religious men never quarrel. The precept about nudity was originally intended as a warning against the excessive importance attached to clothes. Carlyle in Sartor Resartus made fun of the clothes philosophy of English society. Women are allowed among Digambar Jains to lead a monastic life but nudity is not prescribed for them.

For the rest except as regards a few details in the metaphysical background, Jainism, Buddhism and the Bhagavad Gita have much in common. The three Teachers were more or less contemporaries and they were all in revolt against the ceremonialism of the Vedic Religion. Buddha laid emphasis on the doctrine of Karma and

Mahavira on the doctrine of Ahimsa. The Bhagavad Gita reconciles them both in a grand synthesis and inculcates temperance in all things as the way to salvation. The parallelism amounting almost to identity in the phraseology of the Gita, the Dhammapada and the Jain texts is striking. For example, there is a Gita text to the effect that what is night to all beings is the time when the sage is wide awake, and that when others are awake is the time of night to the sage. Kunda Kunda says: "The yogi who sleeps where worldly business is concerned, is awake in the business of the Self; he who is awake in worldly business sleeps where business of the Self is concerned." Nevertheless the Jain community is famous for its business acumen. The great hereditary bankers of India were Jains. Mr. Jagad Prasad has taken a liberty with the book which is not permissible in a work of scholarship. He has omitted three verses from the text.

THE POPE AND ETHIOPIA.

A "Catholic" writes:—

"For several years I have been reading with great interest the *Indian Social Reformer*; I always appreciated its fairness of views. In a recent issue, however, I found a statement, which has been repeatedly refuted, in connection with the Pope's support of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia. The story may have originated in circles opposed to the Vatican and was repeated in many papers and periodicals; it has often been denied and refuted but you may be unaware of this. I just read in 'The Light of the East' (Calcutta, 30, Park Street) a new explanation of the facts; it is to be found in the December number of this monthly; the review had a series of articles precisely on this question of the Pope's attitude in the last war. I am sure that you will find interest and pleasure in reading the series. I enclose a short note, taken from this December article, which treats of the point you referred to:

With regard to the Abyssinian Question, we have already quoted the testimony of Cardinal Hinsley: "Well, from the lips of Pope Pius XII I heard a public utterance to this effect—in a public audience the Christmas before the Abyssinian invasion: 'If all my efforts to prevent this barbarous tragedy prove unavailing, then I can only pray with the Psalmist, *Scatter the people that desire war.*' Yet neither these words nor the verses which he quoted expressly mentioning Ethiopia ('Ethiopia shall soon stretch her hands to God' Ps. 68. 31) appeared in the Italian Press." (Preface to *The Pope Speaks* by Charles Rankin. Faber 1940). On April 1, during the preparations for the war, the same words were repeated by the Pope—and not reported in England, except by Catholic papers. On July 28 of the same year (1935), when proclaiming the heroic virtues of Ven. Gustino de Jacobis, the Italian Apostle of Abyssinia, the Pope expressed his hope that the conflict would be settled "according to truth, to justice and according to charity." A month later (August 28, 1935) addressing French nurses, the Pope defined his position even more plainly; he could not believe that people would start an unjust war. Italy said that the war was just, since it answered a need of expansion and of self-defence. The need of expansion, said the Pope, may be a fact of which account has to be taken, but it confers no right. Self-defence, on the other hand, is a right, but it is limited and the mode of securing it may be unjust. The way out was neither menaces nor appeasement. It was to find a pacific solution of the problem: "Expansion and defence have other means than war." This demanded serene and objective discussions. We know what happened. The whole thing was turned into a quarrel of *Left versus Right*. The passions were inflamed. Both sides grew obstinate and war ensued.

AIR RAIDS AND A. R. P.

Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava, Member for Civil Defence in the Viceroy's Executive Council, has been busy issuing reassuring statements since the raids over Calcutta began. There was in the early days of the confusion some difference of opinion between Calcutta newspapers, notably the *Statesman*, and Sir Jwala about the reactions of the public to raids—probably due to the fact that the latter's most optimistic pronouncements were issued from Cawnpore. But matters seem to have been straightened out recently. At a recent meeting of the National Defence Council Sir Jwala is reported to have said that the danger of attack had diminished and in certain areas A.R.P. measures would be modified. Sir Jwala is in a position to view the problem as a whole and his confidence is heartening. There is much wisdom in being prepared but wisdom that prepares for contingencies that most probably will not arise, borders on folly. We were surprised to read in the *Times of India* an original objection to any change in the A.R.P. organization. It stated that it had been built up with great trouble and much thought, and that, therefore, the organization should not be disturbed. This is, in short, a plea that the A.R.P. had become a vested interest. Will the *Times of India* take the same attitude after the war is over? The argument becomes the more frivolous when one reads in Sir Jwala's speech the definite request for suggestions as to how the personnel of the organization could be otherwise employed. The obvious solution is that they may be used for the great work of ensuring food distribution.

If Sir Jwala was optimistic, Sir Maurice Hallett, Governor of the United Provinces, felt called upon to warn the public of Benares that India was likely to go through a period of "blood and tears, toil and sweat." While the press and the public are gravely told not to spread panic among the people, officials apparently are allowed, like Dickens' fat boy, the privilege of giving us the creeps. After the recognition recently accorded him in the New Year's honours, Sir Maurice probably feels that he has the confidence of the British Cabinet and can afford to ignore conditions in India. Sir Maurice Hallett evidently has taken his cue from the recent utterances of Australian publicists who seem to have unaccountably fallen victims to an outbreak of panic. Very little news has come from China of late but what we have received is noteworthy for its endurance. The Chinese, after all, are experiencing in reality what the Australians and Sir Maurice are seeing in anticipation. It is significant that at the Casablanca meeting, the case of China received the fullest attention. The democratic concept that, if one wants something, one must ask vociferously for it, does not work in international affairs.

THE FOOD SITUATION.

That it is impossible to get India, or any country for that matter, to make its maximum effort in war or peace without moral support, is coming home to the Government of India in a very acute way. Even the *Times of London* is moved to wonder if it was not possible for Government to have exhibited more foresight in the matter of food than it has. The blunt truth is that foresight has been completely absent not only in this but in most other matters arising out of the war situation. When Lord Linlithgow declared that India was in the war he never expected that his government would have any task except recruiting men and promoting the production of

munitions and raising funds. The idea that these things could not be done satisfactorily unless the goodwill of the people is secured, did not trouble him or his advisers. Least of all does it seem to have occurred to Government that there will be danger of food scarcity in the land. The currency policy of Government was conceived without reference to the general economic life of the people. Instead of following the wise policy of working through the agency of existing agencies, Government assumed to itself responsibilities which would have been impossible even in totalitarian countries. That the official machinery had no point of sympathetic understanding with the people, did not seem to matter. A belated attempt to rectify the mistake was made last week by abolishing control over wholesale trade in wheat. Provincial autonomy resented this and the Sind Premier, Sir Ghulam Husein Hidayutulla, refused to abide by the decision of the central authority. His Government would buy up surplus grains and auction it amongst the other provinces for the benefit of his little province which depends for its existence on central revenues. Before that the late Punjab Premier had adopted a similar policy. The Bombay Government has prescribed three years (not three months mistakenly mentioned in an editorial note last week) imprisonment for having rice or other food grain sufficient for more than a month in any house. By having 32 days requirement in his house, a man can ensure for himself three years' relief from anxiety as to his food, clothing and other necessities at the cost of the taxpayer!

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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 Maharaja of Bikaner :—By the death of the Maharaja of Bikaner, which took place in Bombay on Tuesday, India loses a statesman who consistently upheld the essential interests of the country and the nation at critical points of their political evolution. When the appointment of an Indian Member to the Viceroy's Executive Council was being discussed, he came forward and threw the great weight of his authority on the side of the reform by repudiating the insinuation that the Princes and the army would view it with disfavour. In his attitude towards the Indian States peoples' movement, he displayed the same quality of courage and foresight. By all accounts, he was a capable and enlightened administrator of his own State. As the Nawab of Bhopal has aptly observed, the death of the Maharaja deprives the Princes of India of the guidance of another of their elder statesmen. The late Maharaja Sayaji Rao of Baroda and the late Maharaja of Mysore were outstanding figures whose death in recent years has been a great loss to the country and to the Princes. As Sir C. P. Ramswami Aiyar has observed, Indian Princes who subordinate the interests of the whole of India to those of their own States, do not deserve to exist. These men were All-India statesmen and their deaths within a short period are a national misfortune.

India and the Casablanca Meeting :—Events during the last six months in this country—the detention of Gandhiji and the other Congress leaders and the official theory that they are responsible for the disturbances in the country which followed their incarceration—are not in keeping with the philosophy of human freedom which President Roosevelt cherishes and intends to inaugurate with the advent of peace. British statesmen have not been consistent in their views as regards British imperialism. Some have said that such imperialism is a thing of the past; others declare that there was never any imperialism in British Indian policy. Mr. Amery has recently assured the world that the British system in India was devised by the Indian people themselves and that those who wish to overthrow that system are acting in contravention of Indian opinion and tradition. To prove this, he points to the approval or acquiescence of the eleven Indian members of the Viceroy's Executive Council. It is inconceivable that, in their ten days' conference at Casablanca when the war situation was discussed in all its aspects, the President and the Premier maintained a determined silence as regards

the position in this country. One of the two important points of agreement announced in the press communique issued after the Conference is that the maximum possible help should be given to China. This undertaking must remain largely a paper one, unless the Indo-Burma route is cleared of the enemy. This task is allotted to India with the help of the American Air Force quartered in this country. Apart from politics, the food situation, as it has developed, must come in the way of India's war effort raising its maximum level. The food situation aggravates the political situation; and both together cannot but hamper the Allied Nations in affording the maximum help to China. China at least realises this. In his broadcast immediately on his return to Chungking from his visit to India, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek clearly indicated his view that the free co-operation of India was essential to the success of the Allied Nations in the war. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to assume that the President and the Premier did not omit to discuss the Indian problem as a part of the general problem. Did they agree on a common policy? If they did, it is strange that along with the help to the Russia and China and, as a necessary means to it, Indian policy was not included in the press communique. There is a sentence in Mr. Churchill's speech on the occasion of the conclusion of the Casablanca Conference suggesting that there were differences but that no difference would come in the way of co-operation with the President because of the intimate friendship which had grown up between him and the latter. Was this difference about India? The only other question on which there could have been a difference, would seem to have been satisfactorily settled between the two. That is the opening of a second front in Europe. Although the statement on this point is not clear, the language used in the communique implies that, whether in the form of a second front or in some other way, the British and American Governments are determined to draw off the German pressure on Russia. It is reasonable, therefore, to conclude that the only point of disagreement can be India. The rumour that the cost of the reconquest of Burma was likely to be debited to India has provoked vehement protests from Indian leaders. It may be hoped that the President's personal representative in New Delhi is keeping the President informed of the protest of Indian public opinion. An early expression of the President's inclination towards India is expected and will be welcome.

Turkish Journalists Delegation :—Whatever may be the object of Government in inviting the Turkish Journalists delegation to India at the present juncture, it was clearly not the discomfiture of the Muslim League. On the other hand, there is good reason to think that Government had in view really to help the League to assess at first hand the trend of Muslim opinion in other Islamic countries on whose

co-operation the League counts for overcoming the opposition to its separatist propaganda in this country. The appointment of two Muslim high officials to conduct the delegation during its tour in India, is some indication of the object with which the tour has been arranged. It is a noteworthy feature of British official mentality that, while it is itself seldom oblivious of the dealings of other nations, it assumes as a matter of course that other nations would forget its attitude towards them the moment it desires that they should do so. If, nevertheless, the Muslim League finds itself discomfited by some of the pronouncements of the Turkish Delegation, it is entirely due to the impetuous faith of its leaders in the infallibility of their ideas and opinions. The Delegation has been exceedingly circumspect in avoiding expressions of opinion on Indian political controversies but, when they are pointedly asked questions implying reflection on the policy of their country and their Government, they could not avoid stating facts which do not square with the desires of their interlocutors. It is a historical fact that Indian Muslims were opposed to the abolition of the Caliphate and did their utmost to avert it. They had, it is true, the support of the Indian National Congress but that was because the Congress wanted to secure the support of the Muslims for its own programme. All that is now past history. Both the League and the Congress are now friends and admirers of the present Turkish regime. The fundamental principle of this regime is the relegation of religion as a matter of individual conscience without any claim on the social and political life of the nation. In fact, it is the same as the attitude of Soviet Russia. The official policy in the two countries is to promote by every means possible the permeation of the scientific spirit in the people. This is the antithesis of the basic principle of the Muslim League which is to make religion the basis of social, economic and political life. The League leaders seem to have been confident of their ability to convert the Delegation to their point of view. That is the only conceivable explanation for the point-blank questions which were put to the Delegation at Lahore at a reception organised by the local Muslim journalists. These elicited the blunt repudiation of all interest in schemes of Pan-Islamism, the declaration that they were Turks first and Muslims afterwards and the warning that, if a Moulvi from India visited Turkey with the object of rousing the religious spirit, he would not be welcomed.

The Message of Turkey :—One of the Turkish delegation of journalists has observed with great shrewdness that they were asked more to give their impressions of India than to throw any light on modern Turkey. This is a grave omission which is marked in all the receptions accorded to the delegation. Nevertheless, for obvious reasons, there is much more to be learnt about Turkey than the distinguished guests who have disclaimed any desire to intervene in Indian problems, can tell us about India. The social movement which post-war Turkey pushed through, has meaning for all Asiatic peoples. More important than even the change in institutions is the change in mental outlook which has been thoroughly effected. We hope that at the remaining cities where the delegation visits, the opportunity will not be lost.

Giraud and De Gaulle :—The unfortunate differences between General Giraud and De Gaulle which were said to have been resolved at the Casablanca meeting before President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, have now taken on a new form. General Giraud asked, according to a press correspondent, for an "amalgamation" of the armed forces under General De Gaulle with his

own larger forces. General De Gaulle's forces are estimated at 15,000 to 20,000 by General Giraud and at 100,000 by the Gaullists. Yet from a statement issued by an official from the Fighting French headquarters it appears that the main dispute is in a desire on the part of Gaullists to abstain from fighting in North Africa. He said, "No part of our forces could be spared to amalgamate with the army of 800,000 men which General Giraud speaks of raising Indeed those we possess do not at all conform to the size of the territories we have to police." He also added that the two Generals had agreed to remain each in charge of territories he now controls. One would infer from this that there are vital differences between the two parties. Yet Mr. Eden, the British Foreign Secretary, told the House of Commons that internal differences were to be settled by Frenchmen, and Britain and the United States were solely concerned with the war effort in those territories. Though the British Government was the first to recognise General De Gaulle, that did not prevent Mr. Eden from paying a fervent tribute to General Giraud. In order that Mr. Rajagopalachari might not, with his usual political flair, draw a superficial analogy in favour of Pakistan, we would point out that in North Africa the cleavage between the two French groups is so grave that the De Gaullists charge the other side with keeping in detention, apparently on the plea that they were involved in the Darlan episode, men who "worked for the Allies before the landings." Here the division of India, with its implied acceptance of the two-nations theory, makes it unlikely that the differences can be ignored and Britain's record on communal questions in India doubly warns that the British Government will find it impossible, even if feels it is necessary, to overlook complaints which will be frequent and loud. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that in North Africa the British do not ask the Giraud and De Gaulle parties to settle their differences and present a united demand, nor even to agree to postpone discussion on them for the duration. They have themselves decided to ignore the differences. Here is a lead which Lord Linlithgow might usefully study.

Japanese Threat to Australia :—Mr. Curtin in the Australian House of Representatives on Wednesday disclosed that apprehensions which had found expression recently in the press, were not unfounded. In recent weeks, he said, the Japanese have been concentrating on the outer fringe of the islands round Australia. In an involved paragraph, Reuter's correspondent states that "mention of an Allied attack on Kaukenau adds another link to the rapidly shaping intricate design of strategic possessions which the Japanese are forming over the northern approaches to Australia". Or, in other words, nothing was known of the Japanese having taken Kaukenau until the news of the Allied forces having attacked it. The absurdity of censorship which is avowedly imposed to prevent the enemy from receiving information, is revealed in its fullest here. The fact that similar complaints are to be seen in the American press, adds to the perplexities of the ordinary reader who, even when he is not unduly curious, likes to know what is actually happening. Errors of judgment like this are excusable in the early stages of a war but it should not be forgotten that we are now in the fourth year. Another consideration which ought to carry weight with those responsible for controlling news, is the injury to public morale when belated revelations follow on optimistic reports. It is time, high time, that the whole machinery of censorship was overhauled.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, February 6, 1943.

THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN.

In his message to the new Congress early last month, President Roosevelt declared that, after the present war, the United Nations should, in order to prevent future wars, disarm, and keep disarmed, the Axis peoples and root out the philosophy or philosophies which underlie the international policy of those peoples. The President explained at Casablanca that this does not mean the destruction of the Axis countries or populations but only the elimination of their philosophy of aggression. This philosophy, according to L. T. Hobhouse, had its origin in the Hegelian philosophy of the supremacy of the State, in the Darwinian theory of the survival of the fittest, and in Bismarckian Imperialism which was the child of these two. Hobhouse was writing of the reaction of the British democracy to these influences. "The Rhine has flowed into the Thames," he wrote. The return of the Liberals to power after the Boer War and Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman's measure granting Self-Government to South Africa, seemed to Hobhouse, to show that Britain had definitely abandoned its own movement towards Bismarckian Imperialism, as illustrated by the proclamation of the Queen as Empress of India a few years after the proclamation of the King of Prussia as German Emperor. The grant of self-government to Ireland, though only after a sordid chapter of repression and crime, showed that the Liberal policy continued after the last world war. It was in the spirit of that policy that the late Mr. Montagu made the declaration of 1917 regarding the goal of British policy in India. But the Conservatives broke from the Coalition Cabinet soon after and inaugurated a policy of reaction in regard to India, though the Declaration of 1917 was not openly repudiated. The Conservatives have since remained in power. The present Prime Minister was opposed to the policy of his two predecessors of conciliating the Nazis. On the failure of that policy, he became Prime Minister, Mr. Neville Chamberlain having acknowledged his mistake by accepting office under him as Deputy. Mr. Churchill's speeches clearly show that his political philosophy, so far at least as India is concerned, is one of domination. The President's own language now is the language not of service but of domination. That the peoples to be held in subjection are the peoples who are to be defeated in war, makes little difference. If you want to keep a man in the gutter, someone has said, you will have to remain there yourself in order to prevent his getting out of it.

Under the President's scheme of disarmament, moral, and mental, of the defeated peoples, the victors will have very little time and energy to spare for their own enormous work of post-war reconstruction. Apart from theory, the lesson of the last war has not been mastered by the President. At the Peace Conference at Versailles the Germans' surrender was unconditional. It was more. In the Treaty the Germans had to admit the sole responsibility for the war. They were practically disarmed and forbidden to rearm except for police purposes. The condition of the German people after the Armistice was wretched beyond description. President Roosevelt's attitude today is even more intransigent than that of Clemenceau who ultimately carried the day. The British plea for moderation was almost totally rejected. Mr. Lloyd George accepted

the defeat and espoused the French view with the overzeal of an apostate. The Khaki election with "Hang the Kaiser" for slogan gave him a new lease of power but only for a short period. The President's declarations smack more of the hustings than of the Council Chamber. If he and the British Prime Minister are to be the leading figures at the Peace-making to follow after the war, and if they adhere to their declarations in letter and spirit, we shall have a worse peace than that of Versailles and the next war may not take quite twenty years to break out. The Germans at the beginning of the last century were a nation devoted to philosophy, poetry and culture. They were not a warlike people. It is the Napoleonic conquest and the consequent humiliation which converted them into their present aggressive nationalism. The Japanese, too, were content to remain an insular people developing their own culture and philosophy under the influence of Indian Buddhist missionaries until America forced them to open their doors to Western trade and western ideas. Their great fault is that they have copied the bad features of Western civilisation but too well. It is that Japan is holding the mirror up to the West. The first thing to do, if the President's desire to free mankind from fear is to be accomplished, is that there must be a radical change in mentality of the conquerors as well as the conquered. We should be glad to have from the President whose earnestness is beyond question, a recognition of this necessity.

STALIN'S BLUE-PRINT ?

What Mr. Churchill has for war aim, and, therefore, the outline of his post-war reconstruction scheme, is not vague. The most charitable construction placed on his speeches is that of the *New Statesman* which recently observed that Mr. Churchill was concentrating solely on winning the war and that he realised that others would have to tackle the problems of a world at peace. The danger in this attitude lies in the absence of an alternative leadership and in the habit which is developing, of relying solely on Mr. Churchill. Mr. Churchill's scheme is not unpleasant for those who are outside the British Empire, even when they are Axis powers. He has not, he said, taken office to preside at the liquidation of the British Empire. What he intends to do with the defeated countries he has not mentioned; but British official and unofficial spokesmen have hinted that generosity to the peoples of enemy countries would be practised. Mr. Churchill's attitude, too, had strengthened the belief that the war is against a system rather than a group of nations. Mr. Roosevelt, on the other hand, has been inspired by the idea of disarming the enemy nations to prevent future mischief and at the same time of extending democratic principles. At the outset, his speeches were enthusiastic in support of improving political conditions within the United Nations; the exigencies of war have shifted the stress. M. Stalin has not expressed an opinion but it was assumed that his weight would be thrown on the American President's side by reason both of Soviet Russia's past sympathy for the colonies and of the inevitable growth of anti-German feeling in Russia during the present war. His messages to the Russian people, however, consistently presented the war as one directed against the German ruling class of today; there were even appeals to the Germans to shake off Nazi domination. After the Casablanca meeting, if the London correspondent of the *Indian Express* of Madras has reported rightly, a change would seem to have come over M. Stalin's policy.

The correspondent observes that M. Stalin had, in a note to London and Washington, suggested that the rebuilding of devastated Russian cities after the war should be carried out by German labour as Russian man-power had been sacrificed heavily in the war. This, he added, is to be one of the terms of the peace. The implications of the suggestion are far-reaching: In the first place, the end is within Russian sight for M. Stalin is not given to vague political gestures. Secondly, M. Stalin does not apparently visualise any large-scale destruction of German cities before peace comes—in other words, he believes that Russia by herself will finish the war without a second front. Thirdly, M. Stalin, despite all predictions to the contrary, abandons once for all the Trotskian ideal of socialism in many lands for national development even if it implies the re-introduction of slave-labour in some manner. So far as the promoters of the grandiose schemes for a new world order so freely discussed these days are concerned, Stalin's attitude is of considerable importance. And if the *Indian Express* correspondent is right, then they might as well reconcile themselves to the wilderness.

EDUCATION IN JAPAN.

Nearly forty years ago Professor W. H. Sharp of Elphinstone College, Bombay, published a detailed study of the Japanese educational system, which he was officially deputed to draw up. His conclusions were highly favourable. He compared the results of education in Japan and in India and contrasted the proportionately small amount of Government expenditure here as compared with the "lavish" grants made by the Japanese. He also noted that the Japanese were able to secure greater efficiency in their schools and colleges at smaller cost than it had been possible in British India. Professor Sharp noted that the inculcation of patriotism was an outstanding feature of Japanese education. Topics bearing on national glory were generally discussed at Teachers' Conferences. He cited one such conference which included on its programme as a subject for discussion, "What shall we do to inculcate the spirit of glory in war among the young of the nation?" The majority of students in a class ranging from 14 to 16 years of age, when asked for their dearest wish, answered, "To die for His Majesty the Emperor." Professor Sharp adds: "And well many of them have kept their word." Professor Sharp thought that this spirit might be only a temporary phase, parallel to one which followed the feudal period in Europe, and destined like that to lose some of its intensity in the future. But, he added, while it lasted, the sentiment of loyalty did much, amongst other things, to protect the Government from being cheated over contracts or through official peculation. The Anglo-Indian official is always afraid of being cheated over contracts and can not think of any greater object as the result of inculcating patriotism in Japanese schools.

As a fact, however, not only has the sentiment lasted for nearly half a century but it has had more far-reaching effects than Professor Sharp imagined. In the October number of the American Quarterly journal *Foreign Affairs*, Burnell Olds, who served as a missionary in Japan for over thirty years, writes on "Educating for Conquest: the Japanese Way" with sympathy and insight though he does not approve of the Japanese view-point. Modern education began in Japan only in 1872. A recent five-year census showed that 99.57 of the total number of children of school age are attending schools. Primary education

in Japan is entirely controlled by the State. There is more freedom in the higher stages. Mr. Olds observes:

As between elementary schools and higher schools, the Government puts its strength into the former. It may permit private agencies to organise the institutions of higher learning, but it practically monopolises the education of young children. And why not? Is it not in the early years that ideals are formed and habits of thought and action become set? On that theory, the fact that only 18 out of the 45 institutions of university grade are conducted under government auspices, is of no consequence. The impression which the Government desires to be made, has long since been made, even before the student is obliged to consider whether or where he will pursue a higher education.

What is the impression which Government wish to create in the minds of Japanese youth? It is that every man, woman and child is first of all a member of the State, and that the State has rightful and absolute power over him, body and soul. The moment school begins, continues Mr. Olds, discipline begins. The discipline is of more than Spartan severity. Every hour of the day is planned. The student has his head shaved or closely cropped, "so as to make him conspicuously unattractive to the opposite sex." The relation between teachers and students is of the military rather than of the comrade type. The goal which the student must steadily keep in view, is efficient soldiery. To this end the student must make life as hard as possible for himself. Even in the dead of winter he must wear only flimsy fibre garments. In the coldest part of the winter the student is expected every morning to make his way barefooted through the snow to some distant point where he is to practise judo or jujitsu and end the morning with a plunge in the river. This may seem calculated to repress personality. But it does not. Mr. Olds observes:

Yet all this makes for a sort of democracy, or rather equality. There is no barrier of class. Brains alone tell. If he is sent abroad to complete his education, he will go to observe only, not to imbibe or absorb. He will strive to learn, merely, how Occidentals think and act; not how he *should*. He has decided beforehand that he will learn nothing from Western religion and Western philosophy, just as most Westerners do decide, in fact, on coming to his land.

Mr. Olds points out, what is often ignored, that the Japanese have a sense of mission as vivid, if not more vivid, than the democratic Allies. They are fighting in their own opinion for justice, for country, for Emperor, for ancestors, for humanity. A people with this training and this discipline would prefer to be exterminated. Unconditional surrender is not to be expected of them. The President's menacing utterances are more likely to stiffen their backs than to move them to submission.

PAKISTAN AND UNITY.

By sheer perseverance, Mr. Rajagopalachari has come to be regarded as the authentic interpreter of Pakistan ideas. Speaking at a college function in Cuttack, Mr. Rajagopalachari sought to remove misconceptions about Pakistan. He said that it was better to have two strong Central Governments than one weak one. But two strong Governments in India are indicative of a weak and rotten centre. He denied that Pakistan meant either the division of India into two pieces or that India would be divided street by street and village by village and that Hindus and Muslims would live apart. The newspaper reports omit to mention

whether he said what Pakistan was to be, though he is quoted as saying, "I have convinced myself that division is good." At another college function in Bombay, Mr. M. A. Jinnah made it perfectly clear that religion was not the issue. Mr. Jinnah, never very strong in history, now represents the Muslim period as though it was directed under the auspices of the Muslim League under his leadership. "The Muslims are a nation distinct from the Hindus," Pakistan, according to him, was definitely to be a division of India. But this division, he said, would enable Hindus and Muslims to speak with "one voice." The difference in view between Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Rajagopalachari is probably due to the fact that the Madras leader is preaching to the unconverted whilst Mr. Jinnah is preaching at them. Readers should not be led astray by the fact that, while Mr. Jinnah glosses over the minority problems in the two States of Pakistan and Hindustan, Mr. Rajagopalachari skims lightly over the two-nations concept. What will be the position of the Hindu in Pakistan, the Muslim in Hindustan? Mr. Rajagopalachari says both will live side by side. Mr. Jinnah also assumes that this will be the case when he assures the minorities that the Muslim State will give them more than their just rights; and asks the Hindus in future Hindustan to treat the Muslims justly. Unfortunately the Muslim leader and the Hindu appeaser of today are not the communal negotiators of tomorrow. From separate electorates through weightage to separate States is not a complete process. Those who are in the thick of the fray, cannot naturally see beyond the end of their own programme. Mr. Jinnah who planned a Deliverance Day when the Congress Ministries resigned, is good enough to say now—was it for the benefit of our Turkish guests?—that no Government claiming to be civilised will interfere with religion "which is strictly a matter between God and man." Yet under his auspices the Pirpur Report of the Muslim League indicted the Congress Governments of just this interference. Though Hindu and Muslim may live side by side in bifurcated India, they will not live as "Indians." The torn dhoti analogy cited by Mr. Rajagopalachari is very apt: only he did not pursue the parallel. He said that, if he had a dhoti which had worn out in the middle, no amount of stitching could make it a whole dhoti; but he could by cutting it up make several useful things out of it. What he missed was that however he cut it, he could make no dhoti of it. Be there ever so many handkerchiefs, napkins and table-cloths produced out of the torn dhoti, they do not serve the purpose of the dhoti for all the ingenuity of the Madras leader. Without Indian unity, there can be no Indian citizenship. Without Indian citizenship, a Hindu and Muslim living side by side, wherever they be, will be not two Indians professing different faiths; they will be two different nationalities. Mr. Jinnah says that that is the position today but the moment two separate States are carved out of one, a miraculous transformation is to take place. We are unable to see the logic of this. Recognising religious and communal differences has led directly to the claim of nationality. Accepting this claim can only lead in turn to transfer of populations and not all the casuistry of Mr. Rajagopalachari nor the nimbleness of Mr. Jinnah can cover that fact. The reason why they will not face it, is because the scheme breaks down at its very mention. The method by which each takes the hurdle is characteristic. The Madras ex-Congressman suggests, by use of a phrase like "the Ulster phase," that

unity will come later after a brief separation; the Muslim League President temptingly hints that, in place of the present bargaining tactics, a new spirit of generosity will infuse his dealings with other communities. Ulster itself gives the lie to Mr. Rajagopalachari. And, if ever Hindu leaders felt drawn to agreeing to Pakistan, they must necessarily be warned by the clear warning that even after Pakistan the Muslim minority will be still with them and, therefore, the Muslim minority problem. In fact there is every likelihood that even Mr. Jinnah will not be eliminated from the problems of Hindustan. The belief that the Hindus will be grateful for whatever they are left, is a natural outcome of the Muslim League President's privileged position in the past. But that is no reason for thinking it is correct. Every deal has two parties to it and past history does not warrant the hope that either will be actuated by any self-denying altruism. It is natural that those who fight shy of the very idea of Pakistan, should shrink from facing the discussion even of such a drastic possibility as transfer of populations. But when we are asked to face the "realities" of the situation, we do a distinct disservice in not forcing to the public notice the unpleasant details of the suggested solution. From another point of view, given the choice of living under a regime administered by their own leaders, in accordance with their own traditions, or of residing in an alien State on sufferance, people must inevitably seek the former. If they do not, it can only mean that the premise of separate nationalism is false.

ART IN BOMBAY AND BENGAL.

"The policy of the Sir J. J. School of Art during the five years 1937-42," says a Bombay Government Press Note, "was steadily adjusted to meet the changing conditions. The chief trend in Art education during the period was in the direction of fostering a more vocational outlook for students trained in the various branches of Art, the object in view being to utilise all available artistic talent and open a practical outlet for it..... The Sir J. J. School of Art should continue to train the majority of students on such lines as would develop the training of art as applied to commerce and industry." In plain English, the policy of the Bombay School of Art has, during the last five years, been directed to teach students to make what would readily sell. It is startling to find this as the policy of a School of Art. The official conception of Art is evidently very different from that of the Poet as

.....The love of loving, rage
Of knowing, seeing, feeling the absolute truth
of things
For truth's sake, whole and sole, not any good,
truth brings
The knower, seer, feeler, beside.

The "profit motive" is recognised in every appreciation of the world's economic plight as the root-cause of most evils and, in every scheme of a new social order, the elimination, or at least the subordination, of it is postulated as the first condition. It is surprising to see the Government of Bombay deliberately and as of set policy making the profit motive the basis of education in a field where it is so wholly out of place. This, no doubt, explains why, though there are many artists in Bombay, there is not a Bombay School as there is a Bengal School to one of whose founders, Abanindranath Tagore, on his seventieth birthday, a special number of the *Visvabharathi Quarterly* (for May—October, 1942) is dedicated. Abanindranath, a cousin of the Poet Rabindranath was working more or less at random until he met E. B. Havell

then Principal of the Calcutta School of Art, whose services in making Indian art, religion and philosophy known to the world, are well-known. "In him," writes Mukul Dey, the present Principal, "the youthful enthusiast found a congenial friend and sympathiser. Both worked conjointly in the institution. Since that time the Bengal School of Painting has always sought for the revival of the Indian traditional art and motifs." It is noteworthy that, in all the important fields of the Indian renaissance, the pioneers have had the stimulus of British co-operation. Like Havell in Art, A. O. Hume in Indian nationalism and Dr. Besant in Indian social and religious reform have been vivifying influences. When the historian passes his final verdict on British rule in India, he will point as its greatest achievement not to New Delhi or any other material structure but to the awakening of the national genius which has long been slumbering, to the immensity of its possibilities. Keshab Chander Sen, the Brahma leader, got a large audience in London to its feet when he pictured Britain as bidding India to awaken.

The Abanindra number of *Visvabharati* publishes among others a tribute to the artist from the Marquis of Zetland who was Governor of Bengal for five years during which period he took a deep interest in the intellectual and spiritual movements of the time. Writing from his knowledge of the artistic movement, he says,

I always think of him (Abanindranath) not only as a painter whose works possess for me a special charm, but even more perhaps as an outstanding figure in a movement of more than purely artistic significance—a movement which arose in Bengal, away from a fashion which for a time enjoyed a certain measure of popularity among Indian artists—namely, that of subordinating Indian art conventions, ideals and methods to those of Europe. The fashion was, as it always seemed to me, an unfortunate one, for however skillfully executed, the work of the artist being in essence imitative, wore an air of artificiality and consequently lacked conviction.

Abanindranath had not an easy task stemming the then current fashion. Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee in a delightful article of reminiscences tells how he himself became interested in Abanindranath's pictures through the enthusiastic appreciation of Sister Nivedita (Miss Margaret Noble) whose services in the Ramakrishna Mission in its early years, were of surpassing merit. The Bengal School, whether of Art, Literature, or Religion, is not mere revival. It is deeply influenced by modern trends assimilating only such of them as can be assimilated without injury to the traditional ideals. In one of the articles in this volume it is affirmed that appreciation of Art is an acquired characteristic. This may be true of a certain kind of Art, the Art which is uninspired by an ideal. But surely the power of Art, like the power of thought, consists in its universal appeal. We do not want that curious creature, "the art critic," to tell us what to admire. Byron denounced this as "the paltry jargon of the marble mart where pedantry gulls folly;"

..... We have eyes:
Blood, pulse and breast confirm the Dardan
Shepherd's prize.

THE MESSAGE OF THE HIMALAYAS.

Swami Sambudhanand of the Ramakrishna Mission, Khar, Bombay, has done well to bring out in the form of a little, neatly-printed book his talks to students on the "Message of the Himalayas." The Right Hon. M. R. Jayakar has written a short introduction in which he warmly

welcomes the Sawami's book as a valuable contribution to the literature on the Himalayas. To the European, the Himalayan peaks have an irresistible attraction as unique opportunities for mountaineering. Many men have lost their lives in trying to scale the Everest but the danger of the enterprise is a constant fascination to fresh adventure. Though as yet no one has succeeded in climbing to the top of Everest, there has been at least one instance of some brave spirits having flown over it in an aeroplane and there will be others seeking to emulate the achievement. With the daily increasing improvements in the construction of these machines, flying over Everest may cease soon to be an adventure and become an amusement available to every one at a small cost. Pilgrimages to Badrinath and other Himalayan shrines have become greatly reduced in time by the use of flying for part of the distance. This, however, will not in the least diminish the inspiration to Indians because it is derived not from the mountain mass of rock and ravine but from the depths of religious experience of generations of seers and sages. As the Swamiji aptly remarks the Himalayas have always spoken to the spirit of man in India. In his book, "The Himalayas in Indian Art," published eighteen years ago, E. B. Havell observes: "It is not too much to say that the feeling of awe and adoration which their majesty inspired gives the keynote to the interpretation of Indian art. Kawaguchi, the Japanese Buddhist who made the circuit of Mount Kailas, records his feeling, 'I sat down in rapture at the sight and felt as if I had been transported to some heavenly place.'" The fact is that the Himalayas are India, and but for the Himalayas there would be no India. People who want to divide India, should first destroy the Himalayas. That is why highly educated Indians after brilliant worldly careers turn, as Mr. Jayakar notes, to the Himalayas in their moments of introspection to seek on its snowy plateaus the peace and contentment which no other refuge can supply.

COLOUR BAR IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The English translation of the Gujerati book, "The Tyranny of Colour" by Mr. P. S. Joshi (40, Bree Street, Johannesburg, South Africa) contains a timely exposure of Field Marshal Smuts' bombast about humanity and universalism. It is fully documented and is a standard work on the problem of Indians in South Africa. Indian labour was invited to South Africa when Natal was on the point of ruin by the emigration of Europeans to the gold mines in the Transvaal. They were promised completely equal rights of citizenship on the expiry of their five year indentures. The ill-treatment of Indians in the Transvaal was one of the alleged causes of the Boer war. When the war was over, however, the position of Indians became actually worse than under the easy-going Boer regime. The British, as they have done elsewhere, after having used Indians, joined the local population in their anti-Indian measures. Indians, and not they, were the exploiters, the latter were led to believe. So it has been in Burma and so it has been in Ceylon, in Iraq and East Africa. To the British all the profits, to Indians all the odium of conquest. A South African delegation which visited India, consisted of some Boer and British members. The Boers mixed freely with Indians and assured the latter that they had no prejudice whatever against the people of this country. There is a chapter on the mixed population of South Africa known as the Cape Coloured which should open the eyes of Anglo-Indians who look to emigration to Australia their salvation.

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Editor : SOPHIA WADIA

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

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NOTES.

Increase in Torture Cases:—There has been of late quite a crop of cases of police torture to extort confessions, dealt with by the Courts. In the cases which ended in conviction, not perhaps the majority of such cases, the accused on appeal to the High Court have as a rule had either their conviction confirmed or enhanced. Some of the cases, especially in Northern India, have been of a most repulsive character. A case came up before the Bombay High Court this week under different circumstances. The accused, a sub-inspector and a constable, were charged with torturing some Bhils for obtaining a confession in a case of theft. They were tried by a District Judge with Assessors who found them not guilty and acquitted them. The Assessors are an anomaly in the Anglo-Indian judicial system. They sit just like jurors but their opinion is not binding on the Judge who may accept or reject them at his discretion. These men, therefore, do not feel the responsibility which jurors may be supposed to have, for sending their fellow men to prison. The Bombay Government appealed against the acquittal—a creditable thing on their part—and the High Court convicted the two men and made some observations on the proceedings in the lower Court. Have torture cases been on the increase or have there been only more efforts to bring them to book? Both reasons may have a part in the increase. The recent laudation of the police in extravagant terms by high officials, has certainly had the undesirable effect of demoralising the Police, a considerable proportion of whom are practically illiterate men with little public spirit and sense of responsibility. On the other hand, there has been growing a keener sense of public duty in ensuring fair treatment to prisoners, particularly after the influx of large numbers of satyagraha prisoners in the Civil Disobedience movements during the last ten or fifteen years. We may expect as a result of the exposures in recent cases that the practice of torturing suspects in order to obtain confessions will cease.

Social Reforms in Turkey:—It is not without significance that it was only when they visited Madras that the Turkish journalists' delegation had an opening to refer to the social reforms which have been introduced in Turkey under the new regime. Throughout their tour in Northern India, the Delegation had to answer questions about their impressions in India, so much so that one of the members remarked at Benares that everybody was asking questions

about India which they were first visiting and none about Turkey where they have come from and on conditions in which they could throw useful light. Almost the first thing which Kemal Ataturk did on freeing his country from foreign aggression, was to institute radical social reforms affecting the religious, social and family life of the Turkish people, such as the abolition of purdah, and the institution of monogamy, the adoption of the Roman script, the substitution of the European hat for the fez cap favoured by the Sultan-Caliph and the opening of political and official careers for women. Ex-King Amanullah of Afghanistan came to grief attempting to introduce similar reforms in Afghanistan. The Turkish Delegation gave the real reason for the difference between the reactions to the reforms in Turkey and Afghanistan. Turkey, even during the days of the Caliphate, had come to a very large extent under European influence and there was a substantial basis in Turkish opinion for the reforms to be accepted without effective opposition. This was not the case in Afghanistan. Even in Afghanistan, the reforms might have had a more favourable chance if King Amanullah had been left to deal with his people without disturbing external influences. Experience in India has shown that social reforms when they have support from women are easily accepted and that without such support they are almost impossible of achievement. The purdah and the power of the priesthood foiled Amanullah's attempts in Afghanistan. In Turkey they were both put down by the iron hand of the Dictator.

Freedom of the Press:—Some confusion has been caused by the remark of M. Atay, leader of the Turkish journalists' delegation to India, that there was more freedom in India for the press than there was in any country in Europe except Switzerland and Sweden. M. Atay has shown himself to be a very subtle visitor whose keenness has undoubtedly been sharpened by the practice of journalism in neutral Turkey during these anxious war years. Less acute writers in India have fallen into the error of assuming that M. Atay meant that the press in India enjoyed great freedom. Really what he said did not amount to much. Europe is today under the Nazi regime, except for neutral Switzerland. Sweden, we may take it, has preserved her internal administrative system, while giving in on foreign policy. If M. Atay says that India under Britain has greater freedom than Europe under the Nazis, surely we cannot take that as a very great compliment to the Government. The British as one of the United Nations are fighting a war of liberation. Quotation after quotation is culled each week to show that the ambition of the Nazis is world domination and the enslavement of non-Germanic peoples. If there is anything which could be regarded as a sign of the vast difference in these two ideals, it is naturally to be expected in the treatment of the Press. What

is surprising is not that India has more freedom for its press than Nazi-dominated Europe but that countries situated as are Sweden and Switzerland in the shadow of Nazism, should still allow their press freedom.

Report on Russia :—Mr. Joseph E. Davies in his "Mission to Moscow"—which we notice elsewhere, has given an authentic picture of Soviet Russia which explains in great measure the success of its resistance in the present war. Mr. Davies expressed the opinion as early as 1937 that Russia, by reason of the vastness of her resources and her large territory and unlimited man-power, could endure greater strain than any other nation. He felt that this was the reason why she could bear up under the heavy programme of industrialization initiated by the Soviet Government, though there was, in his opinion, much wastage due to inefficiency and bureaucratic methods. He felt also that it would prove valuable in war. Secondly, he mentions that the purges successively put through by Stalin had rid the country of any dangers it might have feared from Quislings and Fifth Columnists which had infiltrated into nearly all European countries. Mr. Davies says that, from officials of the Bolshevik Party to leaders in the Red Army, the Nazi infection had spread deep and that the action taken by the Stalin group was most timely. Lastly, he gives practical proof of the realistic policy of M. Stalin when he describes the great lengths to which M. Stalin was prepared to go to satisfy the American Government. He asserts that M. Stalin was prepared, as he told Mr. Davies in a personal talk, the only one he had with him, to settle the debts of the Kerensky Government with America if it did not involve similar settlement with Britain and France; and Mr. Davies adds that M. Stalin even suggested a way out to achieve American satisfaction without rousing European envy. There are other indications too to show that the two countries were drawing close together.

Indian Labour for Ceylon :—The message sent by the Governor of Ceylon to the Viceroy requesting the raising of the ban on emigration of unskilled Indian labour, has been published. The Governor of Ceylon said that rubber and tea plantations in Ceylon were short of labour, that they were both essential to war effort, and asked that permission may be granted for recruiting some 30,000 labourers from India who will be repatriated when their services are not needed. The Governor specifically made the request on behalf of his Ministers, which is strange considering the subsequent repudiation of their assent by the Ministers. The Government of India are said to have proposed certain terms for acceptance by the Ceylon Government. What these terms may be, is fairly obvious. But in view of the strong opposition of the Ministers—Mr. T. R. Venkatrama Sastry who was one of the members of the Indian delegation to Ceylon, has publicly stated that one of the Ministers plainly told him that they did not want Indians in Ceylon under any circumstances—we doubt if any terms which are now agreed upon, will be carried out. The British Government refused to intervene to insist on the South African Government fulfilling the terms on which indentured labour was recruited from India at the instance of its predecessors. The future Ceylon Government is sure to do the same and, as it is likely to have full responsible Government in a true sense than the present one, the British Government will not interfere on behalf of India. Mr. Rajagopalacharya who is now in a mood to compromise on any and every

thing, has suggested that the requisite Indian labour should be recruited by the Army and for specific war purposes. This only evades the real issue, namely, whether India will agree to the humiliation of exporting her flesh and blood for menial manual work in a country which does not want it even as an emergency measure. Only if Ceylon consents to become a part of India can the idea commend itself to Indian leaders.

The Myth of Provincial Autonomy :—The situation created by the war has exposed the myth of provincial autonomy in India. At the last meeting of the Food Advisory Committee—these Committees were started for nearly all departments as a means of retaining some semblance of unity among the autonomous provinces created by the Government of India Act of 1935—the Commerce Member of the Government of India who is also in charge of Food, announced that the Central Government has taken over all responsibility for procuring and distributing food to all the provinces. This is the only way in which the rather sordid competition between the surplus and deficit provinces, can be satisfactorily disposed of. The same necessity of having a uniform policy for the whole country was stressed by Sir Jogendra Singh, the Education Member, at the last meeting of the Educational Advisory Committee. The same difficulties have to be overcome in the same way in the Department of Communications. Even Sanitation needs a co-ordinated policy. When the war ends and a new constitution has to be formulated, the lessons of the war should not be forgotten. The desire for provincial autonomy is largely motivated by personal ambitions of local men to wield authority. It is not unworthy but it should not be allowed to override the interests of the whole country. The importance of a strong central government must be recognised.

Jam Saheb and the War Cabinet :—Of the two members sent from India to represent this country on the War Cabinet in London, the Jam Saheb of Jamnagar has returned and Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar is reported to be anxious to follow him. On arrival, the Jam Saheb went to New Delhi where he was interviewed by Press representatives. It is somewhat difficult to reconcile His Highness's statement that the War Cabinet was solely concerned with the prosecution of the war and had nothing to do with politics with his other statement that, as the proposal of the War Cabinet sent through Sir Stafford Cripps had been rejected, the feeling there was that the next step should come from India. War and politics are two aspects of the same problem. Of the two, politics is perhaps more fundamental than war. We agree with His Highness that the solution of the Indian problem lies in Indian hands but it does not follow that other countries might not have some say in hastening or retarding the solution.

Pushpa :—The New Year number of *Pushpa*, the children's journal, edited by Mrs. Hatheesingh, compares not unfavourably with the best children's journal produced in Great Britain or the United States. The letter press and the illustrations are selected with intelligent and sympathetic care for the Indian child mind. Except for the two first pages the language employed throughout is English, the medium widest known in India. The printing and get-up leave nothing to be desired. A journal of this kind is essential as implanting in the child mind ideas of India as a nation and as a land of beauty transcending all provincial and communal boundaries. We wish *Pushpa* increasing success in the coming year and in the years which follow.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, February 13, 1943.

THE GANDHI—LINLITHGOW LETTERS.

The newspapers on Thursday morning published what presumably is the full text of letters exchanged in the past month and a half between Gandhiji and Lord Linlithgow. From comments cabled from the British press, it is apparent that one letter, August 14 from Gandhiji, has been withheld in India though sent abroad for publication. It appears from this correspondence that Gandhiji expressed a sense of hurt at the allegations made against him by the Government, which were "palpable departures from truth," pointed out the absurdity of suspecting him, with his record of non-violence and truth, of supporting the violent outbreaks, charged the Government with leonine violence, and asked either to be convinced of his error in which case he would express regret, or for a retraction from Government. The long exchanges which arose out of this, progressed through a somewhat unseemly bandying of words as to the responsibility for the country's troubles, on to a decision on the part of Gandhiji to "appeal to the Highest Tribunal for the Justice which I have failed to secure from you;" to the Viceroy charging Gandhiji with resorting to "political blackmail" and to attempting "to find an easy way out;" and to the Government of Bombay promulgating an order given elsewhere. That this should be the outcome of a feeling of oppression on the part of the two chief actors, in the existing circumstances, is the tragedy of the situation. Lord Linlithgow with a desire of relieving his Government of all responsibility offered to release Gandhiji for twenty-one days. But Gandhiji countered with a reply which makes any release except an unconditional one impossible. We must confess our inability to appreciate the attitude of both sides on this particular point. But the compulsory press advising imposed by the Government of Bombay, under orders doubtless from the Centre, makes it impossible to discuss the subject. For from our knowledge of the press advising system in all provinces, we gravely doubt whether the press adviser anywhere has the necessary mental equipment to follow the subtle points which must arise in considering the issues involved.

Lord Linlithgow at one stage of the correspondence has been irritated into accusing Gandhiji of "political blackmail." It speaks much for the naivete of Lord Linlithgow that he should expect to move a man whom he accuses of responsibility for violence, arson, sabotage, to a more docile frame of mind by charging him with a less offence. The important point in the letters is the discussion on violence. It would appear that Lord Linlithgow has adopted the Gandhian creed and eschewed violence as a respectable means to achieving an end. "I am very glad," he writes, "to read your unequivocal condemnation of violence." And then he proceeds to narrate at length the cases of mob violence which he has had reported to him, citing in evidence the partisan speech of Sir Reginald Maxwell in the Assembly. There is no reference to the methods of the Government in putting down agitation which have roused considerable comment. Gandhiji, on the other hand, tends to discredit official reports of mob violence and to take up the many complaints which have been made by the Indian press and publicists. This absence of an integrated view of conditions in the country is understandable in Gandhiji who is, on Lord Lin

lithgow's own statement, the leader of one party only and, besides, a prisoner under detention. But it is markedly out of place in Lord Linlithgow who, as the head of the Government in the country, should be large-minded enough to consider all interests. This is all the more so, since it is his case that only a section in the country supports the agitation. The Viceroy has stated that the time was not ripe for bringing up against the Congress the charges, which he said were well substantiated, of responsibility for violence. But he added that the Congress and Gandhiji would have to answer the charge before the world at a future date. Gandhiji, according to some comments in the press, apparently sought the verdict of an impartial tribunal and one contemporary has ingeniously suggested submitting the question to an international tribunal. Both sides have missed the significance of the whole discussion if this is indicative of their attitudes. It is due to Gandhiji that in India alone does the test of non-violence prevail as a general standard, now accepted by the head of the Government. Elsewhere the charge of violence raised against a party in revolt would provoke ridicule. This must be clearly understood.

There is no particular purpose to be served in an argument on who is responsible for the disturbances. Assuming that Gandhiji's lead in August had started a conflagration, the Government might well inquire why the public, even if only a section of it, was responsive enough to give trouble to the administration for six months. The Government communique which introduces the letters, contends that non-Congressmen who have not supported the policy of the Congress, are not likely to demonstrate against the administration on the arrest of Congress leaders. This is easily decided by holding test elections in the provinces and for the Central Legislature to see whether the present policy of the Government is approved. If Lord Linlithgow peruses the annual reports on India published during previous Civil Disobedience movements, he will find repeatedly stated there that political violence subsided during the campaigns and revived when the movements lost their strength. Unfortunately official and non-official supporters of the Government of India have been most unrestrained in the first two years of war in pouring ridicule on non-violence. The restricted campaign of individual satyagraha launched by Gandhiji was repeatedly stigmatised as ineffective and futile and nothing was done to improve the political atmosphere of the country. If there is any particular body which must be held more than others responsible for the steady and persistent deterioration of Indian political life, it is the Government which has tried to get over the consequences of its bungling by a resort to the usual bureaucratic justifications of the duty of a government to govern and of maintaining law and order. It is not now, however, a question of who is responsible, but who is prepared to take responsibility for settling a difficult position. What is wanted is not suppression of trouble but elimination of its causes. If Lord Linlithgow is not—and his letters seem to show this—he should admit it and allow someone else to take over. No one can, in a larger sense, disclaim responsibility for any activity in the political sphere if he claims to speak as a national leader. The wrangle about fixing the blame is a futile waste of effort. What we want is to get out of the muddle, not more deeply involved in it. The time calls for a new lead.

THE FAILURE OF DEMOCRACY—ITS CAUSE AND CURE.

The tiniest insect which crawls on the earth, it has been observed by a great philosophic historian, is more wonderful than the most ingenious machine invented because the former has the power of self-direction. The chief purpose for which this power is needed is for the creature to maintain itself by securing suitable food and to protect itself against adversaries either by fighting them or escaping from them. Experience in war has abundantly proved that present-day Democracy in all its forms, though it had the power of maintaining itself by exploiting weaker peoples, has not the power of protecting itself against nations equally strong in armaments. It is obliged to surrender all its liberties and rights to a single individual or a group of individuals, that is to say, cease to be a democracy and transform itself into a dictatorship in order to offer resistance against aggression with a fair chance of success. Thus Democracy does not possess the elementary power which living organisms possess. It corresponds, therefore, to a machine rather than to a living organism. Gerald Heard, the far-sighted American thinker and writer, brings out this feature of modern Democracy in his thought-provoking book "Man the Master" [Faber and Faber, London], and suggests how Democracy can become a living organism instead of, as it is, a lifeless machine requiring to be manipulated by interested and often unscrupulous politicians. Incidentally, he refutes the common fallacy that Dictatorship is the only alternative to Democracy. He gives conclusive reasons for his conviction that Dictatorships must inevitably fail. He writes :

The dictators' exploitation of the subconscious wish in modern man, to transcend individualism by entering the universal life, their robbery with violence and their prostitution of a blind impulse which was seeking its true unity, their turning this away from life and making it serve destruction, will be terribly avenged. The growth of self-consciousness and of critical questioning is part of our evolution and cannot be kept from spreading to every compartment of our consciousness... The only hope is that, through this acute consciousness, we may discover the subconscious, realise its need and also its offer of help and so to attain the real unity instead of being suffocated in a false uniformity.

Mankind is reacting against the extreme individualism of *laissez-faire*. It longs to become one with the universal. This longing in the spiritual sphere is the central theme of Hindu philosophy. But this longing is not confined to the spirit. It extends to all phases of life. Indeed, unless it is effectively implemented in social institutions, it can not be realised in the life spiritual. The *varnashrama* was the attempt of Hinduism to embody it in social life. Society and the cosmos were conceived to be living beings with the organs of living beings—head and limbs. An organism has diverse parts which function harmoniously to maintain life. Heard accepts this principle. Modern democracy is not a living organism because it is based on the assumption of uniformity of all parts of the body politic. He calls this Inorganic Democracy which, he says, is liquidating itself. He writes:

Of its own nature, there is no future for democracy which is not a living organism but only a heterogeneous accumulation of completely individualised people, holding together merely in the diminishing hope of what they each might get from so holding. Even if the dictators had not appeared in other countries and challenged those countries which have clung to a democratic form, even if international war had not

sprung the leak, the ship of civilization would be sinking; its timbers are decayed. War was only a symptom of that decay. Because of the internal devolution, democracy would have had to disappear.

The remedy is to convert inorganic to organic democracy, from a machine to an organism. This can be done by adopting what Heard calls "The Quadri-type Organization of Society." What is this organic Democracy? Heard defines it thus:

Organized democracy is the rule of the people who have organised themselves in a living and not in a mechanical relationship; where, instead of a blind attempt at uniformity (never attained, always a pretence), there is integrated variety; where instead of all men being said to be equal, which is a lie, all men are known to be of equal value, could we but find the position in which their potential contributions could be released and their essential growths pursued.

The four features of this quadri-type organization are, first, the seers, represented by the eyes; the hands represented by the upper and lower middle class of understanding, the politicians and technicians; the feet, the unquestioning masses who want to believe. In words which recall the Purusha Sukta, Heard points out that present-day societies in which these four features exist but are unorganized and unrecognized, is in a state of anarchy. "This is due to the fact that the eyes have failed, the hands have grown and have tried to become the eyes, the feet stagger." Heard recognises that this corresponds closely to the Hindu system and hastens to point out that he is not advocating the adoption of the present Hindu system. The Brahmin of the present day has ceased to be a seer and has merged into the politician and technician groups. Heard calls for "a neo-Brahmin" who has "first and foremost to know that if, and only if, the individual ego is abandoned, is there then possibly a quality of consciousness as transcendent of individual self-consciousness as that consciousness transcends the consciousness of an animal. He must know that this at last is the only adequate goal and meaning of life." In the chapter headed, "The New Membership," Heard carefully defines the functions of the four classes. The Sudra's function, for instance, is that of the routine worker and the unskilled labour class. He holds the last position in the social system because he of all classes, "has the shortest time sense." Heard explains:

He lives less in the future, is most able to be wholly satisfied in the present. So, too, he has the least difficulty in forgetting. Leave him alone he is content. Return him to the conditions which he knows and soon he fails to recall that there has been any disturbance. His power of recovery, the speed at which his mind will heal itself, is great. That is his strength.

These qualities which Heard ascribes to Sudras, are the qualities conspicuous in children, and children, irrespective of the caste in which they are born, are Sudras in the Hindu system until, in the case of the twice-born, they are invested with the sacred thread. Heard's quadri-type society closely corresponds to the *chaturvarna* as defined in the Bhagavad Gita, based on qualities and functions. It is the confusion of these groups which Arjuna dreads as a consequence of war. It is not possible to go into the many ramifications of Heard's presentation of his plan. But it may be noted that he does not think that the seer class should be numerically large. "The eyes occupy but a small part of the body's superficial area but that is enough," he points out. The chief defect of the Hindu Brahmanical ideal, according to Heard, is its emphasis on renunciation and withdrawal from the

world. This is not correct. The Brahmanical ideal is not very different from the conditions he prescribes for his "Neo-Brahmin." Heard writes :

The Neo-Brahmin does not eschew indulgence, possessiveness and pretension to impress the lower classes and for their good. Indeed, it should be evident that should he attempt so to do, however socially expedient it might seem, he is bound to fail. His performance will always be unconvincing and he will end a neurotic or a hypocrite. Even for the sake of society he must be certain that he knows this thing even though it were of no benefit to society. He must know he lives this life, although it might offer no solution for the rest of mankind, although there might be no solution of any sort for civilization or humanity.

One can not help thinking that Heard would not have felt the need for these observations had he studied the Bhagavad Gita and not confined his reading of Hindu literature to the Code of Manu, because this is exactly what the Gita requires of the seer, the man of steady consciousness, whether he be Brahmin or Chandala. Cohen-Portheim who also turns to India for light says that the India he looks to is the India not of today but of the Bhagavad Gita. Is it not strange that when Western thinkers are looking to India for a solution of their problems, Indians should be hugging to their bosoms the very systems which the former are rejecting as false and destructive ?

AMERICAN AMBASSADORS AND PERSONAL ENVOYS.

Mr. Joseph E. Davies, United States Ambassador to Russia from 1936 to 1938, has written a book, "Mission to Moscow" (Simon and Schuster, New York), purporting to be a record of confidential despatches to the State Department now made available to the general public. Mr. Davies has carefully edited the despatches and nothing which should not be made public has been included. But Mr. Davies throws unconsciously light on the position of an ambassador of the U. S. A. which is of interest in view of the presence of Mr. William Phillips, President Roosevelt's personal envoy, in India, and the expectations roused by him among many Indians. The American diplomat abroad rarely interferes in the affairs of the country in which his work lies. When he does, he interferes to strengthen the dominant. If he is unmindful of the conditions around him, the suppressed parties may congratulate themselves. For invariably when he interests himself in internal affairs, he comes out in full, indiscriminate support of authority. Nor is this testimony unsupported by other evidence. We reviewed some months back, 'Ambassador Dodd's Diary,' on his tenure in Berlin. Dodd was a man of principle who was revolted so much by Nazi inhumanities that he himself records his intense aversion even to meeting the leaders of the country in which he was representing the United States. Of him, Mr. Davies remarks that the veteran Colonel House observed :

It was a serious mistake to allow oneself to get into a position of such hostility as to be ineffective in the country to which one is accredited. Dodd was an able man and of high principles and it was a matter of regret to him to see Dodd mistake his function, particularly as he himself had recommended Dodd to the President.

Davies himself was a model of all that was expected of an American diplomat abroad. He reached a point at which, even when men with whom he had associated, were condemned to death, he was able to sympathise with them but at the same time see the Soviet Government's point of view. "There these men sat," he writes, "not more than

ten feet from me in the prisoner's box. I hope they saw in my eyes the sorrow which I felt in seeing them in these conditions.....The Government acted with great vigour and speed." Mr. Davies was a model ambassador. So, more pertinent to our own position in India, was Mr. William Phillips, at Rome. Writes Gaetano Salvemini in a recent issue of *The New Republic* of Mr. Phillips' ambassadorship :

Let us hope at least that the news was not broadcast to Italy that the American charge d'affaires at Rome on receiving from Foreign Minister Ciano Italy's declaration of war, handed him a letter from Ambassador Phillips thanking Ciano for "the friendship and spirit of co-operation" he had shown during the happy years the Ambassador had spent in Rome. Ambassador Phillips was "happy" in Rome while the Italian tragedy was developing. As far as he was concerned, the Italian people did not exist. During these years he took good care not to learn that Ciano was a dishonest and unpopular man and therefore did not deserve any particular token of friendship from an ambassador of the United States, at least not at the precise moment when Ciano was handing over a declaration of war against America.

We quote this passage not to belittle Mr. Phillips who enjoys the privilege of personal friendship with President Roosevelt, but to warn the Indian public which of recent weeks has come to set great store on Mr. Phillips' intervening in Indian affairs, against expectations which are doomed to disappointment.

There are certain curious facts about America's representatives abroad which appear after reading books like those written by Davies and Dodd. There are evidently three classes which have arisen since President Roosevelt's rise to office: The first are the diplomats; then there are university men who have been taken out of their profession; and last, but most influential, are the President's personal friends like Davies and Phillips, drawn from business. The President, it appears from the two published records, was much harassed by pressure for jobs abroad, not only from numerous aspirants but from members in the State Department. Mr. Dodd records that the President pressed him in August 1937 that he should continue in Berlin for three months longer to save Mr. Roosevelt from the pressure of Mr. Davies who wanted the Berlin post. Mr. Davies records, in June 1927 on the other hand, that Mr. Dodd showed a disinclination to leave Berlin. The result of this kind of delicate handling is that an element of uncertainty is introduced into the public life of the country. Mr. Dodd goes back to Berlin, having arrived at an understanding with President Roosevelt that it would be advisable for him to remain at Berlin till March 1938 lest the Nazi Government should conclude that he was recalled owing to differences of opinion. Mr. Roosevelt wires in November 1937 asking him to intimate as his successor another man. Later he learns from the President that this was on pressure from the German Foreign Office which the German Foreign Office definitely denies. Raymond Moley in "After Seven Years" has given similar instances of political confusion.

These incidents probably occur in all countries. What is unique in the United States is that they are publicly mentioned and discussed openly, without seeming to arouse any bitterness in the men involved. Mr. Davies, for example, who quite candidly avows his desire to go to Berlin and who was promised the Berlin appointment by the President, ends on a happy note when he gets Brussels instead. His devotion to President Roosevelt is most touching and it comes

out at awkward moments as when he writes to men, like M. Litvinoff, of "our great President." A feature which might be coincidence or might not, is that those who have proved successes as ambassadors—Messrs. Davies and Phillips—and have been retained for further work, are men who have been able to work with British Ambassadors. Those who have not, have left the diplomatic field. President Roosevelt's immediate circle has been nearer British policies than other American political groups. This should not be ignored in any attempt at assessing America's part in international questions.

FOOD EXPENDITURE AND INCOME.

The *International Labour Review* for September gives first place to a suggestive article headed "Food Consumption and Nutrition in the Americas" by Robert Morse Woodbury of the Labour Office of the League of Nations. The starting-point of the enquiry is what used to be known as Engel's Law. It is that expenditure on food diminishes proportionately as income advances. The lowest incomes are mostly absorbed by the provision of food. Food, housing and clothing almost entirely exhaust the next higher incomes. Education of children above the elementary stage needs still higher incomes. The number of people in a community able to provide for other amenities is but a small fraction. Except as regards the lowest incomes, the operation of Engel's Law is modified more or less appreciably, particularly in communities with long-standing social traditions. Even among the wage-earning classes in India, the Law does not strictly apply. There are social and religious conventions which, in all but the lowest strata, take precedence over economic considerations. These weigh most heavily on the middle classes, the white collar class in the West, the white cloth categories in India, and are sacrifices in order to maintain the status of families, which once lowered can be recovered only by greater sacrifices. There are in India large numbers of the population whose incomes do not suffice even to procure a full meal every day. The maintenance of this large class by social usage and the absence of provision by the State in the shape of doles, old age pensions and medical relief as in Western countries, devolves on the community and the family, and reduces their apparent income considerably. Owing to this fact, the relation of income to expenditure differs in India markedly from that in Western Europe and the United States of America. A similar disparity is noticeable in the proportion of food expenditure in South American countries. In the June number of the *International Labour Review*, figures were given which showed that it varied between 63.7 in Columbia to 29.5 percent in New Zealand which has the highest *per capita* income in the world. Among American countries, the proportion of food expenditure varies from 71.1 per cent in Chile to 30.2 per cent for British families in Canada. The proportion for French families in Canada is 33.4 per cent. The Canadian French are Catholics and have large families, which may account for the slightly higher proportion, which is identical with that of the United States, 33.5. In South America the highest proportion is for Bogota in Columbia, 63.7: the lowest in Venezuela, 28.3.

It does not necessarily follow, however, that the countries which have the lowest proportion in food expenditure, implying a higher income, spend it on the most nutritious food. Milk, milk products, eggs, fruit and vegetables stand at the top as regards nutritional values. Bogota which has the highest food

expenditure in the Americas, spends proportionately most on fruit and vegetables, 21.7 percent, while Canada spent only 16 and the United States 20 per cent. As between cereals and other food stuffs, Mr. Woodbury observes that the percentage on cereals decreases with increase of income. The expenditure on potatoes decreases as income increases, while that on milk and milk products and citrus fruit and tomatoes and green and leafy and yellow vegetables rises with larger incomes.

"FALLACY OF COMPROMISE."

Mr. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, Peelamedu, writes: Your article on "Fallacy of Compromise" is timely and effective. Mr. Sastri's views on the problem of electorates have undergone a radical change during the last two years. The reason is that, in the present depressing atmosphere, our leaders of political thought feel frustration of their efforts, and are compelled to give up their cherished life-long faith in the basic principles of political science. Mr. Sastri's strong convictions find admirable expression in the following passage from a speech of his (1926), and do not admit of any compromise on this question:

A democratic constitution that allows the nation to be split up into so many communities and teaches the members of each such community to believe themselves to be the citizens not of the whole Indian nation but of a separate fraction thereof, not bound to consider the interests and the welfare of the whole country but content to devote themselves to the promotion of their own particular interests—a Constitution of that kind is a constitution unlikely to favour the growth of the Indian nation, conscious of its nationality. That is the danger now confronting our people. The only loyalty that I wish to put before you all is the loyalty that we must feel to India. Any smaller loyalty must be split out of our heart, for it is ruinous to the State, to the separate communities themselves. It is a thing of unmitigated evil, and we must consign it to that end which unmitigated evil deserves everywhere.

BOMBAY GOVERNMENT'S ORDERS.

I.

Whereas the Government of Bombay is satisfied that for the purpose of securing the defence of British India, the public safety, the maintenance of public order and the efficient prosecution of war, it is necessary to make the following order:

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by sub-rule (1) of rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules the Government of Bombay is pleased to order that—(1) all reports or pictorial representations regarding the fast which was commenced by Mr. M. K. Gandhi on or about February 10th 1943 and all reference to it whether direct or indirect shall before being printed or published by any printer, publisher or editor be submitted for scrutiny in the City of Bombay to the Special Press Adviser and elsewhere to the District Press Adviser; and (2) no printer, publisher or editor shall print or publish any matter specified above, unless it has been approved by the authority specified in clause (1) as suitable for publication.

The above order is addressed to printers, publishers and editors generally except those specified in the schedule to this order. Provided that nothing in this order applies to any matter which has been passed for publication by the Chief Press Adviser in India.

II.

Whereas the Government of Bombay is satisfied that for the purpose of securing the defence of British India, the public safety, the maintenance of public order and the efficient prosecution of the war, it is necessary to make the following order:

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by sub-rule (1) of Rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules, the Government of Bombay is pleased to order that

(a) all statements emanating from Mr. M. K. Gandhi or reports of or reference to such statements whether direct or indirect and all reports of interviews or conversations with Mr. M. K. Gandhi or persons detained with him or having access to him shall before being printed or published by any printer, publisher or editor be submitted for scrutiny to the Provincial Press Adviser ;

(b) no printer, publisher or editor shall print or publish any matter specified above unless it has been approved by the Provincial Press Adviser as suitable for publication ;

(c) no printer or publisher shall print or publish in any document other than a newspaper any report or pictorial representation regarding Mr. Gandhi's fast which commenced on or about February 10th 1943 or any reference to it whether direct or indirect without the previous approval of the Government of Bombay ;

Provided that nothing in the above order shall be deemed to apply in respect of any interview conversation or statement which occurred or was issued prior to August 9th 1942 or to any matter contained in a statement issued by the Central Government or by the Government of Bombay.

The above order is addressed to printers, publishers and editors generally.

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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 Roger Lumley's Farewells:—In the address which he delivered last week at the Convocation of Bombay University and in the speech which he made at the Rotary Club on Tuesday, Sir Roger Lumley referred to his term of office now rapidly drawing to a close. His advice to the graduates and his appreciation of the goodwill shown to him by the people of this province, were alike free from the fustian which is thought indispensable on such occasions. The feature of Sir Roger's personality which struck those at any rate who have followed his career in Bombay from a respectful distance, is that he has little faith in slogans generally and in political slogans in particular as a means of elevating the human race or, for that matter, of preventing its elevation. The goodwill of the public and the Press to which he referred, is merely the reflection of his own attitude to the two. Once they realised that they had in him a straight man, the public and the Press have without effort put the best interpretation on the measures of Sir Roger's administration and, when this was impossible, they have made allowances on the score of the interference of the Central Government, regretting that Sir Roger, so far as the public knows, has not more effectively asserted his own judgment against that of the bureaucrats who run New Delhi. For instance, the orders of the Bombay Government in respect of Gandhiji's fast are more stringent than those of other Provinces where newspapers have commented on it with greater freedom. This to some extent is due to the anomalous position of the provincial Government which, nominally autonomous, is actually controlled by the Central Government not only in matters of all India interest but also in matters which the provincial government can manage best in the light of its closer contact with public sentiment. The convention that one who had held office as Governor or Governor-General should not sit in the House of Commons, has been, so far as the Presidency Governors are concerned, broken by Sir Frederick Sykes and Lord Erskine. Parliamentary elections nowadays, however, are decided by agreement between party bosses, a method which smacks of Tammany Hall more than of democratic principle. Sir Roger Lumley, one rather thinks, is not very much in favour with the Churchill group of Tories and he may not get a nomination from the Party machine. But he will have other opportunities of usefulness and his promise that he will strive to bring about a better understanding between India and Britain, may be fulfilled not less effectively because

it cannot be fulfilled under the eye of the Speaker.

Jinnah-Huq Letters:—The Bengal Premier, it is well-known, has been for some time past smarting under the interferences of the Governor with the administration outside the reservations provided in the statute. Some instances of these were stated by Dr. Shyam Prasad Mukherji in the Bengal Legislative Assembly in the course of a statement explaining why he resigned the Finance Membership. It would appear that Mr. Huq realised that the only way of countering this difficulty was for him to rejoin the Muslim League from which he had been expelled over a year ago for disciplinary reasons. Mr. Huq accordingly sought an interview with the President of the League and was told that, if he acknowledged his faults and dissolved the Progressive Coalition Party which he had formed, the question of his re-admission would be favourably considered. Mr. Jinnah further stipulated that Mr. Fazlul Huq should resign the Premiership and leave the Muslim League to reconstitute the Ministry. "Thereafter," observed Mr. Jinnah, "the Muslim League Party in the Bengal Legislative Assembly will take such decisions as may be necessary from time to time with regard to matters rising in connection with and in relation to the legislature and administration of the Government of Bengal in consonance with the League policy." In a statement in the Bengal Legislative Assembly this week, Mr. Fazlul Huq charged the Congress party with having set up a parallel Government in one of the Bengal districts. Here is an open avowal by the President of the Muslim League that, if Mr. Fazlul Huq is readmitted to the League, he should co-operate in establishing a Ministry which will govern not according to the constitution but in consonance with the League's policy. The League's policy will, we may assume, be consonant with the law but it may not always be so. In any case, if a parallel Government is wrong, the imposition of the League policy on the existing machinery can not be right. The correspondence with Mr. Jinnah would seem to have been carried on without the knowledge of Mr. Huq's colleagues, at least his Hindu colleagues. Otherwise, it is not easy to understand Mr. Huq's resentment at its publication at the instance of Mr. Jinnah. In his letter to Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Fazlul Haq confidently declared that he was strong enough in the Bengal Legislature to carry on until the war and a year after and that he was sacrificing this advantage and joining the Muslim League solely in the interests of the country and the community. Mr. Jinnah had demanded that Mr. Huq's party, the Progressive Unionists, should be dissolved. Mr. Huq assured him that his resignation of the premiership would automatically bring about this result. As a matter of fact, however, the Nawab of Dacca who is an important member of the Huq Cabinet, is, according to a report in the *Hindustan Standard*, reorganizing the Progressive Unionist Party which has received large support from Muslim leaders and has elected him its leader.

Brothels in Calcutta :—In the annals of the great movement of the last century for the promotion of health and morals, two names stand out in high relief. Florence Nightingale pioneered the health movement first in the British army, later over the larger life of society. She took a deep interest in the improvement of sanitation in this country. Her name was commemorated in the Florence Nightingale Fund for Village Sanitation which was handed over to the Social Service League in Bombay for administration. What Florence Nightingale did for physical hygiene, Josephine Butler did for moral hygiene. She too was deeply interested in India as might be seen from the early volumes of *The Reformer*. By strenuous effort Mrs. Butler got the system of compulsory registration, including army brothels, which existed in the British army, as in Continental armies, abolished. Investigations showed that the system was not only morally objectionable, that not only was it the cause of woman's degradation, but that it did not serve the purpose for which it was intended—namely, the protection of soldiers from venereal disease. It was proved that venereal disease actually increased under the system. There have been complaints from time to time that though officially abolished the practice did not altogether die out but was observed clandestinely. In the Continent it continued to flourish. One of the most bitter memories of the last war to Germans, is that, in the territory occupied by the French, the civil authority was obliged to recruit young women for the service of the Algerian and other coloured French troops. Three years ago, a Frenchwoman appealed to Cardinal Hinsley, head of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Great Britain, to intervene to put a stop to the ruin in health and morals of young Frenchwomen. The appeal was reprinted in *The Reformer*. The occasion for recalling this past history is the action of the Metropolitan of India in allowing the publication in his official *Diocesan Record* of complaints to the effect that householders had been asked to evacuate their homes to accommodate prostitutes for soldiers. Mr. K. C. Neogy asked Government in the Legislative Assembly for information regarding the matter. The official reply was to the effect that the *Diocesan Record* allegations were unfounded, and that the journal had withdrawn and expressed regret for the allegations. The Metropolitan emphatically contradicts this statement. In a statement to the press, the Most Revd. Foss-Westcott says that he cannot reconcile the answer with the facts of the case with which he is intimately familiar. His Grace writes:

"The one statement in the original article, which appeared with my full sanction in the "Calcutta Diocesan Record" for November 1942, which was later amended, ran as follows:

"There are indications that the building next door to St. Mary's Home is to be used for the medical examination of prostitutes."

When the Commander-in-Chief of the Eastern Army discussed this question with me, he assured me that the room was not being used for this purpose and I accepted his assurance and in the December issue stated that the "room was to be used as a prophylactic treatment centre for the men and not as an inspection clinic for prostitutes."

The room has since been closed. No other statement in the original article was amended or withdrawn.

Executive Councillors Resign :—The news that three members of the Governor-General's Executive Council had resigned, came as a surprise on Thursday morning. It is expected that two more resignations will be forthcoming. The crisis—it

does not cease to be a crisis because the head of the Executive is irremovable—is unexpected as people had generally come to believe that nothing would shake the composure of the Viceroy's "eleven Indians." Messrs Aney and Sarker have long been regarded by the public as the most national-minded of a reactionary, or more correctly subservient, Executive Council. Sir H. P. Mody has not been much in the public eye but reports, generally speaking, have marked him as the most independent personality in the Government of India. After Sir Reginald Maxwell's speech in the Assembly which in manner more than in matter was offensive in the highest degree, we are surprised that, barring men like Sir Feroze Khan Noon, Sir Mahomed Usman and Dr. Ambedkar who are venomously anti-Congress, any other Indian Councillor should have had a moment's hesitation. The issues are getting clearout and, what Mr. Amery's supercilious speeches could not sting the Indian Members of the Viceroy's Council to do, conditions in this country are rapidly achieving. The seats vacated by the three members will, we have no doubt, be soon filled and, if they desire it, His Majesty's Government will be again in a position to cite, as proof of public support, the "Indian" character of the Executive. But the country will not look any more to the men at Delhi to voice national sentiment. Nor can official spokesmen disguise the fact that the men they will have to fall back upon, are second-best at most. The triple resignation has torn the last shred of pretence from the claims of propagandists abroad.

War Correspondents :—The term, "war correspondent," brings before the mind the privileged group of American newspapermen who have functioned brilliantly in every European capital and are now trickling slowly eastward into Asia. He is a formidable personality to whose utility and guidance many an ambassador has borne testimony. Their presence at New Delhi had stirred up a section of journalists in India to demand facilities for Indians who are ready to undertake similar work abroad. We have not been enthusiastic about the demand for the reason that a war correspondent should have the support of a government which, even if not independent, is respected in the country to which he is accredited. Otherwise he must inevitably be exposed to innumerable difficulties which every working journalist can visualize. Britain and America are the two countries which favour the journalist representative abroad. The agitation culminated last week in the *Times of India* sending to the Burma campaign its Assistant Editor, Mr. F. R. Moraes, as its war correspondent. This is an assignment in which the dust is more visible than the palm. The difficulties which the Indian press has experienced in the three years of war, will perhaps, not exist, but others are sure to crop up. It is not an easy exchange from the quiet of an editorial office to the turmoil of a military campaign. In making it, Mr. Moraes has the good wishes of the Indian press. As a pioneer in a new field he will be creating precedents which will be watched with interest by the profession. From this point of view, the selection is a fortunate one. Mr. Moraes possesses the happy gift of asserting a point without antagonising others—an essential quality in managing difficult positions. He will gain invaluable experience which, we are confident, he will make available on his return to fellow journalists.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, February 20, 1943.

GANDHIJI'S FAST.

Gandhiji's letter of August 14, 1942 which, we mentioned last week, had been released in England but not here, was published by the Indian press on Friday. It is a notable document which sets forth the position of the Congress just before the arrests six days previous, without any complication of the issues involved. Gandhiji states therein that the demand of the Congress made at the Bombay meeting was not a party demand and that it had been deliberately framed as a national charter. As we have remarked before the use of words like "rebellion" was an unfortunate mistake for which the country has been made to pay during the past six months. Gandhiji naively tells Lord Linlithgow that, if Lord Linlithgow had any difficulties in the way of understanding and satisfying the demand of August 8, he should have sought to have the points resolved by conferring with Congressmen. The "Quit India" slogan was to be implemented mainly by the British themselves! This shows that Gandhiji still retains a pathetic faith in British fair play and justice. On another point, Gandhiji throws considerable light when he charges the Government with taking hold of stray utterances made in the course of party discussions, on the limits of non-violence, to damn the party as traitor to its declared ethics of non-violence. Obviously the reference is to the widely-bruited suggestion that the Congress had drawn a fine distinction between violence to property and violence to person, the former being counted as non-violence.

We publish elsewhere the modified order of the Government of Bombay which gives the broad limits of what is permitted in dealing with the twenty-one days fast started by Gandhiji. The restriction on representing the fast as a desirable method, or a justifiable one, of agitation, is a futile and typically bureaucratic gesture. The Government of India has at various stages disapproved of every method of agitation employed by the political parties, from even the sessions of the Congress to civil disobedience in general and now fasting in particular. But when one dislikes a thing, one has not disposed of it. All the epithets applied to Gandhiji's fast fail miserably in effect because they are equally applicable to every other form of agitation or suppression of agitation. For instance, the fast, we are told, is a form of coercion. The imprisonment of 60,000 men, women and children, lathi charges on crowds collected for flag-salutation, rule by ordinances and other features of the Linlithgow regime during the past six months apparently are not coercion. Probably we shall be told that the various restrictions placed on the press from time to time are in the nature of persuasion. Lord Linlithgow comes of a race which has not, so far as we can see, embraced non-violence as a method of winning independence. Where the independence of Britain involved, even the suggestion of non-violence is resented. In view of this, we cannot understand the extremely moral tone of his protest against the fast. It was, he said, political blackmail. Even if it is so, has that ruled it out as a method for achieving a political object? Or, does the describing of it in these words help to solve the problem? The fact that Gandhiji named his movement a rebellion and that Government have taken him at his word, makes the ethical issue all the more irrelevant. Sir Reginald Maxwell's speech as Home Member in the Assembly in denunciation of

Gandhiji has served no purpose other perhaps than to hasten the decision to resign of three Executive Council Members, Mr. M. S. Aney, Mr. N. R. Sarker and Sir Homi Mody. It is a sign of political immaturity to waste time on the propriety of the methods employed, in the conditions in which we find ourselves in this country. Lord Linlithgow, it must be remembered, heads a Government which has consistently refused all demands and enquiries into allegations of excess. Now he wants the public to endorse his view that a political fast is bad. And what he cannot secure willingly, he is not unwilling to achieve by pressure. He who comes to equity must come with clean hands.

While we would deplore any unnecessary spilling of ink on the subject of the propriety of the fast as a political weapon, it is necessary that the public should appreciate what are the likely consequences of this type of protest in general and this particular fast. It is a fact confirmed by experience on previous occasions that the fast works, in any political deadlock, against the party to which the man who resorts to it belongs. The reason is obvious: Out of the three or more irreconcilable parties to a dispute, the only one which is moved into a mood of compromise and concession, is that one which desires, above all, to save the life of its leader. The others by pitching their demand high can wangle a bargain, if they hold out long enough. This accounts for the psychology behind the attitude of both Sir Reginald Maxwell and Mr. Jinnah who see in the collection of 150 leaders at Delhi, an impending climb-down in the national demand. Mr. Jinnah says that it is for the Hindu leaders to save Gandhiji's life. Sir Reginald practically wants a withdrawal of the "Quit India" cry and an admission that the British must remain here for some time more. The attitude would seem childish, were it not tragic. The end of the present conflict is will-nigh inevitable in a triumph of the Rajagopalachari group in the Congress over the Indian unity section which is the majority, in the concession of Mr. Jinnah's political demand, and in a bargain with the British power in India. We concede that there can be two opinions about the desirability of these results. But they are very far from the moving forces behind the Congress before it was submerged under the arrests. The Delhi Conference is to ask solely for the release of Gandhiji as time prevents any party negotiations. We are glad that constitutional issues are not entangled with this objective.

Standard Cloth :—When Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, then Member for Commerce, started the idea of producing "standard cloth" for the poor and announced that he was taking steps to have this done immediately, the *Reformer* expressed serious doubts about the feasibility of the scheme. Three years have passed and nothing has come out of the project. It seems that the provinces did not take kindly to the idea. The provinces are in a better position to know than the Commerce Department, even though the Honourable Member is for the most time on tour, how the people feel and think about matters which concern them so closely as the food they eat and the clothes they wear and they had, doubtless, good reasons for not becoming enthusiastic about standardising the clothing of people accustomed to wear their own special patterns of cloth. Now the standard cloth is apparently to be forced on the Provinces and the States. Government which is to purchase and distribute the standard cloth, will find itself saddled with a large quantity of the stuff when war production is suddenly brought to an end by the end of the war.

CAPITALISM OR INDIVIDUALISM?

In the introduction to his book, "Mission to Moscow," noticed in last week's *Reformer* Mr. Joseph E. Davies, ex-American Ambassador, observes,

I am definitely not a Communist. I am called a Capitalist. I am proud of the designation, but I think that the better word is "individualist." Capitalism, with its attendant property rights, is simply the result of an individualistic order in Society which permits to each of us an opportunity to acquire property according to our respective abilities in a fair competitive society. The real test of individualism is not property. It is individual freedom in thought and in opportunity. Capitalism is only one facet of individualism.

Mr. Davies does not mind being called a capitalist. Indeed, he is proud of it, but he would prefer being called an "individualist." His idea of "individualist," however, is not consistent with his definition of it as freedom of thought and opportunity. An individualist is a man who values individual life, whether his own or another's, not only the physical but also and preeminently the intellectual and spiritual life. The capitalist does not do this or he will not be a capitalist. He cares more, far more, for his individual interests than for those of the people through the labour of whose hands he benefits himself. The capitalist is, therefore, an "egoist," which is the antithesis of "individualist." Moley and Dodd were real individualists who had convictions and stood by them. Their books, therefore, are full of living interest. Davies' book after the first few pages is uniformly commonplace. Not a spark of idealism lightens its comfortable assurance that the United States is an earthly paradise, President Roosevelt is the greatest man that ever was or likely to be and Mrs. Davies the finest woman. No wonder that President Roosevelt who, though himself a capitalist, is a statesman with totally different views of capitalism as typified by his New Deal, has not evidently found a new sphere of usefulness in his administration for Mr. Davies.

Equally offhand and untenable is Mr. Davies' analogy between Communism and Christ's brotherhood of man. Mr. Davies writes:

I find no difficulty in accepting the idea, in connection with Communism, that all believers in Christ and Christ's teachings are theoretical communists, to the degree that they are "for" the brotherhood of man. On the other hand, I am equally firmly convinced that Communism, as such, cannot work on this earth, with human nature as it is; and will not work for an aeon or two and until human nature has evolved onward to a point where men will be willing to work "each for the joy of the working," and each in a selfless society. It is also my firm belief that if any idea is projected too rapidly it will not only fail to cure the alleged evils but will probably induce even greater evils than those which it seeks to cure. I am a firm believer in evolution as against revolution.

It is true that Karl Marx and Jesus Christ made material possessions the pivot of their teaching but their attitude to them was fundamentally contradictory. While Marx made material wealth the end of human endeavour, Jesus repudiated it as a worthy end and exhorted his followers to renounce it as inconsistent with the spiritual life. Mr. Davies is for evolution and against revolution though it was through revolution that his land became a country and a nation. Mr. Davies' faith in the capitalist system is so profound that he found it permeating the Soviet way of life notwithstanding its communist inspiration. Verily, "the eye sees what it brings with it the means of seeing."

THE AMERICAN WAY.

Mr. Joseph Davies records a conversation he had with Mr. Hudson at Brussels when the latter was proceeding on the British Mission to Moscow in March 1939. It turned out that Mr. Davies' analysis of conditions in Russia came as a surprise to Mr. Hudson. Mr. Davies says:

He said, "This is extraordinary. Why don't we get the same reports from our people in Moscow? Their reports are definitely to the contrary."...My reply...that it is to be found in the fact that I am not a professional diplomat but a lawyer and businessman who was accustomed to making judgment on situations in which it was always important to me personally that I should recognize facts when I see them and not misread them; and that, while I cast no reflection upon the British Embassy in Moscow, with its very able staff, nevertheless, I believe that in any bureaucratic organization, there was always a tendency to report to their chiefs what their chiefs wanted to hear.

Mrs. Davies has also noted in a memorandum which Mr. Davies includes in his book, the surprise expressed by Lord Chilston, British Ambassador at Moscow, at her having been invited to Molotov's country house. She writes:

After he had satisfied himself that it was Madame Molotov and it was at her *daacha*, he said, "You Americans are remarkable. I have been here seven years and haven't been able to get so much as a toe in their house—and you come and after only a few weeks you have a luncheon given there in your honour. I don't understand it."

BOMBAY GOVERNMENT MODIFIES ORDER.

Whereas the Government of Bombay is satisfied that for the purpose of securing the defence of British India, the public safety, the maintenance of public order and the efficient prosecution of war, it is necessary to make the following order:

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by sub-rule (1) of rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules, the Government of Bombay is pleased to order, in regard to the fast commenced by Mr. M. K. Gandhi on or about February 10th 1943, that

- (1) (a) all reports regarding the progress of the fast other than objective comments on the state of Mr. Gandhi's health,
- (b) all reports and comments liable to arouse resentment against Government on account of the fast or to suggest that the fast is justified as a method of bringing pressure to bear on Government or that Government is in any way responsible for it or its consequences, and,
- (c) all photographs, cartoons or pictorial representations regarding the fast,

shall, before being printed or published by any printer, publisher or editor, be submitted for scrutiny in the City of Bombay to the Special Press Adviser and elsewhere to the District Press Adviser;

(2) no printer, publisher or editor shall print or publish any matter specified above, unless it has been approved by the authority specified in clause (1) as suitable for publication; and

(3) the repeated use of sensational headlines and of sensational typographical display shall be prohibited.

2. The above order is addressed to printers publishers and editors generally.

3. Provided that nothing in this order applies to any matter which has been passed for publication by the Chief Press Adviser in India.

A BANDRA DIARY.

If Reuter's Agency wishes the Indian public to attach any value to its news service from the United States, it should warn its correspondents in that country not to cable such drivel as that "Gandhi is not much more than a name to the majority of Americans." Reuter's correspondent has perhaps conducted a "Gallup poll" in order to find out what the great majority of Americans know of Gandhiji. But during my short visit to the States ten years ago I found that, in New York, Chicago, Niagara, Ann Arbor and Washington, Gandhi was much more than a name. I reproduce the following from "Our Trip To America", published in 1935:

While waiting at the (Niagara) Station I found a small boy—he gave his age as 13—selling a local newspaper. He came to me and asked if I was from India and if I knew Mahatma Gandhi. As he was the last person from whom I expected such a question and, owing to the sharp American accents in which the name was pronounced, I did not at once grasp his meaning. He repeated, "Do you know Mahatma Gandhi?" I said, "Rather." The next question was, "Why does he fast? For the freedom of his country?" I replied, "For the freedom of his country and the sins of his people." I thought he would say something by way of comment. But he did not. He was silent. Perhaps he was trying to understand the meaning of my reply. He was called away but before he left I took down his name in my pocket-book. America is a land of opportunity and not a few of America's great men began life by selling newspapers. This very intelligent boy who was interested in what was going on ten thousand miles away from his country, had it in him some day to become the President of the United States. Who knows? The entry is Waller, selling newspapers at (Niagara) Station, Saturday, July 22, 1933.

Americans took a great deal of interest in Gandhiji's fast 10 years ago and, if they do not do so now, it may be because they are absorbed in the war, but it may also be that the news service from India has something to do with it. When the American mails reach India, it will be possible to judge.

The January *Vedanta Kesari*, the Madras organ of the Ramakrishna Mission, had an editorial headed "Obedience the Basic Principle of Organisation." It struck me as significant of the disposition perceptible in many directions to prefer security to freedom, shirk individual responsibility under the specious plea of loyalty to a party organisation, to exalt what is called "team work" above the duty of personal initiative. All over the world this phenomenon is plainly visible. Under different and often opposing names, democrats as well as totalitarians long to find an authority which will tell them what to do and save them the trouble, amounting to distress, of making decisions for themselves. But it was rather disconcerting to see such an attitude in a journal devoted to Swami Vivekananda's Vedanta the keynote of which, repeated in many forms and on many occasions, is "Be freemen, not slaves." As a matter of fact, the article turns out to be an apology for the monastic institution. The writer claims that obedience to an Order is the best means of spiritual development, quoting Thomas à Kempis and other Christian mystics. Obedience to an Order naturally means obedience to the man who is at the head of the Order. This man must be regarded as infallible. This line of thought is totally alien to India. From ancient times the trend of Indian philosophy has been towards unlimited freedom. The Bhagavad Gita defines *sanyas* to

mean intellectual detachment or disinterestedness. Shankaracharya brushes aside the rules regarding postures and other physical routine of the Yoga as impediments to spiritual culture. Buddha again and again exhorted his followers not to take his teachings on trust. Sri Ramakrishna was a law unto himself and so was Swami Vivekananda. Obedience may be the basic principle of organization but organization itself is the grave of principle. Few ideals have survived organisation. Obedience in itself is the virtue only of slaves. The freeman obeys only principles which he has accepted as true and just and not an Order or an individual except so far as it is consonant with truth and right. The question is not whom but what should one obey or rather guide oneself by. Buddhism lost its hold on India because the monastic system which it exalted, was anti-social. Post-Buddhist Hinduism retained the monastic system but limited it and made it subservient to social and family life. By the way, the account of the evolution of the State with which the writer starts as a background, is historically incorrect. The family was the earliest unit followed by the tribe which, as conceived in the earliest stages, was actually an extension of the family, and was the nucleus out of which the other more complex social and political organisations grew. The theory of a social contract had never any historical basis.

The contrast between the tone and tenour of the correspondence which passed between Lord Linlithgow and Mr. Jinnah a year and a half ago and that published last week between Gandhiji and Lord Linlithgow, is striking. In the former it was Lord Linlithgow who was pleading, explaining, inviting; in the latter it is Gandhiji. The tone of Mr. Jinnah was peremptory, accusing. It is Lord Linlithgow's tone which suffers in comparison with Gandhiji in courtesy. Mr. Jinnah did not hesitate to use the word "double-crossing" in writing to the Viceroy. Lord Linlithgow more than suggests that Gandhiji is trying to levy political blackmail. Men who are conscious of the strength of their cause, have no need to indulge in accusatory language. The use of it, generally speaking, predisposes persons, who are not personally involved in the dispute, in favour of the person against whom it is used and against the person who uses it. The Governor-General of India is a great office, in some respects greater than that of many kings. The descent to personal accusation in the case of one holding that office is far more marked than that of a political leader, though he may be the President of an important organisation. Apart from that, perusal of the Linlithgow-Gandhi correspondence reminded me of nothing so much as the argument between the wolf and the lamb in Aesop's story. The wolf charges the lamb with muddying the water which the wolf was drinking. The lamb pleads that the wolf is drinking at a distance up the stream which cannot, therefore, be defiled by the lamb's action. The wolf is obliged to concede the point but it has another up its sleeve which no argument can disprove. "If you have not spoil my water," the wolf breaks out, "your father and grandfather cannot be absolved from responsibility." Gandhiji pleads that he has been a lifelong protagonist of non-violence and can not possibly countenance violence in any form. Says Lord Linlithgow, "That does not alter the fact that it was after the Congress passed the resolution that the acts of violence began to be committed. *Post hoc ergo propter hoc.*" "But between the passing of the resolution and the breaking out of violence," pleads Gandhiji, "you had put me in the Aga Khan's Palace, surrounded me with all comforts but as completely isolated me

from the outer world as in a living tomb." Lord Linlithgow rejoins that the wife of a member of the Working Committee, according to evidence in his possession is organising the sabotage and other nefarious activities. Assuming that this is true, how is Gandhiji responsible? The son of a Cabinet Minister is said to be broadcasting for the Nazis. But no one in his senses thinks of holding the Minister responsible for it.

RECLUSE.

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS ON THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

It is unfortunate that Sir Stafford Cripps should have come to India as a political emissary. He is a thinker and a religious thinker. If he had come in this, his real role, he would have made a tremendous impression. The *Information Service* of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America accords high praise to an address which Sir Stafford delivered at a meeting of the Industrial Christian Fellowship in London in September at which the Archbishop of Canterbury took a prominent part. Sir Stafford's speech which the *Information Service* calls "a typical social gospel address in the prophetic tradition" challenged the very basis of the Christian Church. He said :

There have been, and still are, two widely differing conceptions of the function of the church, not perhaps mutually exclusive, yet offering very opposite approaches to the problems of civilization. The first regards the church as a channel by which we can individually attain personal salvation in the life to be lived hereafter. The second sees the Church as an active protagonist of the Kingdom of Heaven, or the rule of God, here on earth, as a pioneer of social salvation, more concerned with creating the greatest sum of human good and happiness here and now than encouraging individual merit as a means of personal salvation hereafter.

Sir Stafford is all for the second position. The "two-worldly conception" of religion, he said, discourages the daily practice of Christian faith in social and economic life. The church must be "untrammelled by any material interest" so that its moral judgment may be clear. He said :

The church has suffered, and suffers, because of the knowledge or fear that the bold teaching of Christian principles applied to present society will create a demand for far-reaching social and economic changes which may undermine the financial organization and stability of the church itself. This knowledge is true, but it has no relevance whatever to the duty of the church in putting forward the steps necessary for our social salvation, and cannot alter the objectives for which every Christian must work. This means that we must devote ourselves to the establishment of social justice as strenuously and wholeheartedly as we now strive to win the war. There must be no let-up until we have won the peace, and I warn you that the struggle for social justice will be a long and arduous one. We ourselves may be standing in the way. We may be part of some vested interest, financial or otherwise, which would have to be swept aside in order to reach our objective. But if privilege is to be ended we must be prepared to give up our privileges with the rest. Christianity is either no more than the whitened sepulchre of the Pharisees, or else it is the most real thing in our lives. We dare not preach social salvation unless we work for social justice.

These observations bring out clearly the danger of organisation to religion because so long as the authority in religion is a Church—wholly a Western idea—foisted on the secular State—religion must be in constant danger of being sacrificed to the vested interests of the Church. A Church which

ordains celibacy for its ecclesiastics escapes one danger, that of a hereditary priesthood, only to fall into the still greater danger of religion divorced from humanity. There is no Church outside Christianity and that may be the reason why Hinduism and Islam operate as conscious influences in the life of their followers more than Christianity does in that of Christians.

THE NATIONAL WAR FRONT.

The National War Front has obviously fallen between two stools: The Congress and all other political parties, not excluding the Muslim League, have expressed the view that a settlement of the question of India's status as a free nation is essential to India's giving her best to the war effort. The British Government and its agents in India have not directly met this point but they have expatiated on the difficulties of settling the Indian question, on the danger of swopping horses when crossing a stream; and on the great necessity of hushing all differences until trouble from outside is overcome, or, in other words, on the country lining up behind the bureaucracy. The two issues which claim the attention of thinking men, are both great and vital principles. There is a method of combining the two into one ideal, but for reasons which need not be discussed here, that method has been rejected. There is now no question of making the issue of war paramount in the Indian minds by conceding the national demand. The National War Front has tried to reconcile in words the conflict in India between nationalism and the war effort. Its success can be gauged from its position today in the country. Its leaders have shown the same modesty in coming out to deal with the food problem which they have shown on political questions. Mr. P. J. Griffiths was reported to have said at Madras that the National Front was going to solve the food problem. But people are not fed on words.

It is in other ways also unfortunate that the chief spokesman of this organisation should be Mr. P. J. Griffiths, I.C.S. (retired), who has recently put out a justification of his position and of the National Front in a pamphlet entitled, ".....why can't he mind his own business?" We would not think normally of questioning the interpretations placed on the words, "National War Front," by the man who is generally believed to be the author of the idea itself. But Mr. Griffiths is so original in his thinking that he removes his interpretation well out of the sphere of the normal. First, the peculiar method employed by him of separating each word and then arriving at the meaning of the organisation is quaint and leads to gross inaccuracy. He says "National" means "Nationalist," which leads naturally to the question why "Nationalist" was not used once even by accident, whereas often "Indian" was substituted for "National." The National War Front in India is the War Front which is developed here and ought to safeguard national interests and protect the people. Nobody expected for a single moment that the National War Front was pursuing the abstract ideal of national independence; but it was hoped, in some quarters at any rate, that it would concern itself with eliminating those matters which in any bureaucratic regime are bound to irritate the public. Even a man who thinks that India should not be free at any time, can contribute usefully to the National Front, if he can nevertheless keep the public good steadily before him. Mr. Griffiths must have been very confused when he claimed that only nationalists can be members of the National War Front. Extremely hesitant as we are to question the sincerity of

any one's professions, Mr. Griffiths' extravagance bespeaks a tongue in the cheek. He would have done some service to the organisation if he had shown that they were concerning themselves with guarding India's present interests. For the word, 'Front,' he suggests with curious logic that it means a "forward" view, a vision of India as a great industrial country. In the equally perplexing section on "War," the reader cannot be blamed if he carries away the impression that every member is asked to believe not only in the need for winning the war but also the danger of its being lost unless he puts his best effort forward. The discussion is capped by pictures of what the Japanese will do if they get control here; Mr. Griffiths' compelling fear is that even the peons will not be Indians whilst now only the top men are British. Unable to tell Indians that any high ideal will be realised after the war is won, he tries to whip up enthusiasm by attempting to frighten us with the threat of even worse conditions if the war is lost. Mr. Griffiths' references to himself as a "Britisher" instead of a "Briton" are revealing. No Briton with any sense of proportion calls himself a "Britisher" which is an epithet, like one hundred per cent American, usually applied by non-Britishers of British or foreign extraction to signify contempt. Mr. Griffiths has tried to be original; he has succeeded in being ridiculous. Incidentally the pamphlet violates section 3 of the Indian Press Act which requires that "every book or paper printed in British India shall have printed legibly on it the name of the printer and the place of printing and, if it is published, the name of the publisher." It would be interesting to know how much "national" money is being wasted on these follies of the National War Front.

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

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NOTES.

Indian Labour for Ceylon:—Papers relating to the negotiations between the Ceylon Government and the Government of India about the recruitment of 20,000 workers for the rubber plantations in the Island, were published this week. The request came originally from the Ceylon Governor. It appears from the summary published that the Indian Overseas Member, Mr. M. S. Aney, made the mistake of asking the Ceylon representative, Sir Baron Jayatilaka, to put concrete proposals for the recruitment of the required number of Indian workers. The Government of India, having banned emigration of unskilled workers to Ceylon, cannot entertain proposals which contravened the ban. The Ceylon Government virtually asked that the Government of India should lift the ban without saying anything about the removal of the reasons which led to its imposition. Mr. Aney did not realise this oblique approach of the Ceylon Government. He indicated some general principles which should be satisfied before the Government of India considered Sir Baron's "concrete proposals." The principles which Mr. Aney indicated, were practically a surrender of the main principle that workers who contributed to the prosperity of Ceylon, should enjoy the rights of citizenship. The few and inadequate, safeguards which they contained, however, were unacceptable to the Ceylon Ministers who rejected Mr. Aney's invitation to submit concrete proposals. We cannot help thinking that the Government of India should not have been exposed to this rebuff at the hands of the Ceylon Ministers. It is clear that the Ministers count upon the British Government coercing the Government of India to comply with the demand of the rubber estates on the plea of a war emergency measure. Now that even the feeble interposition of Mr. Aney is absent, the Government of India will necessarily carry out the instructions of the Colonial Office and Ceylon will get her 20,000 Indian labourers under virtually indenture conditions. Indian public bodies have no alternative but to take up an uncompromising attitude against the export of unskilled labour to be exploited for the benefit of the Ceylonese planters. India can help the production of rubber in Ceylon only if the estates for the duration of the war are brought directly under the control of the Government of India. The Defence of Ceylon is now controlled from India and so should all activities essential or incidental to its defence.

New Zealand Minister on Indian Independence:—The British self-governing Dominions are the most selfish and self-centred peoples on the face of the earth. They occupy whole continents which can support several times their number and refuse to admit more lest their standard of living—a highly artificial one—be affected. Asiatics who can cultivate and develop the huge empty areas, are prohibited from settling in their territories. But for the support of the British navy, some of these Dominions will not be able to exist for a month against the overflow of population from Eastern Asia. Canada in addition has been included in the scheme of defence of the United States which also prohibits Asiatic immigration. The attitude of the New Zealand Minister in Washington on the subject of India's freedom, is, therefore, what might have been expected from perhaps the most exclusive of the Dominions. According to a message from the Washington correspondent of the *Hindu*, Mr. Nash rebuked those Americans who sympathised with the Indian movement for independence for not being sufficiently mindful of the interests of China. "India's security," he is reported to have said, "holds the key to the freedom of China. We cannot afford at the present time to take any steps which might endanger the action necessary for the relief of China." Mr. Nash was obviously thinking of the security of his own country more than that of China, in making this observation. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek in his message at the end of his visit to this country last year and ever since has been urging the grant of freedom to India as essential to the security of China. Surely, Mr. Nash, cannot be more concerned for China than the Chinese leader. Mr. Nash should have consulted Madame Chiang Kai-Shek, who is also in Washington, before he took it on himself to champion China.

A Futile Debate:—Mr. Nilkanta Das' resolution in the Legislative Assembly recommending the immediate introduction of the Federation part of the Government of India Act, as the readiest means of solving the present deadlock (so-called); was rejected without a division, Government members not voting. But it had the unfortunate effect of producing some provocative speeches for and against Pakistan which would have been better avoided. Sir Frederick James, speaking for himself and not for the European group which he represents in the Assembly, tried to convince the advocates of Pakistan that, when they had their sovereign State, almost the first thing they will have to do would be to seek some sort of union with the parent body in order to safeguard the economic and strategic interests of the new State. These considerations do not deter small countries like Belgium or Holland or even weak countries like Ethiopia from insisting on being sovereign States. There is no more reason why it should deter the advocates of Pakistan. The argument was, therefore, irrelevant and arises out of the inveterate notion in the minds of some

Europeans that what is necessary and reasonable for white men is a superfluous and even harmful luxury to non-White peoples. The Muslim League spokesman, Sir Liaquat Hyat Khan, very properly ignored Sir Frederick James' intervention. He opposed the Federal plan on the familiar ground that Muslims would not consent to be "at the mercy of the majority community." It is with phrases like this that the Pakistan movement is able to whip up some enthusiasm for itself. Here, again, the Muslim Leaguers assume to themselves a right which they tacitly and openly refuse to others. If Muslims will not be "at the mercy of the majority community," why should the other communities, particularly the Hindus, be at the mercy of the Muslim majority in Pakistan? Muslim majorities in the past have not been remarkable for their consideration for non-Muslims.

America and Gandhiji :—Reuter's message published in newspapers last week that Gandhiji is only a name to Americans and that very little interest is shown in his fast by them, is belied by an American journalist now in this country. Mr. H. A. Steele representing the *Chicago Daily News*, in a statement to the Karachi Press, according to the Associated Press, said, "American newspapers and news agencies are now heavily represented in this country and many hundreds of words are being cabled daily to the United States on Mr. Gandhi's fast." American newspapers are not likely to waste money on cable charges unless their public were interested in the fast. It may be old-fashioned but it is nonetheless true that no institution or cause can be advanced by manipulating facts.

Mr. Phillips and India :—In reply to American correspondents, Mr. William Phillips, President Roosevelt's representative in India, issued a three-line statement to the effect that "phases of the situation in India requiring discussion are being handled by the high officials of the Governments of the United States and Great Britain." We have the authority of Ambassadors Dodd and Davies for believing that close ties link the American ambassador with the American press representative abroad. Coupled with a certificate from Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to the effect that Mr. Phillips was an outstanding personality—Sir Tej is generally very guarded in his compliments—this gave the impression that America had moved in the matter of Gandhiji's fast. Mr. Cordell Hull, the U. S. Secretary in the State Department, was also reported to be conferring with Lord Halifax, British Ambassador at Washington, and he made a brief statement which mentioned the Indian question, after the interview. However that was on Monday. Two days later Mr. Hull declared categorically that he did not know "what significance" to attach to Mr. Phillips' statement. Only Mr. Hull or the President can speak authoritatively for the United States Government. A further explanation cabled out says that Mr. Hull merely remarked that the statement did not signify more than was apparent. All this can bear only one interpretation—a warning to the public here that they should not attach any importance to Mr. Phillips' statements. India would do well to take it seriously.

Mr. Churchill's Refusal :—The news that Mr. Churchill has passed the critical stage and is fairly on the road to recovery from pneumonia, will relieve the anxiety felt in and outside the British Commonwealth. The Prime Minister even from his sick-bed has not relaxed his determination to hold India down and to make no concessions to the demands of all parties in this country for more freedom in order to utilise India's resources and man

power to the utmost to bring the war to a victorious issue. In reply to the long message, signed by men of light and leading in every Indian community and walk of life, sent to the Prime Minister embodying the resolutions of the Conference recently held in New Delhi under the presidentship of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Churchill has reiterated in emphatic terms the British Government's support to the Indian Government's action in holding Gandhiji and Congress leaders in detention. Mr. Winston Churchill says that the British Government sees no reason why any distinction should be made between Gandhiji and other Congress leaders. The fact that Gandhiji is undergoing a strenuous fast of three weeks, while the other leaders are not doing anything of the sort, is recognised all over the world as a good reason for making a distinction if Government are not prepared to release all of them, as Gandhiji himself would wish. Mr. Churchill does not seem to be aware that the Government of India themselves offered to make the distinction and release Gandhiji for the duration of the fast and that it is by the latter's own choice that he is fasting as a prisoner in the Aga Khan's Palace. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has anticipated Mr. Churchill's reply. He told the public a day or two after the Conference that he does not expect any other reply than a refusal, that it should be prepared for the worst and, when the worst comes, take it calmly, hoping and praying meanwhile that Gandhiji may come safely out of the self-imposed ordeal. The Government of India has lost three of its members owing to Gandhiji's fast and its refusal to order his release. That at least must have convinced the Prime Minister that a serious situation has arisen in the country. As Mr. Aney quaintly told his friends before leaving New Delhi, it is easier to quit the Viceroy's Council than to get into it. The approval of these three men was flourished at the time as vindicating the arrest and detention of Gandhiji and other Congress leaders. We have never known the country to be so united in any matter as in the question of Gandhiji's immediate and unconditional release. Mr. Churchill's refusal to comply with the appeal of such a representative and influential body as the Sapru Conference and numerous other bodies, has only one meaning. It tells the Indian people, "We are the masters in your country. We shall rule as we wish. We do not care what you or your leaders think or feel about us." If any body of Indians had illusions, the Prime Minister's reply should dispel them once for all. It is well to know the worst however bitter it may be. From the Government's own point of view this cannot be regarded as a happy situation. The Archbishop of Canterbury observes in a letter to the *London Times* that the political alienation may result in spiritual alienation. That this is not merely a possibility, there are many indications to show.

Imprisonment for Prayers :—The following is taken from the *Evening News of India* of February 23: Mrs. Gangaben Patel who was arrested under the Defence of India Rules while offering prayers at Chowpatty in connection with Mr. Gandhi's fast, was convicted and sentenced to one month's simple imprisonment by Mr. L. S. Haji at the Mazagon Police Court. Three others arrested and charged along with her were acquitted.

* Surely there is something very wrong in this. Many prayer meetings have been held without any action being taken against those who promoted them or joined in the prayers. Was there anything specially incriminating in Mrs. Patel's prayer?

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, February 27, 1943.

TURKEY AND THE MODERN WORLD.

The presence of the Turkish Journalists Delegation in our midst brings before our eyes the moving forces of the national movement in modern times in, first, the Islamic countries and, by contrast and comparison, in all other nations. There are everywhere two tendencies clearly visible. The larger part of the world is witnessing a revival of nationalism and the process is in marked contrast as the countries moved by the impulse have a record of continuity or a history of revolution. Thus we have, in Germany, a rejection of the centuries-old influence of Christianity and a harking back to the old cults of Odin and Thor, visible more in social revivals, (*Reformer*, March 9, 1935 and August 25, 1934.), than in the political sphere. In the Islamic countries the movement is identical: Egypt goes back for inspiration to the Pharaohs; Iran to Zoroaster—"Liberal opinion," says Elwell-Sutton in 'Modern Iran', "is turning more and more to the characteristically Iranian doctrines of Zoroastrianism, and extremists even maintain that by the ousting of this ancient faith Islam destroyed the nation's true culture."—and Turkey to the old, almost forgotten, days of the Hittites. Turkey today, it has been maintained by Turkish nationalists, is breaking through the successive crusts of the Ottoman period, of Islamic imperialism, of Turanian influence and going right down to the Hittite bedrock. Soviet Russia shows the same tendency though its early espousal of international communism gave the illusion of a contrary trend. In Italy the fact that the Church itself is Roman, has prevented any violent conflict but Mussolini has looked to a revival of the glories of imperial Rome. Arabia is now coming to an era not dissimilar to that which Rome faced when Protestantism and the consequent rise of "national Christianity" denuded Rome of much of its influence.

Two countries stand out of this tendency and the superficial differences which political conditions have produced, should not disguise the essential common approach to modernism of their peoples—China and India. The position in China and India differs from that of the countries mentioned above, not by reason of the external forces pressing on them—for that factor has been equally present in all those countries as well—but because of the thread of continuity which runs through Chinese and Indian history. The national movement elsewhere could counteract the forces of reaction by searching back to a remote past. Here the past is not remote but with us. And there is no part of it which can be set aside for all have contributed to the modern nation.

There is, on the other hand, one factor which marks out the movement in Turkey, Egypt and other countries of the East from European nationalism. In Europe the national spirit is a narrowing one. It seeks to shut out the rest of the world from the benefits of the industrial revolution. Its high light is colonialism, not, as has been mistakenly supposed, imperialism. In its contact with the outside world, it is exclusive still. Dr. Hans W. Weigert in a thoughtful article in *Foreign Affairs* entitled "Oswald Spengler, Twenty-Five Years After," draws a distinction between German philosophy and the "philosophy of our world"—meaning obviously the Anglo-American world. But he is hesitant. He warns the democratic powers rather than extols them. He writes:

Perhaps it is too daring to draw a distinct line between a German world and the rest of the human world in which the liberty of man is more than a

political phrase....."The Decline of the West" is a typical child of the German spirit of the twentieth century. But it is not the philosophy of our world as a whole so long as the spiritual forces outside of Germany are living forces.

Nationalism in the West has coloured the concepts of political liberty and democracy. And because it has done so, in the Muslim East nationalism fights a two-fold battle: On the one hand, it seeks to break down the loyalties which the peoples in its territories were bound by, by substituting national concepts for what may be conveniently called religious imperialism. At the same time in striving after modernising the state, it has had to counter the claims of European nationalism which seeks to shut out non-European countries. In doing this, it has been forced into adopting the ideology of humanism, with which the professions of Western leaders, like President Roosevelt, are in accord. With this ideal the nationalism of China and India is in full sympathy. But even independent Turkey which forms the spearhead of modern non-European thought, has found difficulty in espousing the cause of the democratic powers in the present struggle because of the lack of any clear lead. If the United Nations can still give the rallying call, the knots in the tangle will be automatically straightened out. It is significant that all over the world the situation in India is regarded as the acid test to measure how far the practice of the leaders of the democracies keeps pace with their professions. A recent message from America records that the Association for the Advancement of Coloured Peoples has cabled to Mr. Churchill appealing to him to liberate Gandhiji, stating that his death would be a tragic blow to their faith in the war aims of Britain.

MADAME CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S ADDRESS TO CONGRESS.

The *Hindustan Times* has rendered a great public service by procuring and publishing the full text of the address which Madame Chiang Kai-Shek delivered to the Congress of the United States on February 18. During their recent visit to India, Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek established permanent contacts with Indian leaders and this makes the pronouncement specially interesting to us. Madame Chiang Kai-Shek is a pure-blooded Asiatic. The Chinese, like other Asiatics, are still debarred from acquiring American citizenship. It is only very recently that the unequal treaties involving special privileges to American citizens in China were abrogated. The fact that a Chinese woman was accorded the privilege accorded only to the British Prime Minister and the Queen of Holland in the last few months, is itself a fact of truly historic significance. But Britain and Holland are small countries owing their importance mainly to their ruling large Asiatic territories and populations in a state of subjection. China is a large country with perhaps numerically the largest population of countries in any continent. China has no imperialist ambition. She has all through the centuries stood for ideals of peace. The influence of this tradition is patent in every sentence of Madame Chiang Kai-Shek's address. The British Prime Minister and the Dutch Queen spoke mainly on the rights and claims of their respective countries and possessions. The Chinese lady spoke for all the world. She said:

We in China, like you, want a better world, not for ourselves alone, but for all mankind, and we must have it. It is not enough, however, to proclaim our ideals or even to be convinced that we

Europeans that what is necessary and reasonable for white men is a superfluous and even harmful luxury to non-White peoples. The Muslim League spokesman, Sir Liaqut Hyat Khan, very properly ignored Sir Frederick James' intervention. He opposed the Federal plan on the familiar ground that Muslims would not consent to be "at the mercy of the majority community." It is with phrases like this that the Pakistan movement is able to whip up some enthusiasm for itself. Here, again, the Muslim Leaguers assume to themselves a right which they tacitly and openly refuse to others. If Muslims will not be "at the mercy of the majority community," why should the other communities, particularly the Hindus, be at the mercy of the Muslim majority in Pakistan? Muslim majorities in the past have not been remarkable for their consideration for non-Muslims.

America and Gandhiji:—Reuter's message published in newspapers last week that Gandhiji is only a name to Americans and that very little interest is shown in his fast by them, is belied by an American journalist now in this country. Mr. H. A. Steele representing the *Chicago Daily News*, in a statement to the Karachi Press, according to the Associated Press, said, "American newspapers and news agencies are now heavily represented in this country and many hundreds of words are being cabled daily to the United States on Mr. Gandhiji's fast." American newspapers are not likely to waste money on cable charges unless their public were interested in the fast. It may be old-fashioned but, it is nonetheless true that no institution or cause can be advanced by manipulating facts.

Mr. Phillips and India:—In reply to American correspondents, Mr. William Phillips, President Roosevelt's representative in India, issued a three-line statement to the effect that "phases of the situation in India requiring discussion are being handled by the high officials of the Governments of the United States and Great Britain." We have the authority of Ambassadors Dodd and Davies for believing that close ties link the American ambassador with the American press representative abroad. Coupled with a certificate from Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to the effect that Mr. Phillips was an outstanding personality—Sir Tej is generally very guarded in his compliments—this gave the impression that America had moved in the matter of Gandhiji's fast. Mr. Cordell Hull, the U.S. Secretary in the State Department, was also reported to be conferring with Lord Halifax, British Ambassador at Washington, and he made a brief statement which mentioned the Indian question, after the interview. However that was on Monday. Two days later Mr. Hull declared categorically that he did not know "what significance" to attach to Mr. Phillips' statement. Only Mr. Hull or the President can speak authoritatively for the United States Government. A further explanation cabled out says that Mr. Hull merely remarked that the statement did not signify more than was apparent. All this can bear only one interpretation—a warning to the public here that they should not attach any importance to Mr. Phillips' statements. India would do well to take it seriously.

Mr. Churchill's Refusal:—The news that Mr. Churchill has passed the critical stage and is fairly on the road to recovery from pneumonia, will relieve the anxiety felt in and outside the British Commonwealth. The Prime Minister even from his sick-bed has not relaxed his determination to hold India down and to make no concessions to the demands of all parties in this country for more freedom in order to utilise India's resources and man

power to the utmost to bring the war to a victorious issue. In reply to the long message, signed by men of light and leading in every Indian community and walk of life, sent to the Prime Minister embodying the resolutions of the Conference recently held in New Delhi under the presidentship of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Churchill has reiterated in emphatic terms the British Government's support to the Indian Government's action in holding Gandhiji and Congress leaders in detention. Mr. Winston Churchill says that the British Government sees no reason why any distinction should be made between Gandhiji and other Congress leaders. The fact that Gandhiji is undergoing a strenuous fast of three weeks, while the other leaders are not doing anything of the sort, is recognised all over the world as a good reason for making a distinction if Government are not prepared to release all of them, as Gandhiji himself would wish. Mr. Churchill does not seem to be aware that the Government of India themselves offered to make the distinction and release Gandhiji for the duration of the fast and that it is by the latter's own choice that he is fasting as a prisoner in the Aga Khan's Palace. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has anticipated Mr. Churchill's reply. He told the public a day or two after the Conference that he does not expect any other reply than a refusal, that it should be prepared for the worst and, when the worst comes, take it calmly, hoping and praying meanwhile that Gandhiji may come safely out of the self-imposed ordeal. The Government of India has lost three of its members owing to Gandhiji's fast and its refusal to order his release. That at least must have convinced the Prime Minister that a serious situation has arisen in the country. As Mr. Aney quaintly told his friends before leaving New Delhi, it is easier to quit the Viceroy's Council than to get into it. The approval of these three men was flourished at the time as vindicating the arrest and detention of Gandhiji and other Congress leaders. We have never known the country to be so united in any matter as in the question of Gandhiji's immediate and unconditional release. Mr. Churchill's refusal to comply with the appeal of such a representative and influential body as the Sapru Conference and numerous other bodies, has only one meaning. It tells the Indian people, "We are the masters in your country. We shall rule as we wish. We do not care what you or your leaders think or feel about us." If any body of Indians had illusions, the Prime Minister's reply should dispel them once for all. It is well to know the worst however bitter it may be. From the Government's own point of view this cannot be regarded as a happy situation. The Archbishop of Canterbury observes in a letter to the *London Times* that the political alienation may result in spiritual alienation. That this is not merely a possibility, there are many indications to show.

Imprisonment for Prayers:—The following is taken from the *Evening News of India* of February 23:

Mrs. Gangaben Patel who was arrested under the Defence of India Rules while offering prayers at Chowpatty in connection with Mr. Gandhi's fast, was convicted and sentenced to one month's simple imprisonment by Mr. I. S. Haji at the Mazagon Police Court. Three others arrested and charged along with her were acquitted.

Surely there is something very wrong in this. Many prayer meetings have been held without any action being taken against those who promoted them or joined in the prayers. Was there anything specially incriminating in Mrs. Patel's prayer?

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, February 27, 1943.

TURKEY AND THE MODERN WORLD.

The presence of the Turkish Journalists Delegation in our midst brings before our eyes the moving forces of the national movement in modern times in, first, the Islamic countries and, by contrast and comparison, in all other nations. There are everywhere two tendencies clearly visible. The larger part of the world is witnessing a revival of nationalism and the process is in marked contrast as the countries moved by the impulse have a record of continuity or a history of revolution. Thus we have, in Germany, a rejection of the centuries-old influence of Christianity and a harking back to the old cults of Odin and Thor, visible more in social revivals, (*Reformer*, March 9, 1935 and August 25, 1934.), than in the political sphere. In the Islamic countries the movement is identical: Egypt goes back for inspiration to the Pharaohs; Iran to Zoroaster—"Liberal opinion," says Elwell-Sutton in 'Modern Iran', "is turning more and more to the characteristically Iranian doctrines of Zoroastrianism, and extremists even maintain that by the ousting of this ancient faith Islam destroyed the nation's true culture."—and Turkey to the old, almost forgotten, days of the Hittites. Turkey today, it has been maintained by Turkish nationalists, is breaking through the successive crusts of the Ottoman period, of Islamic imperialism, of Turanian influence and going right down to the Hittite bedrock. Soviet Russia shows the same tendency though its early espousal of international communism gave the illusion of a contrary trend. In Italy the fact that the Church itself is Roman, has prevented any violent conflict but Mussolini has looked to a revival of the glories of imperial Rome. Arabia is now coming to an era not dissimilar to that which Rome faced when Protestantism and the consequent rise of "national Christianity" denuded Rome of much of its influence.

Two countries stand out of this tendency and the superficial differences which political conditions have produced, should not disguise the essential common approach to modernism of their peoples—China and India. The position in China and India differs from that of the countries mentioned above, not by reason of the external forces pressing on them—for that factor has been equally present in all those countries as well—but because of the thread of continuity which runs through Chinese and Indian history. The national movement elsewhere could counteract the forces of reaction by searching back to a remote past. Here the past is not remote but with us. And there is no part of it which can be set aside for all have contributed to the modern nation.

There is, on the other hand, one factor which marks out the movement in Turkey, Egypt and other countries of the East from European nationalism. In Europe the national spirit is a narrowing one. It seeks to shut out the rest of the world from the benefits of the industrial revolution. Its high light is colonialism, not, as has been mistakenly supposed, imperialism. In its contact with the outside world, it is exclusive still. Dr. Hans W. Weigert in a thoughtful article in *Foreign Affairs* entitled "Oswald Spengler, Twenty-Five Years After," draws a distinction between German philosophy and the "philosophy of our world"—meaning obviously the Anglo-American world. But he is hesitant. He warns the democratic powers rather than extols them. He writes:

Perhaps it is too daring to draw a distinct line between a German world and the rest of the human world in which the liberty of man is more than a

political phrase....."The Decline of the West" is a typical child of the German spirit of the twentieth century. But it is not the philosophy of our world as a whole so long as the spiritual forces outside of Germany are living forces.

Nationalism in the West has coloured the concepts of political liberty and democracy. And because it has done so, in the Muslim East nationalism fights a two-fold battle: On the one hand, it seeks to break down the loyalties which the peoples in its territories were bound by, by substituting national concepts for what may be conveniently called religious imperialism. At the same time in striving after modernising the state, it has had to counter the claims of European nationalism which seeks to shut out non-European countries. In doing this, it has been forced into adopting the ideology of humanism, with which the professions of Western leaders, like President Roosevelt, are in accord. With this ideal the nationalism of China and India is in full sympathy. But even independent Turkey which forms the spearhead of modern non-European thought, has found difficulty in espousing the cause of the democratic powers in the present struggle because of the lack of any clear lead. If the United Nations can still give the rallying call, the knots in the tangle will be automatically straightened out. It is significant that all over the world the situation in India is regarded as the acid test to measure how far the practice of the leaders of the democracies keeps pace with their professions. A recent message from America records that the Association for the Advancement of Coloured Peoples has cabled to Mr. Churchill appealing to him to liberate Gandhiji, stating that his death would be a tragic blow to their faith in the war aims of Britain.

MADAME CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S ADDRESS TO CONGRESS.

The *Hindustan Times* has rendered a great public service by procuring and publishing the full text of the address which Madame Chiang Kai-Shek delivered to the Congress of the United States on February 18. During their recent visit to India, Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek established permanent contacts with Indian leaders and this makes the pronouncement specially interesting to us. Madame Chiang Kai-Shek is a pure-blooded Asiatic. The Chinese, like other Asiatics, are still debarred from acquiring American citizenship. It is only very recently that the unequal treaties involving special privileges to American citizens in China were abrogated. The fact that a Chinese woman was accorded the privilege accorded only to the British Prime Minister and the Queen of Holland in the last few months, is itself a fact of truly historic significance. But Britain and Holland are small countries owing their importance mainly to their ruling large Asiatic territories and populations in a state of subjection. China is a large country with perhaps numerically the largest population of countries in any continent. China has no imperialist ambition. She has all through the centuries stood for ideals of peace. The influence of this tradition is patent in every sentence of Madame Chiang Kai-Shek's address. The British Prime Minister and the Dutch Queen spoke mainly on the rights and claims of their respective countries and possessions. The Chinese lady spoke for all the world. She said:

We in China, like you, want a better world, not for ourselves alone, but for all mankind, and we must have it. It is not enough, however, to proclaim our ideals or even to be convinced that we

have them. In order to preserve, uphold, and maintain them there are times when we should throw all that we cherish into our efforts to fulfil these ideals even at the risk of failure.

She spoke of what she saw about the power of a principle to overcome racial and national prejudices. In the places she visited, she found first generation Germans, Italians, Frenchmen, Poles, Czechoslovakians and other nationals, some of them with accents so thick that one could not cut them with a knife. But there they were all Americans, all devoted to the same ideals, all working for the same cause, united by the same high purpose. No suspicion of rivalry existed between them. "This increased my belief and faith that devotion to common principles eliminated differences of race and that identity of ideals is the strongest possible solvent for racial dissimilarities."

Madame Chiang Kai-Shek told the Congress her ideas of the kind of peace which would ensure security for the world from future strife. She said:

We of this generation, who are privileged to help make a better world for ourselves and posterity, should remember that, while we must not be visionary, we must have vision, so that the peace shall not be punitive in spirit and shall not be provincial, or nationalistic, or even continental in concept but universal in scope and humanitarian in action, for modern science has so annihilated distance that what affects one people must of necessity affect all other peoples.

Madame Chiang Kai-Shek showed not the least sign of being overwhelmed by the honour accorded to her of being requested to address the Congress. Neither did she display any arrogance—sure sign of the inferiority complex—in speaking to the American people who along with other White races have long held Asiatics as inferior in civilization. She spoke with complete poise and confidence in herself and her people to rise to any occasion that may be demanded by the needs of humanity. Her address struck a lofty note and never once declined to a lower level.

GOVERNMENT'S APOLOGIA

Twelve days after Gandhiji began his three weeks fast in vindication of his disclaimer of the responsibility imputed to him by Lord Linlithgow for the disturbances which followed his detention since August 9, the Government of India have felt obliged to issue a booklet of about ninety pages setting forth the material on which they formed their conclusion regarding Gandhiji's responsibility. Sir Richard Tottenham, Additional Home Secretary, has written an introduction which was published in the newspapers on Tuesday. Sir Richard says in this introduction that almost all the facts in the book "are or should be already within the knowledge of the public." He adds that the book does not disclose all the information in the possession of Government. In addition to the information published in them, he assures the reader that "there is a large volume of evidence it is undesirable to publish at present."

The booklet is ill-conceived in respect of manner, matter and time. As regards manner, the frequent use of phrases asserting what has to be proved, shows that the writer was acutely conscious of the weakness of his case. He was, therefore, not content to let the reader form his own conclusions on the documents. He seeks to bully and browbeat readers into accepting his dicta. The detachment of a State paper is totally absent from the booklet. The tone is that of a prosecuting

counsel resolved by any means on securing the verdict of the jury for his side. As to the matter, the first document which Sir Richard Tottenham offers to the reader, is an appeal alleged to have been issued by Jaiprakash Narain after his escape from jail. Has Jaiprakash been found? If not, how did this appeal come into the hands of Government? How have the Government satisfied themselves that the appeal was really composed and issued by Jaiprakash? How have they satisfied themselves that it is not a forgery foisted on Jaiprakash by a rival political partisan or it may be a personal enemy or an informer? How do the Government expect the public to assume that this appeal is authentic? Even if the public takes the paper to be authentic, how does it compromise Gandhiji or the Congress? Was the paper at any stage placed before the Congress Working Committee or the President or Gandhiji and had it secured their approval?

Much of the other material quoted in the Introduction consists of extracts from articles in the *Harijan*. Why did not Government take action against the *Harijan*, its editor and publisher under their powers, practically unlimited, under the Press law or Defence or India Rules? Were these passages submitted to the Standing Committee of the Editors' Conference or the Central or Provincial Press Advisory Committee, as provided by the agreement between the All India Editors' Conference and the Government of India? Is it wrong to conclude that Government at the time considered these passages to be harmless and that they have, since the arrest of Gandhiji six months ago, pressed them into service to support their indictment? We do not deny that some of the passages are, on the face of them, inflammatory and had they been written by any one who was not so inveterately addicted to *ahimsa*, they would have been a serious breach not only of the law but also of journalistic propriety. Gandhiji, however, has dedicated his life to the practice and propagation of the doctrine of non-violence. Everyone of his readers knows it. Many Congressmen and most non-Congressmen do not approve of it. Of late, Gandhiji's non-violence has been denounced by many influential men intent on rallying the country to the war effort. It is obviously just to interpret Gandhiji's writings as carrying with them the proviso of non-violence. The reason for Government not taking action under the Press law against them or even bringing them to the notice of the Editors' Conference Standing Committee, can only be that they had so understood the *Harijan* writings. The passages are detached from the context and it is more than likely that the writings from which they are taken, contain qualifications and reservations which materially alter their significance.

Sir Richard Tottenham urges that, knowing that the people of India are not, every one of them, converted to the creed of non-violence, Gandhiji proposed a mass movement of satyagraha. But such a movement in the past has converted as it was intended to do by Gandhiji, those addicted to violence to the Gandhian cult of self-sacrifice. In the *Reformer* of January 23 the contrast between Indian response during the last war and its reaction to the present, was pointed out. In the last war, Gandhiji himself acted as a recruiting agent on behalf of Government. In the present he has been forced into a mood of desperation. With whom lies the responsibility? Obviously with the system which provides no means of renovating itself. Individual members who are concerned with its working, may be quite well-intentioned and honest. Many of them may be sincerely desirous of serving India and her

people. That only proves the extreme weakness of the system and its unsuitability to current conditions. If Gandhiji dies as the result of the fast he will be truly a martyr to the system.

The publication of such a book as this at the present time when Gandhiji's life is trembling in the balance, shows how completely dead to all finer feelings the system makes men who are personally not devoid of them. The system must go. It will go. That it will go the sooner because of the fast, must be obvious even to those who talk glibly of the futility of political fasts. The whole world today from the highest to the least stands fascinated by the scene which is being enacted in the Aga Khan's Palace in Poona. The Government of India is completely isolated except for a small circle in New Delhi. It is impossible that the Government of India is unimpressed by the weight and volume of the demand for Gandhiji's release in which all classes and creeds have joined. Whatever Gandhiji's fast may or may not have achieved, it has brought out an unprecedented unanimity of thought and feeling among the people of all races and creeds which augurs well for the future. The Tottenham compilation cannot alter this tremendous fact.

SOUTH INDIAN EPIGRAPHY.

(By S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAM, CHIDAMBARAM.)

The annual report on South Indian Epigraphy for the year ending March 1938, issued by the Superintendent for Epigraphy, is another record of valuable work done by the Department. Twenty-seven copper plates have been examined and 531 stone inscriptions have been copied besides 87 in the Bombay-Karnatak area.

The earliest monuments of epigraphical and archaeological interest in South India are the natural hill caverns with or without stone beds and pillars. In some of these caves have been discovered inscriptions in Brahmi script and Prakrit language. They have already been found in the Pudukotah, Madura, Ramnad, and Tinnevely districts. During the last few years, systematic efforts have been made by the Superintendent, C. R. Krishnamachari, now Government Epigraphist, to explore and bring to light some of these earliest monuments of South India and his efforts have been amply rewarded. During the year under report a natural cavern has been discovered in the hill of Malakonda in the Nellore district which bears an inscription attributable to the third century B. C. As in the case of others, this should have served as an abode of Jaina or Baudha monks during the time of their stay in the rainy months—the Chaturmasya.

Daranikotah near Amaravati on the low Krishna was a famous Buddhist centre in the early centuries of the pre-Christian and Christian era. It gained the patronage of the Andhra rulers. An inscription of about the second century A. D. discovered here, refers to the setting up of a column surmounted by the Dharmacakra at the eastern entrance of the Mahavihara.

At Trichinopoly has been discovered another natural cavern with a number of inscriptions which have been assigned to different periods, one of 200 B. C., a few of 500 A. D. and a few more of 700 A. D. One of these labels bears the name Chira and it is possible that the place gained its ancient name of Tiru-Chira-Palli after him. It should have been a centre of Jainism in ancient times. We have

evidence that in 700 A. D., the Pallava king, Mahendravarman, after his conversion from Jainism, to Saivism by Appar, excavated the rock-cut Siva temple called the Lalitankura-Pallavesvaragriham after one of his surnames.

A copper-plate grant (4 plates of about 400 or 500 A. D.) of the earliest ruler of the Western Ganges who ruled over the modern Mysore region, has been secured.

Another copper-plate grant—a set of 7 plates—of importance relates to the Chola ruler, Virarajendra, dated in his 7th year and in Saka 991 (1069 A. D.), the only copper-plate record known so far by this king.

Interesting information is contained in the various stone inscriptions about the various South Indian dynasties—Kalinga kings, Eastern and Western Chalukyas, Pallavas, Cholas, Pandyas, Vijayanagar and other connected dynasties.

Another piece of good work is the securing of the photographs of the Chola paintings round the central shrine of the great temple at Tanjore, and stone and bronze images and monuments at Trichinopoly, Srirangam, Tiruvellarai and other places.

We must congratulate the Department on the good work it has turned out.

THE AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE.

Professor Raymond Moley, head of President Roosevelt's "Brain Trust" in the first months of the Roosevelt administration and Assistant Secretary in State Department, has contributed a revealing picture of American politics in "After Seven Years." Mr. Moley was regarded as the right-hand man of Roosevelt until he was dropped out. The following extract shows his impressions of his two colleagues in the Department, Secretary of State Cordell Hull, and Under-Secretary William Phillips:

The first long talk I had with Roosevelt on Cabinet personnel took place...in the evening of December 23, 1932. He had decided, he said, to begin by selecting someone for the State Department. The rest of the Cabinet could be "more or less" fitted around that man.

I think it was sometime during the second or third week in January that Hull was offered the post. I saw Hull next on February 8th, to carry out Roosevelt's order to "get a definite answer from Hull." He said somewhat awkwardly...that being Secretary of State entailed heavy social responsibilities. That would cost a lot of money. And, since he was both a man of modest means and hated entertaining, he was not sure he ought to accept.....The only sensible way to solve Hull's problem was to get as Under Secretary someone who would do the entertaining in his place.....William Phillips.

Stories began to appear in Washington gossip columns that I was sponsoring the Phillips appointment because I thought I could "control" Phillips. It was said too, that I could not "control" Sumner Welles, who had also been spoken of as candidate for the Under Secretary's post.

It was a matter of complete indifference to me which was chosen to do what within the Department. I knew neither. I knew only that both were experienced in the diplomatic service, both were well-to-do, both were friends of Roosevelt, and neither, by any stretch of the imagination, knew what the New Deal was all about.

Once in the State Department, I found myself having a lot more to do with the diplomatic

appointments than I would have chosen. But Hull announced that he was not particularly interested and, except in one or two instances, proceeded to keep hands off. This left the ball to Billy Phillips, who soon showed a preference for Social Registerites and career boys* ("cookie-pushers," the newspaper men had dubbed them) so overpowering that Jim Farley raised the roof a couple of times and finally insisted that Phillips consult with me before he made any moves. What Jim's idea of "consultation" was may be judged by the fact that he thereupon turned over to me his complete file of diplomatic prospects. The job of battling with Phillips then became mine.

There was much to commend in the State Department's career service. For the most part the men and women in the lesser jobs of the diplomatic and consular service were adequately trained and personally co-operative. But imagination and a real understanding of public opinion in America were rare. More important, a deep-rooted sense of inferiority to the superlative technicians in the British service had given their judgments a strongly pro-British tinge. In the course of the years this service had, as any bureaucracy does, embodied its individual fears and prejudices in thousands of minute decisions that, taken together, had slowly formed a gigantic coral reef of major policy. It was not that there were sacrosanct and immutable ways of doing things. It was that there were patterns of thought that had grown steadily more rigid in the preceding two decades. To whip together this service, give it self-confidence, and refresh it from the wealth of educated men and women that can be recruited in this country, would have been a job worthy of even Secretary Hull's energies had he been willing to use them that way. In time Phillips developed such a horror of politics that he would bundle all political comers off to my office before they had a chance to contaminate his.

Bullitt had been sent to Russia by Wilson. He had reported back to Wilson his belief in the stability of the Bolshevik regime, had split with the Wilson Administration when it proceeded to act on the false assumption of the regime's instability, and had subsequently told the facts about his mission to Senator Lodge's Foreign Relations Committee. For this "disloyalty" he had not only been roundly denounced by Wilson partisans but thereafter been cut politically dead by the party chieftains.

For what seemed like a long time, I reminded the President almost daily that there was an obligation of sorts to Bullitt—with no noteworthy results, I admit. At last I prepared a little memorandum about Bill's appointment and several others, which the President initialed. Armed with this I went to Phillips, who thereupon showed more emotion than I knew he was capable of. He bitterly reminded me that Bill had been "disloyal" to the Wilson Administration. I answered that the years had shown that, on the point of difference between Wilson and Bullitt, Bullitt had been right: it seemed to me that loyalty to one's country superseded loyalty to a President; that it was a man's duty, under such circumstances, to pass up official position and take a public stand.

* "The American term career man means something entirely different from careerist. For a long period the U. S. was accustomed to appoint, as its representatives abroad, men who had hitherto spent their lives in America, in politics, business, legal practice, education etc. After serving for a few years as ambassadors or ministers, they returned to their previous occupations. An attempt, however, is being made to create professional diplomatic service, whose members shall make of it a lifelong career. These are accordingly known as career men."—*Modern American Usage*.

LEADERS' CABLE.

The Committee of the Leaders' Conference had sent the following cable to Mr. Winston Churchill:—
"Three hundred public men from different parts of India representing various communities, creeds and interests, including commerce and industry, landed interests, workers, communists, Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis and British missionaries, met yesterday at New Delhi and unanimously passed a resolution urging the immediate and unconditional release of Mahatma Gandhi, whose condition is fast approaching a crisis. We fear that unless immediately released he will pass away.

"We wish to explain to British public opinion that the Mahatma is fasting only to be able to review the situation as a free man and to advise the people accordingly, and not on the issue of independence. We are convinced that the terms of the letter of September 23 recently published by Government amount to an unequivocal disapproval on behalf of himself and the Congress of all acts of violence.

"The Chairman of the Conference, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, submitted the resolution to the Viceroy yesterday afternoon and immediately afterwards he received a reply from the Viceroy declining to interfere as no new factor had arisen to alter the previous decision and enclosing the official communication of February 10. We deeply deplore that the advice of so many representative and responsible men should have been summarily turned down by the Viceroy.

"We firmly believe that, if the Mahatma's life is spared, a way will be opened to the promotion of peace and goodwill as surely as his death as a British prisoner will intensify public embitterment. The charges brought by Government against the Mahatma do not rest upon an examination by any impartial tribunal or independent body of men. We firmly believe that much of the trouble which has arisen was preventable by timely action on the part of Government last summer and that the Mahatma should have been allowed to see the Viceroy to find a solution as he desired. Millions of our countrymen feel that the responsibility for saving the Mahatma's life now rests only with Government.

"We, therefore, urge that the Mahatma should be forthwith released. As under the existing constitution the ultimate responsibility is of the British Parliament for the peace and tranquillity of India we request that this cable may be brought to its notice in order that it may do justice in the matter. We are convinced that wise and liberal statesmanship will solve the Indo-British problem more speedily and effectively than stern repression."

Mr. Churchill replied:—

"The Government of India decided last August that Mr. Gandhi and other leaders of Congress must be detained for reasons, which have been fully explained and are well understood. The reasons for that decision have not ceased to exist and His Majesty's Government endorse the determination of the Government of India not to be deflected from their duty towards the peoples of India and of the United Nations by Mr. Gandhi's attempt to secure his unconditional release by fasting. The first duty of the Government of India and of His Majesty's Government is to defend the soil of India from invasion by which it is still menaced, and to enable India to play her part in the general cause of the United Nations. There can be no justification for discriminating between Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders. The responsibility therefore rests entirely with Mr. Gandhi himself."

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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.

Colville on India :—There are three stages in the evolution of an Indian Governor from the back-benches of the House of Commons. They are: Governor-Designate, when the politician accustomed to answer to the crack of the party whip goes through the training necessary to transform him into a passable representative of the Sovereign; actual Governor for five years; and retiring Governor. The speeches which he makes during these periods, have different characteristics. Sir Roger Lumley's speech at the Rotary Club some days ago is typical of the retiring stage. His speech at Ahmednagar containing the famous proposition that the recent troubles, while causing much hardship to the people, were but pinpricks on the elephantine hide of Government, may be regarded as typical of the Governor in action. This is crucial as showing how even a good man is liable to be corrupted by power. Sir John Colville's statement to Reuter's representative on the eve of his departure to take up the Governorship of Bombay, is typical of the Governor-Designate. The keynote of the Colville statement is that the Indian problem is by no means unique. It is identical with the Scottish problem in relation to England and the Campbell-MacDonald problem in Scotland itself. Just as these have been solved, so the Indian problem also can be solved. Governor-Designates usually talk in this way. Lord Lloyd, before and on assuming office, repeatedly insisted that India was as competent to govern herself as any other country and that the parliamentary system would work as well in India as in England. This optimistic phase in the evolution of a British public man into an Indian Governor does not survive more than at most a couple of years. Lord Sydenham who began as an aggressively liberal Governor, ended as a hopeless reactionary. Lord Lloyd himself inaugurated the campaign against the Congress which has had varying phases and whose end is not yet in sight. The approaching end of his term—the short transition from Governor to ex-Governor—awakens in him feelings of regret, perhaps, remorse, which find expression in phrases somewhat in excess of the strict limits of accuracy. If one thing is more certain than another, it is that Sir John Colville will speak with a different voice before the year is out. He will enlarge at the St. Andrews Dinner next year on the unique complexity of the Indian problem, the irreconcilable differences among

India's numerous communities and the obligations of the British, particularly the Scottish, to maintain peace and order in this vast sub-continent. Apart from that, Sir John Colville will realise sooner than his predecessors that he can do very little of importance to advance India's or even Bombay's permanent interests. The fact that he is Mr. Amery's choice, will not pre-dispose the Indian public to give him its confidence. At the same time, it will not be slow or grudging in its response to any sincere effort on Sir John's part to understand Indian conditions and to deal with them as he would with his own people.

Indian Members of Viceroy's Council :—The three Indian Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council who resigned recently, have made statements in the Press. Mr. Aney said that, as a follower of Ranade, he did not care for popularity. Only last year he avowed himself to be the follower of Lokamanya Tilak, the inveterate detractor of Ranade. His defence of the action of the Government of India in arresting the Congress leaders, in the Central Legislature where he spoke in the place of Sir Reginald Maxwell who was indisposed, was an extraordinary piece of sophistry. He observed that he was not present at the meeting of the Executive Council which took the decision, but had he been present and voted against it he would have been guilty of the greatest mistake in his life. Sir H. P. Mody contradicted the report sent to an English paper that he resigned owing to Congress pressure. He pointed out that, as most of the Congress leaders are under detention, there was no one to exercise pressure on him knowing that he was not amenable to such pressure. An earlier message to the London Press had attributed his action to pressure from big business. Sir Homi has not contradicted this. But if it be true that only shows that Indian big business fears that British big business is behind the Government policy. Mr. N. R. Sarker, late Commerce Member, made the longest and most elaborate statement of the three. He said that, notwithstanding limitations, an Indian Member can do much good to the country. No one has enlarged on the seriousness of these limitations more effectively than Mr. Sarker and this statement is, therefore, surprising from him. Evidently Sir Jogendra Singh and Sir Jwala Srivastava have not resigned because they share Mr. Sarker's opinion. Why, then, did Mr. Sarker resign? He said that it was owing to the Government's policy towards the greatest man in India. But this is no new policy. It is the same policy which got him interned six months ago. If the three gentlemen had resigned then with Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the danger would have been averted. The Government here and in England made much of the support of the Indian members of the Executive Council. The policy of the Government of India today is the same as it was in August last. Government do not consider that Gandhiji's

fast altered the situation in any way. Even at the time of his arrest it was freely rumoured that Gandhiji would start a fast.

Gandhi's Fast:—Gandhiji's fast ended on Wednesday at 9 in the morning. Two unfortunate circumstances marred the event. The Government with that peculiar lack of delicacy which has characterised their every act in connection with the fast, announced that visitors would not be allowed to remain for the breaking of the fast. If it was intended to avoid demonstrations, it is more likely that demonstrations will occur away from the scene of the fast than at the Aga Khan's Palace itself. However, this was perhaps a childish way of dissociating themselves from the fast altogether which appealed to the authorities and except for its impropriety, not much need be said of it. The other circumstance is the sudden spate of interviews and reports appearing in the press about the sweetlime juice taken by Gandhiji during the fast which is in execrable taste at the moment. We are surprised to see the names of some of the doctors who had been attending on Gandhiji dragged into these reports. The *Times of India* published on Wednesday a lengthy report of a conversation between a foreign correspondent and Dr. B. C. Roy on this subject of sweetlime which is a masterpiece of futile writing. At a time when the feeling of relief at the successful conclusion of an ordeal is predominant in the country, it is curious that a responsible newspaper should indulge in such vapourings. The doctors who attended on Gandhiji, would do well to avoid any public discussions. It would be even better that a certain section of the public which will never be convinced, is left with its doubts than that an unseemly squabble should be staged over an event which has moved the nation to its deepest. Equally unseemly are the attempts to make political capital out of the fast by men who have been greatly responsible for the difficulties faced by Gandhiji and the Congress in the past month and more.

More Foreign Missions:—When the arrival of the Turkish journalists delegation was announced, the *Reformer* expressed its inability to divine the object of Government in inviting the mission at the present time when the internal and external situation calls for undistracted effort on the part of Government and the people. The Turkish Mission after a whirlwind tour has left the country. None of the delegates except one can speak English and that one was not the leader of the delegation. It was natural that at a time when the country is seething with political excitement, many questions put to the delegation should bear on politics which the delegation resolutely refused to answer. About Turkey they could not tell us much that we did not know and on the one point on which they could have thrown light, namely, the policy of Turkey in being friends both with the Allies and the Axis Powers, their explanation was not illuminating. The delegation has cleared the air in one important matter. It has made it unmistakably plain that Turkey had no interest in Pan-Islamism. This was known to every student of the Kemal Revolution but both Government and the Muslim League seemed to be ignorant of it. This is no longer possible. On the delegation itself, the Indian tour has had some effect in modifying the Kemalist passion for European isolation. So much for the Turkish Delegation. Now we have a Chinese cultural delegation. The Chinese have some advantages in their contact with Indians which the Turks had not. The Chinese leaders of the Republic are American-educated and speak English. Then again, though intercourse between China and India has been interrupted for several

centuries, the cultural affinities established in the long centuries previous to the tenth century have been so deep and abiding that they are easily resumed especially because the Chinese Republicans, unlike the Turkish, have not turned their backs on their ancient lights. The Generalissimo quotes Confucius more often than Christ although he is a professing Christian and so does Madame Chiang Kai-Shek. Nevertheless, cultural contact between the Chinese and Indians who have no voice in settling the foreign policy of India, can be only of a very limited service to either country in the present critical times. But it should disabuse the authorities of the notion that any section of Indians view Japanese aggression with the least favour.

Post-War Problems:—The increasingly favourable prospect of Allied victory is releasing national rivalries which, under the pressure of imminent danger, had been obliged to hide their heads. Poland and Russia, it was reported, had come to an understanding that the eastern half of Poland which Soviet Russia had occupied when Nazi Germany occupied the western half, would be returned when, after the war, Poland is reconstituted as a free nation. It was also understood that Polish troops were, as a result of the agreement, fighting on the Soviet side to expel the Germans from Russia. It was, therefore, with surprise that we read a message to the effect that the Polish Government in London had denied that there had been any differences between it and the Soviet Government. A message to the *Hindu* from its London correspondent showed why this denial was necessary. There have been, it appears, strong protests in some Polish newspapers against the Soviet Government absorbing parts of Poland and Ukraine. There have been sharp rejoinders from the Russian side. After the denial of the Polish Government, the Party organization which, in Poland as in Russia, Germany and other countries, controls the Government, formally endorsed the denial but insisted that the boundaries of Poland should remain as in 1939—that is, before Germany annexed one half of Poland and Russia the other half. It may be recalled that, at the time of the German invasion, Poland refused to let Russian troops enter her territory to oppose the invaders though she was agreeable to accepting weapons and munitions from her neighbour. The Soviet News Agency is reported to have issued an official statement attacking the Polish Government in London for its "imperialism" and denouncing the foreign policy of pre-war Poland. It says that the U. S. S. R. will strive to maintain the unity of the peoples of Ukraine and the Beylo-Russians who are spoken of as "blood brothers" of the Russians. The *Hindu* correspondent also mentions differences that have arisen between the Soviet Government and the Yugoslav Government in London. The point at dispute is, according to Professor Seton-Watson, the attitude of General Mihailovitch, Yugoslavia's outstanding figure of resistance who after months of struggle retired to Montenegro and "played for time." Professor Seton-Watson adds that London and Moscow have agreed as to the desirability of co-operation but the General has been "consistently unco-operative." The Professor suggests that the General has arrived at a tacit understanding with the Italian army of occupation and condones it on the ground that one cannot judge without knowledge of local conditions. The Soviet Government, however, in a note has protested that General Mihailovitch has had dealings with Germany also, which says Professor Seton-Watson, is "far more serious and must be probed to the bottom."

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, March 6, 1943.

AMERICA AND POST-WAR
RECONSTRUCTION.

Two Foreign Policy Reports on Post-War Reconstruction giving the American point of view have been received. The first is a collection of extracts from four official speeches made by the top men in American administration—Harry A. Wallace, Vice-President, Secretary of State Cordell Hull and Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles. The second gives four analyses of opinion in four different parts of the U. S. A. by representative newspaper men. The two together give a fair idea of recent trends in American political thought. The first impression left on the reader is that the Government spokesmen are ahead, almost surreptitiously ahead, of unofficial opinion. This is clearest in the field of international affairs. Isolationism is no longer acceptable to any appreciable section of the U. S. public; because, we are told, the hope that a steadfast refusal to get involved in foreign entanglements would keep the U. S. A. out of war, was dashed to the ground by the attack on Pearl Harbour on December 7, 1941. This itself is a very naive representation of Mr. Roosevelt's involved foreign policy. But the abandonment of isolationism does not imply that Americans as a whole are prepared to shoulder the responsibility of intervention. Vice-President Wallace might urge that the peace must mean "a better standard of living for the common man, not merely in the United States and England but also in India, Russia, China and Latin America;" Mr. Sumner Welles might talk of "the frontiers of human welfare;" and Mr. Cordell Hull might advocate a system of world relations "designed to facilitate the production and movement of goods in response to human needs." But American opinion on the whole does not look with favour on the sacrifices which any concrete implementing of these high phrases must necessarily involve. There public opinion is more realistic and does appreciate, as the official spokesmen, with the exception of Mr. Wallace, do not seem to, the view expressed by Mr. Owen Lattimore in an earlier Foreign Policy Report, "Asia in a New World Order," that part, a great part, of the prosperity of the so-called democratic powers rests on the colonial system; that it was tied up with the era which tolerated a world half-slave and half-free. Mr. Lattimore wrote:

Colonialism and Western Democracy are twins, they are the Romulus and Remus, the Jacob and Esau, the heir and the disinherited, of the modern history of Western industrial economy and political democracy... we Americans have always been an integral part, and economically a very important part, of the democratic-undemocratic complex of the Western democracies and their colonial possessions... We do not yet realize, but we shall, that for America to approve or disapprove of freedom for India is not an academic question whether "we believe in" democracy, but a practical question which determines the centre of gravity, the balance or unbalance, of the whole society of Great Britain, and, therefore, has an influence in America on such things of intimate concern to us as rights of property, security of investment, rates of interest, volume of production and degree of production.

The Roosevelt Administration, as seen by outsiders, has the unfortunate taint of taking the American people into policies without explaining the full implications of the great changes initiated. Therefore, the articles dealing with unofficial opinion on the issues involved assume great significance. All the four contributors to "What America thinks

about Post-war Reconstruction" are agreed that the people of the U. S. A. are scarcely likely to accept a lowering of their standards of living as part of a programme of reconstruction. The writer on New England, for example, alleges that people there have a purely "negative" view of the war. "Relatively few persons in New England," says Walter K. Schwinn, "have a feeling of kinship with the masses in India as they strive for political independence. Probably only a slightly larger number feel themselves at one with the coolies of China as they fight not only for national sovereignty but also for a developing equalitarian democracy. And still fewer entertain a feeling of sympathy for the workers of Russia in any other role than as national patriots." But Mr. Schwinn hopes that New England which has a tradition of progressive thinking, will lead in meeting the challenge of the 1940's. Mr. Virginius Dabney from the South avers that his people will accept some form of effective international collaboration. There will be a greater willingness than ever on their part to assume the task of policing the world along with other powers. "It seems scarcely probable, however," he adds naively, "that they would accept a lowering of their living standards. This would be apt to impress them as carrying international altruism to inordinate lengths." Mr. William H. Hessler of the Middle West remarks that people there may accept lowering of tariffs but would not agree to any mitigation of immigration barriers. And he also tells us why the Middle West would agree to political collaboration. "By calling for the creation of an international police force and an international administration of defeated countries, they promise an outlet abroad for the energies of Americans, both military and civilian. Neither do they consider political commitments as having any mutuality. They do not see them as limitations on our sovereignty but rather as a brand of particularly high-minded and generous imperialism." Mr. Hessler continues:—

On the score of imperialism, of the traditional variety at least, Midwestern opinion is emphatic and clear. Most people condemn Britain's historic colonial policy, as well as that of the Netherlands and France. They still say—although more guardedly since December 7—that the Germans, Italians and Japanese were only doing, crudely, what the Allies did in a more gentlemanly way. They have perceived, and disapproved, the paradox of waging war against aggression while defending the imperialist stakes acquired by our Allies through ancient aggressions. Most people recognize that Britain is a more valuable ally than India, and, therefore, must be humoured for the duration. But they do not retreat from their firm conviction that the Indians are just as much entitled to political freedom as the Czechs or the Poles.

All the four writers are agreed on the general attitude of America towards the war. It is regarded as a war without ideals, a war for survival. The general public is not concerned over-much with post-war conditions, except in the South where a tradition of being less isolationist than other areas in the United States is claimed. Mr. Herbert Lewis writing of opinion in the North-West feels called upon in fact to warn his readers of the possibilities of an intensified nationalism.

What does all this portend? A possibility, to put it at the lowest, that the post-war period will find Americans once again uninterested in the affairs of the rest of the world. The Report on unofficial opinion stresses repeatedly the importance of leadership in the next few months. From the Government, the advocacy of active collaboration would be really invaluable if the chief spokesmen were clear

about the demands it would make on the American public. If they do not—and, from the reports of their utterances, so far they have not done so—place all the cards before their public, the danger inevitably is that, when the opponents of the regime take the field, they will find it easy to discredit the policies by exposing the national disadvantages inherent in them. It must be remembered, moreover, that in the post-war period people will be seeking less strenuous ways after the exertions and sacrifices of war. The idealism of the American people in such a time—with the added strain of keeping pace with President Roosevelt who has evidently a feeling now that the U. S. A. which, he thought, needed him for the duration, will equally require his services as President for the peace—may well give way once again before the realism of Britain which has so many visible interests in the existing colonial system. Events in China and North Africa are useful indices to American and British relations in foreign policy. In China the American Government which was drawn into the war as a result of Japan's attack, has at Casablanca accepted the British plan of settling Europe first. In North Africa the release of political prisoners by the French administration is a triumph for the de Gaullists, and indirectly a tribute to the long-range policy of Britain. The details of foreign policy, says Vera Micheles Dean in "U. S. Declarations on Post-War Reconstruction," must be handled by experienced and responsible officials. This Mr. Hessler confirms in his contribution on the Middle-West when he observes:—

Few persons seem to have troubled their minds with the intricate problems of changing over from colonial status to independence while preserving political stability and economic equity. The majority will be content with the formulas worked out by technicians in these matters, if they are persuaded the technicians are acting in good faith and not simply freezing the colonial relationship by resort to red tape. The issue from this point of view was, it would seem, decided when men like Professor Raymond Moley gave place to the men of today. In the passages we had quoted last week, Professor Moley said of the State Department that "a deep-rooted sense of inferiority to the superlative technicians of the British services had given their judgments a strongly pro-British tinge." He added,

Red tape, of course, was characteristic of every aspect of the Department's workings. The classic story about this goes back to the time that Joe Cotton was in the Department. One day a cable was received from the American consul in a tiny South American country which announced with great indignation that the consul had been insulted and asked what should be done. Cotton read it, flipped it aside and said, "Cable him to laugh it off." Hours after word came to Cotton's office that his instructions could not be cabled. "And why not?" cried Cotton. "There is," he was told, "no such word as laugh in the Department's code."

THE TOTTENHAM PAMPHLET.

We commented last week on the summary of a pamphlet issued by the Government of India over the signature of its Home Secretary, Sir Richard Tottenham, designed to fix responsibility for recent disturbances on the Congress. We have since received a copy of the pamphlet which, by the way, promises to be the best-seller of the season because it includes many documents hitherto unavailable to the public as they were issued and circulated through unlawful channels. Chapter 1 of the pamphlet bears the heading "The 'Quit India' Movement: Setting the Stage." This is not

the type of headline which one expects in a State Paper. It is a bit of sensational journalism designed to prejudice the reader before he reads the contents of the chapter. No objection is taken to the idea itself, as indeed none can be taken since the British Government has pledged itself to grant independence to India and independence, whether Dominion status or separation, equally involves the British quitting the country unless they acquire Indian citizenship. The next step, therefore, is to link up this legitimate demand with a desire to favour Japan, and so to rouse the sympathy of the Allied Nations to the measures of the Government of India. Gandhiji had written in the *Harizon* of April 26 that India's real safety, and Britain's too, lies in orderly and timely British withdrawal from India. The pamphleteer's comment on this is that Mr. Gandhi expressed the opinion that should the British withdraw from India, Japan would leave her alone and that the withdrawal was, therefore, necessary for India's safety. From quotations from Pandit Jawaharlal's and Mr. Rajagopalacharya's criticisms printed in the pamphlet itself, it is clear that this view did not gain general acceptance. In any case, the safety of one's own country is a no more illegitimate concern in Gandhiji than in the Turkish statesmen whose attitude has the approval of the British Government. The Chamberlain Government refused to concern itself with Japanese aggression in Manchuria and China because to antagonise Japan might imperil the security of British possessions in Asia. With the same end, even Mr. Winston Churchill who reversed that policy in deference to the United States, at one stage agreed to close the Burma Road. Anglo-Japanese friendship was of much value in the last war in ensuring the safety of India and it was a mistake to have departed from it. Even in the interests of China, Britain might have been able to do much more by friendly intercession with Japan. But all this is now irrelevant and we refer to it only to show that Gandhiji's view, whether right or wrong, is one which he was entitled to hold and express. The attempt to make out that Gandhiji favoured the Japanese or that he counted on the victory of Japan, is utterly untenable as may be gathered even from the passages quoted from, or attributed to, him in the pamphlet. It is hopelessly wrong in view of the plea for Indian freedom and the importance of it to the Allied cause which Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek issued after his interview with Gandhiji at Calcutta and by the concern shown by representative Chinese at Gandhiji's fast.

The other point which the pamphlet seeks to make, is Gandhiji's responsibility for the disturbances, which, indeed, is the thesis of the compilation. Here again the compiler does not seem to have read the quotations which he freely makes from legal and illegal publications. One of the latter to which he attaches most importance, is an appeal issued by Jai Prakash Narain after his escape from prison. We asked last week if the man has been recaptured, whether the appeal was really issued by him and how Government satisfied themselves that it was really his composition. All these questions would have to be answered if the document was placed before a Court of Law. In this very document, Jai Prakash Narain, or whoever wrote it, observes:

Gandhi is in no event prepared to depart from non-violence. With him it is a question of faith and life principle.

But, says the pamphlet, "it is significant that the entire phraseology of Mr. Gandhi's writings in connection with the movement is of a type associated in the ordinary man's mind with violence." Unfor-

unately, this is also the case with many hymns in English like "Onward Christian Soldiers." The Salvation Army uses terms which in the ordinary man's mind is associated with violence and bloody violence at that. It is the genius of the English language to preach peace in terms of war. One hears oftener of "fighting famine" than of preventing it or relieving it, and so of epidemics. The ordinary British man is commercially-minded. But he likes to think of himself as "war-minded" and has moulded his language so as to give him this illusion about himself. Besides the constraint of the language, Gandhiji himself has a penchant for preaching non-violence in the terminology of violence. It is a personal idiosyncrasy. No fair-minded man will accept the pamphlet's argument that to use words which ordinary men associate with violence, is to be responsible for all violence that is in the world. In a personal letter when he first started Civil Disobedience, Gandhiji explained that his object was to wean Indian youth away from the cult of violence which was then rampant. This urge to action can be canalised into non-violent channels only by presenting non-co-operation or civil disobedience or satyagraha as action of a more vigorous and effective kind.

The pamphlet completely fails to establish Gandhiji's responsibility for the disturbances. That some "known Congressmen" were actually concerned with them, is probably true. That several "known Christians" are guilty of un-Christian conduct, is also unfortunately true. That some "known Englishmen" sometimes violate every tradition of their history and culture is also true. But it is wrong to generalise from this that all Christians and all Englishmen are false to their belief and tradition. The declaration of the Congress as an unlawful body and the detention of its leaders without trial, will not be justified by British officials themselves when the present temper gives way to a calmer one. "The Nature of the Disturbances," as described in a special chapter, is merely the reproduction of incidents in other countries when political discontent has not the means of organising itself under competent leadership, or has been suddenly deprived of such leadership. These methods have acquired further impetus from broadcasts to occupied Europe by responsible British statesmen. These broadcasts are heard in India and they, as well as a certain type of cinema films, operate as schools of the technique of revolutionary violence. We have, besides, schools in some parts of the country to train young men in guerilla warfare, and every one trained may not use his knowledge for the purpose intended by his trainers. The *Reformer* has called attention to this danger more than once. In his zeal to inculcate Gandhiji and the Congress, the pamphleteer becomes tender to Subhas Bose. He writes, "The Congress party insists on implicit obedience, witness the expulsion of Subhas Bose, Mr. M. N. Roy, and Mr. Rajagopalacharya." Subhas Bose held strongly that Britain's difficulty was India's opportunity. Mr. M. N. Roy has no faith in non-violence having himself assisted in several violent revolutions. Mr. Rajagopalachari who will not appreciate being bracketed with these two gentlemen, resigned from the Congress on the issue of Pakistan.

The pamphlet is quick to impute motives or to discover them in Congress statements which do not of themselves lend themselves to a sinister interpretation. On page 9, it gives in its own words the objects common to the Wardha and Bombay resolutions of the Congress, and begins by analysing "the ostensible motives" underlying them. The word ostensible is italicised in every subsequent reference

to the objects, so that the hasty reader might think that the word was used by the Congress itself with reference to its objects. That at least was the impression we got until we read the passage closely. But, as often happens in such cases, the pamphlet itself gives away the show. Three objects are described as "ostensible" but, when each of them is taken by itself for analysis, the pamphlet concedes, "the genuineness of the first of these aims is undeniable," and immediately proceeds to speak of "the second ostensible aim." The object of the pamphlet from first to last is to discredit the Congress and Gandhiji as honest, not to say, honourable men. The sneer in the phrase, "the apostle of non-violence," is unmistakable.

SOCIETY AND THE INDIVIDUAL.

The struggle for existence of Darwinian theory and society's struggle for the ideal stand on different footings and are essentially opposed to each other. The struggle of the individual of Darwinism is for a selfish end, for the set purpose of gratifying one's immediate needs and not more than that. It is born out of physical hunger. It is real but limited by cause, space and duration. While the nature of society's struggle for the ideal is entirely different. Its origin is not a physical need but a positive spiritual longing for the realisation of an ideal which knows no limitation. It is not limited by space for it concerns the entire human life. Nor is it limited by time, for its craving is never satisfied.

Even the individual's struggle for the gratification of hunger is not confined to one individual or one group. It is an attempt to make a selfish use of nature which, in the words of Shakespeare, is the 'common mother that teems and feeds all.' And it is because all individuals are engaged in this struggle that it is impossible to satisfy one's own hunger, without taking into consideration the hunger and needs of others. Yet the power of hunger is such that in the anxious search after prey, the individual loses all sense of ultimate realities and the origin of social environment which affords the very equipment for his life's fight. And if he happens to succeed, in his personal endeavours to procure something for his needs, in gathering more than what is actually needed by him, he appropriates that surplus for himself without returning it to society in any form. On the other hand, he will make it a monopoly and a hereditary right.

Want of a guarantee of living and against the ravages of want are often used as an excuse for individual over-accumulation. And this accumulation knows no limit because it must cover all future wants not only of the victor in life but also of his progeny. He uses all his might for the gathering of wealth. Reason and intellect and all his powers of scheming and calculation help him in the creation of that individual divided interest. But to this force of individual economic interest is opposed essentially the collective interest of the entire social structure moving towards an ideal.

The contrast between the struggle of the individual for a selfish, finite end and the struggle of society for the realisation of an infinite ideal can be perceived in these modern mechanical times more clearly than in any other period of man's life. The mechanical revolution has endowed the economic or selfish individual with all the powers of centralisation of wealth while the bulk of human beings who live on instincts and dreams, are made more helpless, as the field of rivalry is brought down to narrower limits. Thus the process of human growth is stopped entirely. This centralisation of wealth, usually called exploitation, not only lacks funda-

mentally the moral purpose of looking to the needs of others but seeks to suppress wants in the life of the many by reducing the number of hands that possess the power to purchase. Capitalism is the last phase of the Darwinian individual struggle for existence. It works up to this stage where most members of society are removed from the field of that struggle. Here it ceases to act because competition itself ceases and wealth circulates amongst only a few hands. And here the law of Retrogression begins to act. It is a demonstration of the truth that the individual struggle for existence, left to itself, does more harm to society than good and of the finiteness associated with it which is based on a separated individual want belonging to the immediate present.

Quite in contradistinction to this force of hunger which is the origin of personal struggle for existence is the force of love of society on which is based the social struggle for the ideal. Hunger is the individual and love is society. But should hunger be eliminated? Or can selfishness completely go? No, it need not. It must be only subordinated to selflessness. The personal struggle for existence must be subordinated to the higher social struggle for the ideal. In order to do so, we must turn the separated struggle of the individual for the gratification of a hunger into a collective social effort where the individual asserts himself through an ideal.

Visagapatam.

M. N. RAO.

THE POPE AND THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT.

The Archbishop of New York, Mr. Spellman, is at present conferring with the Pope at Rome. Mr. Spellman, it was reported, had talks with President Roosevelt before leaving for Europe. There has also been released a report that in Rome he met Ribbentrop the German Foreign Minister. And in a week Mr. Spellman is to leave Rome for Britain. A Swiss news agency infers from this that the talks related to limitation of armaments and restrictions on some forms of warfare. This is not unlikely as it is a subject on which Mr. Roosevelt has some pet theories—that no nation should manufacture armaments heavier than that which a man could carry on his shoulders (shoulder?) is one Joseph Davies mentions in his "Mission to Moscow." But the following extract from the *Protestant*, New York, gives what might be a clue to the trend of possible discussions between the Pope and Mr. Spellman:

"Information reaches us from Lisbon that the conversations of President Roosevelt with Pius XIII through Myron Taylor have reached somewhat the following stage: the Vatican is ready to become more outspoken in its statements against the Axis, especially against Hitlerism. It will also postpone peace proposals for the moment and will have no social revolution. It will do its best to influence Southern Ireland to take a less hostile attitude to the war effort and especially towards American troops in Ireland. The Vatican also promises to put the brakes on all racial movement. What is the *quid pro quo*? The Vatican will have a word to say on post-war Europe. Europe must be supervised through the combined forces of the victors and of the church which is particularly interested in Eastern and Southeastern Europe. (Poland, the Balkan States). The Vatican seems to favour partition of Germany with a strengthening of its power in Southern and Western Germany. Ireland must be independent after the war. The main point, however, is a guarantee that Europe after the war will not turn to Bolshevism. This is, of course, hearsay.

Time will show how wide of the mark it is. However it may turn out, we do know that something is cooking."

SINO-AMERICAN TREATY.

The new Sino-American Treaty agreed upon between the Governments of the United States of America and China provide for the relinquishment by the United States of the extra-territorial and other special privileges which under treaty provisions the United States has hitherto exercised as have other countries in China, and for the adjustment of various matters in connection with this relinquishment.

Among the more important provisions are the following:

Upon the coming into effect of the treaty the United States relinquishes its extra-territorial jurisdiction; relinquishes special rights accorded under the 'Boxer Protocol' of 1901, including rights in relation to the stationing of troops in China; and relinquishes special rights in relation to the system of treaty ports and in relation to the Diplomatic Quarter at Peiping and to the International Settlements at Shanghai and Amoy including the special courts at Shanghai. The two Governments agree to co-operate for the reaching of any necessary agreements with other governments for the transfer to the Chinese Government of the administration and control of the International Settlements and the Diplomatic Quarter at Peiping, the Chinese Government to make provision for the assumption and discharge of the official assets and liabilities of the Settlements and of the Diplomatic Quarter. The Chinese Government accord to the Government of the United States continuation of the right to use for official purposes the land allotted to the latter in the Diplomatic Quarter upon parts of which stand buildings belonging to the United States Government.

Existing rights or titles of American nationals with regard to real property in China are to be indefeasible; such property is to be subject to Chinese laws on taxation, national defense, and eminent domain. American nationals in China are to be accorded rights to travel, reside and carry on trade in China similar to rights that have long been accorded Chinese nationals throughout the United States. Each country is to endeavour to have accorded to nationals of the other, treatment not less favourable than that enjoyed by its own nationals in regard to legal proceedings, the administration of justice, and the levying of taxes.

Consular officers of each country are to reside in such places as may be agreed upon. They are to have the right to interview and to communicate with nationals of their country, are to be informed immediately whenever any such nationals are under detention or in prison or are awaiting trial and may visit any such nationals and receive communications from them.

The United States relinquishes special rights in relation to inland navigation and the coasting trade and special rights hitherto enjoyed by American naval vessels in Chinese waters. Should either country accord rights of inland navigation or coasting trade to vessels of any third country, such rights are to be accorded vessels of the other country. Each country is to be accorded the rights which are customary and normal in modern international relations in regard to the admission of merchant vessels into ports open to overseas merchant shipping, treatment of merchant vessels in such ports, and visits by naval vessels, etc. In the light of the

abolition of treaty ports as such, China agrees that all coastal ports in Chinese territory normally open to American overseas merchant shipping are to remain open to such shipping.

At a suitable time the two Governments are to enter into negotiations for the conclusion of a comprehensive modern treaty of friendship, commerce, navigation and consular rights; and, meanwhile, questions affecting the rights of American nationals in China not covered by the treaty or by subsisting provisions of earlier treaties or agreements are to be decided in accordance with generally accepted principles of international law.—*Chinese Ministry of Information.*

CASTE AND CLASS.

The *Dnyanodaya* quotes an opinion expressed some twenty years ago that the Maratha Empire broke on the rock of caste. Caste at any rate among Hindus today, approximates to the British class. It is perhaps more rigid among the mass converts in the Missions which the *Dnyanodaya* represents. Randolph Churchill, the son of the Prime Minister, said the other day that the British are the most class-conscious snob-ridden people on the face of the earth. They also own in Asia and Africa what Norman Thomas called a "slum Empire." One tenth of the population of the other great democratic nation live substantially under servile conditions. If they maintain independence and even democracy, why should not Indians do the same?

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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.

Alternative to Pakistan:—Sir Ardeshir Dalal of the Tata Steel Company has offered an alternative for Pakistan a summary of which has appeared in the daily press. Sir Ardeshir's scheme consists of a redistribution of the provinces on the basis of communities with a central government with the minimum of reserved powers, the rest being vested in the provinces. Pakistan disavows any central government. In that Sir Ardeshir provides for one, even though in an attenuated form, his scheme is an improvement on Pakistan. But a weak central government is in some respects worse than no central government at all. Sir Ardeshir from his experience of the great Tata Steel Industry knows that no great industry can be localised in any single part of the country. Raw materials occur in one province, coal in another, land and labour is available only in a third. Autonomous provinces can be more selfish than independent countries. Sind is an awful example. The Sind Prime Minister has decided and expressed publicly that Sind is entitled to profiteer on food stuffs in dealing with other provinces. That is one aspect of the question. The other is that the powers which will have to be reserved for the Central Government, will themselves involve co-operation of the provinces which may not be forthcoming. The food situation in India is again an instance in point. Currency, Commerce and Communications, Defence, and Foreign Relations should be left with the centre. In an emergency like war, the centre has to take over practically all powers and, for the next quarter of a century at least, the world, if not actually at war, will be on the verge of one. The Indian constitution, and, indeed those of other countries, will have to be framed so as to be capable of functioning normally in every emergency. As a practical proposition the allocation of residual powers to the provinces, will not bear examination. Given a strong central government with co-ordinate powers with the provinces, the fullest autonomy by devolution can be safely accorded to the provinces. No compromise on the solidarity of the centre can be accepted without serious detriment to the security of the country.

Post-War Reconstruction:—The New Delhi correspondent of the *Pioneer* of Lucknow reports that Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava, Civil Defence Member of the Government of India, has been appointed Chairman of the Post-War Reconstruction Committee, with General Hutton and Sir Theodore Gregory as Secretaries. The correspondent adds

that the Committee has been in existence for two years but without functioning in any real sense. He hopes somehow that the new appointments will vitalise the work of the Committee. In the absence of details as to what is expected of the Committee, it is difficult to appreciate what useful work can be done by it. Post-war reconstruction in countries like the U. S. A. and Britain covers a fairly wide field. The political side is not the least important. In America, as we wrote last week, questions like participation in administration of colonies, in regulating tariffs and adjusting immigration are important. We cannot see how India can usefully discuss these subjects, being a sufferer in the main rather than a controller or director of policy. The three new appointments will not in any way inspire confidence in the public. Sir Jwala Prasad, for the duration, ought to have his hands full with Civil Defence though, it may be, fears of attack are less today. General Hutton is an army man who, if we remember right, found himself in Burma during the Japanese attack. Whatever contribution he has to make, could be more usefully done as an army expert than as a Secretary. Sir Theodore Gregory the other Secretary is an economic expert whose main work has hitherto lain in conditions which will be greatly modified in the post-war period.

China and the Post-War Settlement:—While President Roosevelt talks of disarming the Axis nations and keeping them disarmed ever afterwards, and Lord Simon declares that Britain will have to police all Europe, the age-long experience of China pleads for moderation and forbearance in the hour of victory. Madame Chiang Kai-Shek in her address to the American Congress struck this note. She pleaded for a settlement which will give peace to all countries and equal opportunities for self-culture. The Chinese Minister of Information, Mr. Chen Kao-Fan, speaking before the tenth International Problems Study group of the Chinese People's Foreign Relations Association, advocated the participation in the future peace organisation on an equal footing of both the victor and the vanquished nations alike, thus eliminating the past mistake of allowing a few nations to enjoy the privilege of exercising control over the League of Nations. If the spirit of vindictiveness under the guise of security for the victor nations, be allowed to dominate the post-war settlement, the consequences will be the same as, but more seriously aggravated than, those of the Versailles Treaty. Indian opinion will endorse the Chinese Minister's plea for the equal representation of victor and vanquished in the future Peace organisation.

Trust not Possession:—Lord Halifax who, as Lord Irwin, was Viceroy of India for a term and is now British Ambassador in Washington, writing in an American magazine says that the British regard India as a trust not a possession and as evidence he states that "we do not draw one

penny of revenue from her." But characteristically this pious statesman-diplomat omits to mention that Britain, though she does not derive one penny as revenue, derives advantages worth several millions of pounds and that, but for India, Britain will not be the wealthy and powerful country that she is. Lord Randolph Churchill (whose views his son has inherited about India) spoke candidly of India as the part of the British Empire "the possession of which more than that of all the rest had raised in power, in resource, in wealth and in authority our small island far above the majority of nations and of states." As a possession, the return which India would have yielded to the owner, would have been limited. As a trust, as the term is understood in relation to countries which are subject to other countries, there is apparently no limit to the calls which may be made upon them. There is also a subtle insinuation in the trustee doctrine that India is a minor or a lunatic or both. Lord Halifax's description of the freedom enjoyed by the people of India is true of a restricted field which is of comparatively small significance but the life of India, as it affects national and international affairs, is wholly controlled by Britain.

Future of British Colonies:—Mr. Oliver Stanley, Colonial Secretary of State, made a speech at Oxford on the government of the British Colonies in the post-war era. He rejected the idea of international control. The Mandate system has proved ineffective to ensure to the people of the territories better government than that which the mandatory power chose to maintain. There were a few criticisms at the annual inquest by the Mandatory Commission but these had as little effect on the course of the mandatory as water on a duck's back. There is also the risk of exploitation by several nations instead of by one, under international control as happened in China. But the prospect for the colonies under British control is no better. The British colonies have admittedly not made much progress under British control in the last century and a half. Mr. Stanley foreshadowed the adoption after the war of a better system having for its object the training of the Colonial for self-government. Who will undertake and carry out the training? The younger men who may be expected to believe in the new idea, will have largely been killed or disabled in the war. The colonial administrations will have to be carried on practically by the men who are working the present system and it may be taken for granted that they will no more favour changes than their counterparts in this country. The probability is that the colonies will continue to be governed much on the present lines. Mr. Stanley's plea is, therefore, one for maintaining the *status quo* in the colonies.

Another Leaders' Conference:—The following resolution was unanimously passed after two days deliberation by a conference of leaders held at the residence of the Right Hon. M. R. Jayakar on Tuesday and Wednesday:

We are of the opinion that the deplorable events of the last few months require a reconsideration of their policy both by Government and the Congress. The recent talks which some of us have had with Mr. Gandhi lead us to believe that a move for reconciliation at the present juncture will bear fruit. It is our conviction that, if Mr. Gandhi is set at liberty, he would do his best to give guidance and assistance in the solution of the internal deadlock and that there need be no fear that there would be any danger to the successful prosecution of the war. The Viceroy may be approached on our behalf to permit a few representatives to meet

Mr. Gandhi authoritatively to ascertain his reactions to recent events and to explore with him avenues for a reconciliation.

The Conference was presided over by the Right Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and of the thirty-five who took part in it, several had also attended the larger Conference held in Delhi during Gandhiji's fast. Nevertheless, it has been stated that the Bombay Conference was different from and not, as was at first supposed, a continuation of the Delhi Conference. This is evidently because, while the single issue on which the Delhi Conference concentrated attention, was the immediate release of Mahatma Gandhi whose life was in imminent danger, the Bombay Conference was relieved, by Gandhiji's happy survival after the three weeks' fast, of that intense anxiety and was in a position to consider the ways by which reconciliation can be effected between the Congress and the Government. The reference in the resolution to certain recent talks which "some of us" had with Gandhiji, is evidently to the talks which Mr. C. Rajagopalachari had during his interviews with Gandhiji during his fast. Of the substance of these, Mr. Rajagopalachari gave a brief account before he left Madras to attend the Bombay Conference. An Orient Press message to the *Bombay Chronicle* summarises his observations. Apart from discussing questions like sabotage and violence with Gandhiji, he (Rajagopalachari) appraised him of a desire in the country for early settlement between the Congress and the Muslim League which will really force the British Government to part with power. It is gathered, continued the message, that Gandhiji, while appreciating and desirous of a settlement, feels that there is not sufficient response from the League which will form a basis for negotiations and facilitate the work of leaders like Mr. Rajagopalachari and others to do their best in this matter. The message contains some further particulars, chiefly concerning Mr. Rajagopalachari's hopes based on the fact that Mr. Jinnah did not speak at the Muslim League Council meeting on the political situation and has reserved everything for the annual session of the All India Muslim League next month. Mr. Jinnah, if he is susceptible to flattery, must be much flattered by the meticulous care with which a politician of Mr. Rajagopalachari's status watches for signs and omens in his (Mr. Jinnah's) acts and abstinences. Mr. Rajagopalachari must have been intolerably oppressed by the political situation to have felt constrained to subject Gandhiji who took, according to Mr. Devadas Gandhi's account, five minutes to gulp down a mouthful of water, to the strain of an interview on a subject on which Gandhiji and Rajagopalachari had acutely differed before the meeting of the All India Congress Committee in Bombay on the morrow of which the Congress leaders were arrested. The Viceroy rejected the request of the Delhi Conference for Gandhiji's release and was supported in his decision by the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State. It remains to be seen whether he will be more complacent, now when the fast has been safely ended, to the request of the leaders. The leaders who passed the resolution do not seem to be quite certain and do not propose to approach the Viceroy until after collecting more support to it from those who were invited but were not able to attend the Bombay Conference. It is to be hoped that Lord Linlithgow will meet the wish of the leaders, which immediately is only for permission for a deputation to interview Gandhiji and ascertain how far he endorses the expectations of the resolution of what he is likely to think.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, March 13, 1943.

MR. WALLACE ON POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION.

There have been a number of statements from high United States officials in recent weeks which do not seem to indicate any clear vision or well-defined policy. On every point there is revealed acute differences; one Secretary contradicts another. Mr. Phillips, President Roosevelt's Personal Representative in India, declares that officials of the U. S. and British Governments are consulting about conditions in India; Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of the State Department, gives a vague explanation which has to be twice cabled to India in different versions none of which seems very illuminating. Admiral Standley, U. S. Ambassador at Moscow, comes out with a statement that the Soviet State is not appreciative of American help, and that the Moscow press is studiously representing the Russian defence as an unaided effort of the Russian people; and Under-Secretary Sumner Wells promptly counters with the remark that Admiral Standley's outburst has not the sanction of the State Department. The chief executives themselves seem at odds, President Roosevelt has in the first two months of the year made many pronouncements hinting at the Allies' duty of re-educating Germany, not merely disarming her; his Vice-President Mr. Harry A. Wallace denounces as part of a campaign of fear the assertion that the United States Government was preparing to take over the control of education everywhere in the world which, he says, is nonsense. The reason for all this open discussion in America is an anxiety to avoid the mistakes of the peace after the last war and it deserves to be studied with sympathy abroad. The Roosevelt Administration is acting well in getting the American public to think along lines of future collaboration not in that adversity which makes strange bed-fellows but in the equally fateful transition period from war to peace, the time of peace-making when differences break loose and very often the seeds of the next war are sown. In the work of education, the one name that stands out is that of Henry A. Wallace, who has shown vision and imagination in his contributions to the subject of post-war reconstruction. In the first place, Mr. Wallace makes no illusory distinction between the pursuit of the war effort now and the aims to be kept in mind in building for peace afterwards. This singlehness of purpose gives him the advantage over lesser minds which would postpone all issues until the war is won. Secondly, he does not hesitate to depict the dangers of real differences prevailing among the United Nations. Therefore, he is free from that small-mindedness which has betrayed other publicists, in America and elsewhere, into transforming the need for agreement into a plea for imposing their views on political opponents.

Mr. Wallace comes from the "corn belt" in the U. S. A., of a family which has a record of three generations of public service. According to Professor Raymond Moley and E. Lindley, he has been greatly instrumental in winning over to the support of President Roosevelt areas traditionally Republican. He himself was a member of the Republican Party before he joined the Roosevelt Administration as Secretary of Agriculture. In recent years he would seem to have risen beyond party affiliations. It is more than probable that he will be the next President of the United States. It is interesting to note that in a recent speech he stated that he was profoundly influenced by the

thought of Confucius to which he had been led as Secretary of Agriculture.

There is a unity about Vice-President Wallace's speeches and writings which is sadly lacking in the empirical pronouncements of the President. In 1942, Mr. Wallace contributed a chapter to a symposium on "Freedom, Its Meaning" (Messrs. George Allen and Unwin: 16 sh) entitled the "Genetic Basis for Freedom and Democracy." There he launched a slashing attack on race theories of superiority, without any pharisaical attempt at excusing America. "There are," he wrote, "great differences between the heredity of different individuals but as in the case of breeds of livestock...the differences between the individuals within a given nationality or group are greater than the differences between nationalities or groups...There is much more difference between the animals within the breed than between the breeds themselves...Years ago, when I was in college, the boys used to ask the animal husbandry professor what cross produces the best meat animal. He usually answered, 'the corn-crib cross'—in other words, plenty of food..... Good feeding is more important than racial selection in improving our national stock." In his speech on "The Price of Free World Victory" on May 8, 1942, Mr. Wallace pursued the same train of thought. He said:

This is a fight between a slave world and a free world.....Modern science which is a by-product and an essential part of the people's revolution, has made it technologically possible to see that all of the people of the world have enough to eat. Half in fun and half seriously, I said the other day to Madame Litvinoff, "The object of this war is to make sure that everybody in the world has the privilege of drinking a quart of milk a day." She replied, "Yes, even half a pint." The peace must mean a better standard of living for the common man, not merely in the United States and England, but also in India, Russia, China, and Latin America—not merely in the United Nations, but also in Germany, Italy and Japan...There must be neither military nor economic imperialism.

In two speeches which have been reported in this country last week, Mr. Wallace showed that he apprehends difficulties in reconstruction work from old prejudices and antagonisms. The shadow of Versailles blackens the prospects of a better peace and Mr. Wallace presses his public to guard against the danger. And he is careful to point out that work in America alone might collapse if other powers do not join wholeheartedly in building for peace, referring specifically to a possible revival of Russia's aims at world revolution and of Britain's anti-Russian activity. In contrast to the Churchillian formula of non-interference in internal affairs, Mr. Wallace demands a closer approximation between Marxism as it is being progressively modified in Russia and democracy as it is adapted to twentieth century conditions. That Mr. Wallace has the understanding necessary for any adjustment, is shown in his reference in the May 8 speech to labour movements which "may be extreme or impractical at first, but will eventually settle down to serve effectively the interests of the common man." The issues at stake in this war have to be clearly defined now and they must be broad enough in principle to bring in the U. S. S. R. and China on the Allied side both ideologically and physically. Mr. Owen Lattimore in his remarkable study on "Asia in a New World Order" (Foreign Policy Report) states the principle clearly:

We [must] conceive of a nexus between democracy within countries and democracy between countries. The main obstacle to clarity of thought is the tenacious habit of looking down with contempt on countries

like Russia and China as being either not democratic like us or inferior to us in democracy. The main aid to clarity of thought is disciplined readiness to criticize our own shortcomings in democracy. It is, after all, the senior democracies, the Western democracies, who set the tone of world democracy.....If we insist on a differential or invidious treatment of them [countries we consider "inferior"], then it is hard to see that we have any moral right to demand that they observe domestically the standards which we do not grant them internationally.

CHINA'S PREDICAMENT.

Madame Chiang Kai-Shek went to America for treatment for the after-effects of an air-plane accident some years ago. But the seriousness of the situation in China has obliged her, while not fully convalescent, to exert herself to impress upon the American authorities and people the vital importance to the Allied cause of giving timely and sufficient help to the Chinese who are gallantly defending their country from the Japanese aggressor. The Chinese are ready to carry on the struggle indefinitely but, as Madame Chiang said, they can not be expected to fight with bare hands. In a later pronouncement, she appealed to the Americans to send an expeditionary force to her country to help China to resist the invader. There seems to be much sympathy aroused by the pleadings of this modern Maria Theresa but the understanding between the British Prime Minister and President Roosevelt that victory in Europe was a condition precedent to concentrated effort to defeat Japan, seems to hold the field. The European prospect, again, is bound up with the defeat of the Axis Powers in Africa which two months ago seemed a matter of a few weeks. Public opinion both in Britain and the United States is much perturbed by the tardiness in rendering help to China. It will not be overpleased with the declaration of Lord Cranborne in the House of Lords that nothing much can be done to give more help to China until Burma is reconquered, followed in a day or two by the categorical statement of the *Associated Press* correspondent in Arakan that, owing to the approach of the monsoon in about six weeks, a major effort for the reconquest of Burma and the opening of the Burma Road cannot be hoped for until the end of this year or the beginning of the next. Bombing raids on occupied Burma do not seem to have any effect in driving the Japanese from the country. They do not even care to oppose the bombers and fighters from India, which return safe to their bases after emptying their explosive and incendiary cargo on aerodromes and docks causing, it is reported, considerable destruction. This has been going on for months and except for a foothold in Arakan, we do not seem to be any nearer the reconquest of Burma by April as was expected. Madame Chiang Kai-Shek's warning that Japan has in the occupied areas more resources than Germany has in occupied Europe, and that delay in driving the Japanese will enable them to consolidate their possessions and develop their resources, has not been given adequate weight. The Generalissimo has published a book in which he is said to have detailed his plans for developing China during the next ten years. Asked by a Press representative in Washington how the Chinese in this predicament are maintaining their equanimity, Madame Chiang replied that is because the Chinese are a very old nation with keener appreciation of spiritual values which are eternal and regarded the sacrifice of individual existence for the sake of the nation as the fulfilment of a sacred duty.

HINDU FOR INDIAN.

Referring to the opinion expressed by *The Reformer* and some others that the definition of "Hindu" should be so widened as to admit of the participation in the Mahasabha of Muslims and Christians, the *Mahratta*, which is in close touch with the President, Mr. V. D. Savarkar, states that in fact there are several Christians in Maharashtra who maintain that by religion as a personal faith they are Christians but by culture, community and nationality they are Hindus. It adds that several Christians in Maharashtra have been enrolled as Hindu Mahasabha members by ignoring the constitutional difficulty created by the present definition of Hindu in the Mahasabha constitution. This is, indeed, good news which should be widely known. Not only in Maharashtra, though perhaps they are to be found in larger numbers there than elsewhere, Indian Christians, not Protestants only but Catholics too, who regard their Hindu cultural heritage in the same light, would welcome, we think, the liberal interpretation of the constitution by Maharashtra leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha. There is no reason why men like the well-known writer, Priyashishya, and the group represented by the *Guardian* of Madras, should not be invited to join the Mahasabha. They would be valuable elements strengthening and stimulating the movement. There are others similarly minded in Gujarat, Bengal and the Punjab who are deterred by the present definition from seeking admission to the Mahasabha. The widening of the definition of the term, "Hindu," would be but an extension of the practice now followed in Maharashtra and would bring the constitution in line with genuine nationalism.

The *Mahratta* proposes the amendment of the present definition which restricts admission to persons professing a religion which had its origin in India, by the substitution of the following:

He is a Hindu by culture, community and tradition and nationality who loves and venerates all that is heroic, noble and valuable in the history, tradition, literature, art, belief, and philosophy of the indivisible mother-country of Hindusthan, from times immemorial.

The *Mahratta* admits that this definition is capable of improvement. The idea of making an intellectual or emotional state the test of membership of a society or organisation, is itself open to criticism. Many persons who are Hindus under the present definition, may not share the intellectual and emotional fervour of the suggested definition. On the other hand, many non-Indians, Europeans and Americans, may possess it in a fuller measure than many natives of India. A definition must be one capable of a simple test. The religions which are believed to have originated in India, nearly all of them, including the oldest of them, the Vedic faith, have been certainly influenced by religions which originated elsewhere. Nanak, Kabir and other leaders of the Bhakti school were influenced by the monotheism of Islam. Apart from that, Christianity and Islam have been long enough in India to be regarded as Indian religions. There is an Indian Christianity which does not derive inspiration from foreign missions. Indian Islam has features which distinguish it from Islam in Arabia, Egypt and Persia. Every religion, moreover, has a universal appeal and does not belong to any race or nation. Swami Vivekananda insisted that the Vedanta is for all men and the Vedanta is the basis of post-Buddhist Hinduism. The only practical and correct definition of "Hindu" is one which includes all who have made their homes permanently in this country whatever their religious belief.

JOURNALISTIC CONVENTIONS.

Injury to Gandhiji and the loss of the services of three Indian members are the only result of Gandhiji's fast, says a *Times of India* editorial. We regret to say that, after that editorial, the *Times* has adopted unfair and even not reputable tactics in its efforts to discredit Gandhiji. What it has lacked the courage to say openly in its editorials, it has not hesitated to allow to be insinuated through its correspondence columns. It has hinted there that the fast was not a fast at all. It is futile, however, to enter into an argument on this point which is obviously intended with cold calculation to divert public attention from the main fact that Government's purpose has utterly failed. It was the object of the Government to fix the responsibility for the disturbances on Gandhiji. Beginning with the direct charge, Government itself had to climb down into the tame position that from previous experience of satyagraha agitation Gandhiji should have known what would result. The very fact that missionary leaders, like Dr. John Mackenzie and Rev. J. Hodges, who attended the leaders' conference at Delhi, had, in spite of their many reservations on the ethics of fasting and the evils of violence and sabotage, joined in the appeal for Gandhiji's release on the ground that he would be a force for settlement now, knocks the bottom out of the Government's case. The *Times of India's* attitude is intrinsically of little value and, so far as India is concerned, it does not matter in the least. But as a probable reflection of the Government's propaganda for foreign consumption, it might prove useful. As a matter of fact the same line is being taken up by some newspapers in London many of whom are linked to Bombay through members of the *Times of India* staff. The remark of an American newspaper that Gandhiji had staged a moral demonstration while the Government had also had its demonstration, obviously rankles, and hence these attempts to pull the other side down to one's own level.

It is not without humour, that the *Times of India* should, in the name of journalistic propriety, lecture the Indian press on what it should write on Mr. William Phillips, President Roosevelt's Personal Representative in India, who was last week-end in Bombay. The Anglo-Indian journal shows a nervous anxiety to prevent anything but the most formal relations between the press and Mr. Phillips. It cautions Mr. Phillips, under the pretext of advising the Indian press, that the President's Personal Representative should hear everything and report but say nothing. It goes on with surprising sycophancy to tell India how deeply honoured she should feel at the mere fact that so great a man should be sent here, at the same time deprecating any curiosity as to why he is here. To the *Times of India* the mere fact that Mr. Phillips was five years Ambassador at Rome, is overwhelming. Mr. Gaetano Salvemini, however, was more correct in considering what use of those five years had been made by Mr. Phillips. Any one who hopes to learn things without expressing an opinion himself, suffers from a colossal egoism. Mr. Phillips, we are sure, does not share the *Times of India's* naive faith in the value of being all ears to all mouths and nothing more. In fact, the very nature of the editorial in the often officially inspired *Times of India* hints at the necessity for telling Mr. Phillips his limits and limitations. Otherwise it is difficult to explain the officiousness of this newspaper when neither Mr. Phillips nor any other consular representative has said anything about the attitude of the press in India. Had any journalistic convention been broken, as the *Times of India* suggests, surely the United States would have drawn attention to it, instead of leaving

the honour of Mr. Phillips in the dubious hands of the representatives of Anglo-India. Why this sudden touchiness in the *Times*? The only things about Mr. Phillips which have been said, are all closely connected with the possibilities of his intervening in Indian matters. And the feeling is general that the position of Personal Representative is largely what the individual in that post chooses to make it and that Mr. William Phillips is not the man, so far as his past career enables one to judge, to do anything which will run him up against the powers that be. The only logical inference we can make from the *Times of India's* sudden and belated comment on Mr. Phillips, is that it feels called upon to intervene for the protection of Mr. Phillips who, it somehow assumes, is unable to take care of himself. This is all the more our impression because otherwise it is difficult to understand our Anglo-Indian contemporary's tactless reference to journalistic "convention." For apart from its insidious references to Gandhiji which no journalistic standard can condone, the *Times of India* has in the not so distant past gone against the considered and unanimous decision of the Indian press to suspend publication on January 6 as a protest against bureaucratic high-handedness. Having done so, it must appreciate that it had deprived itself of any ground to appeal to the Indian press in the name of convention. Therefore, its words are really addressed to Mr. Phillips. The somewhat oblique manner of its approach is due to habit.

All India Radio :—There was an interesting debate in the Indian Legislative Assembly this week on the working of All India Radio. The points urged were, the meagre proportion of Indian news in the broadcasts, the inadequacy of the salaries of the staff, undue preference in the choice of personnel and the language used in the broadcasts. As regards the first, we entirely concur with the critics. Much of the All India news is a rehash from the British broadcasts on the war and is of little interest, even where they are intelligible, to the average Indian listener. It may be due to the want of intelligent interest in world affairs of the Indian people, but it is the fact that war news, except where a definite advance or retreat is announced, does not hold the general public. The only news incidental to the war which the Indian is anxious to hear, is the arrangements to meet the food shortage and the small coin shortage, recently, news of Gandhiji's fast and, to a less extent, the result of operations in Burma. There is a vast amount of interesting and informing activities attending Indian life and thought, which the public would like to know about but which All India Radio is not interested in. Government told the Assembly that the question of increase of salaries of the staff was being considered. Undue preference in the selection of singers and speakers there probably is, but no system that can be devised can prevent it altogether even in countries where musical and oratorical talent is available in much larger measure. As for the language, the only language which the all India broadcasts can adopt for medium is English. This is plain from the simple fact that only newspapers published in the English language have an all India circulation. The Muslim partiality for Urdu is intelligible but broadcasts in that language do not attract many listeners. It is significant that in Bengal which is a Muslim majority province, the All India Urdu broadcasts are omitted while they are inflicted on Bombay which has three well-developed Indian languages and English is widely known. Urdu is a provincial tongue and should be used in Upper India. The Congress and the Muslim League and all other bodies which have an All India object, use English in all important discussions.

A BANDRA DIARY.

Sir Roger Lumley, the Governor of Bombay, will have left the province before the next issue of *The Reformer* comes out. He is the only Governor whom I have not met during the last thirty-five years. Of his predecessors the one with whom I came most in contact, was the late Lord Lloyd. Soon after he arrived in Bombay, he called me and assured me that he was interested in social reform. He took up the question, which his predecessors had shied at, of brothels in Bombay, appointed a Committee to investigate the subject and had a law passed to deal with it. How far that law has had the effect of reducing the evil, is another matter. Lord Lloyd and I were on friendly terms so far as a Governor and an Indian journalist can be. The breach came when Mr. Horniman, then editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, was deported. *The Reformer* condemned the deportation as it was bound to do. Lord Lloyd called me to see him and asked why I, of all men, should defend Horniman. After all, I was admonished, Mr. Horniman had suffered no harm, he was free to go anywhere once the three mile limit was passed, and there was his old paper, the *Manchester Guardian*, in which he could agitate against his deportation. This was the first time I heard of Mr. Horniman's connection with the Manchester paper. Lord Lloyd's arguments were not convincing to me and I told him so. I did not meet him again. When Sir John Dill was announced as Sir Roger Lumley's successor in Bombay, I was moved to make a brief digression about Sir Roger himself. Some days after that Mr. B. G. Kher, who was Prime Minister during the Congress regime, met me and said that what I had written about Sir Roger Lumley, was exactly what he thought from his close personal contact with him, that he (Kher) wanted to write to *The Reformer*, but desisted as he felt that at the juncture (there was some talk of Congress resuming co-operation) it would be embarrassing to do so. That confirmed me in my long-standing belief that a publicist of experience can form a tolerably correct estimate of men and things without himself having any personal contact with them. I mention this now because it may be some satisfaction to Sir Roger to know on the eve of his departure what one who was closely associated with him in the administration, felt about him, especially now that Kher is not free to communicate with him personally.

Reading the correspondence between Lord Linlithgow and Gandhiji, I fail to see why they did not come to a friendly understanding which would have obviated the fast and restored normal relations between them. Gandhiji declared in unequivocal terms that he adhered to his lifelong creed of non-violence, that is to say, repudiation of violence in all forms and under all circumstances. Clearly this covered the disturbances of recent months and there is some reason for Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's opinion that, had Gandhiji's letter been published when it was received, the disturbances might have been obviated. I say "some reason" because this implies that the absence of Gandhiji's condemnation was responsible to some extent for the prolongation of the disturbances, which I am not able to accept. In spite of the needlessly violent language of some of Gandhiji's recent writings, I from the first refused to believe that he would under any circumstances countenance violence whether to person or property. I was and am convinced that, so long as he is at the head of any movement, he would not knowingly permit, countenance, or condone the least violence to or on the part of any one. Therefore, I have throughout held that, in imputing responsibility for the disturbances to him, Lord

Linlithgow did him great injustice which a sensitive nature like Gandhiji's must feel excruciatingly from one whom he regarded as a personal friend. I have no doubt whatever that, if Gandhiji were free, he would exert every fibre of his being to stop violence. It is significant that the disturbances began immediately after his guiding and controlling hand was removed. In India, as in other countries, there is always a group or groups favouring violence and these at a time of war are ready to spring into action when the moral forces which keep them in check are dissolved. This, in my opinion, is what has happened. Lord Linlithgow was clearly wrong in imputing responsibility for the disturbances to Gandhiji and in demanding that he should publicly disown them.

RECLUSE.

FINANCE AND PRODUCTION.

The Reformer had no comments to make on the Indian Budget which was presented to the Indian Legislative Assembly a few days ago. There is an Indian saying that you cannot get in the ladle what is not in the pot. It is Sir Jeremy Raisman's task to achieve this impossibility. Until five years ago the Indian Finance Member could not find a crore or even half a crore for necessary nation-building measures. India remains a country with the lowest income per head of the population. Illiteracy weighs down more than ninety percent of the population. Public Health is at a low level. The war has brought home to every Indian how abjectly dependent he was for articles of daily use, buttons, razors, pins, paper, pen and many other things, on foreign countries. Though India has many thousand miles of railway, Government is only now thinking of making locomotives in the country. To one who has lived and grown up under these artificial circumstances, it is a wonder how the Finance Member is able without turning a hair to provide hundreds of crores for war purposes. His performance seems as magical as the rope trick and other mysteries of our jugglers. It is hopeless to try to analyse them. The most satisfactory explanation is that the onlookers are under the influence of a kind of hypnotic suggestion. This is no doubt facilitated by the fact that Government is both the money-maker as well as the money-taker. There has been much discussion among economists about the large increase in currency notes. It is obvious that but for the increase, the public will not have the wherewithal to pay their taxes which are also increasing. Indian philosophy teaches us, however, that though the world is maya, illusion, so long as we are in it we have to play our illusory parts as best as we can.

The centre of interest in the Budget debate in the Assembly was the disposal of the "sterling securities" which are accumulating in India and Britain in payment of the goods and services supplied by this country in connection with the war. The Finance Member has decided to constitute them into a fund for the reconstruction of India's economic structure after the war is finished. This is asking India—the Finance Member is after all the representative of British interests in this country—to meet the enormous calls made on her by raising taxes and loans when these securities are allowed to lie idle for an indefinite period. No one knows when the war will end. Indian reconstruction even after the end of the war must wait on British reconstruction which is a much larger affair requiring considerable time. Then there is the probability that coming events in the shape of the next war will be casting their

shadows long before the next war. To police Europe and keep Germany and Japan disarmed, will need all the strength and resources of the United States and Great Britain. Though, therefore, Sir Jeremy Raisman was right in dismissing Mr. Jamnadas Mehta's suggestion of the possibility of Allied defeat in the war as unthinkable, the conditions ensuing on victory will not be materially different and the difficulty of utilising the securities will be but a little less.

Professor C. N. Vakil of the Bombay University School of Economics has recently been insisting on the expansion of the note circulation as the principal cause of the enormous rise in prices. His view has found partial support from Sir Tracy Gavin Jones, President of the Upper India Chamber of Commerce, who, devoted his address at the last annual meeting to the question. We say "partially" because Sir Gavin Jones' remedy is somewhat different from that of Professor Vakil. Mr. G. D. Birla in a well-argued pamphlet maintains that the true and only remedy for the price situation is increased production of agricultural and manufactured products for civil consumption. "I say with all the emphasis I can command," he writes, "production could be increased, and increased enormously, if Government were capable of inspiring, planning, and mobilising the country's mind and capacity. And production must be increased if we are to avoid catastrophic ending. But will Government make a move in the right direction?" It is evident that Mr. Birla is nearer Sir Jeremy Raisman than either Professor Vakil or Sir Gavin Jones. The only point of difference between Mr. Birla and the Finance Member is in regard to time. Mr. Birla affirms that production can be enormously increased at once while Sir Jeremy would wait until after the war.

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

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NOTES.

Eden in Washington:—A casual student of current political events cannot fail to see the connection between the controversy over Admiral Standley's indictment of the Soviet Press for failing to give credit to the Americans for the help they are rendering to the prosecution of the war, and the dramatic descent from a flying-machine of the British Foreign Secretary in Washington. But British officialdom, with its inveterate love of camouflage, asks the world to believe that the visit is a sequel to the conference at Casablanca between President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill. Soon after that Conference, where the whole situation on all the war fronts was said to have been canvassed and momentous resolutions taken, it was stated that Mr. Churchill would probably meet the President again. Mr. Churchill's illness may be one reason why Mr. Eden has flown to Washington. But it is equally likely that the British Foreign Secretary has been sent to smooth out the differences with the Soviet Government. He visited Moscow soon after he returned to the Foreign Office on the appointment of Lord Halifax as Ambassador in Washington. He had the privilege, accorded sparingly to foreign statesmen, of being a guest at M. Litvinov's country-house. Mr. Churchill's visit to Moscow was, according to his own account, not altogether a success. M. Stalin did not accept his reasons for not opening a second front in Europe. Besides Mr. Churchill's violent diatribes in the past against the Soviet system are not easily forgotten. Mr. Eden, without embarrassing antecedents, may be able to present the British case with greater force than the Prime Minister. Admiral Standley, either deliberately or accidentally, chose the moment when the tide of war in favour of Russia seems to have received a check—temporary, it may be hoped. The purpose of Mr. Eden's visit to Washington is said to be the same as was covered by the Prime Minister and the President at Casablanca. An interesting circumstance in connection with Mr. Eden's trip to Washington, is that Madame Chiang-Kai-Shek who, according to his recent statement in the House of Commons, had been twice invited to go to London by the British Government, is still in Washington and Mr. Eden might meet the "distinguished lady" sooner there than in London. The visit has at least one special significance. Mr. Eden is obviously the successor to Mr. Churchill.

Turkish Impressions:—The delegation of Turkish journalists who visited India recently, have safely

arrived at Ankara and a short extract from the writings of one of them in a Turkish newspaper has been allowed to be published here. The writer begins by saying that the delegation successfully resisted the attempts of Indian parties to draw them into their nets. This, perhaps, is true so far as the Moslem League and the Hindu Mahasabha are concerned but not true as regards the third party, the Government. The delegates themselves realised early in their Indian tour that they were under obligation to the Government which was their host, to be quite "objective" in their impressions and declared their resolve to be "objective", that is, not to probe behind the surface of what they saw and heard in India. The brief excerpt from their first writings in the Ankara Press shows that they have faithfully observed this obligation. The delegation, even when in India and when there was considerable agitation in the Indian Press over certain inhibitions on publicity by Government, expressed their appreciation of the freedom enjoyed by the Press here. In the article in the Ankara paper, the writer cites as striking proof of this freedom a truism to the effect that an officially conducted tour cannot help the delegation to get a true view of Indian conditions. That this trite remark should strike any one as a proof of freedom of the Press either shows that the writer meant to suggest that this is about all the freedom enjoyed by the Indian Press or that he was applying the standards of the Turkish Press which, neither under the Caliph nor under the new regime, knows what freedom of the Press signifies, to persons who have derived their inspiration from the Areopagitea and the history of the struggle which established freedom of the Press and public meeting as an inalienable right of every citizen in a civilised state. India struck the Turkish writer as a "strange" country with thousands of opinions. The strangeness is due to the fact India has never followed the policy of ironing out differences. But we have reason to think that the delegates did not altogether fail to appreciate the unity underlying the diversity of opinions they noted among those whom they met in India.

Maxwell's Extension:—When the second extension of Lord Linlithgow's term as Viceroy was announced, the British Press was not unanimous in its approval. One journal, the *Times*, said that it showed that the Government had no definite policy in India. The extension, announced last week, of the term of the Home Member, Sir Reginald Maxwell, points to the same conclusion. The news has been received in Indian political circles as indicative of the Government's decision to persevere with its present intransigent policy in internal politics. This may be so but it does not necessarily follow. Both the extensions may be the result of not being able to find successors willing to undertake the clearing up of the mess made by the two high officials without a radical change of policy which the Churchill Government can not agree to, consistently with its repeated protestations.

If that be the case, India cannot look for a change in her Government until the Churchill Government is overhauled in London. Lord Linlithgow's successor is not yet announced although the period of his extension is fast expiring. Why not appoint the Duke of Windsor who is wasting his forceful personality in the Bahamas? He is the one man outside British politics who can bring an open mind and command the necessary authority to bend the massive obstacle of the Indian Services. Incidentally, the reason assigned for the resignation of Sir Thomas Stewart, Governor of Bihar, who went on four months' leave shortly after the August developments, is almost laughable. We are told that he was not strong enough—as strong as his neighbour the Governor of the United Provinces? Not strong? What could have been "stronger" than his prohibition of the holding of the Hindu Mahasabha at Bhagalpur and the measures adopted to enforce his orders, notwithstanding that the local Muslims who were supposed to apprehend untoward results, protested that they had no objection whatever to the Mahasabha session?

The War in Russia :—The great drive of the Red Army which had started a sweeping offensive early this year, has been checked by the recapture of Kharkov by the Germans. Several reasons have been advanced in explanation—from an unexpectedly early thaw which hindered the Russians and helped the Germans, to the advantages derived by Hitler in having shortened his lines of communication. There has been, moreover, stiff resistance—even in the North in the Smolensk area where the Red Army was having spectacular progress. The check received with the passing away of winter gives point to the agitation for a second front. While there is some consolation to be derived from the fact that the German forces have had a strenuous struggle and are not as strong as they were at the beginning of the Russian campaign and that about 60,000 Italian troops who were supporting the Germans have gone back to Italy, yet the argument cuts both ways. The Russians are, after all, seeing the war fought on their own territory and the Soviet seems to face as many problems with her allies as Germany does with Italy.

Prohibition Goes but Tax Remains :—In the summary of the budget proposals for the Bombay Presidency for the next revenue year, there is a curious passage relating to the Urban Property Tax levied to meet the deficit in revenue caused by the loss of liquor taxation and the cost of enforcing preventive measures. With the removal of the restrictions on country liquor recently announced, the whole of Prohibition is swept out of the board, but the Urban Property Tax is retained "in view of the need to build up post-war reserves," although the provincial revenues without this tax are sufficient for provincial expenditure. We can not help thinking that this is a breach of faith with the owners of urban property. Why should they of all persons be mulcted in order to build up post-war reserves? "There is, therefore," we are told, "no case for reduction in the present rates of the Urban Immoveable Property Tax." There is a case and a strong one not for reduction but for the total repeal of the tax. The tax is levied only on owners in the Prohibition areas which have ceased to be such. The whole subject of Prohibition has been muddled by the Lumely regime. Measures to build up a post-war reserve should be specifically taken up and provision made so as not to bear unfairly on a section of the population not by any means more able to shoulder the burden than some others. We should think

that the post-war problem must and can only be satisfactorily dealt with by the Central Government and not by provincial governments.

Rau Committee's Bills :—The Rau Committee for the Reform of Hindu Law drafted two Bills, one on the law of Succession and the other on the law of Marriage among Hindus. *The Reformer* in its comments on the reports which prepared the ground for legislation, suggested that Marriage legislation should precede legislation regarding Succession. Among other reasons, *The Reformer* pointed out that attaching the character of monogamy to all Hindu marriages which the Committee proposed, would materially simplify the law of Succession. It is announced that the Bill relating to Succession will be taken up in the present Session of the Indian Legislature, the Marriage Bill being postponed to the next or a later session. We think this is regrettable. The adoption of the principle of monogamy is a more important reform, affecting the entire Hindu community, than the law of Succession which concerns only a fraction of the community owning property. If Government has been led to postpone the Marriage Bill because of the propaganda carried on by ultra-conservatives against monogamy—we are surprised to know that some educated women with advanced views are also concerned in this propaganda—the path of legislation will not become easier with the passage of time. There is good reason to postpone all social legislation until after the restoration of normal conditions when the attendance at the Legislative Assembly would be fuller and more representative.

Standard Time :—Some days ago a spokesman of the Government informed the Indian Legislative Assembly that the advancing by one hour of the then Standard Time last September was intended only to be in force during winter. This led to the expectation that, with the approach of spring, clocks will have to be put back by an hour. A later official statement is to the effect that Government is considering whether the present advance should be continued. The advance of an hour at the end of last year caused considerable dislocation in domestic arrangements. Housewives had to get through much of their morning routine in darkness aggravated by the complete or partial blackout in force in the coastal towns. With the passing of winter the inconvenience has practically disappeared and it is rather an advantage for the next eight months to be able to have an additional hour for the morning work. Anyhow people have settled down to the new arrangement and the return to the old standard time would cause fresh unsettlement. The time to consider the return to the old standard time is not now but at the advent of the next winter.

Black-out Confusion :—After a couple of press notes the public has learnt that there is to be a relaxation of the lighting restrictions on vehicles and pedestrians in Bombay city and not, as was first announced, a removal of these restrictions. There are added to the communique, by way of elucidation, details about the layers of paper that must be still kept and the layers that may be removed. All this, we are told, is to prevent the sudden glare from dazzling the eyes of people as it must do with the street lights still darkened. But why are the street lights still kept dim? If the relaxation on car lights and torches is meant as a relief to a harassed public, it is well-intentioned but the purpose would be better served by beginning at the other end. If there could brighter streets and more light in railway coaches, it would be more appreciated than the change now introduced.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, March 20, 1943.

POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION IN INDIA.

Following as usual the example of Britain, the Government of India, Sir Jeremy Raisman announced in the Indian Legislative Assembly, have set up a Committee of the Viceroy's Executive Council to formulate plans for post-war reconstruction. The Viceroy will be President of the Committee but Sir Jwala Srivastava will preside over ordinary meetings of the Committee. This is somewhat different from the earlier report that Sir Jwala will be the Chairman. In other countries post-war reconstruction has a definite meaning. It is reconstruction of the whole life, social and economic, of the community. Its basis is a national Government which is in touch with, and can influence, all aspects of national life. The present Government of India, both in respect of constitution and personnel, is ill-suited to undertake the work, even, of preliminary planning. Its outlook is authoritarian and its personnel stale and unimaginative. The various repressive measures adopted in recent months have completely shut off the little access it had to the popular mind. The great difficulty of British rule in India is, as Lord Morley wrote to Lord Minto, that we have no idea of what is passing in the minds of the people. The Indian Press, the only medium which to some extent helped to give an insight into the popular feeling, has been severely controlled in the exercise of its function as a channel of information. The Government of India is the greatest experiment in history in the art of ruling a people without knowing what they think and feel. The Legislative Assembly has a solid bloc of official members who are bound to vote with Government on pain of losing their official positions. As a considerable proportion of members are either absent or abstain from voting, the divisions in the Assembly merely ratify official decisions. The first question which has to be answered before reconstruction can be considered, is: What is India's status intended to be? Sir Jeremy Raisman's confidence in the future Government in dealing with salaries and pensions may mean that the present system is substantially to be continued. If that is so and if India is to be a dependency under the name of Dominion, the Viceroy's Reconstruction Committee will have to be guided by the dictates of the British Government which in its turn will naturally be dictated to by British and Allied capitalists. Sir Jeremy Raisman made some threatening remarks about what he would do to Bombay cotton merchants if they did not conform to his policies. The cotton merchants here did only what such merchants do in every other country when commodities are scarce and consumers are numerous. If Government were more in touch with popular opinion, the situation might have been controlled. One thing the Governments in this country must clearly understand: Repression and penalties are useful up to a point only. Even within those limits, the law of diminishing returns operates and each succeeding dose of repression yields less in compliance and costs more to administer. Sir Jeremy Raisman declared that he was not set upon segregating sterling securities to form a Reconstruction Fund in the post-war period. This is Mr. Birla's opportunity. If, as he maintains in his pamphlet, "Inflation or Scarcity?" production can be increased immediately and enormously, he should put the Reconstruction Committee in possession of his data. The response of the Committee will be a test of its capacity for the task assigned to it is a sphere which is well within its competence.

BANGALORE SCIENCE STUDENTS AND FOOD.

The Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore has had to face a novel agitation from its students who are all post-graduate research students. The authorities of the Institute contemplated a common dining-room in the students' hostel and, apparently apprehending trouble, they have since 1940 taken an undertaking from every student who joined the Institute, that he had no objection to joining a common mess if one should be started. However when the project was nearing a concrete stage, the students discovered that they preferred their separate messes and started a strike which resulted in the Institute conceding four separate messes but insisting on a common dining-room. The students wish to have the dining-room partitioned off into four sections and the work of the Institute is being held up because of this deadlock. The position is rendered all the more absurd by the fact that the common dining hall will take six months more to build; and the students are interfering with the building work. The whole agitation is ridiculous in the extreme and that it should be staged by a section of society which is highly educated, and in scientific studies at that, makes it all the more deplorable. For obvious reasons, there is need now and will be for some time for two messes in any institution—one vegetarian and the other non-vegetarian. It might be advisable, but less necessary where the diners are individuals whose work has brought them in touch with all kinds of people, that the vegetarians should have a separate dining-room where the sight of meat being eaten does, not offend them. But the curious insistence on four dining rooms seems to indicate nothing so much as an opposition to change from the existing conditions. After all, had the Institute not been in existence these boys would have had to go to England for their higher studies and there they would have had no qualms in seeing what was placed before their neighbour's seat even if they felt any hesitation in themselves eating meat. On the other hand, the Science Institute, it must be said, has not displayed much tact in dealing with the situation. It has, in the first place, started an agitation even before the problem had arisen by premature publicity to its plans. —After all, to talk of how you will arrange the seating and eating in a dining hall which has yet to be built, is very much like counting your chickens before they are hatched. And asking the students to give the common mess undertaking, as they did, was no more than fanning the flames.

HINDU FOR INDIAN.

The *Mahratta* proposes to deal in a subsequent issue with the difficulties in the way of widening the definition of Hindu in the Mahasabha constitution. There are certainly difficulties but these can be overcome if Indian publicists agree to use the word "Hindu" in the larger sense of nationality. The word "Harijan" as a collective name for the depressed classes, was invented by Gandhiji and it has passed into general usage notwithstanding the opposition of some leaders of the scheduled castes. The scheduled castes are by no means entitled to monopolise the privilege of being "God's Own People" which is what Harijan means. If the word "Hindu" is to apply to all natives of India, by what name, we are asked, should those who are now known as Hindus, call themselves? *The Reformer* had suggested that they should all be known as Brahmans. There is an ancient tradition to the effect that all were originally Brahmans. The adoption of the name, Brahman, would, therefore, be in accord with ancient tradition.

A BANDRA DIARY.

The *Bombay Law Journal* for March contains a full report of the proceedings at the opening of the Kirtikar Law Library, presented by Mr. M. R. Jayakar to the Advocates' Association of Western India, by the Chief Justice Sir John Beaumont. The brief reports in the daily papers of the function did not bring out the fact that it is not only the books of his grandfather some of which, in the nature of things, would be out of date, but also his own additions to them which have been gifted by Mr. Jayakar. Mr. Jahagirdar in the course of his introductory speech said that the library of his grandfather had been enriched and kept up-to-date by Mr. Jayakar. The gift, therefore, has a significance exceeding the benefaction to the present and future generations of lawyers and students. It means that Mr. Jayakar, with many years before him for lucrative practice of his profession if he followed the common example, deliberately renounces the opportunity in order to devote himself to public service. This is in strict accord with the Hindu system of Ashramas which prescribes as the third stage in life the voluntary retirement from worldly activities. This stage, called vanaprastha, has been understood as requiring retirement to a forest. It may be more correctly interpreted as retirement from the wilderness of samsara. The Bhagavad Gita has defined a sanyasi as one who works without thought of reward. The hermit stage is one degree prior to the sanyas stage, and what applies to sanyas applies with greater force to the vanaprastha stage. A man may fulfil the requirements of the ancient ordinance not only without leaving his family but also in the full blast of popular activities provided he has mental detachment, like the drop of water on a lotus leaf. The combination of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar is a remarkably happy one auguring the evolution of Indian cultural unity—the one with a background of Persian and Urdu, the other steeped in Sanskrit lore. Going over the advance proofs of his grandfather's essays many years ago, I was struck by the illuminative footnotes, few and brief, which the grandson had appended to the more recondite passages of the late Rao Bahadur's essays on the Vedanta. I wish more of our successful professional and businessmen will follow Mr. Jayakar's example.

The spirit which moved Mr. Jayakar, is in the air and is moving others as well. I received a few days ago a pamphlet and a letter from the well-known industrialist and financier, Mr. Ram Krishna Dalmia, expounding his views on the ultimate causes of the present world situation and asking for suggestions for a movement which he is launching, to promote the spirit of brotherhood among men of all races, nations, and religions. I met Mr. Dalmia casually once or twice at the late Sir Akbar Hydari's Bombay residence and, if he will pardon my saying so, thought of him as a man of business with no ideas outside cement and sugar and other enterprises. His letter opened my eyes to the fact that, amidst and behind his industrial and financial interests, Mr. Dalmia had a world outlook transcending all narrow limitations. "I feel," he writes, "that there is a great need for a revaluation of what we have hitherto considered to be unchanging verities and I intend launching a movement for universal brotherhood, with a movement to back it up from every corner of the world. I propose to name the organization 'One.' Though in working it out, difficulties, apparently insurmountable, will present themselves,

there is nothing which cannot be accomplished with His blessings and guidance." Mr. Dalmia undertakes to arrange if necessary a sum of one or two crores of rupees and even more for the purpose of furthering the scheme. What is more, he intends devoting his time, energy and "even sacrifice this perishable body" to attain the goal. The grandeur of the idea and the earnestness of Mr. Dalmia, appealed to me with considerable intensity. "India," as I said in my reply, "is the land in which such a movement should originate, because it is in India that the quest after the Reality, the One, behind the manifold phenomena, has been longest and most persistently pursued from ancient times." At the present time many voices are raised for the development of material ends by utilising the shadow prosperity created by the War. It is cheering to find one, himself an industrialist and financier, tell us that not the lack of material possessions but the starvation of our spiritual being is the cause of the present chaos and carnage overwhelming humanity. Mr. Dalmia sees, as every thinker and writer on the present troubles does, that the root cause is the disproportionate development of machine power and the practical stagnation of the moral and spiritual elements in human life. Two crores of rupees, as Mr. Dalmia realises, is but a drop in the ocean having regard to the immense magnitude of the work to be done. Money is useful in such a movement only as the means of training and equipping men who share the ideal of human brotherhood for unselfish, and for a large part, thankless, work. This is no easy thing to do, unless in the wake of a great spiritual revival like that which was heralded by saints and sages in the past.

I referred last week to my relations with Lord Lloyd when he was Governor of Bombay. I found my name (wrongly spelt) in the list of J. P.'s. I have regarded this particular distinction as meant for individuals whom the Police did not consider to be potential pickpockets, cat-burglars or manufacturers of illicit liquor. Besides, an Indian journalist to be ticketed as a Government man is a double disadvantage, especially for one who, like myself, did not consider that British rule has been a blight on the country and has had occasion to express one's dissent from those who denounce it as such. Any thing I might say in appreciation of British rule, is sure to be attributed by one section of the public to my label and anything that I might write in criticism of it, was likely to be resented as an act of ingratitude. Anyhow I took the opportunity offered by the Kenya question which had become suddenly acute, to resign the J. P. ship. Lord Lloyd consulted me about the Prostitution Committee, that is to say, he told me that he was going to appoint a committee and that I should serve on it. He did not know much about the conditions in Bombay and merely indicated with a flip of his fingers that girls in a public utility concern are liable to be thrown off their balance by the slightest breeze. He also appointed me a provincial representative on the Southborough Committee which prepared the ground for the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and invited me to attend two meetings of his Executive Council at which his Government's views were formulated in detail. The public has an impression that the Governor has all his own way with his Executive Councillors who are members of the Indian Civil Service. This is far from being the case. One of the Executive Councillors at the time was Mr. Curtis and I found the Governor more than once prefacing his request for Mr. Curtis's views with the remark,

"Of course, you are opposed to everything." A small incident at one of the meetings has stuck in my memory. It was a warm day. The electric fan over Lord Lloyd's chair had not been set going. Lord Lloyd turned to Mr. Curtis who was sitting nearest to him, and pointed to the fan. Mr. Curtis did not move but called out, "Chapprassi" and got him to set the fan in motion. I, or for that matter most Indians in Mr. Curtis' position, would not have found it necessary to shout for the chapprassi. The Southborough Committee was startled by the declaration of the late Vithalbai Patel that he was a member of the depressed classes and did not feel the need of special protection. This was in reply to a question from Sir Malcolm (now Lord) Hailey. When my turn came, I elicited from Vithalbai that he was not a member of an untouchable caste.

RECLUSE.

THE UNITED NATIONS AND SOUTH AFRICA.

We referred recently to the prevalence of anti-Russian sentiment in some of the "Free Governments" functioning on behalf of European countries from London, and to the fears awakened by the overtures to the Vatican State made by the U. S. Government. A Cape Town message reports that a resolution was moved in the South African House of Assembly calling on the Government to suppress Communist activities in South Africa and to sever diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia. The House rejected the motion by 54 votes to 36. More significant was the admission of Mr. H. G. Lawrence, Minister of the Interior, that, though the Soviet Consular representatives had not abused their position, there were certain persons who were "exploiting the Soviet Union's participation in the war for their own ends," and some of them had been interned. Mr. Lawrence exonerated the Communist Party in South Africa when he said he had no evidence of subversive activities. Mr. Lawrence went on, after this admission, to accuse the Nationalist Party of basing their hopes on German military success. None of the opposition speeches have been reported by Reuter but it is very probable that this accusation was rebutted. Whatever may be the case, it is nothing but regrettable that the South African Government should find itself compelled to check the activities of over-enthusiastic supporters of their ally, Russia, while dealing with supporters of the enemy Nazis as a recognized opposition. It is in questions like this that the weakness of the United Nations is shown blatantly, and no amount of effort at devising schemes of post-war reconstruction can heal the breach.

Field Marshal Smuts, Premier of South Africa, has sought to pour oil on troubled waters in a statement published on March 15. He said that there was prejudice not only against Russia but also against the United States of America in South Africa. The U. S. A., he said, was being represented as an enemy. It was not necessary for the South African Premier to tell the world what the Afrikanders thought of the British; and, as for the Chinese, the Asiatic Exclusion measures are a standing testimony to their position and status in South Africa. The only conclusion possible is that South Africa is a misfit among the United Nations. The Field Marshal went on to say that no country had treated Germans better than South Africa had but only disappointment had resulted. This is a cryptic utterance and, in the absence of information as to what the South African leader expected of the

Germans, it is impossible to say wherein the cause for disappointment lay. Nevertheless, in spite of this disillusionment, the Field Marshal indicated that he wanted to continue treating the Germans well. He said that the Axis powers must be disarmed and kept disarmed, but they must be allowed full share of raw materials for industries. The statement seems so naive that one hardly thinks the veteran Empire statesman was serious. If Germany and Japan are to be allowed raw materials for purely non-military industries while the Allied countries are to keep up arms manufacture as well, it is obvious that the defeated powers will have the advantage in the competition for world trade. It was a notorious fact for the decade before war broke out that German and Japanese trade was presenting difficulties to business interests in the democracies. How much worse would that be if the burden on the economic system of the Allies is increased by the necessity to maintain arms and munitions. Even if armaments factories are run on German soil with German labour, to equip the victorious powers—a kind of slave labour—still the withdrawal from industry of a proportion of labour to prevent leakage in products and in techniques, to ensure that the munitions reach the proper quarters and finally to use them, will prove the undoing of the Allied nations. And if wars are no more to be fought, it will entail so much useless training and industry that few nations will be prepared to undertake the responsibility of policing the world.

The *Hindu* of Madras publishes a special interview with the Field Marshal which its Johannesburg correspondent has cabled out to it. The South African Premier was in an expansive mood when he explained what in his opinion the Atlantic Charter really stood for. It was, according to him, a world charter and its principles were of universal application. Then, added Premier Smuts, "the practical application of those principles will have to be carefully worked out on the basis of special situations, racial and economic, which exist in such profoundly varied and complex societies as those in India. That will be a task of leaders assisted by the sympathy and goodwill of the larger world organisation." The Atlantic Charter has proved all things to all men: Mr. Churchill is able to grasp his colonies firmly under its provisions; Soviet Russia has stated that her claims to certain territories of pre-war Poland are in conformity with the Atlantic Charter; Poland similarly supports her demand for restoration on the basis of the Atlantic Charter; and here we have a veteran Empire statesman telling us that racial and economic differences will affect the practical working of the Atlantic Charter, instead of the Charter ensuring equality. Sir Jan Smuts' conception of the new world organisation is that it must be "of a more effective character than the League of Nations" and probably also with provision for continental or other zonal arrangements for special areas. The reference to the "task of leaders" cited earlier shows clearly that the South African Premier would have a super-state organisation to back Governments in their policies. The Smuts dilution of the Atlantic Charter will not work. The only difference, so far as Asiatics and Africans are concerned, between the Smuts plan and Hitler's world order schemes is that Hitler would lump all non-Germans together as inferior to his people, while Field Marshal Smuts' elect form a wider circle of all Europeans. Hitler's attitude, it will be readily admitted, is something for other Europeans to worry about but the lead given by the Smuts type of "democratic" champion is not one which will rally non-European races to the democratic side. Seen against this sinister background,

the Field Marshal's plea for continental or zonal arrangements assumes a mischievous character as a demand for a free hand in Africa. The South African Government has not a record which would justify the acceptance of this position by world opinion. Are the Premier's pronouncements calculated to force the issue? Mr. Churchill who is vigorously and desperately asserting his intention to hold on to Britain's colonies, is not the man to resist the South African's demands. And the U. S. President, it would appear, has not yet thought out the details of the Charter.

CHINA'S TREATY WITH BRITAIN.

The Chinese Ministry of Information (Calcutta Office) has in one of its recent bulletins given the full text of two Treaties, one signed between China and Britain, and the other between China and India, at Chungking on January 11, 1943. Dr. T. V. Soong, Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs, signed on behalf of the Republic of China and Sir James Seymour, the British Ambassador at Chungking, on behalf of Britain and the British Empire. A gentleman called Hugh Edward Richardson represented India. He is, according to the treaty, an officer in the Indian Political Service. The two treaties are identically worded and they both correspond closely with the terms of the Sino-American Treaty, which were given in *The Reformer* of March 6. The treaty signed by Sir James Seymour for Britain relates to "the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, India, all colonies, overseas territories, protectorates of His Majesty, all territories under his protection or suzerainty and all mandated territories in respect of which the mandate is exercised by his Government in the United Kingdom." Presumably the Dominions have separate treaties. For, though they come in under the designation of "territories under the protection or suzerainty" of His Majesty, the territories administered as mandates by them are left out. The need for a separate treaty with the Government of India arises out of quite other causes. Though the wording of Mr. Richardson's treaty is the same as the British Treaty, there is an agreed minute appended which reads:

With reference to paragraph I (a) of the Annex to the Note from the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs to His Majesty's Ambassador in connection with the Treaty signed today, it is understood that both High Contracting Parties reserve the right to close any port to all overseas merchant shipping for reasons of national security.

With reference to paragraph I (g) of the Annex to the Note from the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs to His Majesty's Ambassador in connection with the Treaty signed today, His Majesty's Ambassador informed the Chinese Government that trade between India on the one hand and Burma or Ceylon on the other has always been regarded as coasting trade.

The second clause in the minute is fundamentally important as it gives the outlines of India's special interest in Burma and Ceylon. That the continuation of Indian shipping rights should be based on the plea that trade between India and Burma and Ceylon has "always been regarded as coasting trade," means nothing, specially when treaties are being negotiated which aim at overturning many things that have always been regarded as legitimate. What the acceptance of this position by China means is that in the future Burma and Ceylon will be regarded in Asia as part of the Indian political system. British policy even during the war should be guided by this consideration. If this is clearly understood, questions, like the

expenses of the Burma campaign and assistance to Ceylon in the matter of labour, food and defence, will be viewed here in their proper perspective.

The main point is the abolition of extra-territorial rights. These rights were part of the policy of European nations in their Eastward drive and were designed to prevent their nationals from being subjected to the laws of the countries which were strange to Europeans. Now that the legal codes in all countries are approximating to a single standard, it is difficult to press for special treatment for one's nationals abroad. The fact too that the privilege was abused frequently, has discredited it. Nevertheless, the acceptance of extra-territoriality depends not so much on the justness of the demand but on the relative strength of the countries who are treating with each other. The United States, for instance, has succeeded in having the principle accepted in regard to her troops in the British Empire. Madame Chiang Kai-Shek has asked for American direct help in China. If her request is acceded to, then the United States will certainly press for jurisdiction being reserved over her troops. And the sting will be taken out of the reservation as it has already been conceded by Britain. Moreover, it is merely a temporary expedient necessitated by the presence of American troops in large numbers on foreign soil. If one reform is necessary in the post-war reconstruction period, it is the wholesale overhauling of the judicial system the world over and the acceptance of certain common principles. It will be difficult to reconcile this with the proposals now freely canvassed for dividing the world into two sections, one privileged and the other restrained, even if only in the matter of the right to bear arms.

The proposals with regard to the British concessions at Tientsin and Canton, the diplomatic quarter at Peiping, and the International Settlements at Shanghai and Amoy, are far-reaching. Article 5 of the Treaty reads:

Article 5. (1) In order to obviate any questions as to existing rights in respect of or as to existing titles to real property in the territory of the Republic of China possessed by nationals and companies of His Majesty the King, or by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, and in particular questions which might arise from the abrogation of the provisions of treaties and agreements provided for in Article 2 of the present Treaty, the High Contracting Parties agree that such existing rights or titles shall be indefeasible and shall not be questioned upon any ground except upon proof, established through due process of law, of fraud or of fraudulent or dishonest practices in the acquisition of such rights or titles, it being understood that no right or title shall be rendered invalid by virtue of any subsequent change in the original procedure through which it was acquired. It is also agreed that the exercise of these rights or titles shall be subject to the laws and regulations of the Republic of China concerning taxation, national defence and the right of eminent domain; and that no such rights or titles may be alienated to the government or nationals (including companies) of any third country without the express consent of the Government of the Republic of China.

Considering the situation in China today, this is the least that the British Government could do. The course of events might render this part of the treaty out-of-date. Even Japan, it is said, has transferred her rights in occupied China to the Nanking Government. There is a clause providing for the negotiation at a later date of a modern comprehensive treaty or treaties of "friendship, commerce, navigation and consular rights" within six months after the cessation of hostilities. It is not easy to appreciate why the

precedent established in the case of Soviet Russia of an immediate pact of friendship of twenty years duration was not followed. In the case of India it is to be hoped that the treaty with China will be signed by one more representative of this country than Mr. Richardson.

GANDHIJ'S FAST.

Sir,—There have been different reactions in different quarters to the epic fast of Mahatma Gandhi which has just ended. Your contemporary, the *Times of India*, has a leader on "A Fast Ended." There is one sentence in this leader to which I should like to draw your attention:—

Apart from possible permanent injurious effects to Mr. Gandhi personally, the only unhappy result was the resignation of three valuable Indian members of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

It is said that none are so blind as those who will not see. Is this the only injurious and adverse effect which will follow Mahatmaji's fast? Cannot such a paper like the *Times of India* consider that the adverse effects will be far more than either personal injury to Mahatmaji or the resignations of the three Councillors? Mahatmaji does not take into account any personal or bodily ill-effects; nor will the three Councillors who have resigned, think much of their sacrifice. The adverse effects are and will be a great straining of the relations between Great Britain and India, a good deal of bitterness and a heavy disillusionment on the part of the Indian people. There are always the "ifs" in history. If the Government of India had but listened to the almost unanimous appeal of the Indian people, the whole atmosphere would have been different now, and what has not been achieved during the last three years, could have been achieved by that one gesture. Is it even now too late to make such a gesture?—X. Y. Z.

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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.

Change of Governors :—The change of Governors in Bombay this week was in keeping with the gloomy circumstances of the time, shorn of the usual pomp and circumstance, traditionally associated with it. Sir John Colville did not come up the steps of the Gateway of India. He slipped in through the backdoor of Juhu aerodrome where a few officials in the confidence of Government gathered to receive him on Monday. This was a week later than the date originally announced. The retiring Governor, Sir Roger Lumley, after attending a reception in the University Hall, left in a motor car. There were no booming of guns in salute. There was no presentation of addresses. Even the Municipal Corporation refrained from presenting the incoming and outgoing Governors with addresses couched in flamboyant phrases in silver boxes bearing the Corporation's coat of arms. This saved the two Governors from making and the public from listening to speeches charged with hope and regret. Sir John Colville takes charge of the province in conditions of unprecedented difficulty. The causes, as well as the solutions, of the difficulties are beyond his control. Provincial autonomy which was supposed to give freedom has actually involved the province in great responsibilities with little power. His being absolutely new to India might have been an advantage if he had representative Indian ministers but under the present circumstances it merely means his subserviency to the advice of his Service entourage. Only a very strong man with a mind of his own can resist the influence of his close official environment. Of the possession of such a personality Sir John may yet give proof but he has not hitherto done so. His coming as the nominee of a Cabinet which is regarded by Indians of all shades of opinion as being definitely committed to keep India in subjection is not an asset. No previous Governor had this handicap, not certainly to the same extent. But the Indian people from time immemorial has been noted for hospitality to strangers. As a stranger to the country, Sir John will be accorded in full measure the benefit of this national characteristic. Knowing that as a Governor his powers are limited by New Delhi and Whitehall, India will not fail to appreciate his qualities as a man. As for Sir Roger Lumley, it is the general feeling that the province would have suffered more but for his moderating influence. The evil he has prevented should compensate for the good he was not able in the circumstances to do.

Hindu Succession Bill :—The Bill drafted by the Rau Committee to codify the Hindu Law of Succession in cases of Intestacy was introduced in the Legislative Assembly in an appreciative speech by the Law Member, Sir Sultan Ahmed. As we remarked last week, we would have preferred the Marriage Bill to have had precedence over this property measure. If one result of the postponement is to enable the enactment of legislation making monogamy the legal marriage for all communities, it will have served a highly beneficial purpose. Sir Sultan explained that the present Bill combined the good points of the two main schools of Hindu law, the Dayabagha and the Mitakshara and would harmonise administration in all the provinces of British India. This is a very desirable object. Ultimately the Indian States also will legislate on the same lines as they have done in the past. Political and administrative boundaries do not affect social solidarity. The adoption of uniform codes is nevertheless a great step towards national unity. One feature of the Bill requires consideration. The Bill, if passed into law, will not come into force until after three years. This is said to be necessary in order to give time to the provinces to legislate on the right of women to inherit agricultural land which is a provincial subject. Several of the provinces have already passed such legislation in connection with the Acts passed a few years ago. The one or two which have not done so, can surely do so at once. It would be anomalous to allow the old law to operate when improved legislation has been put on the statute-book. Succession to intestate property will during three years be subject to uncertainty and may cause much confusion and hardship. The Joint Select Committee of the two Houses to which the Bill is to be referred, should pay particular attention to this matter.

Gandhiji's New Order :—The *Hindustan Times* of Delhi publishes extracts from a book by Mr. Louis Fischer, American journalist, entitled "A Week with Gandhi." The most important passages in the extracts are Gandhiji's exposition of his attitude towards the British. He told Mr. Fischer that he did contemplate the maintenance on Indian soil of British, American and other troops and the use of Indian territory as a base of military operations; the British could operate the railroads; "they would also need order in the ports where they receive their supplies—they could not have riots in Bombay and Calcutta." It was unfortunate that these ideas were not made the substance of the Congress policy up to the fateful August 8. The slogan "Quit India" has to undergo much interpretation before it can be struck up as the heading to Mr. Fischer's account. Gandhiji, however, went further into the future in describing his conception of a new order. Gandhiji said that the Congress would have a hand in shaping the new order; so would the Muslim League. Gandhiji dep-

lored the absence of the requisite mood for non-violence but "refused to believe that all the strenuous work of the past twenty-five years to evolve a new order has been in vain." It is a curious feature of Gandhiji's interview that, while he thinks that the Congress work of 25 years has assured it a certain degree of influence in shaping the new India, he seems even here to regard the British regime as an interlude which will leave no mark on Indian history. Gandhiji has expressed himself in favour of a dissipation of power through the villages until nothing of power remains. Thus he sets himself against any centralisation. It would have been interesting to know what practical manner Gandhiji proposed to achieve this end. His analogy of seven hundred thousand dollars distributed equally among seven hundred thousand villages, a dollar each, being preferable to the whole amount lying in the Imperial Bank of India is not convincing. For one thing, the dollar a village is difficult to visualise as part of a huge national fund while it is easy to grasp this of the Imperial Bank amount. However, what is even more amazing than the ideas expounded in the talks with Mr. Fischer is the journalist's feeling that Gandhiji had talked to him in saying all this but not at him, as other Indian leaders had done. The vagueness of the "plan" makes it appear that the talking is meant for a wide public. Perhaps Mr. Fischer felt he had been talked to precisely because he was regarded as a medium by Gandhiji, unlike other Indian leaders who are apt to forget that they are addressing a newspaperman when conversing with foreign journalists, and not a plenipotentiary.

Snobbery in Education:—The Greeks got tired of hearing Aristides called the Just and many in India are being forced into a similar condition by reading Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya's speeches. Usually he confines himself to political small talk. But he ventured this week on a subject which is not politics but seldom fails to suffer in the hands of politicians. Speaking at the prize distribution of the Madras Seva Sadan, the ex-Prime Minister of Madras declared that the entire scheme of girls' education as it was now in vogue would have to be set right. This was rather alarming because Mr. Rajagopalacharya during his Prime Ministership showed himself to be an autocrat in educational matters. The famous compulsory Hindi in middle schools for Tamil and Telugu youth, hardly one per cent of whom is likely to have the opportunity to visit Allahabad or Benares in their lives, had the effect of endowing the defunct Justice Party with a new lease of life. Mr. Rajagopalacharya frankly avowed that he owed this idea of overhauling the entire system of girls' education to an august source. "In one of his talks with Lady Linlithgow," runs the report in the *Hindu*, "she had expressed the feeling that she did not care very much for the classical education that the girls were also asked to go through but wanted to have a different scheme for girls in this country. Mr. Rajagopalacharya agreed with Lady Linlithgow entirely. He did not think that the same kind of education for boys and girls was the right thing." The opinion does not gain in weight because of Lady Linlithgow's having entertained it. Classical education in Scotland represents a culture foreign to and in fact contrary to the religious profession of the people. Latin and Greek classics embody a philosophy of life which Christians condemn as pagan. In India, on the other hand, the classics embody the people's religious ideals. Would Mr. Rajagopalacharya ban the stories of Sita and Savitri, the classical heroines of

India? Surely the lives of these women teach nothing detrimental to the responsibility of building up character which rests not wholly, as he thinks, on the mother but also equally on the father. "Let there be some schools at least," he pleaded, "where a girl could be given the education that a mother in India requires to bring up a family successfully and properly so that the culture of that country can remain unbroken." The greatest influence in restoring the continuity of Indian culture which had been hopelessly broken at the end of the eighteenth century has been the education imparted in our Colleges and Universities. Certainly it would not be right to say that Indian educated men as a class are less mindful of their national culture than a large number of old pandits. Women too have equally become culture conscious as the result of education in the same institutions as their brothers. To have one syllabus for men and another for women will break the unity not only of culture but of the family. Mr. Rajagopalachari's fallacy is the common one arising from the idea that women a special responsibility for the home while the man has none.

The International Status of India:—Speaking at the annual dinner of the Madras Rotary Club on March 24, the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri urged the promulgation of a decree making India a Dominion alongside Great Britain and other members of the Commonwealth. The report which has appeared in the Bombay press on Thursday, adds that Mr. Sastri advocated this as the "best counter to the demand for independence which has become passionately strong among all politically minded classes in the country." The position, however, has changed since the United States of America came into existence. Now that Britain has been loudly proclaiming that Dominion Status is something which can be attained by any member of the Empire, whether of British stock or not, it is clear that Dominion Status is the highest that Britain can give to any unit in the Empire. It is for the unit concerned to decide whether it will remain in the Empire or not. The distinction between the two, therefore, is out-of-date today.

White Paper on Congress and Disturbances:—The newspapers on Thursday evening give a summary of the White Paper issued by His Majesty's Government in Britain on the disturbances in India. It seems that there is not much difference between the White Paper and the booklet put out by the Government of India on the "Recent Disturbances." Both suffer from a desire to keep some mysterious information hidden from the public on the plea that it is not desirable to circulate it. In other words, the public is only told what it is good for it to know. Naturally interest is roused more by what has been suppressed than by something which has been evidently twice published. The only inference from this anxiety to keep a controversy, in itself utterly futile, alive is that the Government of India and its principal, His Majesty's Government, have no desire for a settlement in India.

Rationing in Bombay:—The ration system for food grains in Bombay has been completed and the city is busy with registration of ration-holders at shops. The worst feature is the fact that the system stops at the city limits and leaves out the suburbs. The result will be profiteering in the suburbs—assuming that the introduction of the ration card in the city altogether eliminates it from Bombay. There is a good deal in the actual working which will provide valuable experience. For one thing, it will be of interest to know how far the incidents of Prohibition in Bombay, though that extended over a wider area, will be repeated.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, March 27, 1943.

INDIAN ECONOMIST'S FALLACIES.

"The Economic Man" of Adam Smith and Ricardo has disappeared or nearly so in modern economic thought. He is, however, still very much in evidence in India where his existence was proclaimed in the old text-books. Modern economists in Europe and America recognise that the human being has many interests besides feeding and clothing himself and his family and that these interests must be allowed for in drawing conclusions about the incidence of taxation, industrial development and trade and commerce, the subjects which fall in the strictly economic sphere. This is in accordance with the traditionally Indian idea of economics as one of four main human interests. A distinctively Indian school of economic thought will be a contribution towards the evolution of a science and philosophy of politics. But there are no signs yet of its emergence, not at any rate in the hands of our professional economists. Indian professors and speculators on Economics are hopelessly addicted to the nineteenth century outlook which the Western world has discarded as out of tune with the facts of national and individual life.

"Indian Provincial Finance 1919-1939" (Oxford University Press: Rs. 7/8/-) by Professor B. R. Misra, Professor of Economics and Head of the Department of Economics and Commerce, Benares Hindu University, might be expected to give the lead in inaugurating an Indian school of economic thought. As a matter of fact, however, it does not. Not only that, but its outlook is that of the Victorian Malthusian School in its extreme form. The book shows not the slightest trace of influence of Indian culture, philosophy or religion. It is almost, if one may be excused the epithet, a rabid application of the outworn Malthusian doctrine of population as the solution of India's economic difficulties. As a historical and statistical exposition of Indian Provincial Finance and of its relation to the Centre which is its proper field, the book is unexceptionable and valuable as a reliable and painstaking composition. But Professor Misra is not content to keep within his limits. He indulges in ex cathedra opinions about the population problem which are not only out of tune with Indian thought but are also largely out of date with modern economic thought. He takes hold of Dr. Vera Anstey's slap-dash generalisations in her book on India's economic development published some ten years ago and clings to it with all the fervour of a disciple to his Guru. In the opening paragraphs of his Introduction, Mr. Misra ventures the dictum: "The paradox of Indian economic life is principally due to over-population, the uneconomic outlook of the people, and the absence of a more equitable tax system." Professor Misra remarks that the first two topics are outside the scope of his work but cannot resist the temptation of commending in a footnote Dr. Vera Anstey's book as "the most convincing account of these topics."

The idea that Indian economic or, for that matter, social and political, life, is a paradox unknown in any other part of the world, is the stock-in-trade of Mr. Amery and other British statesmen who deprecate applying political and economic principles found beneficial in other countries to India which they regard and represent as a freak without parallel in world history, which it is their unenviable task to govern. If Professor Misra was not obsessed with Dr. Anstey's infallibility and

looked round conditions in the world, he will find that the same paradox, if it is one, exists everywhere in different forms. "Poverty amidst Plenty" is not the monopoly of India. It exists today, in wealthy Britain and the wealthier United States. The outlook of the people who are throwing everything into the war, cannot be described as economic. In fact, it would seem that they are doing this in pursuance of a natural law that accumulated wealth must dissipate itself in destructive and demoniac upheavals. There are many objections especially in India at the present stage to communal educational institutions. It would be some redeeming feature if these institutions inspire their professors and students to view social and economic problems in the light of the history and traditions of their communities.

Professor Misra's remarks on the population problem in India are flippant. He writes:

Here people breed like rabbits and flies; malaria and plague drain the prosperity of the country.....The general prosperity of India can never be substantially increased so long as an increase in income is absorbed by an increase in population. "The population problem lies at the root of the whole question of India's economic future and it is useless to try to birk the fact."

The sentence within quotation marks, is from Dr. Anstey, without invoking whose authority Professor Misra seldom ventures on a single observation. With due respect to this oracle, it may be pointed out that the so-called population "problem" is present in another form in most other countries of the world. In the Continent of Europe nearly all countries have adopted measures to increase births. An account of the measures adopted in different countries is given in "Population, Policies and Movements in Europe" by D. V. Glass also published by the Oxford University Press (1940). There is a growing volume of opinion which demands the adoption of similar measures in Great Britain. What good will it be to win the war it is asked, if there are not enough children to inherit the land? "Not enough babies in the cradle" was one of the causes which Marshal Petain assigned for the collapse of France.

But, says Professor Misra, the conditions in India are quite the reverse. Here people breed like rabbits and flies. Can they? Do they? Carr Saunders in his "World Population" also Oxford University Press (1936) has a special section on India written with much greater understanding than exhibited by the Benares Professor. In this section, he deals also with the population problem of Japan. During the last sixty years the population of Japan has doubled and the income per head has also been doubled. The birth rate is high. The Japanese Government do not wring their hands and cry that there can be no solution of the economic problem unless the growth of population is brought within the economic capacity of the country. They are developing that capacity as fast as the population increases. They are seeking outlets for surplus population by all means in their power. In India the growth of population has been at a smaller rate. In the sixty years, 1872-1931, the net increase of population was 87.6 per cent. In India, Carr Saunders remarks, the average number of children born to a woman is not large. She has four children born alive and 2.7 in every four survive. In the light of these two facts the following conclusion reached by Carr Saunders is significant:

The position in India is in sharp contrast to that which we have found to prevail in the countries so far studied, including Japan. In those countries the population has been raised above the immediate

impact of natural forces, and the vital statistics, even in those cases, where there is evidence of congested population, are not affected by the vagaries of climate and the yield of harvests.

What is wrong in India is not that the people are breeding like rabbits and flies but that those responsible for their economic well-being have not done as much as those in the other countries studied to raise the population above the level of being affected by natural causes. This cannot be done by a change in the system of taxation.

The bureaucratic outlook of Professor Misra is not confined to the population problem. It finds even more striking expression in his view on Prohibition. It is shocking to find the head of an important Department of the Hindu University betraying such crass ignorance of the position of Prohibition in India as to quote the precedent of failure in the United States as an argument against its enforcement here. Prohibition in the United States was against the social tradition of generations brought up in the habit of using liquor as a part of their dietary. In India the use of liquor was traditionally forbidden to the greater part of the population and even those who were not forbidden, regarded its use as a departure from right behaviour. During the last boycott movement, a liquor shop was completely denuded of customers simply by a man or woman standing at a distance and telling him to desist from entering. It was noted in the Salem district where Prohibition was introduced by the Rajagopalacharya Government that women were the most effective agents of Prohibition in every home. Prohibition in the United States was a distasteful reform; in India it is a return to national tradition. Mountstuart Elphinstone in his Report on the conquered territories of the Peishwa, noted:

Abkari, which is so important with us, did not yield above ten thousand rupees. The use of spirituous liquors was forbidden at Poona, and discouraged everywhere else: the effect of this system on the sobriety of the people is very conspicuous.

Outlining his proposals for the administration of the new acquisition, Elphinstone wrote: "The abkari, I would recommend keeping in the present low state, by prohibition or by very heavy taxes." Prohibition is the one measure of the urgency of which all castes and communities are agreed as a national necessity. It is nothing less than distressing to find Professor Misra echoing the Anglo-Indian official cry that it is impossible to enforce it in India. True there are palm and mahua trees, but there were perhaps many more of them in the Peishwa's time. The attitude to Prohibition is the acid test of a truly national policy. There is no country in the world where the ground is so thoroughly well prepared for it as, and where it can be more easily enforced than, India.

MR. CHURCHILL'S POST-WAR PLAN?

The late Lord Balfour described Mr. Winston Churchill's four volume "World Crisis" as "autobiography disguised as a history of the universe." Mr. Churchill's post-war plan broadcast this week has for object the ensuring to Great Britain of the leadership of the world disguised as the salvation of humanity for all time. Leadership, of course, is not domination which the Axis Powers aim at. Mr. Churchill put his finger on the dwindling British birth-rate as the primary obstacle in the way of Britain keeping her high place in the leadership of the world and surviving as a great power that can hold its own against external pressure. To avert the disaster of depopulation, he would encourage by every means the British people to have larger families.

In other words, Britain must adopt measures similar to those adopted by the continental countries to increase their populations. Major Randolph Churchill, the Prime Minister's son, had recently castigated the British as the most class-conscious and snob-ridden people on the face of the earth. The father does not go so far. He thinks that the British have suffered less from class prejudice and other forms of snobbery than most other nations. He is confident that the British are now shaking themselves entirely free from these qualities. He does not believe in the doctrine of the equality of all men but he recommends that steps should be taken by health, economic and educational measures to ensure equal opportunities for all. To this end, Mr. Churchill outlined a four-year plan. While the Prime Minister recognised that there is a broadening field for State ownership and enterprise especially in relation to monopolies of all kinds, he thinks that private enterprise has also a large part to play in the future. Presumably, the manufacture of arms and other war material will be a state monopoly. But would the State also monopolise what are called "the key industries" on which the munitions industry must depend largely? Mr. Churchill felt a momentary doubt as to whether the British export trade would re-establish itself after the war when most of the countries which received them would have been ruined. But he was advised, he said, that, in view of the general state of the world after the defeat of Hitler, there would be considerable opportunities for re-establishing the British export trade. It may be recalled that Mr. Churchill's predecessor, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, justified non-intervention in the Sino-Japanese conflict on the ground that, when the two countries had exhausted themselves, they will both want capital for reconstruction and they will have to turn to Britain for it. That was on the assumption that Britain would not herself be involved in war. The situation now is different. Britain is herself in the thick of the conflict. From a creditor country she has become largely a debtor country and a large proportion of her exports will go towards the repayment of debts. There are other factors which are likely to render the rehabilitation of British foreign trade less easy than Mr. Churchill's advisers contemplate.

The Prime Minister's observations on the international situation are of peculiar interest. Mr. Churchill's plan is to finish Hitler before tackling Japan. When Hitler is defeated, Britain, the United States and Russia—the three nations which count in his eyes—will be able to put down Japan. As the Prime Minister thinks that Germany and Italy and their confederates will not be defeated until next year or the year after, this will mean that Japan will have one or two years in which to consolidate her conquest. This, Madame Chiang Kai-Shek pointed out in a recent statement in the United States, would give Japan an immense advantage and correspondingly worsen China's position. The name "China" occurs but once in the Prime Minister's broadcast. It is evident that he considers that she is not in serious danger or that, if she collapses, there will be time after the end of Germany to set her on her feet again. There is, on the other hand, a growing feeling in the United States, largely stimulated by the personal influence of Madame Chiang Kai-Shek, in favour of sending the largest possible aid in men and material to China which is fighting desperately against the Japanese. It is unfortunate that President Roosevelt should at this juncture be subject to attacks of head colds obliging him to cancel his engagements, including one to meet the British Foreign Minister, Mr. Eden, who returned from his contacts with

prominent leaders in New York on the same day, Sunday. Perhaps, a way may be found to carry out both objects, namely, the defeat of Hitler and the relief of China without allowing a year or two to pass in dealing with Hitler alone.

Immediately on the defeat of the Axis Powers in Europe, Mr. Churchill proposes the formation of a "Council of Europe" which will take over the work of European reconstruction and devote its strength to the destruction of Japan. The Prime Minister seems to have overlooked the fact that Russia is bound by a treaty of non-aggression with Japan and is not completely satisfied with the extent to which the Allies have kept their promise of help against Germany. Britain will presumably be in the Council of Europe which is to consist of the European countries and all the branches of the European family. The Council of Europe will be, therefore, more appropriately called the Council of Europeans including in the term, Australians, Americans, Canadians and South African Whites, who claim to be nationalities in their own right. Mr. Churchill mentioned casually that there may eventually be a "Council of Asia" also. Great Britain, presumably, will also be in this Council because, though not an Asiatic nation, she is the trustee for India, not to mention Burma, Malaya and the other Far Eastern territories which Japan has overrun. Netherland Indies, Free France and Portugal will also be both in the Council of Europe and the Council of Asia for the same reason. Belgium may be member of a Council of Africa if one is established. The United States will have no claim to be on any of the Councils when the Philippines becomes independent in about two years, except the one of having once belonged to the European family. India, of course, will continue, so far as Mr. Churchill can help, to be a retainer of the British household. A more crude, self-complacent, plan for the future ordering of the world never saw the light of day. Mr. Churchill is counting his chickens before they are hatched. There are mighty forces at work beyond the ken of the British Prime Minister.

SIR MAHARAJ SINGH'S ADDRESS.

The presidential address of Raja Sir Maharaj Singh at the twenty-fifth annual session of the All India Conference of Indian Christians, was markedly different in tone and outlook from the addresses of his two immediate predecessors in that position. The opening passages dwelt on the World War and the political situation in India, without making any notable contribution to either of the subjects. Sir Maharaj Singh's suggestion that the Viceroy should call a conference of leaders of all parties is a hackneyed one. It has been made by others and it is doubtful if such a conference would produce any more result than the No Parties Conference and the All Parties Conference which have been convened from time to time. The difference between his point of view and that of his predecessors is well brought out in his observation in the section of his address referring to minorities. He said:

Though the (Indian Christians) are well aware that *ultimately* they must depend on the goodwill of their Hindu and Muslim fellow citizens who are numerically far larger, they have *always* asked for and still demand full safeguards in the way of statutory guarantees for the protection of their rights and privileges in a self-governing India and in particular the right to exercise without let or hindrance their faith and religious practices....As a minority, therefore, we are bound to sympathise with our Muslim fellow citizens who form

the second largest religious community in India, in their desire for the fullest protection of minority rights. And I wish to add here that the Muslim League is without doubt at the present time, the strongest and most representative Muslim political organisation and contains many able and patriotic persons.

We have italicised in the above passage the words "ultimately" and "always." In a constitutional government, members of one religious community have not to depend on the goodwill of other religious communities. The only significance we can attach to the Raja's remark is that he does not believe that self-governing India will be constitutionally governed and that the minorities must depend on the goodwill of communities larger than themselves for protection. Sir Maharaj Singh has gone out of his way to certify that the Muslim League is the most representative Muslim political organization in the country, in the face of the fact that in the predominantly Muslim N. W. Frontier Province the overwhelming majority of voters are against the Muslim League, that in the Punjab and Bengal with Muslim majorities a League Government cannot function, and that in Sind where Muslims are a large majority, the complexion of the Hidayatulla Cabinet changes from month to month and year to year. The statement that Indian Christians have always demanded and still demand special guarantees, does not accord with a recent declaration by another representative body of Indian Christians that they do not ask for special protection in the shape of separate electorates and guaranteed quotas. Sir Maharaj Singh's statement does not represent the views of the younger generation which is more intent on the meaning of Indian Christianity than on securing rights and privileges on the ground of their being a separate community. Having testified to the representative and influential character of the Muslim League, Sir Maharaj Singh in fairness should have rendered similar homage to the Hindu Mahasabha which also contains many able and patriotic persons. It is the historical fact that every minority in India owes its existence as a distinct and separate community following its own religion and customs, to the inherent tolerance of Hindu polity. Whatever excuse there may be for foreigners to overlook this fact, it is surprising to see Sir Maharaj Singh being betrayed into the same historical solecism. The Sikh community has left no doubt as to its own faith in the treatment of minorities in self-governing India.

The fear that minorities may not get fair treatment in self-governing India is fomented for political reasons by interested partisans, official and non-official, and is wholly opposed to the course of Indian history. So far as Indian Christians are concerned the only difficulty in the way of a complete understanding, is caused by the mass conversions of foreign missionaries. Does Sir Mahanaji Singh include making mass conversions in "the right to exercise without let or hindrance their faith and religious practices" by Indian Christians? Representative Indian Christians have openly declared their opposition to mass conversions. Sir Maharaj Singh has slurred over this most urgent issue concerning the relations of Indian Christians with their neighbours. His reference, not strictly relevant, to the missions, may be even construed into a tacit endorsement of their principal activity at the present day, namely, sweeping in a mass of ignorant, illiterate folk into the Christian fold. Sir Maharaj Singh himself suspects that the fall in the number of Indian Christians in his province at the recent Census, might be due to illiterate Christians being persuaded to return themselves under some

other denomination. Sir Maharaj Singh says, "But for the Missionaries we would not be what we are." Nevertheless he requests missionaries not to dispose of mission properties in India to provide funds for similar service in other lands, where they may be more needed. It is much to be wished that Sir Maharaj Singh had given a clear lead not only to Christians but to all communities on this vital question of proselytism by missions financed and manned from foreign countries.

We are surprised to note the Raja's views on the amendment of the Indian Christian Marriage Act. He says that the original draft of an Amendment to the Act led to the impression "that the status of a marriage between a Christian and a non-Christian was the same as when both parties were Christians and that thereby such marriages were encouraged." A new Bill has been drafted which makes it clear that "a Christian marriage can only take place between two Christians, that a marriage where one party is non-Christian can only be regulated by the law of the Church concerned, and that the Church has the right to ban such marriages being solemnised with religious rites." There has been some hue and cry raised in Northern India about an alleged increase in the number of cases in which Christian girls married non-Christians. In seeking explanations for this social phenomenon, many fanciful reasons have been adduced pointing mostly to the materialistic ambitions of the girls concerned, involving the assumption that Christian young men are too spiritually-minded to please them. Boys and girls are not two distinct species. They are born of the same parents and bred in the same families and there is no evidence to show that girls are more attracted by materialism than boys. Apart from this, the new draft Bill and those who sponsor it, seem to be ignorant of the profound changes in outlook which have come over non-Christian faiths and practices. We are not aware that non-Christians marry Christians for the sake of securing for themselves the spiritual benefits of a Christian rite. The denial of it, will not materially affect the causes which, apart from "propinquity and property of blood," lead to intermarriages. Muslims, as a rule, get their brides of other faiths converted to their own, before marriage. So long as Hinduism did not admit converts, a Hindu who shrank from making the declaration repudiating all religious belief, required by the Special Marriage Act of 1872, and who did not feel drawn to Christianity himself, had perforce to resort to the Indian Christian Marriage Act which provides specifically for marriages, one of the parties to which may be a non-Christian. All that is now changed. Hinduism has begun making proselytes both directly and indirectly through the Arya Samaj. Nothing is easier nowadays than for a Christian to become a Hindu and be married to a Hindu under Gour's Amendment to the Special Marriage Act.

CHANDAVARKAR ON THE BUDGET.

By a happy slip Sir Vithal Chandavarkar's speech in the Legislative Assembly on the Budget was transmitted by All India Radio as that of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. The speech, indeed, recalled the most noteworthy aspects of Sir Narayan's attitude on Indian politics. In a generation which was not lacking in men who regarded British rule with goodwill as a beneficent dispensation, Sir Narayan so markedly leaned to the right as to evoke at times a deprecatory gesture from

more popular leaders. At the same time when, as in the Rowlatt legislation, Sir Narayan saw violent departures from British principles which he fervently held and admired, no one was more downright in his condemnation. Both these characteristics are prominent on Sir Vithal's speech. He warned Government of the growing alienation of the public and at the same time suggested means whereby they can carry on without serious financial dislocation. He said :

I know and tell them (Government) plainly that the situation in the country is not at all happy. I am glad that they have brought the situation under control but if they think that mere repression will solve the problem they are entirely wrong. The bitterness against Government and the British is increasing. When a man like me says that, the Government ought to accept it. If they think that, because of the cleavage between the Hindus and the Muslims, they can sit tight and carry on without any concern, they are entirely mistaken. I give them a warning. The food situation might change the whole outlook and picture within a very short time. When a large section of low class and middle class Hindus and Muslims find that they cannot get food to eat and that life has become a burden, then within a very short time the hunger urge will make them combine. All the political leaders on both sides will be swept aside and the people will join hands in bringing about an upheaval in the country. Do not think of the political cleavages. Think of the masses of the people. There is a great deal of unity among the masses of the people and when the hunger urge is there, it will not take long for them to bring about a general disorder in the country. That is the warning I would like to give my friends, my European friends on the Treasury Benches.

The only respect in which these weighty words need supplementing, is that the discontent among the poor and the middle classes will not leave unaffected the wealthy and well-to-do classes. This would be the case in all countries but the constitution of Indian society makes this inevitable here. The division of society in India is vertical. The horizontal classes are a recent importation from the West and have not become deeply rooted in the social consciousness outside the industrial centres. The Indian system has its disadvantages but it has this remarkable advantage, that it keeps the well-to-do in contact with the life of the masses. Political leaders will not be swept away but into the maelstrom which would be raised by the conditions described with perfect accuracy by Sir Vithal. We are rather inclined to think that even before the hunger urge begins to operate on the poor who in this country are inured to semi-starvation even in normal conditions, the politically-intelligent middle class on whom the Government depends largely for the everyday conduct of the administration, will be affected with serious consequences which may remain undisclosed for the time being. The increasing bitterness against the British, to which Sir Vithal referred, is a greater danger than the discontent with the administration. The British to the average Indian represents the whole white section of the human race. The slogan "Asia for the Asiatics" is bound to gain in strength and volume in proportion to the growth of bitterness against Europeans. Sir Vithal himself told the Government that the wealthy commercial classes have lost faith and are not taking up Government loans as much as they might be expected to do. Not only have there been large withdrawals from the Savings Banks, but, said Sir Vithal, even industrial concerns which formerly used to invest their money in Government loans are buying industrial

shares even at the present prices. He went on to say:

It shows first that people have no confidence in the Government and are not behind the war effort. There is no doubt it is a very unfortunate situation, as far as I am concerned. I regret very much indeed that a large number of people are not supporting Government loans. They are deliberately not investing in Government securities and are persuading people not to buy defence loans. I am not here referring to the question of the solution of the political deadlock. I am now referring to the question of Government policy.

There is no hard and fast line between political deadlocks and financial policy. Sir Vithal suggested legislating for "compulsory savings" in order to circumvent people who do not voluntarily invest in Government loans and at the same time deprecated freezing of dividends in joint stock companies as likely to create resentment. The reaction of the speech on the Finance Member was what might have been expected. Sir Jeremy Raisman completely ignored the warning of Sir Vithal and grabbed the idea of "compulsory savings" plus freezing of dividends which Sir Vithal deprecated. He told the Assembly that these questions were receiving the attention of Government. Public resentment is the last thing that causes concern to the bureaucratic mind. On the contrary, it rather strengthens the bureaucrat in his consciousness of his own rectitude. Politicians may care for public approbation. To do so is a weakness in a bureaucrat.

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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.

Liquidating an Empire:—Not long ago Mr. Winston Churchill declared that he had not become first Minister of the Crown to liquidate the British Empire. The British Empire, like all Empires, has two aspects. The first one is the most obvious. The Empire of lands and peoples held in possession. That is the material aspect. The other is the ideals for which the Empire stands. This may be called the soul, while the former is the body of the Empire. When Mr. Churchill speaks of Empire he is evidently referring to the body. He means to hold it and, we daresay, he will hold it. But the spiritual, the ideal aspect of the Empire, is already liquidating itself. The ideals taught by British statesmen and political philosophers have all but disappeared from the British Indian Empire. Collective fines which are at the present day levied only by the German Nazis in the territories occupied by them and on Jews, are a regular feature of the British administration in this country. They have been levied and collected with most success in this Presidency under Sir Roger Lumley who was in many other respects a model Governor. When Sir Hugh Dow, the Governor of Sind, dismissed his Chief Minister, Allah Baksh, because he resigned a title which had ceased to have any meaning for him, the Indian public dismissed the event as what was to be expected from a Civilian Governor trained in the ways of the bureaucracy. Sir John Herbert of Bengal is not a Civilian Governor. He is an English public man with parliamentary experience. The Governors of the Presidencies drawn from English public life have always been credited with liberal notions of freedom and constitutional propriety. The story of the midnight interview and the resignation of the Prime Minister of Bengal, Mr. Fazlul Huq, is more reminiscent of the Middle Ages than of modern constitutional methods. Making allowance for the authoritarian tendencies of the Roman Catholic Church to which Sir John belongs, the demand made of Mr. Huq that he should repudiate the statement of a colleague on pain of dismissal, is not what one would expect from a British public man sent to this country to set an example of constitutional government. Next comes Sir John Hope of Madras, also a Catholic, who has openly adopted the method, reprobated in totalitarian regimes, of subsidising a newspaper. All three instances, so contrary to the spirit of British politics, are proof that British ideals are no longer inspiring British

rule. When Sir John Herbert was named Governor of Bengal, soon after Sir John Hope succeeded to the Governorship of Madras, there was a question in the House of Commons if the selection of Catholics for important Governorships was made in pursuance of any policy. India can have no prejudice against Catholics: Lord Ripon the most revered of Viceroys was a Catholic.

A Problem in Vital Statistics:—A Reuter's message from London says that the highest birthrate for 14 years is recorded in the quarterly return of the Registrar-General for England and Wales issued last week. It adds that, in the whole of 1942, the total of live births was the highest registered since 1928. The message goes on to report that the number of marriages and the marriage rate per thousand were lower in 1942 than in either of the three preceding war years but were higher than any previously recorded in the last 89 years with the exception of the boom period of 1919 and 1920. The concurrent increase in the number of births and the decrease in the marriage rate, may suggest that the traditional relation between marriage and child-birth has ceased to exist and that births outside marriage are tending to increase. But a deeper view of the statistics would show that the appeal of British leaders, to which Mr. Churchill gave prominence in his last broadcast, is beginning to tell. Persons hitherto using contraceptive methods have evidently abandoned them in the interests of the national future thus making up for the decrease in the marriage rate. It is also consonant with long observed facts that birth rate increases when a nation is going through severe privations while in times of peace and prosperity they tend to fall. This was noticed during the siege of Paris in 1871. The decrease in the number and rate of marriages is probably due to most of the marriageable women having got married in the first three years of the war and it may also be due to a proportion of marriageable young men having been killed in the war in different parts of the world. The point to note is that nature accelerates the birthrate notwithstanding the decrease in marriages in order to make up for war casualties. It is significant that during the two boom years more marriages were registered than in the last eighty-nine years.

Bengal Permanent Settlement:—For nearly half a century covetous eyes have been cast on the Permanent Settlement introduced in Bengal by Lord Cornwallis. When Lord Cornwallis was Governor-General, it was the prevailing opinion justified to a large extent by facts that British agriculture had attained a high degree of efficiency and prosperity under the system of great landowners. It is an admitted fact that when the Industrial Revolution began in England agriculture flourished as never before in that country. The Corn Laws protected the indigenous industry from being swamped by

imports from abroad. It was with a view to promote the interests of agriculture and not from a spirit of mere imitation that Lord Cornwallis adopted the Zemindari system in Bengal and parts of Madras and other parts of the country. Political economy also in the middle of the nineteenth century proclaimed the alchemy of property turning sand into gold. R. C. Dutt, scholar, historian and administrator, recommended the introduction of permanent settlement in the ryotwari areas as being likely to stimulate the cultivator to the maximum effort under the sense of security of his dues to the State being fixed once for all. The Government of India, however, was opposed to let go its control of land revenue and Dutt's proposals failed. Not only that, but enquiries were set on foot to explore the possibilities of getting more land revenue in Bengal without overtly disturbing the Permanent Settlement. Tax on agricultural incomes was introduced. Under provincial autonomy, the basic principle of Permanent Settlement has been attacked. The Fazlul Huq Ministry, notwithstanding that it counts among its members one of the biggest landlords in Bengal, has announced its intention to abolish Permanent Settlement in one district. The reason given for doing away with the Permanent Settlement is that Bengal agriculture has stagnated. If it be thought that the distribution of the large estates among the peasantry will improve production, the failure of Lenin's measure at the outset of the Soviet revolution should not be lost sight of. Lenin found that the distribution of land among the peasantry not only did not lead to increased production but actually resulted in a serious setback to the industry. In consequence, the Soviet Government adopted Collectivism and the story of the expropriation of the kulaks is, perhaps, the most tragic episode of the Revolution. Unless the Bengal Government is contemplating the introduction of Collectivism, the abolition of the Permanent Settlement will not lead to the prosperity of agriculture, whatever else it may do.

Sir Stanley Reed's Suggestion:—Sir Stanley Reed in a letter to the *Times* expresses the opinion that the British Parliamentary system has failed in India and that other systems such as the Swiss, the American and the Soviet must be studied in order to find a more suitable model. He suggests the appointment of a committee to study these other constitutions. Not so long ago we have heard English publicists—we are not sure that Sir Stanley was not one of them—say that Indians had taken to the parliamentary system like duck to water. Now they say that the system is unsuited to India but they do not say that an Indian system should be evolved in conformity with Indian ideas and needs but suggest some model of which Indians have practically no experience, while both by education and imitation they have acquired at least a theoretical knowledge of the British system. None of the other systems which Sir Stanley recommends for study, knows anything of communal electorates and weightages which is the rock on which the parliamentary system has broken and is bound to break. The responsibility for introducing and maintaining these political monstrosities, is wholly of British Governments. They have deliberately created them and now coolly demand that Indians should compose their differences before power can be transferred to them. Mr. Amery wants the Congress to go back to the pre-Gandhi stage. The Government may be asked to go back to the pre-Minto stage when there were no communal weightages. The smug assumption that all that the British Government does is right and all that Indians do is wrong, has been

exposed any number of times. It is not true. The responsibility for the situation today is largely that of the British Government which has professed policies that have never been seriously sought to be carried out. Sir Stanley is wrong in thinking that the appointment of an exploratory committee, such as he suggests, would have an appreciable effect in relieving the present situation. As a matter of fact, several Indians have studied the three constitutions which he indicates, as well as others. The British people cannot work a Soviet constitution or a Swiss constitution or an American constitution, if it has failed in working a British constitution in India.

Minority Safeguard:—In support of Raja Sir Maharaj Singh's dictum that Indian Christians must ultimately depend on the goodwill of the Hindu and Muslim majorities, which we criticised as unsound, the *Indian Witness*, the Methodist journal of Lucknow, cites the treatment of Negroes and the repeal of Prohibition in the United States. Neither of the cases applies. Negroes are under the American constitution entitled to equal rights with white men. If they do not get them in practice, it is not because the white people as a whole have no goodwill for them but because a lawless minority is able to terrorise the law-abiding majority into acquiescence in its anti-Negro operations. The same happened to Prohibition. Prohibition owing to the influence of vested interests was made a plank in the Democratic platform at Mr. Franklin Roosevelt's campaign for the Presidency. We recently read in a temperance journal that the anti-Prohibition movement was engineered by about 250 capitalists interested in the trade. In any case, in India religious minorities have enjoyed complete freedom. Mr. Yeatts in his Report of the 1941 Census writes of "something that could be called indigenous Christianity" in Travancore and Cochin. Its origin dates from the second century. There are also the Jews and Parsis to attest to the catholicity of Hindu polity. So far as religious and cultural interests are concerned, minorities are absolutely assured of protection and the fear that they are not, is palpably political propaganda. But the gravamen of the present charge is that the economic interests of minorities have not been safeguarded. Many thousands and millions of Hindus and Muslims are worse off economically than several hundreds of Christians. The economic problem affects all communities and is not due to the action of any one community, whether majority or minority.

Official Bungling:—At the end of last month on the eve of the interview between the Bengal Governor and Mr. Fazlul Huq, when the latter resigned the Prime Ministership, a Government notification declared the whole of Bengal to be "a raid area" that is, "a place where any serious threat of air raids at present exists from the East." There had been one or two Japanese raids in East Bengal just before the announcement. The effect of issuing one at the time must be obvious even to the most ordinary intelligence. It was bound to create panic. This, however, became known to the official mind only three or four days later. A fresh notification was issued correcting the "misunderstanding" caused by the first. The public were told that the phrase "raid area" carried no special significance and that its application to Bengal did not mean that the threat to the province or to any part of it had suddenly grown more serious than it has been at any time during the past twelve months. Then where was the need to declare the whole of Bengal to be a raid area, at a time too, when the Governor was contemplating action which must create a political crisis?

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, April 10, 1943.

STALIN AND THE DEMOCRACIES.

Two messages have appeared during the past week in the Indian press which give indications of fundamental differences between the world outlooks of the American President and the British Premier, on the one hand, and of M. Stalin on the other. It was surprising to read the first of these, in the *Indian Express* of Madras, prefaced by the announcement that a tripartite pact was in the making between Russia, America and Britain. The subject under negotiation, according to the Washington correspondent of the *Indian Express*, was the fears entertained in the democratic countries that Russia's participation in the post-war world might lead to an extension of communism. The Russian counter-demand evidently is for limiting the activities of missionaries and proselytes and abandoning pressure on the Soviet Government for greater religious freedom inside Russia. The point is not happily put, for organised religion has proved the greatest enemy of religious freedom. But it will be readily appreciated in what are known as "mission lands." We have often pointed out that from the social angle the Christian missionary in India and China is no different from the Communist in Christian countries. The difference that one is atheistic and the other theistic, is of little influence in the results sought to be achieved. How close the parallel is, is shown by the present war. It has been charged against the Communists in all countries that they blindly follow the dictates of a foreign power, that they are financed by it and that their allegiance is to an influence outside the country they reside in. Every one of these accusations can be levelled against missionaries and their proselytes. The case of the Kristagrahis amply proved it. As for the social order, the missionary might argue that he is opposing a vicious system; but so do the Communists with increasing fervour. The modern world sees not two but several systems which may for a time exist side by side if they allow each to develop along its own lines. The two outstanding ways of life, the Communist and the official Church's, have a history of hostility. The political genius of Britain has pointed out the ideal solution. The democratic system elsewhere cannot tolerate the Communist; the Communist regime at Moscow has given short shrift to nineteenth century middle-class democracy in every phase of thought. In Britain alone the Communist fits into the parliamentary system; in Hyde Park the Communist orator can normally function unmolested. When one observes the difficulties that other nations face, this is surely no mean achievement. But Mr. Churchill and his following stand for the negation of this idea. For the spirit which inspires pronouncements like the British Prime Minister's on Russia's entry into the war that the two Allies would not attempt to influence each other, is not moved by the high ideal of tolerance. Mr. Churchill's departure from the highest British political standards has evoked from M. Stalin a corresponding shrinking into his shell. No agreement, however, can settle the war of ideas as no pact has served to avert war on the physical plane.

On Tuesday the *Bombay Chronicle* reprinted extracts from M. Stalin's statement on the twenty-fifth anniversary day of the Red Army. In a significant passage, the Russian leader declared the programme of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition to be: abolition of racial exclusiveness, the equality of nations, the liberation of enslaved nations and the

restoration of their sovereign rights, the right of every nation to arrange its own affairs as it wishes, and the restoration of democratic liberties. He defined Russia's aims towards Germany with equal clarity. "Our aim is not," he said, "to destroy Germany for it is impossible to destroy Germany. It is not our aim to destroy all military force in Germany... It is inadvisable from the standpoint of the future." These words are in direct antithesis to the pronouncements of President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill that Germany must be disarmed and kept disarmed. They recall Vice-President Harry Wallace's grim warning that Russia and Germany might get together once again if the democratic powers handled their cards badly. The war was brought on because Mr. Neville Chamberlain would not negotiate a military pact with Russia. The attitude of the democratic leaders now is calculated to prolong the war needlessly. M. Stalin's speech was that of a realist, a statesman who knows how far he can take his own people and just up to what point he can press his enemy. If his voice prevails, and we earnestly trust it will, it will cut short hostilities. M. Stalin's attitude is endorsed by China. Acceptance of this will necessarily involve much more than an immediate understanding with the Soviet Government. It calls for a settlement of all outstanding issues now and not for a postponement after the war. Let Britain begin with India.

GOVERNMENT BOUNTY FOR PRESS.

The recent regulations fixing the lower price limits of newspapers and their size, and pushing up advertisement rates by thirty-three and a third per cent are so much windfall to the press. All these measures, so the public was told, were necessary to conserve newsprint. We can understand the argument so far as restrictions on size and on unsold copies are concerned. But there must be another reason for raising prices compulsorily for the public.

The position before these regulations came into force was not exactly unfavourable to the press. There has been, so far as is known, no newspaper which had to close down because of the rising price of newsprint. (*The Servant of India*, war's first casualty, was not printed on newsprint; *Harijan* also was clean out of the official newspaper category. And in both cases the reason for closing down was unconnected with availability of paper.) On the contrary, Government has had to promulgate an ordinance to prevent new newspapers coming into existence without its sanction. The world of Indian business has had bitter experience with newspaper enterprises. It is not likely to venture out on experiments now when opportunities for making money are ready to hand to those who have money, in so many safe fields, unless there is something peculiarly favourable to newspaper producing. Even to the Government of India, promulgating ordinances cannot be altogether a pleasure and it would have avoided the ban on new newspapers if there had been no fear of their cropping up. Some newspapers in existence, it should be remembered, have had to buy their newsprint unauthorisedly, at high prices. That they did and were able to remain in business. The business side of the modern newspaper is highly developed and very few proprietors regard journalism as a mission.

The new regulations aim at further curtailing and restricting the size of newspapers. In other words, at reducing production costs to the newspaper industry. Where then was the necessity for forcing up the price of the newspaper at the

same time? We are told that the price, even the controlled price, of newsprint has gone up. By a curious phenomenon, the controlled price is following the black market rate instead of regulating it. And it is not so curious if one looks into the way things happen here. The Government of India publication on "Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances" has been printed in large quantities—about eighteen thousand copies—and is sold at a ridiculously low price. It is a document which, from Government's own point of view most, would have been better unprinted. *Bombay Information* is coming out now as a newspaper, sometimes printed on newsprint, sometimes on other paper. It is taking in advertisements—Levers' Soaps and Aspro—which no official news and information sheet ought to do. To keep up these wholly unnecessary activities, Government felt it necessary to hold back from the public first ninety, then seventy, percent of the output of Indian paper mills. If *Bombay Information* cut out its advertisement, one whole sheet could be saved each issue.

There is another side to the advertisement section. Considerable amusement has been caused among newspapermen who think, by the publication of matter telling the public that certain goods are not available during wartime. To tell the public to conserve paper, half a page in a newspaper is consumed by the National War Front, in one of its numerous avatars. Asking people to unite, at a time when Government will not allow any contact with the imprisoned leaders of the biggest political organisation in the country, is another constant obsession with the Defence Committee advertisement and publicity department.

Why with all this is the public asked to pay more for its news? We could understand these regulations if they were accompanied by an increase in the salaries of newspaper staff, in higher rates for contributors, in a rise in the percentage paid to distributors. Yet there is no order regulating these important spheres of newspaper life. On the contrary, in Bombay city, we find an important newspaper concern controlling two English dailies and a Gujerati daily going off the streets, because of a dispute with hawkers. The public is shocked to learn that a newspaper in Madras was directly subsidised by the Government. Is the same thing happening indirectly and on a colossal scale with the press of India as a whole?

Months not Years:—In the leading article in the *Reformer* last week it was stated that the Governor's rule in six—since seven—provinces without Ministers was extended for twelve years, instead of twelve months, by a resolution moved by Mr. Amery in the House of Commons. The mistake, however, is likely to prove prophetic. So far as Mr. Churchill, Mr. Amery and Lord Linlithgow can help it, the largest part of India will not again have popular ministries. Twelve years is not a bad guess of how much longer the star of these three will be in the ascendant. Sir Mahomed Oosman's view that Democracy has failed and is unsuited to India is shared by all the three though they are too cautious to say so. They may call Governor's rule the form of democracy best suited to India. The American politician, Huey Long, said that Fascism is possible in America but it will come under the name of anti-Fascism. The British are even greater adepts at glorifying autocracy under the name of democracy. Mr. Churchill said the other day that his people will never tolerate bureaucracy. As a matter of fact, many English writers describe the British Government as a bureaucracy. Laski among others, with a veneration of democracy.

"MY RELIGIOUS EVOLUTION."

The International Fellowship is an all-India organisation of considerable standing. In Bombay it has been sustained largely by the assiduous devotion of Professor and Mrs. Maclean and Professor P. A. Wadia. I have all along regarded it as the continuation of an informal gathering of a few friends of different communities and castes whom the Rev. and Mrs. R. M. Gray used to invite to their home once a week or fortnight for friendly interchange of ideas. Since they left India their practice was continued by Professor and Mrs. Maclean. How or when this was merged in the International Fellowship, I do not remember. But under the new designation it has had a larger and more varied circle to operate in. The Madras branch has taken on a definitely Christian character. Mr. Chakkarai Chetty in a feeling appreciation of O. Kandaswami, mentions the Fellowship among the Christian activities of Kandaswami. For some years now I have not attended the Fellowship gatherings in Bombay. But some days ago the Secretaries asked me if I would speak at one of the meetings and I accepted the invitation. After some thought I chose for the title of my talk, "My Religious Evolution." I am of opinion that a man at my time of life is under an obligation, whenever asked, to confine his contribution to what he can trace to personal experience, for the simple reason that that is what he can be sure about. Even here certainty is not absolute. The past is seen through the haze of the present and necessarily suffers some distortion in perspective. That is why autobiographies, except where they are largely based on diaries written up from day to day, are not accurate representations of what actually happened and their actual reactions on one's mind at the time of their happening. A friend pressed me at the Fellowship meeting, to write an autobiography and that, among others, is a reason for my shrinking from attempting one. As regards the religious evolution which I have passed through, the difficulty is considerably reduced, because it is the reactions themselves that I had to deal with. I give below a summary of my observations somewhat amplified to make my meaning clear.

International Fellowship is impossible on the basis of economic nationalism. The Atlantic Charter is bound to fail because it is founded on economic nationalism. Its fourth article about equal access to raw materials, does not mean that every nation can have an equal quantity of raw materials for the asking. Even if it did, the nations which had more ships—the United States and Great Britain—will be able to ship more raw material than countries which had fewer ships. The Charter must be supplemented so as to provide equal carrying facilities, if equal access is to mean anything. Then, again, the Charter does not say that raw materials are to be had by all nations without paying anything in return. The only medium, gold, is most of it held by the United States. In order to have "access" to it a nation must first buy enough gold from the States. As the States want mostly raw material like rubber, it is only the rubber-producing States that can get access to the gold. This was Great Britain when it owned Malaya. Malaya is for the present in the hands of the Japanese. Closely analysed, the Atlantic Charter, so far as Asia and Africa are concerned, is practically a reaffirmation of the existing state of things, even if Mr. Winston Churchill had not declared that the Charter was meant only for European countries which the Nazis have occupied. The weaknesses of the Atlantic Charter are inherent in any scheme to base the new world order on economic nationalism.

International peace and harmony can be ensured only on a basis of spiritual values. Spiritual values

do not mean organised religions. Organised religions have fought each other with as much fury as economic nations in the past. Communal clashes in our country have organized religious zeal for excuse. By spiritual what is meant is that part of man which is outside the limits of space and time and is not subject to such physical forces as gravitation. That there is such a part can not be denied. Thought is not limited by time or space, nor is it deflected by any physical force. The thinking, reflecting faculty is spiritual. International harmony can be founded only on that. There have been attempts to bring men together on a non-economic basis. The Congress of Religions held in Chicago in 1893, was the first of them. A great improvement on it was the Fellowship of Faiths in the same city fifty years later. In the Congress of Religions there was a competition among religionists, each striving to show his was the best. The ideal of Fellowship was different though it must be admitted that only a few of the speeches and addresses at the World Fellowship came up to the new ideal. Even in the dire stress of the present crisis, highly cultured men, like Lord Halifax, are unable to visualise the future except in terms of their own religion, perhaps their own Church. If the new world order is to be on a spiritual basis, the common element in the spiritual evolution of individuals is an important element in arriving at such a common basis. It is from this point of view that the speaker hit upon his own religious evolution as a suitable matter for a talk before the International Fellowship.

For the first seven years of his life there was no direct religious teaching in the home. But the routine of daily life was so charged with the religious aroma that the child could not escape becoming aware of a dominating but invisible Power inspiring all activities. This is entirely in accord with the view expressed by the Unitarian philosopher and divine, James Martineau, in his address on "Christ and the Little Child." He says:—

Except in circumstances of sickness or grief, which prematurely ripen the mind and makes its wants anticipate its years, childhood has little need of a religion in our sense of the word; for God has given it, in its very lot, a religion of its own, the sufficiency of which it were impiety to doubt. The child's veneration can scarcely climb to any loftier height than the soul of a wise and good parent—well, even, if he can distantly, and with wistful contemplation, see even that..... It is enough if he but sees the parents bend with silent awe, or hears them speak as if they were children too, before a holier still; this will carry on the ideal gradation of reverence, and show the filmy deep where the steps ascend the skies.

The only distinctly religious incidents at this period were visits to the temple in company of elders. Temple ritual is regulated by the agamas, a distinct branch of the Hindu scripture, apart from Vedas and Upanishads. The temple priest is not a priest in the Christian sense. He had no authority in social and religious life. In fact, he was rather regarded as an inferior class of the Brahmanical caste. Some temples had non-Brahmins as pujaries. Nor did the purohit who officiated at domestic ceremonies, which were according to the Vedic dispensation, have any voice in the social and religious life of the people. In fact, the word priest as understood among Christians has no counterpart in Hinduism. Thus, while before the age of seven or eight, the child had no direct religious teaching, still he grew up in the consciousness of there being something transcending human authority. Even after eight, when he was invested with the

sacred thread, there was not much difference. The boy learnt to repeat his morning and evening prayers but he had not the slightest idea of their meaning though he had a high idea of their solemnity.

My schooling, from the elementary up to Matriculation, was mostly in a Christian Missionary school. There the great majority of students were Hindus. They learnt the Bible in the same way as they learnt geography or history or stories in their Readers without the least notion that they had any bearing on social or religious life. John Dewey, the American educationist, says that the school should be a continuation of the home, that the things learnt at home must be reinforced and developed by things taught in school. There was no continuity between a Hindu home and a Mission school. In fact, the two were in conflict. But where the home influence conflicts with the school teaching, the former always carries the day, except in rare cases due to emotional instability. Not only that but the school itself is gradually transformed into more or less conformity with the home. Therefore, in India missionary educational institutions have produced some of the most powerful leaders of the Hindu revival movement, including Swami Vivekananda. This, of course, is not what the missionaries or most of them desired.

Although in the school itself one did not gain any religious inspiration, the effect of Bible study made itself felt when the need of spiritual help was felt, in my case at about the age of twenty-five. Like the tendrils of a creeper attaching themselves to the nearest plant or tree for support, in the absence of regular religious instruction in one's own faith, one clutched at the Christian dogmas made familiar in school. But this period did not last many years. The problems for which Jesus Christ supplied answers in his precepts, were not my problems. The Old Testament came nearer to my need especially some of the Psalms and parts of Isaiah. This was to be expected, because Jesus was a reformer who accepted the great body of his Hebrew heritage and wanted to make good Jews better Jews. The Hindu reformer similarly accepts the greater part of his heritage and wants to improve it only at points where it has become weak and out of date. The Bhagavad Gita has a better understanding and more apt answers to the problems which face a Hindu. My present religious position is embodied in two Upanishad verses affirming the unity and immanence of the Cosmic Spirit. The craving for worship which is urgent in the Hindu heart can be satisfied by offering a flower, or a leaf with reverence. For the rest, the highest worship of God is to do one's duty without caring for reward. Duty here means not that which one is paid for, but something which his higher instincts require of him, something that he must "do or die" at peril to his soul.

This dread alternative "Do or Die" is not posed only by religion. Ruskin in his "Unto the Last" describes it as distinguishing trade from the liberal professions. Almost every religion requires that a man should be born anew to fulfil his life's highest purpose. He must die first to his lower impulses in order to be born again. This alternative is always present though it may not manifest itself in a crucial form to all people. But the people in whom it is acutely present, are the salt of the earth and to them humanity owes the little progress it has so far made towards the Indwelling God. The Kingdom of God is within you, proclaimed the Galilean. God is

within you, Hinduism tells us. I did not say anything about the vital subject of prayer at the Fellowship. I take this opportunity to supply the omission as one's attitude to prayer is the core of one's religion. I believe completely in the power of prayer and the need of it. It is the one means by which the human soul maintains contact with the Divine. There is an inexhaustible reservoir of healing and helping power at the heart of the Universe and it is the privilege of every one to draw upon it freely whenever the need is felt. Relief always and invariably comes, though not necessarily in exactly the form one desires. In fact, prayer should not be a specific demand. Man can not dictate to God. My observations are in respect of personal and private not of congregational prayer. Collectivism of any kind does not appeal to me, least all collectivism in religion.

K. NATARAJAN.

BRITAIN AND INDIA.

The opinion of the British Government as to whether what is good for Britain is good for India, varies according as the identity squares with British policy or is disadvantageous to Britain. Free Trade was imposed on India, notwithstanding the protest of the Governor-General, Lord Northbrook, and his Council, and notwithstanding the wide divergence between Indian and British conditions, as good for India also. Indian industries were destroyed and India, it became the fashion to assert, in her own best interests should remain predominantly agricultural. Where political institutions are concerned, of course, the two cannot be compared. Lord Salisbury, the great Victorian Premier, classed the Irish, the Hottentots and the Hindus as people congenitally unfit to rule themselves. Mr. Amery unctuously deprecates assuming that a system which has worked well in Britain should work well in India. What is the proof that the British system has worked successfully? Ireland? South Africa? Free Trade? Gold Standard? The last World War? The present? In every one of these important questions, the British system has procrastinated, bungled, blundered. In regard to India, it has not been more successful. The only thing that can be said of it is that in Britain it has managed to make changes with a minimum of bloodshed. British statesmen know no other system and are bound to reproduce the one they know wherever they think of introducing self-government. Any attempt on their part to invent a new one for India will only end in failure. At present the British Indian system is functioning not to any extent better than an autocracy. An Indian autocracy must necessarily be better than an alien autocracy if only because the Indian autocrat's virtues and vices are those of his own people. The racial domination which corrodes so much which is good in British rule, will not exist. For the rest, the people may be trusted to keep autocracy within bounds. What will happen in India is exactly what has happened in China which, at one time, not so long ago, Mr. Amery used to hold up as a warning to Indians. As for British responsibilities to the Indian people, surely Indians have more of them than the British can possibly have.

Perhaps the most urgent need for the promotion of cordial understanding between any two nations or individuals is that they should approach each other as possessing in equal measure the virtues and failings of the human race. This is particularly the case with Britain and India as the political relation between the two peoples constantly tends to be interpreted in terms of moral superiority

on one side and inferiority on the other. The Englishman unconsciously develops the notion that he and Englishmen, generally, occupy the dominant position in India because they are in some way morally superior to Indians. If political domination implies moral superiority, the Nazis for the time being should be regarded as morally superior to the great part of Europeans. Three conspicuous examples to show that such a feeling is unwarranted are given below.

Mr. Winston Churchill comes first, naturally as he is the representative of the British people at the moment. In his famous statement after which he has wisely refrained from opening his mouth about India, the British Prime Minister alleged that Indian manufacturing and financial interests were behind the Congress. In other days it was no unusual thing for British vested interests to sneer at the penniless patriots of the Congress. Mr. Gaganvihari Mehta, President of the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, in his presidential address referred to the Prime Minister's innuendo. Mr. Mehta contented himself with observing that it would be easy to reply to this statement by analysing the financial and commercial origins and ramifications of the Tory Party and of the men who rule England. Without Mr. Mehta being aware of it, such an analysis has actually been published in the *New York Times* from the pen of Professor Harold Laski at the invitation of that journal. A summary of it was cabled to the *Indian Express* of Madras by its London correspondent on March 30. It is as follows:

In an article written for the *New York Times* in response to its query "Who are the rulers of Britain?" Professor Harold Laski says: "The masses chose their rulers, but they selected Nazi men who largely took for granted the idea that the main lines of property system were part of the fixed order of nature." Giving detailed statistics and analysis of the composition of the Conservative Party which dominates the House of Commons whose essential purpose, (Prof. Laski says), is protection of the interests of private property in the means of production, he points out that 44 per cent of them are directors of public companies, holding nearly 1800 directorships including banks, insurance, railways, shipping, iron and steel engineering, textiles, electricity, coal, oil and newspapers. Thirty-five members of Parliament have directorships in companies whose stake is in the Dominions. Dominating industries in India and the colonies, all have their representatives in the House of Commons. Forty-three members were related to living members of the Peerage; another 95 were related to its members; 42 were sons-in-law of peers. Of some 300 Conservatives, 80 per cent inherited wealth; 125 were either sent to Eton or Harrow, 154 to other public schools, 88 either to Oxford or to Cambridge. In the War Cabinet two members by birth are aristocrats; two have large business connections. Of Conservative Ministers two juniors are Dukes; one is a newspaper proprietor, but all the remainder, except the Minister for Pensions, have connections either immediate or indirect with big business or aristocracy. Prof. Laski further says that the Labour Party has been a very junior partner in Mr. Churchill's Government. "All pivotal positions—economic, diplomatic, political—are remaining in the hands of the ruling class."

So much for the Prime Minister. His Excellency Sir John Colville, the new Governor of Bombay, speaking at the annual meeting of the Bombay European Chamber of Commerce, observed, evidently with reference to President Gibbon's lamentation of the existence of profiteers in this God-forsaken country, that speaking of control, the position here is altogether different from that which exists in Great Britain. There

business has accepted—and cheerfully accepted—a degree of control altogether unparalleled in my memory. Indeed, the dominant impression which I carried away with me, when I set out for India, was of the unique solidarity of all classes and conditions of people in Great Britain in their determination to wipe out Hitler and his associates...I can sum up broadly by saying, profit as a business incentive has all but disappeared.

The last statement called to mind certain figures of profits made by British concerns published in *Labour Research* not long ago:—

Marks & Spencers have shown how to pull yourself up by your own shoe-strings. Gross profits are down by £ 880,000 (from £ 8,071,000 last year), but the profits available for distribution have gone up. The profits for the year (incidentally again struck after war damage charges) are equivalent to no less than 56.8 per cent against 37 per cent last year, and the dividend reported at 35 per cent on ordinary capital is covered by an addition of more than £ 225,000 to carry forward. This, as the *Financial News* says, is "solid evidence of the ample cushion provided by former E. P. T. payments." In fact, as profits go down taxation paid to the State reverses its course and floods back to the tune of 35 per cent.

The President of the Bombay European Chamber of Commerce, Mr. J. M. B. Gibbons, in his address could not help the temptation to mourn Indian depravity. He asked where the extra spending money which the war had brought to the farmer and the worker, went. And answered: "Most of it, I fear, into the pockets of the swarm of profiteers and hoarders that infest India today." The *Times of India* published on Monday the following news item:

Major-General Sir Percy Robero Laurie, Provost Marshall of Great Britain and formerly Assistant Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, was fined £500 today and ordered to pay 85 guineas for ration book offences.

The fines were £50 on one summons alleging that by falsely describing himself as a retired army officer, he obtained a civilian ration book to which he was not entitled, and £250 on each of the two other summons for failing to deposit his civilian ration book when in possession of a military ration card and using the ration book contrary to the food orders.

In assessing the penalties, the Magistrate said, he took into consideration General Laurie's splendid services in the last war in a great deal of unpaid public work he had done.

The Provost Marshall was not an illiterate Bania who in this country is sent to prison for three or six months for selling rice or sugar a few annas above the prescribed rate. He is a distinguished General, who did a good deal of unpaid public work. He belonged to the governing class, the class from which Colonial Governors and other high officials are drawn. The Magistrate did not accept the plea that the General got both his civilian and army rations in ignorance. The profit motive even among distinguished public servants, does not seem to have altogether disappeared.

The Britisher is no worse than the Indian in seeking profits at the expense of the community. Indeed, we are prepared to grant that he is much superior. But what does need a little more caution is the hoisting of the one as the sum of human perfection and representing the other as possessed of the worst qualities, being, in fact, the devil incarnate. And is it not the fact that the Briton, both professional and business man, has enormously more to gain than the Indian when victory accrues to the Allied arms?

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

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NOTES.

Lord Samuel on the Indian Situation:— Viscount Samuel is an outstanding figure in British politics, perhaps, the most outstanding at the present day. This does not mean, that, if he addressed a public meeting in Manchester or Glasgow, he would command as much applause as Mr. Churchill. What it does mean is that he is a far-sighted statesman which Mr. Churchill is not, and has a vivid appreciation of values which in the last analysis count in human affairs. His speech in the House of Lords on the motion to extend the emergency arrangements in India, however, did not come up to expectation. Lord Samuel's criticism of the Congress, that it tended to be a totalitarian one-party body, and that the superimposition of a triumvirate on Congress Ministries was opposed to democratic principles, was anticipated and urged with emphasis in the *Reformer* all along. But the British Government accepted that arrangement and was quite happy when the Congress assumed office in the provinces where it had majorities in the Legislature. We submit, therefore, that it does not lie in the mouth of any British statesman now to turn round and denounce the Congress. Not only that, but the Muslim League of which Lord Samuel spoke as a powerful factor, is constituted exactly on the same lines, and, if possible, on more rigid lines. Mr. Jinnah's letter to Mr. Fazlul Huq when the latter wanted to be readmitted to the League, was clear on the point. The Government which may be formed on the dissolution of the Huq Ministry, would conduct the administration according to instructions from the League from time to time, Mr. Jinnah declared. The Governor of Bengal in his anxiety to have a League leader as his Prime Minister, has involved himself in an undemocratic constitutional tangle. If Lord Samuel will look a little deeper he will find that the tendency everywhere among the Allies as among the Axis is towards "unified" direction which is the correct democratic euphemism for dictatorship. Russia and China do not come in any democratic category. Mr. Churchill's Government is a one-party one for all practical purposes. The Labour goat and the Liberal lamb lie with the Tory lion. The best part of the energy of the most energetic of American Presidents, is devoted to dodging democracy in the shape, on the one hand, of Congress, and, on the other, of the Supreme Federal Court. To say that a political party or movement is undemocratic, therefore, is no more a serious criticism of it, nowadays, than was the old

opposition to liberal ideas as being unorthodox. The merit of Lord Samuel's speech lies in his disentanglement of the personalities of Gandhiji and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru from the tide of anti-Congress sentiment which is running high in Britain. He might well have asked himself and invited his peers to ask themselves why such worthy, high-minded and responsible men like the two leaders should have associated themselves prominently with the Congress Party. Mr. Attlee included the Pandit in his list of genuine Indian democrats. Only Gandhiji, it would seem, is opposed to democratic principles. We have seen Mr. Attlee's own "democracy" indicted as a political veneer. If democracy is not merely a political shibboleth but a way of life, then Gandhiji is easily the most democratic soul in the world. But the issue, so far as India is concerned, is not between democracy and autocracy but between an alien bureaucracy and an indigenous nationalism struggling to find its own destiny.

Indians in South Africa:—Field Marshal Smuts, Premier of South Africa, is one of the most vocal champions that the Empire has thrown up, of the ideals for which the United Nations are fighting today. But his Government which has unique opportunities of demonstrating his faith in these ideals, is about the most reactionary that can be found in either camp. A report was tabled at Johannesburg on Indian penetration in Durban drafted by Mr. Justice F. N. Broome. Apparently Mr. Broome has gone back on the earlier report he issued a year and a half ago and has adopted a less liberal attitude now. The fundamental change seems to be in the meaning attached to the word "penetration." Then it was clearly laid down that "penetration" meant not purchase but occupation; though in Durban the Broome Commission did modify this position. Now it is taken to mean purchase. Indians in South Africa, we are repeatedly told, are a part of the population of that country. This is the basic conception behind all the agreements between the South African and Indian Governments. Yet here we have the curious spectacle of a section of its own nationals being denied property rights—in effect that is what it works out to—by a Government; of it being restricted from entering into certain areas reserved for other sections. The fact that the head of that Government is mouthing sentiments on democracy makes the position ridiculous in the extreme. The Durban City Council has been from the very first hostile to the Broome Commission. It has succeeded very well in its policy because even the most Liberal South African, with the exception of J. H. Hoffmeyer, has not the courage of his convictions. In the South African Parliament Mr. Broome admitted that the Durban Council had submitted an inaccurate map, though it is left to the reader to infer how far the findings of the Commission were affected by this. The Government of India has cabled a strongly worded protest to South Africa against the contemplated legislation

implementing the Broome Report and the action taken is stronger than much of what had been done when an Indian Member had been in charge of the Overseas Department, in similar cases where the rights of Indians abroad had been infringed. Nevertheless, it is not correct to agree, as the Government of India has evidently done, that this is a matter to be settled between India and South Africa. Had the Government here been free of outside control, there are many courses of action open to it which are not now conceivable. Obviously the Government in Britain is not prepared to carry out the responsibilities it has assumed.

More about Disturbances :—The Government of India has put forth another document about the disturbances which furnished the text for Sir Richard Tottenham's pamphlet entitled "Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances 1942-43." Sir Richard's masterpiece met with the same kind of criticism in the British Parliament and the British Press as that offered in the *Reformer*. Sir George Souter in the House of Commons described its method and style as unfortunate. Lord Samuel in the House of Lords was not more complimentary. The present pamphlet, so far as we can see, makes two casual references to the Congress and avoids Gandhiji. It is a catalogue of outrages and atrocities committed by mobs, classified according to their nature and victims. For several months after the outbreaks, Government here and in London persisted in minimising their number and importance. Mr. Amery told the House of Commons that the Police and Magistracy were quite competent to cope with them. Then suddenly the tone changed. The disturbances were set forth in considerable detail and the responsibility for them was directly sought to be fixed, as in the Tottenham pamphlet, on the Congress and Gandhiji. No one questioned the deplorable fact that these outrages occurred and the complaint of the public was that they were not allowed to be brought to public notice when they occurred. The point in dispute was who was responsible for them. *The Reformer* has from the first taken the view that the disturbances were the result of a recrudescence of the anarchic violence which was effectively checked by Gandhiji's non-co-operation movement as acknowledged repeatedly by Mr. Rushbrook Williams in his annual review "India." That movement had been driven off the political field but it had not been extinguished. Gandhiji's arrest along with other Congress leaders provided it with the opportunity of raising its head once again. There were other favouring circumstances in the indiscriminate denunciation of non-violence by advocates of India's war effort, in the exhibitions in the cinema of scenes of destruction in European countries, in the exhortation by British statesmen of the population of occupied Europe to acts of sabotage and guerilla operations, and so on. A number of Congressmen, "known" and unknown had tired of the Gandhian method and drifted into gangsterism. The Tottenham pamphlet furnished inside evidence that the promoters of disturbances had disavowed Gandhiji. It must be noted to the credit of the Indian Government that it is not a good hand at propaganda. The bureaucracy has never learnt the art of persuasion. Its attitude has always been to demand that the people should accept its view as final. The clumsiness of the Tottenham pamphlet was the greatest proof of the essential honesty of the bureaucratic temper. This pamphlet has, therefore, been issued in the name of "Indian Journalist" though having regard to the colourless nature of the contents there was no reason for the Indian Journalist being anonymous. It may

indeed be regarded as a reflection on the Tottenham effort that the "Indian Journalist" has not a word to say of the Congress responsibility. Another noteworthy fact is that in these days of paper scarcity, Government has had printed 24,000 copies of this pamphlet.

The Economists' Panacea :—With due respect to the twenty economists who have submitted a memorandum to the Finance Member of the Government of India and, for no obvious reason, to Mr. William Phillips, Personal Representative of the President of the United States in India, the remedies which they prescribe to avert the fearful consequences which they foresee of the present official policy, seem to us to be calculated to cause much greater evils if they can be applied. The qualification is made because the complete and absolute regimentation of Indian economic and social activities which their suggestions involve, is impossible of enforcement in any country in the world, would be both impossible and intolerable in this country. Even an ideally national Government would not venture to think of introducing them in India. In the United States, where, if anywhere, in view of the democratic form of Government they may be expected to meet with readier acquiescence from the public, they would provoke a revolution. The much less stringent and accommodating plans of the President to fix prices and wages at a standard level are encountering strenuous opposition and this week President Roosevelt has been obliged to let a measure passed by Congress become law without his signature because he could not assent to the overruling of his order limiting incomes to 25,000 dollars. The Finance Member knows better than the twenty economists what great difficulty Government measures of control have to overcome, that in fact they have on the whole not operated with conspicuous success. Given the basic fact that the demand for Indian goods and services on behalf of Britain and the Allied Nations is much in excess of the available supply, there is no way of averting the inevitable result of inflation except by far more dangerous consequences of deflation which is what the twenty economists want immediately. The recommendation of the economists is to raise taxation and borrowing to the highest practicable pitch. In Great Britain and the United States where a considerable proportion of the tax revenue even in the present wartime goes to social services, taxation to the maximum pitch may not be harmful for so much of it returns to the people in the shape of service. But in India, very little social service is undertaken by Government. The care of the sick, aged, infirm, of the poor and destitute, is very much the concern of private charity or communal obligation. Taxation to the limit, as suggested by the economists, would drain away available private resources and leave little margin for the relief which the State does not provide. The economists have been totally unmindful of the constitution of the patient for whom they have undertaken to prescribe.

The late Begum Azad :—The death of the wife of the President of the Congress, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, in Calcutta without having her cherished desire to see her distinguished husband gratified, is another proof that Indian politics has assumed a grim reality for those who engage in it. The Maulana was presumably kept informed of his wife's serious condition but did not ask for leave to be at her bedside, as other leaders have done in similar circumstances. Public sympathy has on that account been keener and many towns have held meetings and passed resolutions of condolence.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, April 17, 1943.

SHOULD AMERICA INTERVENE?

The *Times of India* published on Monday from its special correspondent in London a summary of an address delivered by Sir Arcot Ramaswami Mudaliar, Indian representative on the War Cabinet, in the course of which he touched on the question of the intervention of the United States to secure independence for India. American intervention informally, if not also formally, was a factor in the solution of the Irish question in a shape which has made it possible for Eire to remain neutral in the present war. Sir Ramaswami told his British audience how he sought to dissuade the American leaders whom he met during his recent visit to that Continent from the idea of intervention on behalf of India. In fact, he actually sought to persuade them, and in his opinion not altogether without effect, that American intervention would only make matters worse. The report runs,

He showed how members of all nations and religions in Europe on emigrating to the United States are there "steam-rolled" into Americans. Americans had no use for racial, religious or cultural divisions. For these reasons, he asserted, he had told the Americans in the Pacific Relations Conference, and elsewhere that American intervention in India would do more harm than good. He further stated that the Americans with whom he had thus reasoned, had taken his words in good spirit.

The *Reformer* with the great majority of Indian political thinkers has been against seeking any foreign intervention for the solution of our problems. But that was before Great Britain had to seek the help of the United States and other Allied countries for her own defence as also for that of India. It is mere affectation to maintain, with American troops guarding Britain and operating from India, that American intervention will be something improper. American intervention is already here in the most glaring form. The question is, whether it should be confined to military purposes or should extend to other purposes which in the present war cannot be distinguished from and are closely connected with the military. If America has to be called in to defend the Empire, surely America has the right to know what is the sort of Empire she is defending and whether it is the sort which would not conflict with the principles of her own history? If America defends an Empire which contravenes the basic principles of her history, then she is practically repudiating her own past and such repudiation, although it may not have immediately perceptible consequences on the fortunes of the people of the United States, is bound to tell in the not too long run on their own Government and administration. The American poet, Lowell, declared, he who allows oppression shares the crime. We cannot imagine any American in whose veins flows even a drop of the blood of his ancestors, looking passively for instance, on the racial legislation now being perpetrated in South Africa. The States will be morally responsible for the acts and omissions of the British Government just as the latter is morally responsible for the acts and omissions of the Indian States which it has undertaken to protect. If America does not feel called upon to intervene, then the honourable course for her is to withdraw her troops and tell Britain that she can do what she likes with her own but cannot expect any co-operation from her. America, by undertaking to defend India, has undertaken to see that India is governed on principles consonant with her own conception of right and wrong.

Whether the United States people understand their responsibility in this light or not, is their own affair. We can only state her position as it strikes us.

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar's information of the attitude of the United States to race, religion and culture is very inaccurate. The term "steam-rolling" does not fit it in the least. The American attitude to these is one of the widest toleration. There is no "steam-rolling" in any of these. Protestants, Catholics, Jews, the three important religious communities in the United States, have full liberty of profession and practice. The only case of intervention in religion is the prohibition of polygamy in the Mormon sect and that was brought about by agreement rather than by coercion. There is no compulsory racial fusion. In New York, Sir Ramaswami would have noticed separate quarters largely inhabited by Poles, Russians, Italians and so on. As regards culture, too, in recent times at least, provision exists in many Universities for the study of the different European languages and literatures. When President Roosevelt's mother died a year or two ago, it was reported that the funeral was strictly according to old Dutch custom, the family being of Dutch descent. The only matter in which there may be said to be "steam-rolling" is the recognition of English as the national language. Even in India the pre-eminence given to English as the official language operates nearly in the same way. The United States was founded by people who wanted to have freedom of conscience in religion. They were all Englishmen. Oliver Cromwell narrowly missed being one of them. They founded the New England States and naturally their language became the official language. Other European immigrants followed and became American citizens of their own free will. Even today there are large numbers of American citizens who can not speak or write English. The policy of the States is to unify, not to divide the population. In the eye of the law, all citizens are equal. There are no franchise weightages such as we have now in India for any race or creed. Until 1908 in India also, there was a single citizenship for all natives of India. In that year, different groups were accorded weightages on some ground or other. If the intervention of the United States would bring about the abrogation of this absurd anomaly, that is about all that could be expected of it. The way to the making of a just and equitable constitution will be left clear if franchise inequalities are abolished. India may borrow from the American constitution parts which are suited to her needs. Substantially the Indian constitution will be based on Indian needs and precedents. We should look to the more advanced States in India for the basic material out of which the Indian constitution should be moulded.

Narrow Bigotry:—Bhai Parmanand writing in the *Tribune* of Lahore makes some querulous observations regarding the social legislation now before the Indian Legislative Assembly. He says that Mrs. Renuka Ray is not a representative of Hindu sentiment because she is a Brahmo. Bhai Parmanand himself belongs to the Arya Samaj which is farther removed from orthodox Hinduism than the Brahmo Samaj which is based on the same Upanishads as post-Buddhist Hinduism; whereas the Arya Samaj professes to go back to the Karma Kanda of the Vedas which has long fallen into disuse among orthodox Hindus. Then Bhai Parmanand objects to the Bill being introduced by a Muslim Law Member. As the *Reformer* remarked last week no Hindu, even orthodox, Law Member can have

bettered Sir Sultan Ahmed as regards sympathetic approach and consideration for conservative susceptibilities. Bhai Parmanand takes exception to non-Hindus voting on the Bill. He says that Europeans and Muslims voluntarily refrained from voting. If this is true, we deplore it. In all matters, social, economic and political, it is in the best interests of the country that all communities should bring their minds into the common stock. Bhai Parmanand's comments savour of narrow bigotry.

THE "SPIRITUAL BASIS OF THE FELLOWSHIP."

I have read Mr. K. Natarajan's contribution on "My Religious Evolution." As one who has played a somewhat lively part in one International Fellowship, I am particularly interested in his observations on the spiritual basis of Fellowship. I say it with due respect but there are many difficulties in the way of uniting on a spiritual basis—as many as, if not more than, on any other basis—which a conscientious office-bearer has to face which do not appear to a speaker. I am writing this in the hope that reading of my experiences during five years will impel others to come out with theirs; also that it will dispel a number of illusions held by non-members of what the Fellowship is.

As an introduction, I may say that as an organisation the Fellowship suffers from the excessive optimism of its leading personalities, their unawareness of very human traits and a curious narrowness of outlook which overlabouring after things spiritual seems to produce. This is shown at the start in the admission of members. When a proposal was brought forward to regulate admission by the Committee, the question was raised, "Who are we that we should deny fellowship to anyone eager enough to seek it?" This thought is fatal to any organisation. On the one hand, it prevents the growth of a sense of loyalty which is the core of all organisations. On the other, it develops a strained atmosphere.

The Fellowship in my city was dominated, till 1941, by the religious-minded, but, as it grew in numbers, it gathered to itself members who had varied interests, very few of them spiritual. Out of deference to the leading personalities, the other elements subordinated their feelings and "paid their pinch of incense to the older divinities." Those who could not submit to the position, gradually drifted apart and in time left the Fellowship. And naturally they had no good word to say for the organisation.

When, by purely fortuitous circumstances, I came within the orbit of the Fellowship in 1937, December, I was struck by two things: First, here was a gathering of businessmen, professors, doctors, missionaries, lawyers, bankers. Cosmopolitanism flourishes, a broken arc, among the highest social spheres and in the scum of society. Possession, in absence or in excess, lowers national barriers. But the middle class is the spine of nationalism and of prejudice. The Fellowship was essentially middle-class and here seemed at last a movement bringing wider visions to that exclusive group. In the second place, the prayer-meeting, the expression of the "spiritual basis" of the Fellowship, had degenerated into ritualism and several members were chaffing under it. When I asked out of mere curiosity why they did not give voice to this feeling, they looked amusedly at me. On further pressure, it was revealed that they submitted out of deference to the leaders in the Fellowship. Why did the leaders acquiesce in this position? I have never been able to tell. Once I did believe that it was because they were unaware of it. It is possible that they do not find it unsatisfactory. For a

straightening out of things here would reduce the membership. And it requires a prophet to be content with twelve disciples. For these reasons, within the Fellowship there was artificiality, no free movement of thought. I am less disposed now to condemn leaders or members than I was then. I have twice come in contact with the sincerity which compels sincerity in others, of neither could it be said that life proved the easier for it.

I joined the Fellowship in 1938 and the next year was appointed one of the office-bearers. The organisation grew on me; at the same time I was gradually becoming aware of some of the defects in the Fellowship. It is possible that I might, like others before me, have drifted out of the Fellowship but there was a biennial meeting of the Council of All India Fellowships in Easter 1939 at Aundh and, when I attended it from my city, I came in contact with Mr. Ralph T. Templin, just then waging a nerve-racking struggle against the Methodist Church, in the interests of religious freedom. Templin was impractical in his handling of his case and very much averse to push his own experience down the Fellowship. But there was a discussion on religious freedom and I pointed out to him the relevance of his own fight to the general question discussed. We were closely associated in the subsequent controversy which resulted in his expulsion from India, and the following Easter, just before he sailed for the U. S. A., I told him that his stand had made me ask myself whether I could continue blindly in my Fellowship without acting according to my knowledge. He listened and was, I thought, rather slow at deciding for me when he was so quick in acting for himself. But at the end he smiled and said, "Of course; I was wondering when you would come to this."

I followed this up with a frank talk with the local President, and it was agreed that I issue a statement putting down all that I had told him and that we should reorganise the Fellowship, even if it meant retaining only a dozen earnest members and leaving the rest out. I might mention in passing that the statement was circulated among the Committee members. A meeting was held to consider it. Two who had read the six foolscap-page document, said I was stirring up trouble and that the Fellowship could only thrive by not discussing its ideals. Three others at the meeting regretted that they had not read the document, had even misplaced it, would like another copy and anyway could I tell them briefly what it was all about. The others had helped with suggestions before I drew it up. It had one fundamental defect—I must have been very naive then—it recommended the dissolution of the Executive Committee and the consultation of the general body or such members as attended our meetings. The practical part of the statement lost itself in the Executive Committee which felt that the general body need not see it; the first two pages of ideals and objects became the official statement of the Fellowship for my city after discussion and modification.

At the time, I must mention, I was sincerely thinking in terms of common prayer being the logical expression of the spiritual basis of the Fellowship. I had just returned from a visit to Europe moving much among the Quakers. I had found no difficulty in joining them in their devotions and I had found none too in joining in the devotions of the Fellowship. In fact, it had occurred to me that the Fellowship might have prayer-meetings conducted by members of different faiths and that it would be a great help if the members of different communities could join together, whatever the form of worship. It came

to me when, after a prayer conducted by Templin who referred to Christ and made it quite clear that by Christ he meant not the individual who had died two thousand years ago but the spirit of God, a Muslim friend came and protested against the excessive Christian trends of the prayer-meetings he had so far attended.

For about six months I took up quite earnestly the work of arranging weekly prayer-meetings—these were a regular feature of the Fellowship but they were conducted almost always, I have been told, by the President and were sparsely attended—with different leaders. The numbers were not discouraging at first but they soon dwindled into the old half-dozen plus myself and a few friends who found the Sunday morning twenty-minute prayer-meeting a good excuse for a prolonged session at a tea-shop afterwards. Owing to an unfortunately misplaced sense of humour, I began to see the prayer-meeting in a less reverent light, particularly when members came up and said that they had not heard a word of what had been uttered for the past three meetings—back to ritualism in its worst form? Long habit, I also, found had made the President more fitted for the role of preacher than member of a congregation. I had decided to continue organising prayer-meetings but not to attend them as I lacked the necessary attitude of mind. I was finding too that I was going under false colours as the charitable thought I was turning religious, the indifferent wondered what game I was playing, and the malicious thought I was hypocritical.

Two currents gathered strength at this stage: Those who did not feel prayer-minded, objected to me that there could not be, as there was, two memberships in an organisation called Fellowship—one not attending devotionals and the other "a small devoted few," as the President loved to say, attending: that the very atmosphere and the name "retreat" given to our outings gave a cloister air to the function and imposed restraints on members which prevented freedom of thought. On the other hand, there were persons who felt that every Sunday morning was too frequent for prayers; that it interfered with the one holiday of working men; and that monthly meetings on Saturdays would be better attended. A general meeting was held to decide the point and I found myself suddenly the solitary figure in favour of abolishing prayer-meetings, even those who had not attended in the past being shocked at the suggestion. It was changed to Saturday with no better attendance. Nobody was prepared to face up to the questions, whether they accepted the spiritual basis of the Fellowship; whether accepting it, they thought prayer-meetings were the necessary expression of that basis; and whether, accepting this too, they thought that the prayer-meetings organised so far were the right type.

The weekly prayer-meetings, however, are not the main issue. The real discussion must centre on the prayer-meetings held with the Retreats because these are the functions which, though professedly optional, impinge on the general body of members. The one question today is, to my mind, whether the prayer-meeting makes for fellowship, brings members together or divides them. It is a question that must be faced squarely. But too many vested interests have grown round the Fellowship to allow of this and, sad to say, there is not enough earnestness or even candour in the general body to face the issue. Consequently there is an atmosphere of unreality, in which hypocrisy flourishes, at its best springing from a desire not to hurt the feelings of religious members. To me it seems today that the spiritual basis of the Fellowship can only work

unobtrusively. The other way has been tried and has not succeeded, rather the contrary.

It is quite clear to me as a result of experience that, whatever the basis of the Fellowship might be, common prayer is not a possibility with members drawn from different communities. Most men and women have enough to do to grasp the ideas of one religion, even the religion in which they happen to be born. It is too much to expect them to be easy in the atmosphere of other faiths. It is unfounded optimism to expect people readily to see the other point of view or even to make an effort to do so. It is, on the other hand, as ridiculous to expect everyone else to join in your way of worship. Of the members in the Fellowship of which I speak, the non-Christians are generally persons who have not adhered to the conventions of their faith. I almost suspect that most of them who have thought of it at all, would do away with all formalism. Some would even throw out the theological baby with the bath. The appeal of the Fellowship in the past was not, let us face facts, spiritual. It still thrives in remote districts where rare and sought-for opportunities for contact between Europeans and Indians are provided through social functions. But the more sophisticated elements found in cities have passed the stage. Either the Fellowship should draw its membership from a different section of society or change its methods.

S.

GUJARATI DIET.

Most of the dietaries of the different parts of India, have been studied. But there has been, so far as we know, no investigation into the food habitually eaten in Gujarat. This has to some extent been supplied by a Committee whose report on "The Economic and Nutritional Survey of Gujarati Middle Class Families in Bombay City," has been published as the January number of the *Journal of the Gujarat Research Society*. The combination of economics and nutrition is a novel feature. It is also scientifically incorrect. Economic conditions affect several groups while nutrition concerns the food which is specially favoured by each group. The investigation has been limited to Bombay City and to middle class families. As a rule it is working class dietary which is taken up for nutritional enquiry. The reason is that the working class in a community has a more or less definite connotation and a certain uniform standard of life. "Middle class" is a vague term and particularly among Hindus is not easily identifiable by the test of income. This is clear from the fact that the Committee has found it necessary to divide the families investigated into four classes or income groups, the first group having an income of under Rs. 50. Many of the working classes in Bombay city have a larger income though not necessarily a higher standard of life. The chief occupations of Gujaratis in Bombay are business and clerical service with private persons. There is no wage earning or working class. The conclusions of the Committee are from the nutritional standpoint vitiated by the artificial conditions of life in Bombay city, the special features of which are, as pointed out, overcrowding and high rents. These, however, do not affect only Gujaratis and the effects of these are not confined to them. Even on the most balanced diet, these conditions will affect nutrition because nutrition depends on digestion and the domestic and social environments have an important influence on the mind and nerves. But with all these drawbacks the report furnishes much useful information about the bulk of Gujaratis in Bombay

city. The Gujaratis constitute 8 per cent of the population of Bombay city. Only 55 to every 100 males are women as against the 91 to 100 in the whole province. This shows that they are clearly a migratory element without permanent homes in the city. Pulses and milk which Gujaratis use largely, have excellent nutritional value and are not available to the working classes. The poor physical condition of the Gujaratis, as disclosed by the investigation, must be due to other causes, their sedentary habits and the absence of physical exercise. Here, again, they are not the only groups with sedentary habits. One cannot help feeling that, either as an economic or a nutritional survey, the report does not go to the root of the matter.

THE RAO COMMITTEE BILLS ON HINDU LAW.

(BY KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI, ASKA.)

It is matter for sincere congratulation, that the Hindu Inheritance Bill has passed to the Select Committee stage through both the Central Legislatures. The people of Ganjam in particular, in what is now the ex-Madras area of the Orissa Province, may well take pride in the fact that they are worthily represented on that Committee by the Hon. Sir A. P. Patro who, besides being a distinguished Hindu lawyer and ex-Minister of a Province, has been a life-long friend and earnest advocate of social reform and is recognised by the British Government itself as an all India political leader.

It cannot be said that the present time is particularly propitious for the consideration of anything but the food problem whether in private or in public. But it would be unhealthy to the body politic to have its nose held down too closely and too exclusively to that problem alone even in the interests of the war effort. The question of inheritance is as much at the root of the bread problem as the question of employment, wage-earning, food production and food distribution.

The absence of many broadminded and wise members from the Legislatures either through political detention or necessity is no doubt a handicap to the forces of reform, though it has given a handle to social reactionaries plausibly to pretend that it is they that have been placed at a disadvantage thereby. To shelve the Bills, however, on that ground till the end of the war and the return of peace and plenty to the world, would have postponed their consideration to the millennium and irretrievably wasted all the wise labours of the Rau Committee in the living present.

A certain amount of regret has also been expressed by friends of reform that the Succession Bill has been given precedence, leaving the Marriage Bill behind for later consideration, for it was felt that, if the principle of monogamy in Hindu marriage be first recognised, the rules of Succession would be simplified. On the other hand, there is at least one circumstance which made others wish from the time the preparation of these two bills was announced in the press that the sequence in which the announcement was printed in the papers—namely, the Marriage Bill first and the Inheritance Bill at its tail—would not be followed by the Legislature in considering them. It must be remembered that the Marriage Bill does not merely provide rules for Hindu marriage, sacramental and civil, under its exclusive auspices. It also trenches upon the law of inheritance by seeking to repeal certain provisions of Act III of 1872 which make the Indian Succession Act

applicable to the property of a Hindu dying intestate after having married by registration under that Act. It no doubt makes such marriage impossible hereafter under that Act to a Hindu, and, therefore, no question can arise in future under that Act about succession to a Hindu married under it. But when the Marriage Bill is taken up first and the public is asked to consent to the repeal of Act III of 1872 so far as it permits a Hindu to marry under it and benefits his wife and daughters by applying the Indian Succession Act, the public would be in a quandary as to what to decide in the absence of a definite knowledge of what inheritance right to a Hindu widow and her daughters would be given under the Inheritance Bill in substitution for excellent rights which are already theirs under the Act as it stands. It is no easy matter to decide whether, even if the Hindu Inheritance Bill is passed into law exactly as it is framed, the rights accruing under it to a widow and her daughters are superior or even equal to those secured for persons in the same situation under Act III of 1872. Their position may be made much worse in actuality before the Bill emerges as an Act from the two Houses of Central Legislature, and the Provincial legislatures have it in their power still to make it worse by higgling and quibbling over "agricultural lands." With all these possibilities, it would have been a leap in the dark to meddle first with any part of the Special Marriage Act as proposed by the new Marriage Bill.

One can only say that, if the Inheritance Bill is passed as it stands and the Provincial Legislatures follow up with suitable legislation to remove the bar of inheritance to agricultural lands, then and then only can the manifest advantages of Act III of 1872 be given up, even at some sacrifice, for the sake of uniformity in the Hindu law of marriage and inheritance. The procedure followed by Government in introducing the Inheritance Bill first may, therefore, be commended for public approval.

II

(BY K. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR, SATARA.)

It is reported that Sir Sultan Ahmed, Law Member to the Government of India, preferred to wait for the Marriage Bill, till the next session of the Assembly in deference to orthodox sentiment. Probably he was afraid of the opposition of the general orthodox opinion in the country which would quite certainly oppose any reform whatsoever in the existing archaic laws of the country.

Even if you try to push the Hindu Widow Remarriage Act passed eighty years ago now, you would get the same opposition now as you would have got in those days.

It must be noted that the idea put forward by people to the effect that legislation must not be undertaken in regard to the personal law of the Hindus without the unanimous support of all, is surely an extravagant claim. If accepted, it would be tantamount to prohibition of legislation in any shape; for there is no system of personal law which satisfies the opinions and sentiments of all people living under that system. With regard to measures of legislation affecting a whole class of people, the only correct and feasible test is furnished by the principle of aiming at the greatest good of the largest portion of the community without sacrificing the legitimate interest of any. Where, therefore, an important measure of reform, like the present ones before the Legislative Assembly, is dictated by the true well-being of the people as a whole and is supported by a mass of enlightened public opinion, the fact that there may be a certain amount of dissatisfaction amongst the more conservative

elements should not prove an insurmountable obstacle. Past experience shows that such feelings of dissatisfaction are always evanescent; they give place to acquiescence and after some experience even to a cheerful acceptance of the new situation.

THE LATE MR. O. KANDASWAMI CHETTI.

Mr. V. Chakkarai Chetti who was related to the late Mr. Kandaswami Chetti on the Hindu side and who was a student of Kandaswami in the Madras Christian College, writes in the course of an appreciation in the *Guardian of Madras*:

About the year 1914 or 1915,—I cannot remember the exact year (which I can verify later on) he expounded at a Missionary meeting his favourite thesis *viz.*, that baptism should not be insisted on for a Hindu who is a believer in Jesus Christ and who is prepared to confess Him as Lord; this was no doubt the teaching that Dr. Miller was famous for and that brought him into conflict with the phalanx of Christian orthodoxy of his days. As this paper of his appeared in the *Christian College Magazine*, I wrote a reply, stating my belief in baptism as a religious necessity—but the Editor declined to give it publicity, I think even now very foolishly. It would not have done any harm either to Mr. O. K. Chetty or the Magazine. Then some of us converts, including Mr. P. Chenchiah, brought out a blue cover pamphlet, called *Baptism—A Sign of Loyalty to Christ* which found a very wide circle of readers and was very popular and is still quoted, though two of us do not maintain that position in entirety now.

He was a very sincere *baktha*, knew the Scriptures very well, and his voice would tremble with emotion whenever he closed his speeches with a peroration on Jesus. He joined in the worship of the Lord whenever occasion arose, but he practically stood outside the Christian Churches which had no attractions for him—for it was foreign and had no roots in the Indian soil or soul, humanly speaking. He believed that the leaven of Christ should spread within the Hindu community and non-communal migration was needed. I will not pause here to argue this question.

When I saw him last he was in a hazy mood and said, 'Chakkarai, I am dying.' I still hoped he would survive the ordeal and that he would die in full consciousness of the presence and call of the Lord whom he sincerely loved and followed. But it was not to be and may the Lord receive him, as he believed He would.

NATIONALIST CHRISTIANS' MANIFESTO.

Mr. A. L. Rallia Ram, of the All-India Azad Christian Bloc, writes:—

Twenty-three representative leaders of Indian Christians from Bombay, Madras, Delhi, Andhra, U. P., C. P. and Punjab passed the following resolution at a meeting in Delhi:—

"In view of the fact that a large section of the Christians in various provinces do not see eye to eye with the present political policy of the All-India Christian Association, the 23 delegates to the 25th session of the All-India Conference of Indian Christians feel the urgency of consolidating a compact group of national Christians in order to bring about a closer contact between the national Christians of various provinces and to assert a definite and uniform national policy in the All India Conference of Indian Christians and to voice the sentiments of national Christians."

Among those who joined the meeting were Dr. Ramohandra Rao, the retiring president of the A. I. Christian Conference, Dr. Hivale and Mr. and Mrs. Alva from Bombay, Mr. Dharam Das and Mr. M. S. I.

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VAIKUNTH I. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

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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.

Mediatizing Small States:—In his broadcast on post-war reconstruction, the British Prime Minister suggested in general terms the federation of the "smaller States" of Europe. He did not say what the test would be of the "smallness" of a State, to bring it into his scheme. He did not say whether Holland and Belgium would be regarded as small States. He did not say whether Portugal would rank as a big State. Somewhat on those lines the Crown Representative in India, announced last week that he had approved of a scheme for attaching small States to bigger States in their neighbourhood which have similar geographical, economic and political affinities. The omission of religious belief in the category is no doubt deliberate. Though the word "mediatization" is studiously avoided, the scheme is in effect one for mediatizing the small States. The present rulers will have the dignities of their position so far as they are compatible with the administrative needs of the territories. This is in essence the same idea as that underlying the attachment of Berar to the Central Provinces. The Nizam's flag is flown over official buildings on His Exalted Highness' birthday; the Heir Apparent is given the title of Prince of Berar and an Agent resides at Nagpur to represent the Nizam's interests. There also the word "mediatization" is not used, the one preferred being "Perpetual Lease." The first thing which strikes one in the present scheme, is that the small States are to be attached not to British Indian provinces which have geographical, economic and political affinities with the States concerned but with other Indian States. If the people of the small States were consulted, they will be almost unanimously in favour of attachment to British India with which they have the same or greater affinities than to Indian States. So far as the chiefs are concerned, since they are to lose their sovereignty, they too, we believe, will be more in favour of being attached to British India where they will have a wider field of activity than in the biggest and most advanced State in the country. The Crown Representative's plan which at present applies only to the States of Gujarat, is intelligible only on the supposition that it is intended to pave the way to a bigger scheme of handing over the provinces to half-a-dozen States as the easiest means of escape from Pakistan on one side and Parliamentary Government by British Indians on the other, and

also of satisfying American and Chinese opinion that India has been given Swaraj according to Indian traditions. Travancore, under such an arrangement, may be handed over Kerala and the Tamil Nadu; Mysore, the Kanarese districts of Madras and Bombay; Kolhapur, the Mahratta districts and Berar; Baroda, Gujarat and Sind; the Nizam, the Andhra districts; Gwalior, the Agra Province; Patiala, the Punjab; and so on. Bengal may like to revive the Murshidabad dynasty. Bihar may become an appendage of Cooch Bihar. Over this conglomerate of States, Britain would exercise a paramountcy more powerful than she does now.

Bombay's Protest:—The Sheriff's Meeting held on Tuesday to record the protest of the citizens of Bombay was in every respect a most remarkable one. The resolutions adopted represent but feebly the strong feeling inspiring every one of the speeches. The speakers themselves were all men who have been conspicuous in the last twenty years for their services to the cause of the Empire. They have occupied the highest positions in the State as well as the public life of the country. The Chairman, Sir Chimantl Setalvad, is almost the only surviving member of the band of admirers of British rule who founded the Congress and guided it during the period to which Mr. Amery wished that body to return. The Right Hon. M. R. Jayakar retired from the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council a year ago. Sir H. P. Modi is one of the three Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council who resigned over the non-release of Gandhiji when he went on his last fast. Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas has been Chairman of the Council of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association for several years and in that capacity has often helped Government with his advice. Sir B. Rama Rao was High Commissioner in South Africa and is personally acquainted with the conditions of Indian life in South Africa. Sir K. P. Masani is the Leader of the Bombay Provincial National Front. He deplored the action of the Union Government as worse than that of any fifth columnist. If the Union Government cares in the least for Indian sentiment, it will not fail to be impressed by the weight and volume of criticism in this country. Government and the people, notwithstanding their present acute differences on political and economic issues, are absolutely united in their protest against the anti-Indian Bill now being forced through the Union Parliament. So far from showing the least sign of conciliation, the Government spokesmen are becoming increasingly truculent in their claims in their speeches on the measure. The British Government has so far made no sign. The Government of India has assured the Indian public that His Majesty's Government is being kept in touch with Indian opinion. It has been suggested that the Indian High Commissioner in Cape Town should be recalled, as if the Union Government attaches any

importance to his presence at its capital. The only possible way of stopping the Union Government in its mad career, is for the Allied Nations, the United States, Russia and China, to denounce South Africa as acting prejudicially to their common cause.

Russo-Polish Amenities :—Mr. R. A. Butler, now President of the Board of Education, when he was Under-Secretary in the Foreign Office, declared that Europe was the part of the world where national jealousies and rivalries were most deep-rooted. Under the Nazi pall, they are all kept repressed and even a semblance of unity among them is produced by the shadow Governments now functioning from Britain and Canada. It does not seem likely, however, that this appearance will last even until the end of the war. The controversy between the Soviet and Polish (Refugee) Governments is growing increasingly bitter in tone and substance. The dispute over the post-war boundaries between the two countries has not been settled and a new and far more vicious controversy has arisen over the disappearance of some thousands of Polish prisoners of war, which the Polish Government has appealed to the Red Cross Agency to investigate, suggesting that they were massacred. Not a very nice charge to make against one of the four important Allied Nations. The Soviet Government indignantly repudiates the allegation as prompted by Nazi machinations. The Soviet is inclined to think that the Nazis have done the nefarious deed in order to breed dissension between Poland and Russia. The Pope has added to the confusion by issuing an appeal to Russian Catholics. We wonder if there are many of them.

Viceroy's Executive Council :—Newspaper correspondents from New Delhi have been every other day indulging in speculations as to the names of persons who are likely to be nominated in place of those who have resigned, the allotment of portfolios among them and existing Members, and the date of the announcement. Last week the public was led to expect that the information will not be withheld later than April 15. This has not proved a correct anticipation. The Viceroy is still keeping his own counsel and it is now stated that for a fortnight no announcement need be expected. We are not sorry for the postponement as it allows a comment which is of the utmost urgency in the situation which has arisen owing to the extraordinary action of the South African Union Government and that is likely to arise in the discussions about the post-war settlement. The portfolio of Indians Overseas which was specially created at the earnest insistence of Indian public opinion, has already become one of the most important and will become still more so in the coming years. *The Reformer* has no predilection for personal comment but it is necessary in the public interests to urge the vital importance of entrusting the portfolio to one who understands the question in all its historic ramifications and is above the temptation to prove himself to be a cautious and conciliatory statesman who is anxious, above all, not to embarrass the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. Recent holders of the portfolio have made this warning necessary.

Debtor and Creditor :—Much is made of the fact, in and out of British official circles, that India from being a debtor country has suddenly become a creditor country. There is no particular satisfaction in being one or the other unless the mutual relations between debtor and creditor are as they are normally understood. But in this case, India, whether called debtor or creditor, has her

finances controlled by the British Government. Her sterling securities cannot be used in any way or for any purpose except at the instance and with the sanction of the British Government. The position of India was somewhat similar at the end of the last war and no material change took place in the financial relations between the two countries. Britain, whether owner or permanent trustee, manages India's financial and industrial affairs much as she likes. There is no one to call her to account. The talk about her having become a creditor, means nothing.

Defence of India Ordinances :—In one day two cases relating to the emergency legislation powers of the Governor-General have been decided against the Executive. In one, the Federal Court declared Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules, under which some thousands of persons, including Mahatma Gandhi, are held in detention, to be invalid. In the other the Calcutta High Court pronounced against the legality of the Ordinance for setting up special tribunals to try certain classes of cases. Within the limits of time and space available before this issue of *The Reformer* goes to press, it is not possible to deal adequately with the two judgments. But we would deprecate applying epithets such as "sensational" to what are purely judicial pronouncements based on strictly legal arguments. The Federal judgment itself indicates at the outset that the inconvenience and embarrassment which may be caused to the Executive Government will be temporary. There is no limit to the rule-making powers of the Government under the Defence of India Act and already there is talk that the Rule in question can be amended and made retrospective so as to obviate the consequences of the Federal Court ruling. It would, no doubt, be unusual to make a rule affecting the personal liberty of the subject retrospective, but as Sir Maurice Gwyer observes in his judgment unheard-of powers have been assumed in every country to cope with the situation created by the war. As for Special Tribunals, they are opposed to constitutional principle, but here also the war emergency will permit things intolerable at other times. The Federal Court has not yet established itself as the final authority. How far its rulings are to be followed or may be ignored is still much at the discretion of the Executive. Its distinct pronouncement on the powers of the Provincial legislature to legislate on Prohibition, was ignored by the Bombay Government, although there was a specific criticism of the judgment of the Bombay High Court in the Federal Court judgment.

Bombay Suggestion on the Succession Bill :—At a representative meeting of the women of Bombay, the Right Hon. M. R. Jayakar explained in clear terms the provisions of the Hindu Intestate Succession Bill now before a Joint Select Committee of the Houses of the India Legislature. Although there is a Marriage Bill left over for consideration at a future session of the Legislature the present Bill does not altogether leave the Hindu Marriage law unaffected. It permits, for instance, Hindu girls to marry outside their community, the offspring of such marriages will have full rights of inheritance. Mr. Jayakar pointed out that, notwithstanding its many progressive features, the Bill fell short of some particulars of the law relating to the rights of Hindu women as settled in the Bombay Province and the meeting passed a resolution calling upon the Select Committee to amend the Bill so as to retain these rights and extend them to all provinces.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, April 24, 1943.

BRITAIN MUST CHOOSE.

We publish on another page the resolution passed at a meeting of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association on Friday April 16. The Association, it may be recalled, was started twenty-one years ago to watch over the interests of Indians who had migrated either temporarily or permanently to different parts of the British Empire. It has also interested itself in securing fair treatment for Indians in foreign countries. The main principle on which the Association has acted may be stated thus: When Indians in other parts of the British Empire are accorded equal citizen rights with all sections of the population, India will have no occasion to interfere in their affairs. Where this is not the case, where Indians do not enjoy full rights of citizenship, India cannot divest herself of her responsibility to see that they receive civilised treatment. Cecil Rhodes' maxim, "Equal rights for all civilised men," embodied a just principle, provided, of course, civilisation is understood in its true sense. The test of civilisation is not what a man eats or drinks or how he is clothed. It is the extent to which in his relations with his fellowmen he displays the qualities of goodwill, kindness and charity. A man who tramples on the interests of people weaker than himself, is a barbarian although he may be clothed in purple and fine linen. When the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association was started there was no serious thought, in any quarter, of India seeking her destiny outside the British Commonwealth. The goal was still the attainment of equal status within the Commonwealth with other component parts. The ideal of a Union of different races and religions co-operating in spreading ordered freedom throughout the world inspired the foremost Indian thinkers. It was this ideal which led Indian leaders repeatedly to accept compromises in the hope of conciliating the goodwill of Dominions which were not treating Indians fairly. In order to allay the fears professed by the South African Whites of being swamped by Indian immigrants India agreed practically to prohibit emigration to South Africa. India, with the same object, in view, agreed to a scheme of assisted repatriation of Indians domiciled in that country if they were unable to adopt Western standards of life. Instead, however, of these and other concessions inducing the Union Government to appreciate the good citizenship of its Indian population, they have only encouraged it to harden its policy towards them in deference to the least estimable elements of the White South Africans. The Imperial Indian Citizenship Association is thus justified in arriving at the conclusion that the policy of compromise and conciliation has failed and that the Union Government has flagrantly violated its solemn pledges to promote the well-being of the Indians as an integral element of its population.

The resolution goes beyond the immediate occasion for its passing. It declares that henceforth and with reference not only to South Africa but to every part of the world, whether in or without the British Empire, Indians should insist on having absolutely equal rights with other nationals. The rapid course of world events has made the retention of the old idea of racial and national superiority and inferiority, impossible and ridiculous. Field Marshal Smuts is not a hand-to-mouth politician. He is a scholar and a thinker and he confessed in the Union Parliament that the legislation he was

proposing went against his grain. Dr. Hoffmeyer, Finance Member, openly washed his hands of responsibility for the measure. He stated that he had tendered his resignation but had agreed to remain in office in consideration of the Prime Minister's request. A point to be noted is that even Dr. Hoffmeyer accepts the view that Indian penetration into areas predominantly occupied by White persons, would be undesirable and may be prohibited by statute. He supported the part of the Bill relating to Natal as justified by the facts established before the Broome Commission but objected to its continuance in Transvaal as opposed to the trend of evidence recorded by the Commission as regards Indian infiltration in that province. That White men, both in Transvaal and in Natal, are not averse to selling or letting their properties to Indians, shows that the propertied classes do not regard that the interests of their community are in anyway endangered by Indians acquiring or occupying them. In any case the Indian public cannot any longer accede to the proposition that Indians in South Africa are offending any moral rule by renting, purchasing or buying a house in a quarter inhabited by White people. We have nearly got rid of these antiquated notions in this country and we are not going to submit to them in any other part of the world.

The issue raised by the South African Legislation is no new one. It is the continuation of the policy pursued by the self-governing British Dominions of maintaining themselves as White Men's preserves. Australia, Canada, New Zealand having practically exterminated the native population, have put up statutory barriers against Asiatic immigration. South Africa would have done the same but for the fact that its native population is several times its White population and cannot be eliminated so easily as the native population of the other Dominion. The antagonism between the British and Boer populations has its own special difficulties. The British Government and people are under solemn obligations, moral and political, to protect the rights and interests of the coloured population. The vast majority of the citizens of the British Empire are coloured people. We are sure that the British Government would not have left the Government of India to deal single-handed with the South African Government but for the fear, exploited by anti-Indian elements in South Africa, that its intervention might lead to South Africa declaring its neutrality in the war and perhaps concluding a separate peace with the Axis Powers whose ideology it so conspicuously shares. Not only the other Dominions but also the colonials of East Africa, are likely to support South Africa's anti-Indian policy. The United States has its own Negro problem and has besides banned the immigration of Asiatics like the Dominions. China is as much involved as India in the colour prejudice and she will feel the stigma of the South African measure as much as India. Russia's attitude is likely to be against the Dominion policy but Russia like China is just now in the throes of her own invasion. Britain has to choose in these circumstances between standing by her principle of racial equality—though only partially worked out in India—and the race exclusiveness of the Dominions. It is significant in this connection that the British community in Bombay has declined to co-operate with other citizens in protest against the South African anti-Asiatic measure. Englishmen openly declare that they do not care for logic. But even the least logically minded of them must admit that to expect India to run in the same harness as the Dominions so deeply prejudiced against her people, is to expect too much. Britain must choose.

MADAME CHIANG AND GANDHIJI

Mr. Amery and his coadjutors in India would have winced when they read Madame Chiang Kai-Shek's categorical statement to the American Press that she disbelieved the allegation that Gandhiji was pro-Japanese. This discomfiture was self-invited. The Generalissimo and Madame Chiang met Gandhiji in Calcutta before they returned to China from their Indian trip, and had a long talk with him. On returning to Chungking, the Generalissimo issued a statement urging the grant of freedom to India to develop herself politically and culturally on her own lines. With this fact staring in their face, they nevertheless insinuated that Gandhiji's sympathies were pro-Japanese. American opinion was sought to be persuaded likewise. Madame Chiang cannot be less mindful of her country's interests than Mr. Amery or Lord Linlithgow, and when she says that she disbelieves the allegation of Gandhiji's pro-Japanese attitude, the world at large will accept her statement in preference to Mr. Amery's or Sir Reginald Maxwell's. Madame Chiang Kai-Shek's opinion that Gandhiji is obsessed by the Indian problem and cannot take a world view, is ideologically and factually incorrect. The world after all comes home to us through our own country and nation. Madame Chiang herself could not have become interested in the world's future if the future of her own country was not bound up with it. It is true that Gandhiji does not profess to be more interested in the establishment of a republican form of Government in Spain than in the freedom of India with a view to the amelioration of the abject poverty of the Indian people but is that very different from Madame Chiang's own plea that help should be first sent to China in men and munitions in order to avert the collapse of the gallant opposition of the Chinese to Japanese aggression? Madame Chiang Kai-Shek's idea that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's release would bring India into the struggle wholeheartedly, is probably not shared by the Pandit himself. The Pandit, notwithstanding his differences with Gandhiji, threw in his lot with the latter not wholly out of a sentiment of loyalty, but because the Pandit's own influence in the Congress and the country has always depended on his adhesion to Gandhiji's leadership. Whatever the Pandit's religious views may be he is too much of an Indian not to realise that, just as the world view is superior to the national view, there is a cosmic view which transcends the world view. Gandhiji is closer to the latter and that is what gives him pre-eminence over the Pandit and other leaders.

"TWO HUNDRED YEARS OF CO-OPERATION."

Sir Norman Angell, the distinguished British publicist who startled the world almost a generation back by the revelation that wars were uneconomic even to the victors and must himself be surprised that this did not stop the most uneconomic war in history, is now in the United States of America justifying the ways of Britain to Americans. Along with other British speakers in America, Sir Norman stresses the importance of the offer of Dominion Status with the right to secede which has been made to India. Unfortunately, Reuter which deems it necessary to tell its readers by cable, that wild geese or ducks flew over Spain has not thought it important to send fuller reports of the meetings of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. It is very likely that someone in the audience must have asked why the Indian parties are not accepting so magnanimous an offer. Sir Norman seemed to derive a smug comfort from the 200 years of Indo-British association. "We may hope,"

he said, according to the Philadelphia correspondent of the *Hindustan Times*, "that there will be enough wisdom in London and Delhi to utilise the habits of co-operation which 200 years of association between Britain and India may have produced, to make use of that experience in the post-war reconstruction." The 200 years of association have produced, first, the Non-co-operation Movement from the public and now the non-co-operation of Lord Linlithgow. After the last Viceroyal exchange with the Indian delegation of non-party leaders, only an optimist like Sir Norman Angell can count on the 200 years of association between Britain and India.

DEMOCRACY AND INDIA.

It is fashionable among officials to assert that democracy had failed in India, though it is contrary to the repeated asseverations of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State that the Indian constitution is the outcome of the combined wisdom of British and Indian statesmanship, adopted by British democracy. But what has failed in India is not democracy but bureaucracy painted to look like democracy. We are not fanatical admirers of democracy as it is understood and practised. But no other system has so far been conceived which holds prospects of better success than democracy. It is argued that democracy is not indigenous to the country. Is the present Government indigenous? Is the Chinese Republic indigenous? Or Soviet Russia? Is it the idea that we must restore the peacock throne in Delhi? Was that an indigenous growth? Democracy has not failed in India. It has not been tried. Understood in its highest sense and not in the crude sense of majority rule, democracy cannot fail, because it is justice between man and man, irrespective of the faith he professes. Those who are opposed to democracy in the true sense of the word, are opposed to justice and those who are opposed to justice, are doomed to disaster.

ACCESS TO RAW MATERIALS.

The Reformer was the first journal in India to call attention to the dangers of the Atlantic Charter to the raw material producing countries of the clause providing for equal access to raw materials in the Atlantic Charter. Underlying the whole scheme of the Charter is the idea that the Asiatic countries, including India, shall be relegated to the function of producing raw materials and the European and American capitalistic countries should have equal access to them by paying in such currency as the latter may agree upon. Mr. Gaganvihari L. Mehta, President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, has elaborated this point in a comprehensive statement contributed to the *Indian Finance Year Book*, 1942. Mr. Mehta sees in the provision of equal access an implication to the effect that the countries which are lacking in raw materials would have the right to determine how much and what raw materials should be grown in the Asiatic and African countries. This was also pointed out in *The Reformer*. He, therefore, insists that the producing country should have the exclusive right of decision on these questions according to her own requirements. We would add that it should also have the right to enter into preferential arrangements with other countries. In other words, the right of equal access should not deprive a country of its inherent right to grow what she wants to the extent which she wants, Mr. Mehta writes :

Equal access to raw materials, as propounded by Anglo-American leaders, will be detrimental to Indian interests if it deprives her (as it must inevitably do) of

the right to utilise and consume raw materials which she produces.

The clamour of Indian publicists, looking alone to the illusory and vague political aspects of the Atlantic Charter to have it applied to India, was based on a very superficial understanding of its specious promises.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN THE MELTING-POT.

(BY KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI, ASKA.)

The importance and urgency of incorporating the principle of strict monogamy in the judge-made polygamous Hindu law of to-day cannot be overrated. The undoubted fact that the generality of Hindu marriages are monogamous in practice, and that Hindu sentiment throughout the country is not only favourable but as reverential today as in ancient times towards the monogamous state, should serve to hasten the necessary legislation rather than retard it. To praise woman for her self-denying devotion and subservient loyalty to man and to exalt her in song and fable as a Pativrata before whose purity, spiritual power and moral grandeur even angels quail and God himself bows down in admiration, is no doubt a sublime stroke of domestic policy and a noble sentiment which has its honoured counterpart in Indian politics. But it would be more kind and just from a mundane point of view to rescind without delay the demeaning social law which reduces her position in the family to worse than that of a tenant-at-will.

Our indictment is primarily against the law. The mere existence of a legal possibility of supersession without notice and at the husband's sweet-will and pleasure, even when not actually exercised, lowers the matrimonial status and human dignity of the Hindu woman, at least as much as, if not more, than the invidious sex disqualifications imposed upon her as daughter, wife and mother by the Hindu law of inheritance. The Rau Committee's Bills on these two key points of family law have been brought in none too soon, and it is to be fervently hoped that they will both be placed on the statute book at no distant date.

For the present, however, the Marriage Bill has been kept in the background. Whatever may be the exact reasons which induced the Honourable Law Member of the Government of India to put forward the Intestate Succession Bill first before the Indian Legislature, and, however impatient one may naturally feel at the postponement of the Marriage Bill till a later session, there is no gainsaying the fact that this procedure has saved the interested public from a cruel dilemma in at least one particular, as pointed out in the last issue of *The Reformer*.

It was perhaps logically impossible for the Rao Committee to let alone the Special Marriage Act (III of 1872) for the present. But in attempting to delete some parts of it so as to unify and consolidate the whole law of marriage relating to Hindus in a single new legislation, they have inadvertently created difficulties for other communities, besides making it impossible even for Hindus to consider their Marriage Bill without disposing of the Succession Bill first.

How their proposed amendment of Act III of 1872 embarrasses other communities may be visualised to begin with. It is well-known that by Section 2 of that Act persons professing the Buddhist, Sikh and Jain religions were linked together with persons professing the Hindu religion into one social group for purposes of civil marriage, and, by Section 24 of the same Act, succession to the property of any such person so married, as well as succession to the property of the issue of each marriage, was placed under the governance of the Indian Succession Act

which is more favourable to female heirs than the personal law ordinarily attaching to those communities. The new Marriage Bill aspires to take over all Hindus, whether they would marry with sacramental rites or contract a civil marriage, into the exclusive control of Hindu law in all its departments.

For this purpose, it gives by its own Sections 8 etc., to every Hindu who so desires, the freedom to contract a civil marriage with another Hindu or with a Buddhist or Sikh or Jain. It then asks, by Section 26 and schedule 4, that the word 'Hindu' be removed from the group of the four religionists mentioned in Section 2 of Act III of 1872 as eligible for intermarriage. But it does not stop there. In further pursuance of the same object, it actually overleaps it and asks for the repeal of the entire Section 24 which prescribes the Indian Succession Act for all the four religionists, instead of confirming its amendment to a removal of the Hindus along from the purview of that section.

This double-barrelled amendment produces two corresponding difficulties in respect of marriage and inheritance for the other three communities, Buddhists, Sikhs and Jains, who may want either to intermarry or contract civil marriage within their own fold, must of course continue as before to resort to Act III of 1872. But any one of them, male or female, would be free to marry a Hindu hereafter only under the civil marriage sections of the new Marriage Bill. This cannot be counted a hardship. But the enumeration of these three communities, especially the Sikhs and Jains, in this Bill as distinct and separate from Hindus marks them out as non-Hindus to whom no other branch of Hindu law can possibly apply. Buddhists may not mind their exclusion because they have their own Buddhist law separately in force. But by what law can the Sikhs and Jains have a sacramental marriage? The Marriage Bill is only for Hindus. The term 'Hindu' is nowhere defined in it. Sikhs and Jains as well as Buddhists are drawn into it, not as Hindus but as strangers, just to enable Hindus to marry them before a Registrar if they so choose, but not to enable them to marry among themselves with sacramental or civil rites. Sikh and Jain laws must function again independent of this Hindu Code. The Intestate Succession Bill defines the word 'Hindu' but makes no specific mention of Sikhs or Jains, let alone Buddhists, as included in it. There is an indication in the explanatory Note appended to it that the learned authors do not regard even the Jains as a class of Hindus. They club "Jaina women" with Christian, Muslim and Parsi women to contrast their rights with those enjoyed by "Hindu Women;" and argue that it is difficult to maintain that, of all women, Hindu women alone are incompetent to take a full estate. If they had thought that Jains were Hindus, they could have more forcibly based their argument in favour of granting full rights to Hindu women in general on the fact that a class of Hindu women are already enjoying them without being thought incompetent.

However that may be, the question is by what show of reason can the legislature be called upon to repeal, under colour of amending the marriage law of Hindus, the valued right which the Buddhists, Sikhs and Jains have acquired since 1923 to be governed by the Indian Succession Act by virtue of Section 24 of the Special Marriage Act. Their peculiar marriage laws, whatever they may be, are not under legislation now. The Hindu Marriage Bill excludes them from its sacramental side. They must perforce resort still to Act III of 1872 for civil marriage among themselves. They prefer the Indian Succession Act to their respective personal laws of inheritance which are on the whole less generous to female heirs.

Their present rights are independent of the New Government of India Act and of the finding of the Federal Court about agricultural lands, and, therefore, safe against the vagaries and laches of Provincial Governments and legislatures unlike the new Hindu Code Bills. By what right then and on what ground is the Central legislature to deprive non-Hindus like the Buddhists, Sikhs and Jains of these cherished and valuable rights under Section 24 of Act III of 1872, even supposing that Hindus have much to gain by the change, which is itself problematical? Why not let alone Act III of 1872 without any amendment and trust to the repellent features of its last five sections and the superior attraction if any of the New Code to wean all Hindus away from marrying under the Special Marriage Act hereafter?

It may be that the difficulties envisaged above which seem so formidable to the limited understanding of a lay mind, may vanish in the light of a clear exposition by the learned authors of the Hindu Code or others. It is earnestly hoped that such light will be forthcoming before long.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The Imperial Indian Citizenship Association has released the following to the Press:—

"The Council of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association places on record its conclusions, as the result of its experience in dealing with the Government of the South African Union, that repeated concessions on the part of India in respect of the measures adopted to reduce the position of Indians in that country into one of servility, with no prospect but that of ultimate elimination as an integral part of the South African body, politic, and the method of compromise with a view to appeasement, have disastrously failed.

"That the undertakings of the Union Government in consideration of such compromises to treat the South African Indian population as an integral part of the South African population and to help it to advance in economic, educational and political status, side by side, without discrimination, with the European population, have been flagrantly violated.

"That the recent legislation to extend the interim Transvaal Act restricting the purchase and occupation of landed property by Indians to Natal with provision for extension to other parts of the country, is the culmination of such violations, the more significant of the anti-Indian attitude of the Union Government, coming as it does at a time when South Africa and India are engaged in a common struggle, and when Indian troops and the Royal Indian Navy are contributing to the defence of the Union.

"That the British Government is evidently helpless or unwilling to intervene to protect Indian interests solemnly guaranteed to Indians when they were recruited as indentured labourers to Natal.

"That India henceforth should demand, and not be content with anything less than, complete freedom to take such steps as are likely to be effective to safeguard her honour and the interests of her people in South Africa and the other Dominions which impose insidious restrictions on their right to enter, acquire citizenship and pursue all lawful avocations on equal terms with all other British nationalities within and without the British Commonwealth.

"That this should be an essential condition in the discussions now proceeding, and which may hereafter take place on the question of India's political status.

"Meanwhile, the Council is emphatically of opinion that it is the duty of the British Government not

to leave the issue of the present legislation in the hands, solely, of the Government of India.

"The Council of the Association places on record its high appreciation of the strong protest which the Government of India has lodged against the unjustifiable legislation now promoted by the Union Government and trusts that it will not be content with protest but will use every means in its power to bring home to the Union Government the serious consequences particularly at a time, when India is passing through a period of severe political and economic stress, of the Union Government persisting in its present policy of ignoring its obligations to India as a member of the British Commonwealth and the impetus it will give to slogans such as 'Asia for Asiatics' calculated to intensify racial antagonism all over the world."

COLOUR BAR IN SOUTH AFRICAN COLLEGE.

The *Leader*, an Indian weekly journal published in Durban in its issue of January 9 tells the story of the action of the authorities of Natal University College which is of interest as showing that the colour bar is less prevalent among students than among their elders. There are, it appears, White as well coloured students including Indians in the College. Non-European students are not allowed to write their examinations in the same room as the Europeans. Last year there were only two candidates for a law examination, one an Indian and the other a European. The two had to answer their examination papers in different rooms although for ten months they had studied together under the same teachers in the same room. Another silly distinction is at the conferment of degrees. The White students have their names called in alphabetical order. The non-Whites are given their degrees after the Europeans in a separate group. The *Leader* says that the non-Europeans may not appear this year to receive their degrees in consequence of such invidious distinctions. The *Leader* adds:

Despite these apparently strained relations which exist between the college authorities and the non-European students the feeling between the two student groups—Europeans and non-Europeans—is about the best in the country. The non-Europeans are represented on the Student's Representative Council; two non-Europeans were elected to represent the N. U. C. at the last National Union of South African Students' Conference. There is full co-operation between the Europeans and non-Europeans.

FELLOWSHIP PROBLEMS.

Sir,—“S” last week is apparently a much harassed man who takes things far too seriously. The Fellowships are ridden throughout the country with such members. The strange quality in “S” is that he is outside the religious “inner circle” which hitherto has been in control of all such organisations, and at the same time sufficiently interested to try to assume control himself. At any rate, his spiritual pilgrimage has shot him clean out of it now. If “S” reports again after another five years, I am sure he will have to tell of the change over of his Fellowship on to a very different basis or, more likely, of its breaking up. Yet with a few simple changes the matter can be set right easily. The word “international” might happily be dropped out as it is no more than a signboard, and action might be taken to give the word “fellowship” more meaning. Membership must be kept to people who not only have one intellectual level—they may be all intellectuals or all half-wits, it is immaterial—but who can tolerate differences of opinion and understand one

another, Numbers, this means, must be ignored. In fact, there cannot be more than twenty, if so many. The one object should be to achieve conditions in which a member will speak as freely among the whole body of members as he would with an intimate friend; without straining after effect. Such an association will do much good in promoting the habit of honest thinking which will later influence public life in a healthy way.—

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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.

Rule 26:—The Government of India or the Governor-General has countered the decision of the Federal Court declaring Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules invalid, by promulgating another Ordinance—there are already some scores of them in force—making a few verbal alterations to meet the criticisms of the Court and validating the arrests made, numbering eight thousands, under the invalid rule retrospectively. So long as there is such an easy way of getting over illegalities, looseness in drafting laws is inevitable. The legal point is met by the new Ordinance. But the judgment of the Federal Court has thrown a lurid light on the lightheadedness with which the liberty of the subject is regarded by the men in authority. The general impression that the Defence of India Act practically gives unlimited power to the Governor-General to restrict or to abolish the rights of the people, is evidently shared by the officials in New Delhi and they do not stop to consider the terms of an Ordinance, whether it is confined to the needs of an occasion or far exceeds them. It is no uncommon thing in India for powers conferred for emergency purposes, to be used for purposes which have no emergency import. It is an unheard of thing in law-making that retrospective effect should be given to illegal detention of citizens. An Indemnity Act or Ordinance would be the proper way of protecting Executive officers who acted in good faith in an illegal manner. But this would not have justified detaining the thousands now detained without trial and, therefore, this unusual procedure. The Government of India's methods are now exposed to all the world, and that is in itself some gain.

The Political Kaleidoscope:—U. Saw the Burmese Premier was interned by the British Government while on his way back to India from Great Britain where he had gone to secure a promise of Dominion Status for Burma from the Prime Minister, because of alleged contacts with the Japanese. His colleague, Sir Paw Tun, quietly stepped into his shoes and, when Burma fell, he followed or preceded the Governor to India where he is still functioning as Prime Minister of Burma. Most of his colleagues preferred to remain with their people. When Mr. Allah Baksh was dismissed by the Governor of Sind, his next in command in the Cabinet formed a new Government and joined the Muslim League. The constitutional eccentricity of this procedure struck many observers but no explanation was vouchsafed until the other day Sir Ghulam Hussein unburdened himself to press representatives in Lahore on his

way to New Delhi to attend the session of the Muslim League. The report in the *Tribune* (April 23) runs: "Sir Ghulam Hussein was neither sorry nor surprised that his old chief had been dismissed by the Governor—he used the words 'actually kicked out'—for he thought that a self-respecting man who was not holding office for the mere love of it, would have, instead of being kicked out, tendered his resignation." As a matter of constitutional propriety, Mr. Allah Baksh's refusal to resign was the correct course. He was not the personal retainer of the Governor, he was responsible to the Legislature in which he had a majority, and it was quite in order that he should refuse to resign. The Governor's action in dismissing him exposed the make-believe of Provincial Autonomy. What happened to Mr. Allah Baksh may happen to Sir Ghulam Hussein himself. In Bengal, too, Mr. Fazlul Huq's compliance with the demand for his resignation in circumstances, if anything, more aggravating, was patently wrong. He should have left the Governor to take upon himself the responsibility of dismissing a Minister who had a majority in the Legislature, which had within a few days rejected two motions of no-confidence in him. The essence of constitutional government is that Ministers should have backbone and resist unconstitutional action on the part of the Head of the State. The Governor of Bengal has secured as his Prime Minister, Sir Nazimuddin, the Muslim League leader, who has secured four members of Sarat Bose's party to associate themselves with him as colleagues. Mr. Sarat Bose himself is in detention, probably under Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules, which the Federal Court has declared to be invalid. It would not be surprising if Mr. Sarat Bose is released and resumes his leadership at an early date.

Programme not Party:—Mr. T. C. Goswami, one of the Hindu members of Sir Nazimuddin's Cabinet in Bengal, explained that he agreed to join the Cabinet because he liked the programme formulated by the Premier and felt that by carrying it out he would be serving the province. It is a very sound principle that persons of all religions and political parties should co-operate on a common programme. If this is done, communal and party politics would be shorn of much of their acerbity. The programme, published by the Bengal Premier prior to his taking office, was just what any other Premier would have adopted in the circumstances of Bengal. There is nothing very original in it. Having regard to the fact that Sir Nazimuddin is the leader of the provincial Muslim League, however, it remains to be seen how far he would be permitted to give effect to it. Mr. Jinnah in his presidential address, while hailing with pleasure the disappearance of Mr. Fazlul Huq from office, made a guarded reference to the accession of Sir Nazimuddin to the Chief Ministership. He added: "So long as these Ministries remain within the orbit of the fundamental principles and policy of the League, they will certainly have our support, but I want to

make it clear once more that the time has come when we will not hesitate to withdraw our support from any Ministry," Sir Nazimuddin's programme might or might not have been submitted to Mr. Jinnah for approval. But it certainly contains one or two items which cut across the known predilections of the League Leader, and it remains to be seen how far they may be given effect to without forfeiting his support. In any case, we welcome every endeavour on the part of politicians to associate on a common platform irrespective of their religious or party affiliations. The rules of the constitutional game are of comparatively minor importance. The essential thing is that Indians should approach national problems as Indians not as Hindus and Mussulmans, Congressmen or Muslim Leaguers. Sir Nazimuddin will not be able to give effect to his published programme if he did not drop much of the Pakistan mentality.

League Ministries:—Both the Chairman of the Muslim League Reception Committee, Mr. Hussain Mullick, and the President, Mr. Jinnah, referred in their addresses to the setting up of Muslim League Ministries in the four provinces, Sind, Punjab, Bengal and Assam and the early prospect of another in the North West Frontier Province. Sir Chhotu Ram, one of the Punjab Ministers, has lost no time in protesting emphatically against classing the Punjab Cabinet as a Muslim League one. He refers to the repeated declarations of the late Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan that his cabinet was not a League Cabinet and to the repetition of them by his successor. The circumstances in which the Ghulam Hussain Cabinet was metamorphosed into a Muslim League Cabinet, not to mention the manner in which it was brought into being, are well known. The part of the Governor of Sind in making this possible is well known. In Bengal also the Nazimuddin Ministry would not have come into existence but for the unconstitutional dismissal of Mr. Fazlul Huq by the Governor. In all the four provinces the accession of Muslim Leaguers to office is due largely to the support of the Governors. The Government of India for its part can claim that but for the declaration of the Congress as an illegal organisation and the detention of its leaders as political prisoners, the Muslim League would not have had its way clear as it is. It is rank ingratitude for Mr. Jinnah and his friends to denounce Government and threaten it with dire consequences in the face of so much which has helped the Muslim Leaguers to place and power.

Conflicting Testimony:—A few days ago Sir Mahomed Zaffrullah Khan who was one of the Indian Delegates to the Pacific Relations Conference and had visited the United States, said at a Press Conference in New Delhi that there was very little in the American Press about the Muslim League while there was much about the Congress and this he attributed to lack of propaganda on the part of the League and the existence of a strong organisation to popularise the Congress movement. Mr. Khanna who was another Indian Delegate to the same Conference and who was in America at the same time, gives a completely different version. He says that the papers were full of the Muslim League and Pakistan and had very little of the other Indian movements. Both, of course, are competent observers. The difference is due probably to Sir Mahomed reading one class of newspapers and Mr. Khanna another.

Special Courts:—Students of political history are aware of the part Special Courts, outside the regular

judicial system, have played in the constant tendency of the Executive to establish itself as a power not subject to the jurisdiction of the judiciary. On the same day as the announcement of the Federal Court's judgment declaring Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules invalid, was published a decision of a Full Bench of the Calcutta High Court invalidating the creation of Special Magistrates and Special Judges to try certain classes of cases, on the ground that it infringed the powers of the High Court under Letters Patent and the Criminal Procedure Code. The Chief Justice described the situation created by the Ordinance in these terms:

Although the ordinary criminal courts at all material times had and still functioned and although the Criminal Procedure Code had not been repealed and although the substantive criminal law stood as it did before the Ordinance, there were now two sets of courts, ordinary criminal courts and the special criminal courts, working side by side and no man knew which court he might be tried in. That was left to the District Magistrate nominally to decide; in fact it might be decided by the police.

The Chief Justice pointed out that the special Courts were placed outside the jurisdiction of the High Court by the Ordinance. "Circulars and directions had been forwarded by Government to District Magistrates—some marked "confidential" and some "secret"—with instructions as to how the Special Courts were to be worked. This Court," the Chief Justice remarked, "had not received copies of these instructions until many months afterwards, sometimes six months or more." The Federal Court judgment received greater public attention but the issue in the Calcutta case is far more important. The Rule of the Defence of India Act did not profess to be anything but an act of the Executive. The Special Courts, however, were judicial in form but were outside the control of the High Court, the highest judicial authority in the province. The question is to be taken to the Federal Court on appeal by Government. This will take time and it will be interesting to know whether the Special Courts will continue functioning or will be suspended pending the decision of the Federal Court.

The Government of India and South Africa:—The representation of the Government of India on the anti-Indian policy of the South African Government is couched in vigorous language. It is noteworthy that Lord Linlithgow has been able to take a strong line, on the one occasion when he is relieved of the embarrassing interference of Mr. Amery and the British Cabinet, on the one hand, and the over-scrupulous restraint and timidity of an Indian Overseas Member on the other. Yet it would have been well had the Government of India taken the opportunity to break with the traditional Indian attitude, in deference to the altered circumstances of the day, in one important matter. That attitude is that the Union Government could achieve the same ends without resort to legislation, and it is upheld in the Indian Government's representation. What we are concerned with is not so much methods as results. And it should have been made clear that, so far as the war effort of the United Nations are concerned, South Africa's treatment of its Indian citizens is at least as mischievous as Poland's demand for a Red Cross investigation into German allegations against Russia. We are surprised to read, on the other hand, an objection to retaliation from India on the ground that it will slow down the war effort. This is certainly twisting facts for a specific purpose.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, May 1, 1943.

MR. JINNAH'S ADDRESS.

The first point on which we sought elucidation in the address which Mr. Jinnah delivered at the Delhi meeting on April 14, was the attitude of the permanent President of the Muslim League to the Central Government in the constitution. If there was agreement about the existence of a Central Government, the door will be open for a large measure of compromise to meet the reasonable and even sentimental claims of the Muslim League, for sentiment plays a more important part in human affairs than reason. Mr. Jinnah's position, however, remains unchanged. It has even hardened in reaction to the suggestions made by more than one Muslim publicist for modification of the intransigent attitude which Mr. Jinnah has adopted to the very idea of a Central Government. Mr. Jinnah in his presidential address was emphatic. He declared :

When a Central Federal Government is established, it will tighten and tighten until the units are pulverised in the matter of real power and are reduced to the same status as Indian States at present. We are opposed to any such scheme. It is bound in the long run to lead to certain emasculation of the entire Muslim Nation, socially, educationally, culturally, economically and politically, and to the establishment of a Hindu majority Raj in this sub-continent. Therefore dismiss from your minds any idea of this kind that might lure you.

Mr. Jinnah's fears of a Federal Central Government, of course, have greater force with reference to a Unitary Central Government. Mr. Jinnah may be reminded that the Moghul Empire flourished when it was a strong centralised State and crumbled to pieces when the Centre declined and the provinces successfully resisted its authority. The development of communications due to the progress of scientific discoveries, have rendered centralisation not only necessary and possible but inevitable in a country like India. However cunningly the constitution may be devised so as to make the Centre subservient to the component units, it will all fail at the first touch of emergency, famine, plague or war. From Mr. Jinnah's own point of view a strong central Government will afford greater protection to Muslim minorities in the greater part of the country, which will have to get on with Hindu majorities, which he dreads so much for the Muslims of north-western and north-eastern India. Mr. Jinnah in the opening passages vaguely indicated Pakistan as comprising the parts of north-western and north-eastern India, where Muslims were a majority of the population. These parts happen also to be the homeland of Hindus from time immemorial. Here the great Hindu classics were composed. Here rose great philosophers and saints, jurists and reformers who have left their stamp on Hindu culture. No one with a spark of historical feeling, Mahomedan, Hindu, Christian or Englishman, can contemplate without a shudder the cold-blooded demand for the division of India. If any one does, it is assuredly with the mental reservation that when the time comes for implementing the idea, it will be possible somehow to wriggle out of it.

A nation consists not only of persons living at a given period but also of their ancestors and their posterity. Even if Gandhiji, as Mr. Jinnah demands, should as the result of nine months detention change his mind and agree to Pakistan; even if, as Mr. Jinnah asserted, the British Government was bound to yield his claim, when supported by Gandhiji; Pakistan

will not survive its birth, it will be still-born because mighty historical forces are irrevocably set against it. Mr. Jinnah disclaimed parentage of the word "Pakistan." He said that it had been forced on them by Hindus. This confession that, even the Muslim League slogan is a present from the Hindus, is itself eloquent in its significance. Mr. Jinnah told the League that Dadabhai Naoroji and Gokhale inspired Muslims with the hope of a fair and reasonable adjustment between the Hindus and Muslims. For a long time, during in fact the period of his political adolescence, Mr. Jinnah was associated with Sir Pherozeshah Mehta who regarded him as his "legal heir" much as Gandhiji regards Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Mr. Jinnah has evidently dropped Sir Pherozeshah because it would be ridiculous, in his Pakistan phase, for him to claim the man who proclaimed that he was an Indian first and last, as his guru. Neither were Dadabhai Naoroji nor Gokhale any more inclined to Mr. Jinnah's theory of two nations. Neither Dadabhai Naoroji nor Gokhale wanted, as Mr. Jinnah wants today, to drive the British out of India with the cooperation of Gandhiji in destroying its ancient unity. The two men wrought all their lives to enable India to realise her destiny within the orbit of the British Commonwealth. Curiously, Gandhiji also claims to have sat at the feet of the same two masters. Is it possible that the same great springs should send forth two such diverse streams as those represented by Mr. Jinnah and Gandhiji? The personal antipathy of Mr. Jinnah to Gandhiji, the outcome of the profound contrast between the two men's life philosophies, is at the root of the League Congress feud.

The Reformer is not interested in the differences past and present, between the Muslim League and the National Congress. Nor does it accept the ideology of the Hindu Mahasabha which is more or less the same as that of the Muslim League in an inverted form. *The Reformer* is concerned with the country as a whole and the Indian people, including all castes and communities as a single whole.

The identification of nationality with one particular religion is totally incompatible with religious toleration, however much it may be safeguarded by statute. It makes political dissent synonymous with religious heresy and leads directly to persecution. Mr. Jinnah tells the British Government that the Muslim League is not prepared to cooperate for a bakshish. At the same time, he is indignant that the abstention of the Leaguers from the recent disturbances has not been rewarded. This is not the only inconsistency in the address. In one place Mr. Jinnah speaks of internecine strife between Hindus and Muslims implying that they are a single nation. In another, he speaks of the communities as being divided by insuperable differences.

Mr. Jinnah complained that Government is not thinking of inviting any other party to assume power and that, even after declaring Congress illegal and imprisoning the Congress leaders, it was still intent on accepting only Congress cooperation. But the Muslim League leaders are scarcely more consistent. Much of the addresses of both the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the President was devoted to criticism and quotations from Congress pronouncements. It is obvious that the Congress is very much on the brains of the League leaders, so much so that, if the Congress were to disappear, the League will find its occupation gone. The greatest inconsistency, however, was that, after having emphasised Pakistan as the faith of the League, the President in his concluding speech declared, that he had not defined what Pakistan is and that

all guesses at its identity were unauthorised and incorrect. He repudiated particularly maps of future Pakistan which had been made by overzealous partisans, and one of which was auctioned at the League session and fetched a fancy price. The whole presidential address betrays lack of cohesion, which makes it impossible to view it as a whole. This is the consequence of making a three hour speech without a central idea. The main resolution passed by the League warned Government that any attempt to impose a Federation, whether of the type embodied in the Act of 1935 or any other, would lead to bloodshed and civil war. People who intend civil war, do not usually talk of it.

Mr. Phillips' Statement :—Mr. William Phillips, Personal Representative of President Roosevelt in India, on the eve of his departure to report to the President, issued a statement in which he acknowledged the cordiality of treatment which he received at the hands of the Indian Press with a few exceptions. *The Reformer* must be placed among the exceptions, not because it had anything but goodwill towards the President's Representative but because it thought and still thinks his method of ascertaining Indian opinion by individual interviews unlikely to give him an accurate view of conditions in this country. The utmost he can convey to the President is that there are as many different views among those whom he interviewed as the number interviewed. If he were to conduct such an enquiry in the United States or any other country, the result would be the same. Mr. Phillips' previous record in the countries where he held ambassadorial positions were relevant as a guide to the mental equipment he brought to bear on his enquiries. He announced in his statement that he had sought permission to interview Gandhiji in his place of detention and that the Government of India did not see its way to comply with his request. An American journal observes that Mr. Phillips could not have omitted to make an attempt to get at the mind of Gandhiji. At the same time it thinks that the Government of India was right in refusing his request because the visit of the President's Representative to the Congress leader might have created in India the impression that the Government of the United States was contemplating intervention. But the deputation of a personal representative was itself a sign that the United States Government wanted to have first-hand knowledge of conditions in this country not for purposes of record but with a view to judge of their bearing on the efforts of the United States and other nations to win the war. The fact that the Personal Representative of President Roosevelt asked permission to see Gandhiji is further confirmation of the impression created by his deputation to this country, though it is difficult to believe that had Mr. Phillips, with the authority of the President insisted on meeting Gandhiji the Government of India would have felt itself free to refuse his request. In such matters the Government of India merely carries out the instructions of the British Government and the British Government would have satisfied itself that a refusal of permission would not embarrass the President in making up his mind as to what he should do or refrain from doing about India. Mr. Phillips' report will but confirm the American Government in the attitude, it seems to have already decided on, of non-intervention on the familiar ground that the Indian problem is highly complex. As a matter of fact, it is no more complex than the problem of the United States, except that, while in the States, the Government and the people are one, in India

they belong to two different nations.

Polish-Russian Tension:—On Tuesday the newspapers published a report that Russia and Poland had broken off diplomatic relations. It was later modified to suspension of relations; then on Thursday the public was told that the British Government was pressing the Polish Free Government in London to withdraw its insistence on an inquiry by the Red Cross into German atrocity allegations. The breach with Russia will be healed but it must give rise to serious questioning about the position of the free governments functioning from London, or elsewhere outside their own countries. The de Gaulle-Darlan-Giraud tangle shows signs of unravelling. But the United States has once again added to the confusion by what is tantamount to a recognition of Otto of Austria. And the Polish flare-up is one which goes even higher. Granted that German propaganda is at the back of this that does not explain why it should have succeeded. For this is a recognized tactics of war, to sow dissension among the enemy. *The New Republic* congratulates the Allied nations on their success with this weapon in Italy and advises its use in Germany as well. The reason why the Free Poles succumbed is to be found in the history of Russo-Polish relations between the two wars. When after the last war, the frontiers of Europe were drawn, the boundary between Poland and Russia laid by the Peace Conference, the so-called "Curzon line," was accepted by neither Bolsheviks nor Poles. In the resort to arms, Poland pushed the frontier farther east and maintained it, till, on the outbreak of the present war, Soviet Russia took her advantage and took back more than she had claimed from a hard-pressed Poland. The German war with Russia saw all Poland united on the Allied side. But Russia had established her own institutions in the part she occupied, while the free Poles in London stood for a restoration of the old regime. As the differences in political, social and economic thought are fundamental, their settlement, though ostensibly postponed till after the war, cannot be submerged. General Sikorski evidently is not able to adopt the British Premier's calm assurance that the Allies need not copy the internal systems of one another for the obvious reason that there are growing up two parties among Poles themselves, struggling for post-war power, with the party opposed to all that Sikorski stands for in immediate possession, backed by a powerful ally at the very gates. The success of de Gaulle lies in his having made himself the symbol of French resistance to aggression and he is not finding it an easy job to hold that position, since Giraud took Darlan's place. General Sikorski has much to do before creating a similar name for himself in his country.

Kaikhusru Taraporevala :—By the premature death of Kaikhusru F. D. B. Taraporevala on Thursday after three-weeks illness, *The Reformer* has lost a good friend. Kaikhusru was only thirty-four. He was just opening out of his reserve and his horror of publicity into public work well out of the limelight. Very few of even his closest friends knew the full extent of his interests and activities, with the bookshop on Hornby Road, as the centre. There he was always to be seen, always with a warm welcome to all who came in.

The Imperial Indian Citizenship Association :—In the leading article last week it was stated that the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association was started 21 years ago. It was started 28 years ago.

WILLIAM SPROSTON CAINE.

(BY FREDERICK GRUBB)

The present year marks the centenary of the birth of William Sproston Caine, M. P., who played a conspicuous part in the advocacy of India's national cause before the British public in the nineties of last century.

Caine was said to be the original of Kipling's "Padgett, M. P.", but he never allowed the barbs of hostile criticism to deflect or diminish his zealous labours on India's behalf, either in Parliament or outside. It is true that his early tours in that country were the means of arousing his active interest in the national movement—which had few supporters in England in those far-off days—but it was a foolish mistake to think that his knowledge of India was superficial or one-sided. Within the inevitable limitations which the conditions of that time imposed, he equipped himself by a close study of Indian affairs, an extensive correspondence with representative Indians and constant personal contacts with many of them, when they came to England, for the none too easy task of awakening British public opinion to the urgency of India's claim (as it was then modestly put) for a larger measure of self-government. If the warnings of men like Caine had been heeded fifty years ago, the relations between Great Britain and India would have been vastly different from what they are today.

Caine's primary object in going to India in 1887-88 was the promotion of the temperance movement of which he was one of the acknowledged leaders in his own country.

From the earliest days of the Indian National Congress, which was founded in 1885, Caine associated himself with its constitutional activities. He enjoyed the personal friendship of Dadabhai Naoroji, Allan Hume, W. C. Bonnerjee and other pioneers of the national movement, Indian and British. He was more than once invited to become President of the Congress, but he was strongly of opinion that this important office, the most honourable that India had to bestow, should be reserved for Indians only, though several Englishmen have held it with distinction. He did, however accept a seat on the British Committee of the Congress, and he never failed to seize the opportunity of expounding the claims of India to audiences of his own countrymen. He was, in fact, one of the most popular platform speakers of his time, with a ready command of plain, rugged and often, colloquial English, and there were few of the larger centres in Great Britain that were unfamiliar with his informative talks on Indian questions. He had a terse and practical style of address, combined with an infectious gift of humour, which made him particularly acceptable to working class audiences, and the sincere religious background of his appeal gave added strength to all his public utterances.

For a number of years Caine was the only prominent Englishman connected with the Congress to occupy a seat in the House of Commons. There are few of his contemporaries left to remember how earnestly and persistently he exposed some of the abuses of official administration in India and how warmly he urged, even in those days, that our professed democratic principles should be equally applicable to the problems of Indian government. Successive Secretaries of State, Tory and Liberal, had good reason to fear the shafts of his searching criticism, based as it was upon a well-founded knowledge and a real understanding of India's aspirations. He was not the man to take up "Indian grievances" (as the phrase went) in any automatic

fashion, nor did he always see eye to eye with his colleagues in the British Committee—he was cast in too independent a mould for that—but he could invariably be trusted to make out a good case for reform, and no one could have driven home his points with more convincing effect. In one memorable debate in 1890, on the excise administration (on which topic his knowledge was complete) he carried a resolution of censure against the Conservative Government of that day by a majority of ten, and soon afterwards he had the satisfaction of seeing some of the changes he had advocated duly carried out.

The important place Caine gave in his political life to Indian questions was well illustrated at the General Election of 1892 when he devoted a large section of his lengthy election address (40 odd pages) to an exposition of the Indian demand for self-government. No other Parliamentary candidate that I ever heard of did anything of the kind. He was well called "the Member for India" when such Members were all too few and when the House of Commons was the supreme arbiter of India's destinies.

Caine's political opponents were apt to call him a consummate wirepuller—a reminiscence perhaps of his Liberal-Unionist days when he was a successful party whip—and Punch dubbed him "the genial ruffian." Toby's "Diary of Parliament" between 1892 and 1895 and from 1900 to 1903 contains frequent allusions to his intervention in debate on Indian and other subjects. The Indian Parliamentary Committee of those days owed its inception mainly to him, and he was ably seconded in this work by Sir William Wedderburn, Charles Swann, Alfred Webb, Herbert Roberts (now Lord Clwyd), William Digby and others. Considering the paucity of their number, it was noteworthy how they made their influence felt, both in the House of Commons and at the India Office. Caine was fond of calling them "India's Parliamentary watchdogs," and although it cannot be said that they brought about any radical improvements in the constitution of India, they certainly saw parts of the administration tempered with more discretion and a few of the things that were wrong set right.

In all their activities (and they were never afraid of being called agitators) these men were inspired by the highest democratic ideals, and they were also quick to acknowledge how much they owed to the Indian leaders, Hindu, Moslem, Sikh and Christian, who kept them supplied with factual information on the various issues which were raised from time to time. Among those with whom Caine corresponded most regularly were Surendranath Banerjee, G. K. Gokhale, Motilal Ghose, G. Subramania Iyer, Viraraghava Chari and Dinshaw Wacha. Mrs. Caine and her husband always kept open house at Clapham Common, and later at Westminster, for these and other Indian friends (including students of more than one generation) whenever they came to London.

From about 1893 to 1900 Caine acted as London Correspondent of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and the *Madras Standard*. In those years he was constantly in touch with W. C. Bonnerjee and Romesh Chunder Dutt, who both lived in or near London. A reference to the weekly letters Caine wrote at that time will show in what a variety of ways he strove to further the cause of India, how fearless he was in the exposure of injustice, and with what thoroughness he carried through every task he undertook. Although not physically a strong man, despite his impressive stature, he was full of vital energy and he was untiring in his efforts to lighten the load of the oppressed and the downtrodden. His magnanimous zeal was shown not only in connection with India

but also in the religious and temperance work which he carried on so unremittingly in Great Britain.

Caine's treatment of others was bluff and hearty. No one was ever made to feel uncomfortable in his presence, he was generous to a fault—perhaps too confiding and impulsive at times, but always the truest of friends. He was a broadminded Christian of the most robust type, and whenever he advocated a cause, national or social, he pursued it to the end, without regard to any difference of creed, race or caste. Among those who were not of her own blood India never had a braver champion or a more worthy spokesman.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN THE MELTING-POT. II (BY KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI, ASKA).

As the learned authors of the Hindu Code Bill relating to Marriage observe in their Explanatory Note at the end, there is a "most glaring anomaly" in the administration of Hindu inheritance law by our courts. It is true that they apply the Hindu law to Brahmos and other Hindus who disclaim the Hindu religion, when marrying under the Special Marriage Act, whether the other party to the marriage is a Hindu or non-Hindu, whereas they refuse to apply the Hindu law to Hindus who declare their profession of the Hindu religion when marrying under the same amended Act, even if the other party also happens to be a Hindu. This undoubted anomaly arises from the fact that the original framers of the Special Marriage Act of 1872 omitted to indicate what inheritance law should apply to the disclaimers of religion whom it brought into being for the sake of helping a religious people like the Brahmos. And the Courts which were called upon mainly to decide the cases of Hindu dissenters, took the view that they have not, by their non-profession of the Hindu or any other religion, relinquished or forfeited the personal law attaching to them by reason of their Hindu birth and ancestry; whereas the framers of the Special Marriage Amendment Act of 1928, who brought in addition professed Hindus into it for the first time, introduced the new Section 24 which prescribed the Indian Succession Act specifically for them, leaving untouched the time-honoured legal claim of the disclaimers of Hindu religion to be governed by Hindu law.

The pending Marriage Bill of the Hindu Code seeks to remove this anomaly. The most obvious way of doing this would have been to make Hindu law inapplicable to the disclaimers also and to apply the Indian Succession Act, which is a territorial law unconnected with religion, to the disclaimers as well as the professors of the Hindu religion, both being equally guilty of infringing their traditional caste custom which takes the place of religion with orthodox Hindus. It would have also had the merit of providing an all-India measure to govern and unite the various heterogeneous individuals of many religious origins who are privileged to come together under Act III of 1872 into one all-India community, instead of each individual family, brought into existence thereby, being divided up between different personal laws according to the religious antecedents of each male and female composing it. But the learned Hindu Law Committee have, with due regard for Hindu solidarity and prevailing Hindu sentiment, decided upon the reverse process of applying the Hindu Law of inheritance to both classes of Hindus, positive and negative. They plead that it is worth reconsidering whether a Hindu marrying a Hindu should be treated as an outcaste or an outlaw merely because he has entered into a civil marriage rather than a sacramental marriage. This plea is, of course, irresistible in view of the fact that

those who deny their Hindu faith for a civil marriage have always retained their position within the bosom of the Hindu law, irrespective of any readjustments of their caste status.

While adopting, therefore, most of the provisions of the Special Marriage Act to make civil marriage possible for Hindus under the Hindu Code itself, the learned authors of the Marriage Bill say they have "not thought it necessary to repeat in the Bill" any of the last five provisions including Section 24 of that Act, which may be said to penalise persons who profess the Hindu religion by taking away their right to continue joint in the family, to hold religious offices, to adopt a son, and be governed by Hindu inheritance law, etc., while leaving open all the legal privileges of the Hindu status to those who repudiate their religion at marriage. They did not, however, rest content with that. They have sought also to close the door of the Special Marriage Act against Hindus in future by amending its section although anomalously enough they must necessarily leave the disclaimers of Hindu religion still within its way to qualify themselves for the Hindu law of succession.

So far, however, the scheme of the Bill is understandable. But we are left absolutely in the dark as to why and for whose benefit they have sought to repeal, (as distinct from not repeating in the Marriage Bill), Section 24 and other offending sections of the Special Marriage Act which will have no Hindus left them to govern after the proposed amendment of Section 2 and which the Buddhists, Sikhs and Jains still left under the Act may conceivably wish to retain. Can it be claimed that the learned authors of the Bill had made it a part of their task as a Hindu Law Committee to prove the sentiments and study the interest of communities governed by the Act other than Hindu in the course of their inquiry? The Explanatory Note, at any rate, bears no evidence of such fact.

Lastly, is the debarring of Hindu religionists from the Special Marriage Act so overwhelming a necessity because of the inclusion of the civil marriage sections in the Marriage Bill and of such proved advantage to their heirs because of the provisions newly introduced by the Intestate Succession Bill, that it cannot be safely postponed in respect of all kinds of property, ancestral and self-acquired, divided and undivided agricultural lands and non-agricultural lands and its working has been observed for some time? The Special Marriage Act which concerns not only Hindus but others as well, does need amendment but in its own right and after full and adequate inquiry on its own account. The removal of Sections 23, 25 and 26 will be mourned by none and will be welcomed by all. But about Sections 22 and 24 there can be two opinions and no attempt should be made to repeal them in a hurry by a casual side wind worked up by the necessity of dissolving certain anomalies in the Hindu law while leaving other anomalies intact.

BRITAIN AND INDIA.

Mrs. I. J. Pitt of Cambridge has printed a small booklet "A Study of the Muslim and Hindu Mind and its Reaction to Politics." Though the title suggests that the Muslim mind and the Hindu are common, the whole thesis is built on the opposite. And she is amazingly naive in her approach to the Indian political question. To quote:

The mental texture of the Muslim is Western...The Muslim can understand the British mind and methods in a way impossible, except in very rare cases, to the Hindu....The ethical foundations of Islam are those of Christianity upon which are founded the ideals

of Western civilization, whatever may be the aberrations from these ideals.....Islam and Christianity believe in the reality of the material as well as the spiritual. To the Hindu the spiritual is the only reality. The material universe is maya, illusion....The above said beliefs will account for the little importance that the average Hindu puts upon fact, as compared with the non-Hindu, who, however disagreeable a fact may be to him, is obliged to reckon with it.

Nevertheless, if the spiritual Hindu is warped mentally, the Hindu who has broken from all that, is not any better. Mrs. Pitt says, "A materialistic Hindu now appears as a freak, a degenerate, almost a monstrosity." The only parallel to Mrs. Pitt's attitude to Hindus is to be found in Hitler's attitude to the Jews. But Mrs. Pitt has no political power to translate her antipathy into policy and just yet her views do not find more than spasmodic expression in Government's policy. On this prejudice is built up this gem of political wisdom:—

It may be remarked that there are anti-British and anti-Government Muslims as well as Hindus. No doubt, there are some who are wrong-headed ill-informed and mistaken, but it is in a Western way that they are wrong-headed, ill-formed and mistaken. One feels that given the opportunity, one could talk them round to one's own point of view, that is, what appears to oneself well-informed and right.

To prove this Mrs. Pitt cites the instance of a paragraph from the *Star*, a "North India Muslim paper" which was read to a quick-witted Englishwoman and mistaken by her for an extract from the *London Daily Mail*. The *Star*, we presume, is the same which is known here as the *Star of India* of Calcutta. The passage probably appeared during Pothan Joseph's editorship. For the benefit of foreign readers of Mrs. Pitt's booklet, we may say that Pothan Joseph is not a Muslim.

It is tragic to see that Mrs. Pitt does not really know what it is she wants. For instance, in discussion, she says, you must be able to appreciate the other point of view. But then there are innumerable opinions of hers which she wishes the other side to accept as facts. Like Mr. Amery she looks backward to the pre-Gandhi Congress forgetting that the goodness of Gokhale found no response except suspicion and petty insinuations from the most Liberal British statesmen; like the Jam Saheb in London, she looks forward to a time when Gandhiji will no more figure in Indian politics, forgetting again that, when the Congress during this war showed itself ready to give Gandhian methods a rest in the interests of an anti-Nazi war front, there was no answering gesture for Britain.

The sentiment that inspires Mrs. Pitt's booklet, so far as Indo-British relations go, is the same that is behind A. P. Herbert's satirical poem, "The Englishman," from which a typical verse may be quoted:—

And I am tempted, I confess,
To self-congratulation
When I reflect that I possess
The virtues of my nation,
And dally let my neighbours see
How different their lives might be
If they would but be ruled by me....
Conceive the difference, if you can,
Had Adam been an Englishman.

Only Mrs. Pitt alas, seems quite serious about it.

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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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In Praise of Kidnapping.

NOTES.

New Council Members :—The names of Council Members announced last week have all been canvassed for months in the newspapers and did not cause as much sensation as they might have done. Sir Azizul Haque, High Commissioner in London, returned to his native land some months ago and, although he himself spoke of gathering first-hand knowledge of recent developments before returning to London, everybody else thought that he had done with London and would be found a place in the Viceroy's Executive Council. He is not the kind of Muslim that Mr. Amery would like to have in London. He takes the Commerce portfolio. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, who was with difficulty persuaded to expatriate himself to London as Member of the War Cabinet and was thence deputed to Canada to represent India at the Pacific Relations Conference, has been allotted the Department of Supply which will be run by Secretaries until some months hence when the Hon. Member is expected to arrive in New Delhi. By that time, too, the standard cloth which he sponsored, may be available for distribution. In the old days of the East India Company, Englishmen of family were nominated to high offices in India, the duties of which they discharged from London through deputies whom they nominated in this country. This is not the only matter in which we are reverting to old conditions. There was no particular reason why Sir Sultan Ahmed is shifted from the Law Membership where he has been doing well—unless it be the mishap over Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules. His handling of the Hindu Intestate Succession Bill has especially been widely appreciated. Sir Ashok Roy who succeeds him as Law Member, restores the tradition that the Law Member of the Government of India should be reared on the banks of the Hughli. Sir Ashok is no doubt an eminent lawyer but he has not been known to have any other interests. Dr. N. B. Khare becomes Member-in-Charge of the Department of Indians Overseas. The Department had been doing well without a Member and, if Dr. Khare maintains the standard of the last three months, he will give convincing proof of his competence for the duties of the office which are growing more and more exacting every day. We confess that we should not have been sorry if the Viceroy had himself directed the Overseas Department until the South African controversy is settled. Mr. Amery has declared that the question is one entirely between the South African and Indian Governments. Dr. Khare has an excellent opportunity of testing how far this statement accords with fact.

A Test Election :—The Government of India, for reasons best known to themselves, have withheld from the electorates the opportunity of expressing their verdict on the policy and measures of the administration. But the hand of fate has intervened. The death of Mr. Satyamurthi, member for Madras, has necessitated the election of a successor. April 30 was the last day for nomination. Six candidates were in the field. One of them, M. C. R. Pattabhiraman, has since withdrawn his candidature. He seems to have expected that the organized political parties, particularly the Congress, would not put up candidates and that the seat would go by default to some ambitious nonentity. But the Congress and the Justice Parties have nominated candidates. There was talk of Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu, Vice-President of the Hindu Mahasabha, standing for the seat, but his name is not in the final list. The Congress has been declared an unlawful body, and it is not clear how the Congress candidate came to be nominated and by whom. The *Hindu* says: "Mrs. Rukmani Lakshmi-pathy, Vice-President of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee, informs us that Mr. G. Rangiah Naidu has been selected as Congress candidate for the bye-election for the seat." The Justice Party, according to the *Sunday Observer*, the organ of the Party, has nominated Mr. T. Sundara Rao Naidu as its candidate. The same paper states that everybody thought Mr. S. Muthiah Mudaliar should be put up as the Party candidate but, owing to reasons of health, he declined to stand. Membership of the Legislative Assembly has not yet become a noxious trade. Mr. Mudaliar had, no doubt, other reasons for his decision. If Mr. Mudaliar was not available, there were others equally, if not more, known whose names are found in the Party's Electoral Committee given in the *Observer*. There is, for instance, Sir Shanmukham Chetti, once President of the Legislative Assembly, who has held high office as Dewan of Cochin and Head of the Purchasing Mission of the Government of India in the United States. He obviously is the man whom the Party should have chosen if it seriously intended and expected to capture the seat which Mr. Satyamurthi wrested from Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar. Sir Shanmukham does not seem to have been even thought of. Why? The Justice Party has not recovered from the collapse at the last election. Mr. Ramaswami Naicker's flirtation with the Muslim League and his recent threat that he and his followers would embrace Islam and make Tamil Nadu a part of Pakistan if he did not succeed in getting Dravidistan, has hopelessly compromised the not very abundant chances of success of the Party's candidate. The first thing which Mr. Sundara Rao Naidu will have to do in the month that still remains for the voting, is to disown his leader. Mr. Rao Naidu, if our surmise is correct as to his identity, is a pious Vaishnavite to whom Mr. Naicker's drastic way of handling the religious question will be repugnant. Apart from that, the greatest handicap for the Justice Party and the

Independent candidates, is the fact that the Congress leaders are in detention. The man in the street is apt to think that men who are held in duress by the authorities for their political opinions are more likely to serve their country by being returned to the Legislature than those who are free and flourishing. The bungling with reference to the law under which these men are detained, will add to the public sentiment in their favour.

Mr. Amery on Rule 26:—In the House of Commons last Tuesday, Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, submitted a written statement in reply to a question on Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules which the Federal Court had invalidated. Mr. Amery was concerned mainly to assure the House that the defect had been rectified subsequently. This is a singularly irresponsible attitude for the India Secretary to adopt. No one doubted that it would be rectified. The question is what effect it has on political opinion in India. The one great charge against civil disobedience is that it undermines respect for authority. To enforce the charge, the Government in power must be extremely careful to proceed by legal methods. This the Government of India failed to do. If it had abided by the Federal Court's verdict, it would have certainly gained in prestige while at the same time getting out of a very difficult position. The facility with which it has overcome the ruling, shows merely that it does not even honour its own enactments.

Kashmir Ban on Foreigners:—A Press Note of the Government of Kashmir and Jammu notifies that no foreign subject except Chinese, Afghans and Nepalese are permitted to enter the State territory without a permit previously obtained from the Chief Secretary to Government. The penalty for infringement of the rule is rigorous imprisonment for five years. Does a subject of any of the Dominions come under the category of foreigners? He should, seeing that Indians, including Kashmir subjects, are not allowed to acquire rights of citizenship in the Dominions. In any case Kashmir should give the lead to the other States by notifying South African Whites to be foreigners for purposes of this rule. The Government of India, if it acts up to its protests, should have done so by this time. Whether it does this or not, Indian States are not obliged to wait and it is up to them to mark the indignation universally felt in this country at the anti-Indian legislation now promulgated in Cape Town. Few South African Whites are likely to be affected by such a measure immediately. But it will be a gesture on the part of one of the first Indian States, the significance of which will be understood all over the world.

Sikandar-Jinnah Pact:—Sir Chhotu Ram, Member of the late Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan's Cabinet and also in the present Cabinet, in contradicting Mr. Jinnah's inclusion of the Punjab Government among Muslim League Governments, disclosed that there was a pact between Mr. Jinnah and the late Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan to the effect that the Muslims of the Punjab Assembly should give the fullest support to the League in all India matters, but that Punjab affairs would be left entirely outside the League control. Sir Chhotu Ram maintained that the pact still subsisted and had been confirmed by the present Premier. It must be confessed that such a pact would be unworkable, not to say dishonest. Two Muslim League members, supporters of the Punjab Ministry, have flatly contradicted Sir Chhotu Ram's description of the pact. They say that the pact was reduced to writing and a perusal of it would show that Sir Chhotu Ram's version of it is wholly wrong. Sir Chhotu Ram has not replied. He

has not said that he has seen the written version of the pact. It is quite possible that Sir Sikandar gave him verbally to understand that the pact was to the effect which he described. Anyhow Sir Sikandar's position in relation to the League struck even distant observers as equivocal. Sir Chhotu Ram further stated that in public speeches Sir Sikandar had declared that his Ministry was not a League Ministry. This is not denied, but the *Eastern Times*, a Lahore Muslim League organ, dismisses it as beside the point. "Is not Sir Chhotu Ram aware yet," it asks, "that Queen Anne is dead and so is Sir Sikandar?" The present Premier was present at the League meeting when Mr. Jinnah claimed the Punjab as a League Government and he has preferred to remain silent. We are afraid that the only course open to Sir Chhotu Ram is to follow Mr. Barkat Ali's advice and clear out of the Ministry.

League Delegation to U. S. A.:—*The Eastern Times* announces that Mr. Jinnah has received an invitation from America to send a League delegation and that he has agreed and is selecting members for it. This is the best thing that could happen from the League as well as all India point of view. It can be seen from the speeches of many League members that they are sublimely unconscious of the existence of any world but that of the League. The visit to the United States would disabuse them of this conceit. Americans are an open-minded people and while they have a penchant for pricking bubbles, which they call debunking, they can appreciate views which have a substantial basis, although it may be contrary to those which they may have formed.

Russia, Poland and the Allies:—Coming as it did in the midst of the diplomatic exchanges between Soviet Russia and Gen. Sikorski's Free Polish Government, Stalin's speech on May Day was a significant pronouncement. Stalin spoke, for him, enthusiastically, hailing them as precursors of a second land front in Europe, of the Allied effort in Tunisia and Anglo-American raids on German centres of production. More, for the first time he declared his adherence to the Casablanca agreement between President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill. The response from Britain and America has been immediate. The Polish agitation has dropped to second place, even in London. President Roosevelt has sent ex-Ambassador Joseph Davies to Moscow to arrange a personal meeting between the American President and the Russian Dictator. A unified policy will doubtless emerge out of all these developments—at any rate, so far as Europe is concerned. Madame Chiang Kai-Shek is trying her best to extend it to Asia by pressing for early action against Japan. Her efforts may yet bear fruit. The French in North Africa have been quick to appreciate the situation and General de Gaulle and General Giraud are laboriously patching up their differences. Only a discordant note is still struck by General Sikorski who, in a recent broadcast to Poles, has thought fit to formulate the terms on which any Pole could cooperate with the Soviet Government. Whatever the rights and wrongs of his case, it is undoubtedly a political error now to press his claims. Russia is no longer the Russia of the post last war years, struggling for recognition. It is today one of the leading nations in the Allied camp. In the reconstruction of Europe, it will play an important part. Though the fate of Asia may hang in the balance, it would be well for the leaders of small European nations to reconcile themselves to these conditions. For Stalin is not the man to be unaware of his strength.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, May 8, 1943.

"FASHIONS IN SPACE."

Lord Linlithgow called down on himself the wrath not only of Muslim Leaguers but of Mr. Rajagopalacharya who thought that His Excellency had spitefully thwarted his efforts to establish a concordat between the Congress and the League on the basis of self-determination for Muslims as to whether they will remain as part of India or would set up a separate national and sovereign state for themselves. Lord Linlithgow would have been surprised at the outburst which his simple, innocent phrase brought upon him. The geographical unity of India, always obvious, is being specially brought into relief by military and administrative necessity, now felt in respect of every measure for the defence of the country, for the relief of food and cloth shortage, and for the maintenance of peace and order within. Yet, it was a sound instinct which warned his critics that the Viceroy's recognition of the geographical unity of the country might imply a political significance. Geo-politics, as developed in the Nazi philosophy, is full of extravagances but its fundamental principle, "the dependence of political events on the character of the earth" has a long and honourable pedigree. In an article suggestively headed "Fashions in Space," Professor Sigmund Neumann vehemently attacks the Nazi doctrine in the January number of *Foreign Affairs*. Professor Neumann apprehends that the Nazi theory is getting a footing in American academic circles from which it may spread to the bulk of the people. He begins by saying that Geo-politics is no original invention of Haushofer who is often spoken of as the formulator of a philosophic and scientific basis for Hitlerism. The Greeks understood the importance of political geography as a key to human affairs. In modern times, Montesquieu, Ranke, Taine and Trietschke had made notable contributions to the geographical approach to history and politics. H. T. Buckle and Walter Bagehot in England had popularised the idea of politics as ensuing out of physical environment. Professor Neumann pays high tributes to Sir H. J. Mackinder as a great influence in moulding the pattern of geo-political thought. Mackinder delivered his famous lecture, "The Geographical Pivot of History," ten years before the first World War. He conceived world politics as being basically a conflict between oceanic and continental powers, between the elephant and the whale. In the nineteenth century this was no more than a clever fantasy. But in the twentieth century the appearance of Air Power has radically altered the conditions of the conflict. Sea power is still important but, to maintain it, broader land bases are needed than in the last century. In his "Democratic Ideals and Reality," Mackinder foreshadowed the emergence of a land bloc that would find its centre in a Heartland reaching from the Arctic to the Himalaya mountains and from the Volga to the Yangtze Valley. As in other matters so in this, Haushofer took up the Englishman's idea but changed it to suit his own national interests. He offered the doctrine of land power pure and simple. "It was Mackinder in a strait jacket."

The Nazis are generally regarded as the devotees of arrant racialism. The Yellow Peril has always bulked largely in German eyes. But such is the potency of "geo-politics" that they overcame their racial prejudice and allied themselves with Japan against their European kinsmen. The latest

development, the calling of Japanese experts to fortify the Balkans, shows how completely the imperial German notion of champion of the White race against the Yellow, has been discarded. "Orientation in international affairs, Haushofer taught," writes Prof. Neumann, "should be directed not by political ideologies but only by the iron laws of the great spaces. A transcontinental bloc including Germany, Russia and Japan would represent a natural alliance that could not be defeated." Haushofer, it is true, was deeply impressed by Japan where he spent a number of years after the last war. But his studies of the Pacific lands ranged over a wider field. They included China in a sense more important than Japan. He was the first to predict the failure of Japan's attack on China. Dr. Hans W. Weigert in an earlier number of *Foreign Affairs* gives a comprehensive sketch of Haushofer's plans:

Since 1924, they [Haushofer and his disciples] had written in favour of an Asiatic alliance including Russia, Japan, India and China, with Germany as a partner. Fully aware of the tragic possibilities of Japan's adventure, Haushofer worked for years on the gigantic tasks of persuading Japan to come to terms with China and Russia and, on the other side of the world, of convincing Hitler that he should live in peace with Russia... Haushofer's concept of the grand strategy of the future [as disclosed in 1930] is...: "The ultimate solution of Japan's problem of over-population is expansion into the spheres of least resistance... At this time, Japan's strategy still cautions her against a direct attack on Australia. But it should not be forgotten that the tropical north and north-east of Australia... could offer homesteads for thirty millions. Heat and humidity make these spaces unfit for large-scale colonization by the White races. The climate is more suitable for the Japanese." But Japan did not listen to Haushofer's admonitions to strike first against the British Empire and France and the Netherlands. Instead of turning to the south, Japan started her drive on the continent. Haushofer warned that this would draw the Chinese and Indians together and would result in the formation of an unconquerable human bloc of 800 millions. "Japan has underestimated the immense spaces of China and she will never understand the spirit of modern China. She had not understood the greatness of Chiang Kai-Shek."... If an empire could arise with "Japan's soul in China's body" it would be a power that would put even the empires of Russia and the United States in the shade.

The quotation is long but it is worth making as a revelation of the Nazi scheme in its fulness. The idea seemed to be realised when the German-Russian alliance was concluded three years ago. The subsequent invasion of Russia by Hitler is still a puzzle which has not been satisfactory explained. China with its 400 millions was more essential to the great land bloc than Japan. Haushofer's mistake was in basing all his speculation solely on European conditions. Japan's invasion of China was another circumstance which did not enter into the German geo-politician's calculation. In Germany itself other forces were at work undoing the influence of geo-politics—Rosenberg with his ideological crusade against Bolshevism and "Hitler's own wishful thinking about an alliance with England." The Hitler-Chamberlain pact at Munich seemed to be the fulfilment of this cherished desire. Encouraged by it, the new slogan, *Lebensraum*, was started. This practically meant the grabbing of anything which came within reach. The Geo-politicians swept aside the narrow European outlook of Spengler and others including, for a wonder, Mr. Winston Churchill. The defect of German Geo-politics is that it completely ignores the human factor in history. Professor Neumann would consider

Geo-politics as a reaction against Marxism or as its counterpart. Space in geopolitics became the absolute yardstick instead of economics in Marxism. Professor Neumann's criticism of the Nazi scheme for Europe is also applicable to some democratic schemes which have been put forward. It may be said also of them that, while they satisfy a technical view of a well-balanced Europe, they betray utter disregard of Europe as a living body.

KAIKHUSRU TARAPOREVALA.

The death of Kaikhusru Taraporevala is a personal loss to many. I had known him since the old days when the New Book Company and D. B. Taraporevala were run as one concern but it was a casual acquaintance. Then when he and his brother started their business, there was no occasion for me to meet him as I had my own booksellers with whom I regularly dealt. It was about six years ago that I accompanied a friend to the New Book Company. After the first visit I used to drop in off and on. We came to know each other over the books he used perseveringly to recommend. Though we rarely agreed, he never despaired but always ended with a smiling deprecation of my eccentric tastes. I think he used to enjoy those discussions quite as much as I did, for, sometimes when I went over after a long absence, he would tell me of the books I had missed by not being regular. He would give one of his characteristic chuckles whenever he could twit me for wanting a book which I had refused two months earlier. Then, again, when I was more than usually severe in condemning a book, "Oh, my God," he would laugh, "if my customers hear you, I shall be a doomed man."

It was over the publication of my "West of Suez" that Kaikhusru and I spent long hours together. I had just mailed the manuscript to England in the hope of getting it published there. The postal clerk had, like a bird of ill omen, insisted on describing the contents of the packet, after finding it was my production, as "manuscript of no value" and I had gone across to tell Kaikhusru about it. He heartily enjoyed the joke but then, still laughing, he said, "Indians are all the same. After all their talk of nationalism, they will still run after British publishers." I asked him if he would take it up and, for three waiting months before the prodigal's return, we discussed terms. The only point on which we agreed, was the printer's costs. By the time we both realised that we could not work together on a business footing, we had argued out almost every topic under the sun. Once I came to know him well, I found it very easy to provoke him out of his refuge, "The customer is always right." Often I have waited till he had finished his evening prayers and shut up shop, and left the New Book Company with him. The occasions were not infrequent, even after petrol got scarce, when he drove me down to Bandra.

Though he was always overworked—his year was the full 365 days—Kaikhusru was ever throwing out new ideas. Early in 1941, he took me up to his lumber-room on the mezzanine floor and said that he was thinking of starting a "literary, cultural club." He asked me what I thought of it. Promptly I threw cold water on the idea and said that it would be a complete failure, and where was the money to come from? There was a gay twinkle in his eye, as he said that money was no problem, provided there were men determined to keep it alive. His enthusiasm was infectious. He got his men together and in September 1941, the Silverfish came into being. Even more surprising, I found myself holding the treasurership. He had overruled every possible and

several impossible objections. He offered the fullest co-operation and he kept his word throughout. In fact, he took a great part of the work off my hands.

Last November I suggested that he should take up the treasurership himself. He was immovable in his determination not to get mixed up in the affairs of the Silverfish. "The Silverfish," he told me, "is quite apart from the New Book Company, and the two should be kept distinctly separate. You can always get my staff to do the routine work, but do not get the two confused." Then I told him that I could not continue as the Treasurer. He said that he would not allow me to resign. I retorted that that could only mean my leaving the club. He was silent for a while. Then he said he had found it easy working with me and he could not reconcile himself to somebody else. I told him that in no time he would settle down to the new Treasurer. Quick came the reply, "You know it is not true." I had no answer. When human relations develop, however intellectually one knows that no one is indispensable, emotionally one feels, and, yes, hopes even, that one is not. For a time, neither of us said a thing. Then I said, "I am sorry. I have taken on too many things. I must resign." Kaikhusru then asked me as a friend for his sake to reconsider my decision. I appealed to him not to press the point. I had thought of all that before deciding. We were at his corner at the New Book Company. He had his hands behind him, his weight thrown more on his left leg, his heavy body slightly swaying. He closed an eye and, no longer smiling, he said, "How shall we show our appreciation?" I told him not to be absurd. I should be happy, I said, to get off without a vote of censure. Later I was equally moved when his brother, Phirozeshah, generally very reticent, rebuked me mildly for dropping out of an association which, he said, everyone in the New Book Company had liked.

Kaikhusru's was an affectionate nature. He could not bear the thought of your leaving his shop, once he took to you, without having at least exchanged a few words with him. Over the heads of customers, he would frantically signal to you to wait. And as he passed you, he would vary his deceptively colourless formula, "Anything I can do for you, Sir?" with profuse apologies for detaining you. But go you simply could not. He was shyly sociable. He was never comfortable at functions unless he had with him a few of his intimate friends. Yet he held together the most incongruous types. And he went to unheard of lengths to help them, making little of his help. He has often in the past year negotiated paper supplies for *The Reformer*, casually undertaken for me over a tea or orange squash.

We came in intimate contact during the past eighteen months. At first, I used to drag him from his secluded desk at the corner of the bookshop, take him up to the Silverfish and keep him there, for an hour, two hours, while he relaxed. He knew a great deal of the people who came to his shop and, once his reserve was broken, he talked freely. He was always interesting and his insight into human nature was amazingly disconcerting. Then gradually he came to tell me of his troubles, of mistakes made out of a misplaced faith in men, but it was always as though these things had happened to someone else. I told him once I was surprised that he had not been embittered by his experiences. He gave a hearty laugh and turned it off with the remark that bitterness was bad for one's health.

Latterly it was I who looked him up whenever I felt the need for company. Kaikhusru never sought to force a confidence not willingly given. But he always seemed to be ready at hand

with his anxious greeting, "Hullo, something wrong? Somehow I knew you would come today." And at once the busy bookseller would have time hanging on his hands. The only other indication he gave that he had intuitively guessed something was wrong, was his pat on the back as he left one for the night with the assurance that everything would be all right. If he could not help, he would say so without any beating about the bush, then he would heave himself out of his seat and say, "Come on. Let us get out of here." Sometimes it was a picture; sometimes it was just sitting on the Marine Drive. And then on the way back to the inevitable shop, he would give a rich chuckle and say, "I know what's wrong. Why, you have not smoked the whole evening." I would pick up my cigars.

He was a good friend. It is hard to realise that he is no more. The day after his death, Friday, without thinking, I found myself almost on the steps of the New Book Company before I realised the futility of the visit. The locked doors and the notice pinned above had an effect even more startling than the first news of Kaikhusru's death which I received at the Commercial Press on Thursday. The closing of the New Book Company had brought home, as nothing else could, the full measure of the loss. And so, I find, it is with many others. We are all learning, now that it is too late, how much he had grown into the pattern of our lives. Emotional demonstrations are always embarrassing to all involved. Yet reticence has left a dull ache behind. For all his unfailing geniality, he struck me as being lonely. It would have done a world of good to all, to Kaikhusru and to his wide circle of friends, had he known how much he was appreciated. The sympathy of all who came in contact with him, goes out to Phirozeshah on whom now falls the well-nigh impossible burden of carrying on single-handed the multifarious activities of Kaikhusru. S.

Ulster Cabinet Changes :—Mr. Andrews, the Prime Minister of Ulster, resigned last week and Sir Basil Brooke, the Deputy Prime Minister, has stepped into his shoes. This is more like what happened in Burma and Sind than anything in the history of British Cabinets. The reason for Mr. Andrews' resignation has not been published but it is evident that Sir Basil Brooke did not agree with him and he had to go having no one in his Cabinet to back him. The main issue in Ulster is amalgamation with Eire. Eire occupies a position of immense strategic importance but Mr. De Valera has firmly resisted all overtures to renounce Eire's neutrality unless Irish unity is restored by the amalgamation of Ulster with Eire. The British and the American Governments have been anxious to secure this very desirable end. American interest in the matter has assumed an acute form owing to Mr. De Valera's protest against the stationing of American troops in Northern Ireland. Pressure has been brought to bear on the Ulster Government to agree to amalgamation with necessary safeguards, but so far without result. It may be that Mr. Andrews was inclined to amalgamation but could not carry his colleagues with him. Or it may be that Sir Basil is inclined but Mr. Andrews did not agree. The probability of the latter contingency seems to be rather more than that of the former. Sir Basil is to make a statement of his policy in a few days and we shall know then.

CAUSE OF HINDU DOWNFALL.

The Silver Jubilee of the Sanatan Dharma College in Lahore was the occasion of a great rally of Hindu leaders. The speeches made at the celebrations breathed a fervent determination to uphold the ideals of Hinduism in the face of the difficulties which confront them both from outside and from inside. Raja Narendranath, the venerable leader to whose wisdom and experience Punjab public life owes a great deal, delivered the Convocation address. In passing, it may be pointed out that the Sanatan Dharma stands distinguished from Varnashrama Dharma by its emphasis exclusively on moral qualities which are obligatory on all without reference to caste or sect, while the Varnashrama Dharma relates to behaviour within the framework of the fourfold caste system. The abolition of the caste system will not affect the permanent basis of Hinduism and would, indeed, leave Hinduism freer for the tasks which await it in the years to come. Sikhism, the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj, and the Ramkrishna-Vivekananda Mission, are all so many outlets for the expanding spirit of Hinduism. The Raja Sahib appealed to the Sanatanists to view these developments in that light. The Brahmo Samaj nowadays is increasingly drawing its inspiration from the Upanishads and is recognised as an integral part of Hindu society. The old feeling that the Brahmos were a distinct and rather hostile section of the population has all but disappeared. It never existed outside Bengal. The Aryas in their Marriage Act passed five years ago are described in the preamble as a class of Hindus. The movement among Sikhs during the last few months to draw closer to Hinduism, is another welcome sign. Recent expositions of the Lingayat sect insist that it is not outside or antagonistic to the Vedic religion. Hinduism is waking from its long sleep under the stimulating touch of Western thought. Hindu thought itself has passed beyond the shores of India and is influencing the thought of Europe and America. In many cases this is acknowledged but in more it has penetrated into the substance of western thought so deeply as to be indistinguishable from it. The Hinduism which is capable of this permeation is the Sanatan Dharma, not the Varnashrama.

Raja Narendranath traced "the downfall" of the Hindus to the security bred by their isolation and the unlimited fields of India which engaged their entire energies, and made it unnecessary for them to think of expanding beyond the natural frontiers of India. The Raja Sahib seems to accept the theory of an invasion from outside whereas the trend of contemporary research negatives it. There is ample evidence of migration from India for cultural and commercial purposes but none whatever of a contrary movement until the invasion of Alexander. The distinction of Aryan and Dravidian even in the matter of language is exploded by the Rev. S. Ganaparakashar of Jaffna, Ceylon, in his monumental "Etymological and Comparative Lexicon of the Tamil Language." The learned lexicographers responsible for the Dictionary published by Madras University gave up tracing the origins of Tamil words as beyond ascertainment. But the Jesuit Tamil scholar holds and has demonstrated that the Indo-European and Dravidian roots are radically related coming from the same stock (Mythic Society's Journal for October 1942 and January 1943). It would be more in accord with the evidence available to say that the Hindus knew no country outside India which they regarded as their motherland in a sense far deeper than that which the word conveys to western minds. The Jews have survived and thriven outside Palestine. But it is inconceivable that the Hindus

can survive as a people outside India—so deeply is their civilisation rooted in the soil.

Raja Narendranath gave as a cause of the downfall of Hindus that they ceased to be a militant and aggressive people. "Hindus," he said, "had ceased to be invaders after they settled in India and hence their comparative inability to resist their invaders." He thought that the caste system was the second cause and the third was the vast extent of the country and primitive means of communication. This is precisely what makes Russia and China invincible to the most powerful modern forces on land, air and sea, their large extent, their slender communications and their vast population. India as a whole was not conquered before the British period. Sir John Seeley in his "Expansion of England" has conclusively shown that the British did not conquer India and the attempt to rule India as conquerors will lead to the instant collapse of the Indian Empire. The Muslim period lasted as long as it did because it soon ceased to be an alien rule and became largely Indian. "The Hindu wields the sword of Islam," was the bitter comment of the Muslim historian who could not reconcile himself to the policy of Akbar. When Aurangzebe reversed that policy, the Empire collapsed and the Hindus became the dominant power. The Raja Sahib's opinion of the influence of the caste system is equally open to question. Whatever may be the defects of caste, it did not, until within the last twenty years, breed that bitter antagonism which western economic classes bred. European writers have noted that caste was remarkably free of the snobbishness of the classes. The lowest caste man was as proud of his caste as the highest, and never dreamed of claiming any caste but his own. What then was the cause of India's "downfall"? Raja Ram Mohun Roy thought that it was India's greater advance in civilisation. Curiously, Dr. Sun Yat Sen told the British Ambassador that the Chinese were two thousand years ahead of the Europeans in civilisation. The more civilized race has generally been the victim of conquest by the less civilized—Greece and Rome, Rome and Goths, Arabia and Persia are outstanding examples. This is a large question which deserves more study than it has so far received.

But has there been a "downfall"? Swami Vivekananda denied it. He wrote *Vedanta Kesari*, May, 1943:—

We all hear so much about the degradation of India. There was a time when I also believed in it. But today standing on the vantage-ground of experience, with eyes cleared of obstructive predispositions and above all, of the highly coloured pictures of other countries toned down to their proper shade and light by actual contact, I confess, in all humility, that I was wrong. Thou blessed land of the Aryas, thou wast never degraded. . . . I stand in awe before the unbroken procession of scores of shining centuries, with here and there a dim link in the chain only to flare up with added brilliance in the next, and there she is walking with her own majestic steps—my motherland,—to fulfil her glorious destiny, which no power on earth or in heaven can check—the regeneration of man the brute into man the God.

HISTORICUS.

The Next Viceroy:—A special cable to the *Hindu* quotes the *Daily Sketch* as saying that Lord Linlithgow's successor has been selected but that his name is being kept a secret and that it would create surprise when announced. For the first time after his exclusion from the War Cabinet and deposition from Leadership of the House of Commons to be Minister of Aircraft Production, Sir Stafford Cripps made

a public speech on India this week. Sir Stafford's selection for the Viceroyalty would be certainly more surprising than that of almost any other British political figure who can be thought of in connection with the office. But it will offer a unique opportunity of retrieving the political situation, if the British Government are in earnest about doing so, and give him a free hand. There are many people who feel that the failure of Sir Stafford Cripps' last mission was due to avoidable accidents. The improvement in the Indian situation due to the strong stand taken by the Government on the South African anti-Indian legislation and as repercussion to the Federal and High Courts judgments should not be lost sight of.

A BANDRA DIARY.

My friend, Mr. Ramamurti, in his interesting contribution on the Hindu Marriage Bill drafted by the Rau Committee and awaiting introduction in the Indian Legislature, refers to Brahmos and others who disclaim the Hindu religion. There may be a remnant of the old generation of Brahmos who repudiate all connection with Hindu society and religion, but the great majority of Brahmos surely do not do so. The last issue of the monthly edition of the *Indian Messenger* contains a sermon preached last month by Mr. Ramanand Chatterji at the Sadharan Brahma Samaj. It is inspired throughout by Hindu ideas and the authorities quoted are the Upanishads. The first verse of the Iso Upanishad is cited as "a great mantra in our religion." Mr. Ramanand Chatterji is an Ex-President of the Hindu Mahasabha. The same journal publishes an appreciation of the career of Sevabrata Sasipada Banerji whom I knew well, and he never disclaimed the Hindu religion. Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, Pandit Shivanath Sastry and others, Fathers of the Brahma Samaj, all emphasised the Hindu basis of Brahmoism. The Brahma Samaj did not want the Special Marriage Act, 1872. It wanted a Brahma Marriage Act but it was found difficult to draft one without impinging on other personal laws, and the Act became one for religious vagrants who were not particular about repudiating all religious belief. A considerable section of Brahmos, however, could not subscribe to the declaration of unbelief and risked future litigation by abstaining from registering their marriages under the Act. Sir Hari Singh Gour wanted to do away with the declaration but he was not able to carry Muslims and Christians with him and his amending measure had to be restricted to Hindus and the Hinduistic sects. Quite irrelevantly he tacked on some clauses involving the break-up of the joint family and the substitution of the Indian Succession Act for the Hindu law of inheritance. That is to say, he omitted one repudiation and introduced a compulsory alienation from the family as the price of securing the benefits of his measure. Sir Hari Singh's antipathy to Hindu institutions led him to believe that this was an improvement. Many Hindus who favoured monogamous marriages were deterred from taking advantage of his amendments tacked on to the old Act which also continued to be in force, owing to these incidents bearing on the joint family and succession. The Rau Committee approaching the subject in an entirely different spirit, was prompted by the earnest desire to bring the law in conformity with the high ideals of the ancient legislators. This is how I view the two Bills. They are, as Mrs. Renuka Ray observed in her speech in the Legislative Assembly, conservative measures.

I have been puzzled by the frequent occurrence of the word "penetration" in the reports of the war, particularly in Burma, Malaya and other parts of Eastern Asia by the Japanese. An incident in my daily routine revealed its meaning. The salt in a bottle had become hardened and every time I wanted salt I had to break up the mass with considerable force applied through a long iron rod. The other morning it occurred to me to try the effect of a little water on the petrified salt. I poured in a spoonful and, behold, in a few seconds it had crumbled into its original powder form. This, I understood, is the method of penetration. Fundamentally it is opposed to the method of force. It depends for its effect on an affinity between the penetrant and the penetrated. I am not a military expert. Far from it. I have never handled any more dangerous weapon in my life than a pen. Nevertheless, I had often thought that frequent bombing raids on places which you cannot occupy for some considerable time, is more likely to antagonise the inhabitants and make them easy of penetration than to predispose them to welcome you when you do at last occupy it. I remember some days ago that a French General who had escaped from occupied France declared that the French people he had left behind were prepared to take any amount of bombing at the hands of the Allies in consideration of the latter's determination to deliver France from the Nazi yoke. We have had no such assurance from Burma. Would it not be wiser to leave the Burmese to get full experience of the Japanese regime without our contributing to their sufferings by these excursions which appear to have only a nuisance value so far as the Japanese are concerned?

RECLUSE.

In Praise of Kidnapping:—The report was cabled on Wednesday that the daughter of Dr. Seyss-Inquart, Nazi controller of occupied Holland, was kidnapped by some Dutch opponents of the German occupation. Whether you condemn it or condone the incident as a method of protest open to a people rendered desperate under foreign domination, will depend solely on whether you accept any limits to the freedom movement or regard every means as justified by the end. Both attitudes can be maintained with dignity. But what is nauseating is the *Times of India's* unqualified approval of kidnapping as a political weapon. It is, it observes, the "right medicine" for those who seek to terrorise populations. We should be extremely surprised if this kidnapping—if it is true for the report is of French origin—is not followed by reports of German atrocities against the Dutch people under German rule who certainly will find little reason to rejoice over the kidnapping. An act which begins with visiting Seyss-Inquart's sins on his daughter, is not likely to end there, without involving more innocent people of the kidnappers' nationality. In a series of advertisements, now known as "goonda advertisements," the Government of India made it clear that sabotage and underground work always brought trouble to the innocent while the mischief-makers escaped. This is evidence from the highest authority in this country and, coupled with the other official assertion that in all such things it was not the Government that suffered but the people, it is the last word against underground work whether in India or in any other country. No Dutchman in Holland, of course, is likely to be influenced by the *Times of India's* praise of kidnapping. But the *Times* should be more mature in its comments and careful in its attitudes, perhaps just because it is not writing for Dutchmen, even when writing on Dutch events.

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

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NOTES.

Dr. Ambedkar on the Stump :—Perched on the greasy pole of office, Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar delivers himself of ex-cathedra opinions on men and things, with a freedom which he did not exhibit in his non-official days. This is contrary to the normal experience that high office promotes responsibility and restraint in thought and word. In a recent address in Bombay, he claimed kinship of ideals with Ranade and Gokhale and demanded that Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah should both step aside, in order, presumably, that Dr. Ambedkar may have a chance of bossing the show. So long as these two men remained at the head of their respective movements, the Labour Member was sure that there can be no solution of the political deadlock. As a matter of simple fact, neither Ranade nor Gokhale, amidst their multifarious activities, was able to find room for the problem of the scheduled castes. If they were alive, they would probably have held that raising one member of these castes to a position which none of their contemporaries were thought capable of filling, was of very little value as a measure of upliftment of the scheduled castes. Gandhiji, whom Dr. Ambedkar calls upon to quit the scene, on the other hand, has made the cause of the depressed classes his principal mission in life and that not today but for years past when there was little talk of the status of these classes. It is Gandhiji who by inventing the term "Harijan" gave a semblance of unity to the hundreds of castes in varying degrees of culture and separated from one another by deep gulfs of age-long prejudice. Until Gandhiji took up the subject, conversion to Christianity was the only avenue of amelioration for these classes, and that too has been admitted to have been futile by the demand that converts too should have the same special concessions as non-converts. Gandhiji's movement turned the tide of conversion and even Dr. Ambedkar's call to them to betake themselves bodily to some other fold has had no effect. The work which has been done and is being done under Gandhiji's auspices for the Harijans is by far greater in volume and quality than that so far achieved by Dr. Ambedkar. In fact, Gandhiji is responsible for the rise of the Doctor himself to place and power. It is the fact that the Harijan beneficiaries of Gandhiji's institutions tend steadily to swell Dr. Ambedkar's following but that is no unusual experience and we are sure that it will not in the least deflect the course of those who are engaged in the mission of the uplift of the scheduled castes in a

disinterested spirit, as a national duty. But they will all come to realise the deep debt of gratitude they owe to Gandhiji for focussing public attention on the subject as being one of fundamental importance to national progress. Neither Gandhiji nor Mr. Jinnah is likely to take orders from the Labour Member as to what they should do, and if they do, the Doctor will not be the man who will be called upon to fill their places. Dr. Ambedkar would not lose by cultivating a little modesty.

Scheme for Solving Indian Deadlock :—Dr. Ambedkar outlined to a Press representative his scheme for forming a national Government. The issue of Pakistan must be put out of the way one way or another, he thinks. We think that the reason why no National Government is possible now, is not Pakistan but the detention of the leaders of the largest political party in the country and withdrawal of legal status from their party. Dr. Ambedkar himself admits this when he says that Gandhiji has thrown his spell on the Indian people. Dr. Ambedkar says that, as Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah cannot be brought to agree to co-operate with Government in finding a *via media*, these two leaders might be ignored and a referendum made to the people. What grounds has he for thinking that the referendum would result in any answer except "Release the leaders?" Does he not realise the significance of the recent Conferences, No Party and All Parties, who made the release a condition precedent to every solution. We can hardly believe that a shrewd man like the Doctor would miss such a palpable point. The "people" is obviously a piece of demagoguism. Dr. Ambedkar not long ago held that referendum regarding Pakistan must be confined to the minorities in the areas concerned and not the majorities. Now he wants a referendum to be taken only from the Muslim majorities. This volte face is as significant as it is inexplicable by normal thought processes. Government, he says, should not be asked to decide about Pakistan. As he happens to be a member of Government, he does not obviously wish to commit himself. We think that Government is responsible for the demand for Pakistan which is an offshoot of the communal franchise and it is Government who should take the initiative in solving it in the only way in which a Government which cares for its reputation can solve it. The other provisions of the scheme, the mapping of scheduled districts, the ten year probation and so on, remind us of the proverb about catching the stork by applying butter above its eyes, which by melting would obscure its vision. "We have hitherto depended on the leaders," laments the Labour Member. Who are we? If the Government, then how does he say that Government should not be expected to take the initiative? What the Doctor hints at, behind a veil of words about the people, referendum and so on, is clear. He wants dictatorship. It is easy to establish a dictatorship but rather difficult to

maintain it for long. The public, if there is to be a dictator, would prefer one of their own choice and their choice has been made. Dr. Ambedkar would have a Council of India, if Muslims decide to have Pakistan, with equal representatives from Hindustan and Pakistan, which would mean that three parts of the country would be equal to one fourth. As the *New Statesman* has remarked Lord Linlithgow has already conceded the half and half principle by having four Hindu and four Muslim members on his Executive Council.

The Central Issue :—The most important point to be decided and decided now is whether there should be a Central Government and whether residual powers should be vested in it or in the provincial or State units. The British Government, if it is to be consistent with its own past in this country, can decide the question only in one way. Its recent experience should also show that, without considerable powers of co-ordination in its hands, the Central Government will be utterly unable to protect the country from foreign invasion or ensure good government equally in all parts of the country which must be fed as a whole, must be industrially organised as a whole, its communications should be planned as a whole. In this all important matter, the Congress is not more helpful than the Muslim League. While the latter will not hear of a Central Government at all, the Congress will tolerate only a weak nominal Centre with powers reserved to the provinces. The Hindu Mahasabha has not been clear or consistent on this major issue. Some leaders have stressed the need of a strong centre while others have wobbled. Provincialism is a greater danger to Hindus than to Muslims or Christians. The centrifugal forces operating in the Hindu masses are more violent and numerous than in these two important minorities. The centre, therefore, is far more vital to Hindus than to the others. This exactly is why the Muslim League does not want a centre. But the issue cannot be debated as affecting communities. There are a sufficient number of men of all creeds and castes who can view the Indian problem as a whole and if they had the opportunity they would find a solution for the problem without difficulty. But so long as the British Government insists on dealing with the people as so many distinct and hostile communities, so long it is impossible for these All India-minded people to exert their influence to promote unity.

Bombay High Court and Federal Court Judgment :—The Bombay High Court, by a majority of two to one, has referred back the Federal Court's judgment on the Talpade case to that Court with a request that it would give explicit direction, as the Government of India Act requires, as to the action the Bombay High Court should take in the case. The Federal Court has directed that the High Court should decide it in the light of its observations declaring Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules invalid in law. The Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Chagla did not evidently consider that this direction fulfilled the requirement of the Government of India Act. The Chief Justice pointed out that Government, if it decided to appeal to the Privy Council against the Federal Court decision, could appeal against only a judgment and not against a mere direction, and, therefore, it would handicap Government if the Bombay High Court acted on the direction. Mr. Justice Weston thought, on the other hand, the direction though not peremptory was sufficiently clear from the observations of the Federal Court and the detainee should be released and might be rearrested, if Government chose, under the amended Ordinance. By the way,

the fact that the Governor-General promptly amended the Ordinance, would seem to show that there is to be no appeal to the Privy Council. Apart from this point of law, the observations of the Chief Justice to the effect that the validity of Rule 26 was not raised by the petitioner either in the High Court or the Federal Court and that it was raised by the latter Court itself, if they were meant to imply that the Federal Court's action was not quite proper, would seem to require clarification. Should not a Court in the discharge of its duty rectify any omission which may appear in the pleading of counsel? Would it conduce to the administration of justice if the Court content itself with passing judgment on the presentation of Counsel in cases where the life and liberty of the subject is concerned? In civil suits this may not matter much but in criminal cases it matters a good deal.

British Justice :—The independence of British Courts and judges has, more than any other part of the British political system, won the admiration of the world. They have steadily resisted the encroachment of the Executive Government in the sphere of justice. Lord Hewart who died a few days ago, in his own Court as Chief Justice as well as in the House of Lords and in books, warned the country against the tendency of the Executive to usurp the powers of Courts. The recent judgment of the Federal Court declaring Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules invalid was in the best traditions of British justice. In a similar case also of a person detained under a Rule of the English model of the Indian Rule, Mr. Justice Humphry on a contempt of court application against the Home Secretary, Sir John Anderson, observed.

There is no more important duty attaching to Judges in this Division than that of looking after the liberties of His Majesty's subjects and also of the rights of every British subject detained in custody not as a result of committal by some court of law, but as a result of the opinion of the Secretary of State. Under the peculiar circumstances referred to in Regulation 18 B which only applies in wartime, he has the inalienable right to come to this Court and ask that his case may be considered by the Court. Even under Regulation 18 B the Court will then in every instance consider his case and say whether he is legally held in custody. If any case is brought before me hereafter in which any person—I care not how high his position or how great his fame—be found to have interfered with the right of one of His Majesty's subjects, I think I should have no difficulty in putting into force with the assistance of the other members of this Division the great powers of this King's Bench of imprisoning such person for contempt of court.

Reunion of Ireland :—India has a particular and intimate interest, besides the human satisfaction felt at the composing of differences between parties who should be neighbours, in the reunion of Ireland by agreement between Ulster and Eire. The bisection of the island set up a precedent which had unfortunate repercussions in other parts of the world. The Peel Commission's proposal to divide Palestine was inspired by it. Pakistan propaganda has the Ulster idea for its background. Last week the *Reformer* speculated about the significance of the resignation of the Ulster Prime Minister, Mr. Andrews. The Brooke Cabinet has dropped many of Sir Basil's colleagues on the Andrews Cabinet. Mr. Winston Churchill has profusely praised the late Prime Minister for granting facilities for the defence of Britain in the dark days of 1940, while really, perhaps, the gratitude is as much for leaving the way clear for the reunion of the two parts of Ireland. Simultaneously, Mr. De Valera has stressed publicly the importance of good relations between Eire and Britain.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, May 15, 1943.

PUBLICITY ADVISORY BOARD.

Sir Sultan Ahmed publicly inaugurated his entry into office as Member for Information and Broadcasting by holding a Press Conference in the morning and broadcasting from the Delhi Station in the evening on Saturday last. At the Press Conference, he announced that, as an earnest of his desire to obtain the maximum cooperation of the Press, he intended to set up a Publicity Advisory Board consisting partly of officials and partly of non-officials. Among non-officials, Sir Sultan said he would like to include a few representatives of the Press. This body, Sir Sultan said, would meet at regular intervals and whenever he, as Member in Charge, wanted to call it for consultation. In addition to this, Sir Sultan intimated that he proposed to hold occasional conferences to which, in addition to the Members of the Publicity Board, would be invited representatives of Provincial Governments, of the local Press and some public men. The late Sir Akbar Hydari, when he took charge of the Information portfolio, had a similar plan which he wanted to bring into force immediately but on second thoughts postponed it wisely, in our opinion, for maturer consideration. Sir Sultan did not clearly define the functions of the Board and the Conference but from his remark that his officers would carry out the policy laid down, it would appear that these two bodies are to help in formulating policies. There can be only two policies in publicity: to tell the truth and nothing but the truth though not the whole truth, or to subordinate truth to expediency, military, administrative or political. In the former case, no Advisory Board or Conference is needed. It is only in the latter case that there may be room for these to assist. But we fancy that the last word, in either case, will be with the Home Department which, we suppose, will also be represented on the Board. The officials on the Board can no more exercise a free vote or voice than the officials nominated to the Legislature. Their presence in the Legislature may be a necessary wastage of bureaucratic power but there is no need for them in advisory bodies. Sir Sultan may personally consult the Home Member and tell the Board what the Home Department intends to do. If the Advisory Board can suggest a method by which the Home Department can carry out its policy with a minimum of friction with the public, well and good. If it cannot, the Home Department will carry out its intentions all the same though any number of Boards and Conferences stood in the way. The Members of the Executive Council are themselves advisers, it has been authoritatively stated. The privilege of advising Advisors may be coveted and Sir Sultan will have no difficulty in collecting the number required—it may range from twenty to two hundred to provide pre-ordained quotas for communities and provinces and, perhaps, languages. Sir Sultan will find that no good can come out of surrounding himself with a paraphernalia of Boards and Conferences. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar exploited this method more than any one else and without result. He had Advisory Committees of economists, scientists and others. Much of his time, we think, was taken up by these miniature parliaments. If every member has his own special pocket Parliament, the constitutional rights of the Legislature are inevitably curtailed. Experience shows that Boards and committees are often the most effective barriers to publicity. They are proud to be the repository of the confidence of a Member of Government, which

they jealously guard against extending to the mass of their fellows.

Sir Sultan said that his great and sole aim in accepting office was to help to win the war. If the Press and public agree with him there, he was prepared to do his utmost to protect their sacred rights and liberties. It will be unfair to infer that, if they did not agree, Sir Sultan would do nothing to protect them. It is no great thing to allow freedom of speech to those who agree with you. It is by tolerating dissent and allowing people to express ideas with which you do not agree that you vindicate your faith in civil liberty. We do not think that there are many persons outside a mental hospital who do not agree that winning the war should be the great aim of the hour. But, surely opinions may and do differ as to whether the war can be won by the methods adopted, whether the chances of its being won may not be improved by a sympathetic understanding in civil administration and whether winning the war in a way which will inevitably pave the way for another and fiercer war, is not a thing which statesmen should avoid. The Indian Press should in these matters enjoy the same freedom as the British. Rather more, seeing that in Britain the Government represents and is one with the people, which is not the case in India. To deny the Indian Press even the satisfaction of reproducing what the British Press says, is arbitrary. In his broadcast the same evening, Sir Sultan spoke with greater elaboration and rather more rhetoric on the same theme of cooperation.

It is nine months since Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar resigned. Government have not been able to secure for the Bureau of Information a publicist who can not only tell the public what Government wants, but also tell governments what the public thinks. They have had to transfer one of themselves to a position where, if anywhere, a fresh mind is most needed. Sir Sultan Ahmed as Law Member was in the right place. He did not need any Advisory Board or Conference to guide him in discharging the responsible duties of that office. He has done well there. He has on his hands important unfinished measures of legislation which he can best carry through. In order to pilot the Hindu Intestate Succession Bill, which is now before a Joint Select Committee of the two Houses, Sir Sultan has been saddled with the charge of two Departments each of which requires a full-time Member. Lord Linlithgow's ways are inscrutable. There is no reason why the transfer of Sir Sultan to the Information Bureau could not have been made earlier or waited until the Intestate Succession Bill at least had been disposed of; or why Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar should not remain in London until the War is over. Constant shifts and changes make even a semblance of continuity difficult and, indeed, it would seem that the powers-that-be do not want any Indian to stay long enough in one place to qualify as an authority in any subject. While the Finance and the Home Members are irremovable fixtures in their respective Departments—both are Britons—the Indians are being sent every three or six months from pillar to post. Naturally the Indian Member wants to create a constituency for himself since he has not been elected by one, in the shape of Advisory Boards and consultative Councils. There is no certainty that Sir Sultan will long remain in the Information Office. His successor is almost sure to sweep away the elaborate paraphernalia of these expensive, supernumerary bodies, fifth and sixth wheels to the departmental coach, which have no constitutional footing, particularly if he himself is, as it is likely, an elected representative of a popular

constituency. Beside the spurious importance which they give to individuals as having something to do with the Government—even if only as the fly on the wheel—these advisory bodies are a hindrance and a detraction from the normal development of constitutional government. More Board, less publicity.

THE TURN OF THE TIDE.

The Tunisian campaign is over. And Mr. Churchill is in Washington, discussing war strategy with President Roosevelt. Past experience had rendered prophets more than usually cautious in commenting on the North African front and the general feeling was that the battle for the last decisive victory would, as General Alexander put it in an order of the day, "bitter, fierce and long". The quick decision now gained is a tribute to the preparations made in advance—Mr. Churchill in announcing the Casablanca agreement in January had said that plans had been worked out for nine months—and to the high degree of co-ordination achieved between the different branches of fighting forces. A message stated that the air force which had helped in the subjection of Tunis and Bizerta by blasting the way for the land forces, had after the collapse turned their attention to wholesale destruction at sea. It is an irony worth noting that the successes which attended German arms in the beginning of this war were attributed not so much to the direction of the attack being unexpected as to the strength of the attack having been miscalculated. The close of the war in Africa marks the turning of the tide.

In the Russian offensive too, co-ordination appears in an even more striking form. The Russians are expected to strike in the Orel section, south of Moscow, on any day. For ten days, the Soviet air force has been pounding at Orel softening the field for the advance of the land forces. The German garrison besieged there is left without rail communications. M. Stalin has of late been more appreciative of both the Tunisian campaign and Anglo-American raids on German centres of production in the West. The Tunisian campaign foreshadows a second land front in Europe. The raids on German industrial areas have done more than that. By disturbing communications, it has not only made invasion easier when it comes, but it has hampered the German campaign in Russia by slowing down and disabling transport.

The Free Polish controversy with the Soviet State officials is dragging on. The Russian official stand is that no attempt has been made to set up a Polish Soviet Government on the territories taken over by the Soviet Union. Instead of reassuring the Free Poles this has only raised another scare. How then are these areas administered? That is the crucial question, not whether a Polish Soviet State has been established. Naturally one cannot expect the Soviet Union to rule over these areas in accordance with the capitalist regime which is now working from Britain. Much though one might feel for General Sikorski, there is no denying that he cannot hope to win in a struggle for Poland against men who are on the spot now, instead of on alien territory.

These are questions which must be engaging the attention of the leaders now in Washington. And it is very likely that Japan also is discussed.

While in Europe a unified policy is evolving—the Free Polish Government's recent exchanges with Soviet Russia would seem to have brought Stalin to a more understanding and appreciative frame of mind as regards the United Nations war efforts in

non-Russian theatres of war—there is evidently a fundamental difference of opinion as regards the position of Japan. The Churchill policy has been to settle Europe first and then turn on Japan. And that has caused no small consternation in Australia and in China. Madame Chiang Kai-Shek in the United States has been urging the necessity of not underestimating Japan. Mr. Joseph C. Grew, American Ambassador to Japan for ten years preceding the outbreak of the war, in an address at the Academy of Political Science has given several reasons favouring her propaganda, the most convincing ones being that Japan is potentially the strongest power today in the world; that the authoritarianism of Europe is new and raw while that of Japan is old and suave—"today we probably have spiritual allies among the German people; we have few among the Japanese"—that there will be no collapse from within in Japan and that "as soldiers the Japanese are definitely superior to the Germans." But even more significant is his analysis of the position in occupied Asia:

The Japanese need only one thing: time. They must try to correct their own political mistakes and military offenses. They must try to browbeat or cajole the peoples whose lands they have occupied....Japan is entrenching herself in this empire of her conquests so rapidly that days are our most precious possessions in the war. To lose a day is as bad as losing a ship. If we fight there, soon and hard, we shall not have to fight here later on and with heavy handicap.....The Japanese are counting on our not being prepared to make great sacrifices.....They count on us to delay before we develop the fighting spirit. They feel that delay will give them time to obtain complete control over East Asia. When they struck, they made no provision for failure; they left no room open for retreat.

Mr. Grew adds significantly that "if we fight now and give aid now, we shall still have allies in Asia, bases in Asia, and an enemy not yet wholly prepared."

The war in the Pacific is coming more and more to the attention of the American public. The Churchill-Roosevelt meeting at Washington, which is attended by Field-Marshal Wavell and other military heads from India as well as by American Generals directing operations in China and the East, is without doubt considering what steps should be taken to check Japan in the Asiatic front.

PSYCHIATRY.

The Bombay Radio Station broadcast three weekly talks on Psychiatry. The first was given in person by the author whose name was announced. The second also was presumably given by him but it was stated that he wished to remain anonymous. The third was read from his manuscript by a member of the staff. It struck one listener at least that the psychiatrist was progressively losing faith in his own doctrines. And well he might. In the third talk he made the extravagant claim that, by appointing a psychiatrist on their establishment, employers and employees could get on harmoniously together with results enormously favourable to all concerned. I have never seen this stupendous claim made in any book on psychiatry that has come under my notice. Psychiatry is a latinised word for Mind Cure. Western scientists have by slow degrees come to recognise that man is not only a body but also a mind and that the mind is not a passive agent but actively influences bodily conditions. They have begun also to realise that bodily ailments being often the reflex of mental ailments, can be cured by

inducing mental process of a healthy character. Faith healing was the earliest outcome of this discovery. Jesus Christ healed diseases by means of faith. Where he failed to effect cures he attributed his failure to lack of faith in the patients. "Thy faith had made thee whole, take up thy bed and walk," he bade the paralytic who was brought to him. Jesus declared that his disciples too could heal diseases and, when one of them reported that he had tried and failed, Jesus rebuked him: "O, ye of little faith." Latter-day Christian Missionaries lacking the power to heal by touch and word have established hospitals which Jesus never commanded his disciples to do. Faith healing fell into decay when the priests themselves lost faith in their power to heal. Several centuries passed before Mrs. Eddy raised the standard of Christian Science in America. Her critics said that Christian Science was borrowed without acknowledgment from the Hindu philosophy of Yoga. Whether that was true or not, the Christian Scientists are a considerable body and their organ, the *Christian Science Monitor*, published in Chicago, enjoys a journalistic eminence comparable to the *Manchester Guardian* alone in England. In Europe a new school of scientists began to use mesmerism as a means of curing patients. This school attained prominence in France. Coue followed by demonstrating that it was unnecessary to hypnotise patients in order to convey a suggestion to the sub-conscious mind whose potentialities formed the subject of investigation by Psychic Societies. He developed the doctrine of cure by self-suggestion. The patient himself by auto-suggestion can cure himself. Coue himself was a chemist and acquired his knowledge by empirical methods. His disciple and expositor, Charles Baudoin, drew freely from Yoga treatises in support of his own psychological explanations of the basic principles of the Coue system. He wrote :

As one of the curiosities of history, and further as a lesson in humility, we may point out that the states just described are described, with considerable psychological acumen.....in the precepts by which for centuries past, the yogis of Hindustan have been accustomed to attain self-mastery.—("Suggestion and Auto-Suggestion").

The term "Psychiatry" has been appropriated for the school of mind cure which bears the name of Freud. The particular direction which Freudianism took, is due to the racial heritage which made Eve responsible for the fall of man. The Oedipus legend of ancient Greece became in the hands of Freud the basis of an elaborate theory. In this legend a son killed his father without knowing that the victim was his father. Freud made out that this mistake was only apparent and that it really was the result of suppressed jealousy which from infancy the son had conceived for his father on account of the latter's claims on the mother. This theory found wide credence in post first-War Europe and certain circles among educated Indians. The Oedipus complex became the pattern of numerous other complexes, of which the two, inferiority complex and superiority complex, are colloquially used to explain every kind of behaviour of which one does not approve. Baudoin is right when he says that Freudianism complicates simple problems but wrong when he adds that it simplifies complex problems. Freud's explanation of the Oedipus complex is far-fetched. Post-war Austria was disorganised from top to bottom and it is possible that the Viennese doctor had many patients with disintegrated personalities. The idea of a child becoming jealous of its father because of his relation to its mother, is a grotesque fancy in normal family life. But the point I wanted particularly to notice in the radio talk, is the

application of Psychiatry to the relations between employers and factory workers. The benefits claimed by the introduction of the technique—itsself a complex—into the organization of industry, are so utterly fanciful that it is not surprising that the psychiatrist did not care to take the responsibility for them even in the safe and secluded precincts of the broadcasting station. For Psychiatry, even its ardent devotees cannot claim to have a value except as a means of curing individuals by digging up their complexes. It can under no circumstances deal with two contradictory complexes as the profit motive of employers and the wage motive of the workers.

RECLUSE.

BOMBAY SUGGESTION ON SUCCESSION BILL.

SIR,

Readers of *The Reformer* will be thankful to have, if possible, the full text of the instructive speech of the Right Hon. M. R. Jayakar on the Hindu Intestate Succession Bill, referred to very briefly in its issue of 24th April. It would be interesting to know wherein the Bill falls short of the law relating to the rights of Hindu women as settled in the Bombay Province. The ladies of Bombay have done a notable public service by urging the Select Committee to amend the Bill so as to extend the benefit of those rights to Hindu women of all Provinces instead of depriving even Bombay women of the rights they now enjoy.

There is one remark, however, in that Note which needs clarification. After observing that "the present Bill does not altogether leave the Hindu Marriage Law unaffected," and that "it permits Hindu girls to marry outside their community," it goes on to point out that "the offspring of such marriages will have full rights of inheritance." This may at first sight give the impression that if a Hindu girl has civil marriage with a Buddhist, for instance, under the new Hindu Marriage Bill to come, her offspring will, on the death of their Buddhist father, inherit his property under the present Hindu Succession Bill. Of course all offspring born in lawful wedlock are entitled to inherit to their father as legitimate children. But it is the religion of the person who dies intestate that determines the law by which the succession to his property shall be regulated. It is, therefore, the Buddhist law of inheritance (which, by the way, is not now before the legislature for amendment) that will determine the succession to the Buddhist husband of the Hindu girl in question, and his widow and offspring will receive only such share in the property and will have only such power of disposition over it as are prescribed by the existing Buddhist law for Buddhist heirs, male and female. If, however, it is such Hindu woman herself who dies leaving property, her offspring will inherit to her, whatever be the religion they or their father may profess, with the full powers of disposition conceded to all heirs, male or female, by the new Hindu Succession Bill. Perhaps it was this last aspect of the legal position that was meant to be stressed in that Note. If it be anything else, it may kindly be explained.—KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI.

[The Bombay School is more liberal than others in respect of the recognition of the widows of Gotraja Sapindas as heirs and in Stridhan.—*Editor.*]

HINDU SUCCESSION BILL.

At a largely attended meeting of the citizens of Delhi held under the auspices of the Delhi Provincial Council of Women, in the Town Hall, Sir B. L. Mitter, Advocate-General of India, explained in very lucid terms the scope and nature of the Hindu Intestate Succession Bill introduced by Sir Sultan Ahmed in the Budget session of the Legislative Assembly.

Sir B. L. Mitter stated that the time for rousing enthusiasm for the measure had long past and that it was the duty of all thinking citizens to understand the scope and nature of the Bill.

The scope of the Bill, he continued, was extremely limited, as it confined itself to putting into repair a very tiny portion of the huge edifice of the Hindu law which has fallen into disrepair. The Bill sought to deal only with the law relating to the succession to the separate property of Hindus which the owner could dispose of. In dealing with that property, the Bill sought to remove the disabilities to which women were at present subjected not by ancient Hindu laws but by later commentators. The main principles embodied in the Bill were :

The removal of disability of women in inheriting property. Under the existing law, women could only inherit the property with limited rights, namely, the rights of possession and enjoyment only. They had no right of disposition. This did not amount to absolute ownership which a male in a similar position enjoyed. The Bill sought to remove this defect.

The second principle, added Sir B. L. Mitter, related to putting the male and female heirs to such a property in an equal position in certain circumstances.

The third principle was to harmonize the diversities in the law of inheritance adopted in various parts of India according to the different schools of Hindu law.

Sir B. L. Mitter concluded that the Bill dealt with a small part of an organic system: In order that the reform might be really effective, the system had to be taken as a whole. He hoped that the Hindu Law Revision Committee would be reconstituted to complete the work.

Sir Sultan Ahmed, Law Member, announced that he was expected to be in charge of the Bill and that he would meet all reasonable criticisms, and hoped to be in a position to enact a piece of Hindu law which would lead to the very desirable result pleaded for by Sir B. L. Mitter.

Before winding up the proceedings, the Delhi Provincial Council of Women passed resolutions unanimously supporting the Hindu Intestate Succession Bill, now before the Assembly, suggesting that the Government of India should include agricultural property within the scope of the Bill and concluding with the hope that Sir Sultan Ahmed would agree to nominate another woman to the legislature to represent their point of view.

Mrs. Manecklal Premchand has been nominated.

G. B. SHAW AND THE "NEW STATESMAN."

Mr. and Mrs. Sydney Webb and Mr. Bernard Shaw, the original Fabian group, started the *New Statesman* with which was later incorporated the *Nation*, as an organ of independent opinion midway between Liberalism and Socialism. The journal has throughout maintained a high standard. Gokhale was interested in the venture and did some propaganda for it in India whose affairs were expected to be intelligently commented on as a special feature. Except on Miss Katherine Mayo's "Mother India", where the *New Statesman* went clean off the rails, the journal has maintained a tradition of sympathetic attitude to Indian nationalism.

The controversy in some recent numbers of the *New Statesman* over Bernard Shaw's break with it, is, therefore, of interest to Indians. Mr. Hasketh Pearson's Life or rather study of Bernard Shaw is the occasion for it. Pearson suggests that Bernard Shaw checked the manuscript. "Critic" who contributes the "London Diary" in the *New Statesman* found Pearson's story often extremely incomplete and sometimes inaccurate. For instance, wrote "Critic",

he (Pearson) makes an astounding statement about Shaw's connection with this paper. Clifford Sharp is no longer alive to consult, but I didn't think the issue on which he (Shaw) ceased to write articles in the old *New Statesman* was Sharp's refusal of an article about *Lusitania*. Sharp found that he wanted signed Shaw articles, and G. B. S. at the time, wanted to write "leaders" in the *New Statesman*. Mr. Pearson adds the extraordinary remark that Shaw wrote no more for the *New Statesman* until 1939...a statement whose falsity he could have discovered by five minutes enquiry. Amongst other writings here, he might at least have recalled Shaw's controversy with H. G. Wells about Stalin.

This was in the *New Statesman* of January 1943. In the next issue "Critic" returned to the topic with a letter from S. K. Ratcliffe who is still remembered as an outstanding English journalist in close touch with Indian leaders. We quote Ratcliffe:—

A few days before No. 1, Sharp told me that G. B. S. had knocked him over by saying that he "would not sign"—meaning, of course, that he was looking forward to writing leaders. Sharp, however, was rather bucked by getting an article on Forcible Feeding that he regarded as a masterpiece. He began editing G. B. S. (he was an incorrigible alterer) and showed me the MS. of an article the next week, I think, rigorously subbed right through. When I exclaimed about this treatment, he said, "Shaw says he likes it." I said, "Of course, you know he won't stand that."

On this "Critic" comments:—

It was this question of signing articles, not any question of a particular article, that led to Shaw's ceasing to write regularly for the *N. S.* Ratcliffe goes on to say that Sharp "hated" Shaw's *Common Sense About the War*, but it got quotations for the new *N. S.* all over the world, and as a journalist Sharp naturally admired it. Later, according to Ratcliffe, G. B. S. wanted to make a further attack on Edward Grey in a second supplement; Sharp refused, and G. B. S. said to Ratcliffe, "I told him he has become a suburban Tory." But Shaw always continued to have a high opinion of Sharp as an editor. The truth is, of course, that no editor could have stood the kicks that would come to him for publishing unsigned G. B. S. The more brilliant and the more personal the articles the more impossible for the editor to print them.

THE VICEROY'S BROADCAST.

The Viceroy's broadcast on Thursday was a disappointment. It was not in the best of taste. Though, as His Excellency pointed out, the conquest of Tunisia is not the end of the war, yet it is an important step towards the end. As such the occasion called for gratitude, humility and charity even towards the fallen enemy. Planting the victor's feet on his neck, striking him down to the dust, were not ideas or phrases worthy of the commemoration of a great deliverance. The only generous expression in the whole address was the chivalrous reference to General Auchinleck's share in the victory. The expectation that the Viceroy would commemorate the deliverance by announcing the men and women held in detention, was legitimate. His Excellency has declared a holiday on Friday May 21 to celebrate the victory. The celebration will evoke hearty response if it is associated with an act of generosity, not to say justice, to the

detainees. Lord Linlithgow's stand on the South African Indian question, though as yet it remains in the region of protest, has relieved the political situation to an appreciable extent. Faith in justice has been revived by the judgment of the Federal and High Courts. Lord Linlithgow is finally leaving the country the fortunes of which he has held in his hand for seven years, in circumstances as trying to the people as to himself. It will be a graceful act if His Excellency smooth the path of his successor by an act of liberation in tune with the liberation of the Middle East.

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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 Allah Bux Murder :—The murder of ex-Premier Allah Bux of Sind in broad daylight in the vicinity of a police station in the Shikarpur-Sukkur Road by two men armed with revolvers, is, even for Sind, an audacious outrage. On the morning of Sunday May 14, someone called on the ex-Premier at his residence in Shikarpur, and invited him to visit a garden in the neighbourhood. Mr. Allah Bux with two companions went by tonga and on their way back the two men fired point-blank and killed Allah Bux and injured one of his companions. The latter was taken to hospital. What became of the other companion is not stated. The murder created a tremendous sensation in Shikarpur which was Allah Bux's home-town and the funeral was attended by thousands of his fellow citizens of all communities. The Governor of Sind ordered the flag over Government House to be flown at half-mast. The present Prime Minister of Sind, Sir Gulamhusain Hidayatulla, and other Ministers, Allah Bux's colleagues in his last Ministry, paid warm tributes to the murdered man. Allah Bux was a dynamic personality. He was the president of the National Muslim League, known as Azad Muslim League, which was opposed to Pakistan. He was a fighter and, unlike some Muslim Nationalists, was not content with paying lip-service to Indian unity. It is stated that the murder has no political or communal significance and that it was the outcome of purely personal motives. How this conclusion was formed, is not known. A special police officer has been deputed to detect the criminals. It should not be difficult to do this as the persons who had a personal grudge against Allah Bux must be known to his family and friends. Although the ex-premier died on the spot and could not make a dying statement, the two men who accompanied him would surely be able to identify the assassins. The murder and the circumstances in which it was committed have evoked a storm of indignation without precedent in recent times. Tributes have been paid to the murdered leader from one end of the country to the other.

Sir George Anderson :—Sir George Anderson whose death was reported on Wednesday, had, for an educational officer in India, a remarkably successful career. He came to the Elphinstone College, Bombay, as Professor of History after the establishment of the South African Union. He was a Professor in a South African University and was

discharged by the Botha Government along with other English personnel. In Bombay he took great interest in progressive movements and was noted for his warm support to Gokhale's proposals in the Senate of the University. He was called to New Delhi as Under-Secretary of the Educational Department and became the right-hand man of Sir Sankaran Nair who was then Education Member. After that he served on the Hartog Committee of the Simon Commission. He was also Secretary of the Sadler Commission and did good work in formulating its recommendations. He was made Commissioner of Education and knighted. Latterly he showed some tendencies to reaction. For some time he acted as Director of Public Instruction in the Punjab. Wherever he went, he had the knack of adapting himself to his environment. That perhaps was the secret of his success. Normally a member of the Indian Educational Service has a humdrum career rising by regular grades and ending in the more fortunate cases as Director of Public Instruction with perhaps a Companionship of the Indian Empire.

Disintegrating Communalism :—Communalism carries within it the germ of its own dissolution. Once the process of isolation and separation is started, it is bound to go forward until the whole scheme is reduced to absurdity. The process is taking place under our eyes. The Muslim League is threatened by the emergence not only of the old Shia-Sunni schism but also of the specifically Indian caste cleavage between the Momins and other Muslims. The Momins claim to number from 2½ to 4½ crores, that is, about a third to a half of the Muslim population. The dormant Catholic-Protestant antagonism among Christians, deeper in some respects than the Hindu-Muslim difference, has been glossed over by both the sects being included among Indian Christians in the electorates; but it is only waiting a favourable opportunity to assert itself. The hundreds of scheduled castes have been for franchise purposes treated as a single unit. But this imposed unity is beginning to crack. Dr. Ambedkar, during his visit to Bombay, has been obliged to satisfy the Chamars that their interests are not overlooked in the matter of Government service, in favour of Mahars. This process is bound to continue until communalism ceases to exist. The contrary process of synthesis is a more difficult one especially among illiterate people who know no world outside their groups. Education is needed to grasp the essential unity underlying the diverse elements. The process of separating and isolating the Indian groups was started at the beginning of the century. Census Commissioners analysed the beliefs and practices of various classes and decided that a section of the population hitherto included among Hindus, must be classified as Animists. That Hindus themselves do not look upon Animism as a distinct creed and that all religions including Christianity contain traces of Animism, did not trouble the official conscience. Then the Muslims, according to the late

Mr. Montagu, objected to the depressed classes being included among Hindus. Tests by which scheduled castes may be distinguished from caste Hindus were improvised and some millions were excluded in the census from the Hindu columns and transferred to a new column of Scheduled Castes. The earlier Census Reports referred to the existence of marginal groups with regard to whom it was not easy to say whether they were Hindus or Muslims. They followed many Hindu customs and some Muslim ones and returned themselves indifferently as belonging to one or the other of the denominations. There is no mention of these in the current Census Report. The tendency is for the Hindu total to be divided and subdivided by every conceivable device, and for differences among other communities, even the most patent, to be ignored or glossed over. The census has ceased to be predominantly scientific and has degenerated into propaganda.

Smuts on Tunisia :—Among the many celebrators of Tunisia, Field Marshal Smuts is easily the most distinguished Empire figure. The South African Premier has been inspired to new heights of eloquence by the victory. He referred to the cleansing of "our continent"—he was speaking to his own countrymen—of the Axis menace. Comparisons are odious but nevertheless they are not always out of place. The first thing that strikes one in the North African campaign, is the part played by Indian troops. The second, that the South Africans who ought to be more concerned with events in their continent, have not been very prominent as fighters in the campaigns conducted in the past four years there. And when Field-Marshal Smuts talks of "our continent" being cleared of the enemy, it is but natural that an Indian should feel bitter at the thought that the South African Government has been legislating against fellow South Africans of the very race which has helped greatly in making this desirable objective possible. It is natural, too, for an Indian to ask himself whether the South African Premier's use of the possessive pronoun implies the public declaration of South African claims to dominate Africa and how far these claims have been accepted by the United Nations. South Africa has its dreams of empire. For some time, it has sought to bring Kenya and East Africa under its influence. The war has further awakened its ambitions. Another noteworthy feature is that, immediately after Tunisia, it was announced that South African troops had been sent to the Middle East. This bit of news has passed unnoticed. But South Africa had resolved on the outbreak of war not to send her armies outside the continent of Africa. The departure from that decision now reported means that something is brewing. The Dominions have not, generally speaking, contributed to the welfare of the Empire without cashing on their "sacrifice." Is the South African principle of race prejudice to be extended to the whole African continent in the post-war world order? Will Indians be told "Not wanted" now they have cleared the continent of the Axis enemy? A negro soldier who had enlisted in the American army after Pearl Harbour, says 'Critic' writing in the *New Statesman*, desired that they should put on his tombstone, "Here lies a black man, killed fighting a yellow man for the protection of a white man." The negro was an optimist in expecting a tombstone with an inscription. He was carrying civilian ideals into war conditions. The inscription to which an Indian dying in Tunisia, would be entitled, will make the negro's epitaph sound like Grey's Elegy. The Government of India has, alone among the United Nations, declared a public holiday for Tunisia on May 21. We presume

this signifies that India's contribution to the campaigns in North Africa has been outstanding. The Government of India, then, ought also to make another effort to get the South African laws against Indians rescinded. Surely the advocacy of elementary justice should not be less persistent or less vigilant than the efforts to perpetuate injustice.

Mr. Amery and the Muslim League :— Mr. Amery was asked in the House of Commons whether he intended to take action similar to that in regard to the Congress against the Muslim League in respect of the violent denunciation which was a marked feature of the proceedings of the last session of the League. Gandhiji has preached non-violence for years and seldom fails to proclaim that his movement is entirely non-violent. Mr. Jinnah, on the other hand, rarely fails to refer to the sword in his speeches, though the sword is an obsolete weapon which cannot avail against dive-bombers. In the closing passages of his presidential address at the Delhi session, Mr. Jinnah threatened dire consequences if the British Government did not listen to his warning. Mr. Amery said that, as Mr. Jinnah had not started Civil Disobedience, he did not feel any action was necessary and he quoted some words of the League President in which he had endorsed the action taken against Congress leaders. Following the precedents of Sind and Bengal, a Muslim League Ministry has been installed in the North-West Frontier Province where the electorates returned an overwhelming majority of Congress members to the Legislature. Several of these men are in jail but that does not alter the fact of the verdict of the constituencies. The relations between the League and Government are indeed intriguing.

Fighting Inflation :—The Government of India may claim the support of the more vociferous Indian economists for the two measures announced this week. One of them raises the income-tax on excess profits to somewhere over 98 per cent. A part of this is to be restored to the holders at the end of the war. The professed object of this measure is to restrict the purchasing power of the community and thus to control prices. Economists had recommended the imposition of cent per cent excess profits tax, but Government have not one so far. Persons of the excess profits earning class were not buying more food and cloth with the excess profits. They will not buy less because of the deprivation of them. So far as these two necessities of life are concerned, the increased taxation will have little or no effect. The second measure prohibiting the starting of new industrial concerns, will be helped by the raising of the excess profits tax. Mr. G. D. Birla in a widely noticed pamphlet had maintained that the best way of using the accumulating sterling securities was to start industries which, he declared, can and must be done now. Sir Vithal Chandavarkar in a speech called attention to the partial failure of Government loans which he ascribed to wealthy men preferring to invest money in industrial shares rather than in Government loans. By closing the door to industrial investment Government may facilitate the raising of loans. The reason proffered, namely, that it is intended to stop mushroom growths which can not survive the war, is hardly convincing. Many even of the existing industries will find themselves in sore straits at the end of the war and can be saved only by Government actively intervening with protective measures. The new industries can be protected in the same way. It is obvious that Government have other intentions regarding sterling securities which have been accumulating to an embarrassing extent.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, May 22, 1943.

CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE FOR WAR AND PEACE.

We have received papers relating to an unofficial group named "Christian Conference in War and Peace" which was formed at a meeting in New York in January. Its object is, in the words of the circular letter signed by Bishop Francis McConnell, "to help develop concerted action by those in the churches who recognise the unity of the war and the peace and the need to establish the nucleus of an effective world government during the next one to three years." The Programme of Action which accompanies the letter falls under five main heads. They are: 1. Win the War and Win the Chance to build a better world. 2. A council of the United Nations now to prosecute the War and plan the Peace. 3. Economic co-operation by the United Nations to raise standards of living throughout the world. 4. Extend Democracy at Home, eliminate racial discrimination, enlarge economic opportunity. None of these four objects has anything specifically Christian about it and we do not see why they are put forward as the programme of a Christian Conference. In the editorial on "The United Nations and the World Organization" in the bi-weekly journal of the Conference, there is a palpably forced attempt to bring Christianity into the picture. Here is the key passage of the editorial:

A mere balance of power between the nations is potential anarchy. A mere federation, however, may be almost as near to the abyss of a new anarchy. A world organization must be controlled by power. The statement assumes that the four great nations among the United Nations will hold a hegemonous position in a world organisation. It restores to Christian political thought a recognition of the place of power in Government, which the classical Christian ages never lacked but which modern utopianism has disregarded.

What is this but "power politics" in the cloak of Christianity? The four hegemonous nations are only nominally Christian. China and Russia are not even that. Further, the antithesis between Christianity and Utopia is not clear. Referring to the position of the two non-Christian countries in the hegemonous body, the journal observes: "It (the Conference) welcomes the place of Russia and China in the hegemonous position of the greater powers in the hope that their influence will prevent an Anglo-Saxon domination of the world." As in the programme and in the statement Anglo-Saxon stands for Christian, the welcoming of the two non-Anglo-Saxon, and non-Christian nations as calculated to prevent Anglo-Saxon domination, is only a variation in terms. It is no longer possible to ignore the fact that Christianity has failed as an influence for peace even in Europe. It has, if anything, accentuated the colour and race prejudice of the dominant Europeans. South Africa and the other British Dominions are a standing warning against hoping to establish human brotherhood on the basis of Christianity. Islam as a dissolvent of race and colour prejudice has a more presentable record. But Islamic dogma comes in the way of its becoming the basis of world union. While such union can be achieved only on a cultural and spiritual basis, none of the existing religions are suitable to form that basis. We are, therefore, driven to the necessity of defining the ideology of the basis for such union. The four points of the Conference Programme include some of the elements but much more is needed. The hegemony of four is the foundation of the Programme and it is also its weakest point.

Incidentally, we have not yet seen a complete list of the United Nations which are variously stated to number twenty-four, twenty-nine and sometimes thirty-nine. China has repeatedly declared that she does not aspire to world leadership and she may not agree to accept the hegemonous position trust upon her. Soviet Russia has definitely renounced its original international mission and is not likely to resume it in association with the capitalist regimes of Great Britain and the United States. It will be a miracle if Poland remains among the United Nations alongside of Russia longer than the exigencies of war make it absolutely necessary. France has already regained her African Empire and hopes soon to return to metropolitan France. Will she be content to accept a hegemony in which she has no place? The Programme does not mention India but the stone which the builders had set at nought has sometimes become head of the corner. The Conference seems to be no more than a feeble endeavour to find a place for the Churches in the bus even if only as strap-hanger.

SWITZERLAND'S NEUTRALITY.

Reports in the press mentioned early this week that Switzerland was showing signs of uneasiness at the preparations and counter-preparations for the invasion of Europe. Switzerland has enjoyed neutrality in the present war—an almost unique neutrality. Sweden in the North was not able to prevent Nazi troops passing through her territory. Portugal comes nearest to Switzerland but her colonies have not maintained her sovereignty unchallenging. It is not inopportune to study conditions in Switzerland.

Geographically Switzerland occupies a strategic position between the two important Axis partners in Europe. The shortest rail route connecting the coal and iron districts of Germany with the factories of Italy lies through Switzerland. The railway system, too, is well-equipped and infinitely more efficient than the much longer route through former Austria. A million tons of coal a month have had to be transported to Italy—via land, since the sea route, down the Rhine to Rotterdam, round Spain to Genoa, was rendered unusable by the British. Besides coal, Germany has had to furnish steel, wood, base metals to maintain Italy's war industries. Italy sends back fruit and vegetables, sulphur, mercury, silk, rayon and hemp. All this goes through Swiss territory. But arms and troops have had to be transported via the Brenner Pass, as the Swiss Government has refused to allow their transportation. The fact that the railways pass through the world's largest tunnels—Gotthard and Loetschberg tunnels, 9 miles long each; the Simplon, 12½ miles long—ensures that Germany will respect the Swiss Government's wishes. For, however rapidly Switzerland is invaded, there would always be time for the Swiss to blow the tunnels up and the repair would take years. The tunnels are known to be mined. Moreover, Swiss power plants along the Rhine frontier supply electricity to vital German industries.

Owing to the double blockade—the British blockade and the German counter-blockade—Swiss foreign trade has shrunk appreciably since 1940. In order to keep its factories going, Switzerland has had to turn more and more to trade with Germany. Germany both delivers and controls the raw materials and fuel needed by Swiss industries and she dictates the prices. With both its vital supply lines running through Axis controlled territory, Switzerland has to accept the position lest her industries and the economic life of her people be

strangled. She has been getting progressively less value for what she exports to Germany. Commenting on Switzerland's trade in war materials, Dr. Hediger, in "Switzerland in Wartime" which contains much useful information, observes :

At the outbreak of the war in September 1939 the Swiss Government, in a decree concerning the maintenance of Swiss neutrality, prohibited the export of weapons, ammunition, and all kinds of war materials to the belligerent countries. This rule was later qualified in an ordinance dated February 13, 1940 governing the manufacture, trade, import and export of war materials, and providing for strict government supervision of the above activities to allow for export of such manufactured goods as precision instruments, tools, time mechanisms and engine parts. No export is permitted where the national security and the needs of the Swiss Army would be impaired. Before the war and in its early stages, the principal beneficiaries of Swiss exportation of such war materials were the Allied nations. Today these articles, manufactured entirely from German raw materials, go to Germany.

The Swiss army is reputed to be one of the best and best-equipped in the world. With a population of 4½ millions, the Swiss are able to have under arms half a million trained men. There is no standing army, but there is compulsory military service and the unfit are taxed, even when they are out of the country. There is a three months course of intensive training at the age of 19, and after that the citizen is sent home with his gun and uniform, ready to be called up at a moment's notice. There are annual refresher courses of three weeks. Mobilisation is easy in the circumstances. All officers have to start as privates; in peacetime there is no rank higher than that of colonel. The system has served well in so far as it has brought all sections of the people together and has impressed on the citizen the primary importance of civilian life.

Ideologically, the whole country is opposed to political extremism of all forms and there is no conflict in national life in the present war. The press is free and whatever restraints exist are mainly self-imposed. The present war has given Switzerland a great opportunity and it has risen nobly to it. Apart from the great Red Cross organization, Swiss diplomats have had the arduous duties of looking after Allied interests in Axis countries, Axis interests in Allied countries. Refugees have poured in and their appeals have met with full response, both from the State and private individuals. In spite of "encirclement" by the Axis, the Swiss radio has persistently opposed to Nazi plans for a New Order, its own scheme for post-war reconstruction which shows that the Swiss look forward to a time of collaboration with the outside world. The fall of France threw Switzerland back on the Axis. The collapse of the German adventure in Africa momentarily places a greater strain on Switzerland, now that there is no need to keep Rommel's army supplied in Africa. That is one reason for Swiss anxiety.

Mr. Churchill in the American Legislature:— Speaking to both houses of the legislature in the United States of America, Mr. Winston Churchill, the British Prime Minister, declared that he was well aware of the need for help to China and of not neglecting the Japanese end of the Axis. He modified the Casablanca mantra of first settling Hitler, though he repeated that the defeat of Germany would mean the collapse of Japan whilst the reverse would not be true. Apart from this, his speech was important because of the British Premier's acceptance of the American lead in French North African politics. Mr. Churchill expressed his confidence in

"the gallant General Giraud." This is very curious, because while there is considerable press criticism of American support of General Giraud in the U.S.A., there has been none of Britain's championing General de Gaulle in Britain.

"THE WELL OF THE PEOPLE".*

When the Turkish journalists delegation was in Bombay, this writer chanced to ask one of them if there was any life of the Ataturk which he could recommend. The book had, of course, to be by a Turk. "No," was the reply, "we are busy living the revolution and have no time to write on these subjects." Kemal Ataturk's revolution has been at work for two decades. In other words, it has ceased to be a revolution and the absence of any appreciable volume of literature is quite inexplicable. In contrast what a mass has grown round Gandhiji! There are books in English from British, American and Indian interpreters; "lives" in Swedish, Danish, French; and references, favourable or unfavourable, in the pronouncements of leading publicists of all nations, from Sun Yat-Sen to Stalin, to the technique evolved by Gandhiji. Undoubtedly Gandhiji has captured the imagination of the world.

Gandhiji who has had little time for fiction or the imaginative side of literature, has during his lifetime inspired in India several authors and writers to every form of literature ranging from poetic prose to prosaic poetry—D. S. Sharma's "Gandhi Sutras", Pandita Kshama Row's "Satyagraha Gita", Raja Rao's "Kantapura", and now Bharati Sarabhai's "The Well of the People." In these days of cheap publications—newsprint between boards, mainly—it is a delight to hand and eye to come across the elegantly produced slim volume which Miss Sarabhai has given her public.

The story behind the play-poem is a simple one. It tells of a Brahmin woman whose life desire to go to Benares becomes impossible of fulfilment because, when she is ready to go, there is no one to take her there. She is inspired to build a temple-well open to all castes in her village, instead. The earlier ambition brings in Benares, Hardwar, the Himalayas; the later, Gandhiji and the Harijan movement. The story in its bare outlines appeared in *Harijan* and it inspired Miss Sarabhai to "The Well of the People."

The choice of theme is not a happy one. For one who has been influenced by Gandhiji to constructive work as an expression of worship, the fact of being mentioned in Gandhiji's paper is the best temporal immortality. Miss Sarabhai has shown rare courage in undertaking her task. But she has not, even in her comprehensive introductory note, gone beyond the bare recital of achievement. You cannot simply write of the Harijan movement and Gandhiji's contribution to awakening the social conscience without noticing the Ambedkar aspect of the developments which have followed. Yet the chorus of approving voices is untinged by any discordant note. And in real life gratitude is not the meed of the social servant. The dramatist is not outstanding because of a mere gift of presenting in uncommon language the surface sentiments of people but in drawing out of a given position the hidden meaning—that genius which, speaking of the musician, Browning described as, "that out of three sounds he frame not a fourth sound but a star." This should be the more so of the dramatic poet. But "The Well of the People" has not exploited the full drama of the story. The trouble is that there is another drama—Indian politics—which

* By Bharati Sarabhai. Visva-Bharati. Rs 2/-. Sole Distributors, The New Book Company, Bombay.

preoccupies the author and overshadows the plot. Miss Sarabhai has been at pains to explain the symbolism of the play. The old woman in it is, she says, India. And though she has gone into great detail to elucidate the parallel, that first striking picture is unfortunate. Is the traditional spiritual pilgrimage of India to find its frustrated goal in—social service?

In the ultimate analysis, therefore, "The Well of the People" will depend for its appeal on the language of Miss Sarabhai. The distinguished writers, Tagore, Andrews, Radhakrishnan, whose appreciations adorn the jacket of the book, have borne testimony to the wealth of imagery which Bharati Sarabhai has displayed. There is no doubt that others too will appreciate the "Well". When Miss Sarabhai says that her desire is to promote a people's theatre and that any Indian language version should be simple and actable, she admits by implication that her English is for the chosen few. The style of the "Well" does impress one with the feeling that the poet has not translated her inspiration in communicable language. The glossary of Indian words included at the end indicates that the edition is meant primarily for Western readers. It would be well to have put in its place for Indian readers a gloss on English words unusually used. The art of all writing is essentially that the words should not stand between the reader and the thought to be communicated. Miss Sarabhai's phrases often obscure the ideas that they seek to present. In her preface she has promised a simple and actable version in Gujerati for the people. Need the English version have been so ornate?

S.

A BANDRA DIARY.

It made me sick to listen to the Viceroy's broadcast on the Tunisian victory. I am not an Englishman and do not aspire to be one in future births. But I am a lover of the English language and regard and have often said that English is the second sacred language of India. The attempt to oust it in favour of some suppositious *lingua franca* was the fundamental mistake of Gandhian nationalism. English means not merely the vocabulary but far deeper things. Lord Linlithgow spoke in English but his ideas were un-English and that is what sickened me. Moderation in the hour of triumph is one of the characteristics of the English temper and it is embodied in the English language. Fairplay is another. Freedom, of course, is its corner-stone. All these are crystallised in the knightly vow,

To honour while you strike him down

The foe who comes with fearless eyes.

So much for the language. Then there is something due to the high position which a Viceroy holds. Sentiments which may be pardonable in street urchins, sound monstrous on the lips of men set in high places. The most shocking sentiment in the broadcast was the setting foot on the neck of the conquered enemy. When did any English victor do this? The Black Prince after Cressy had the vanquished French King riding at his right-hand when he entered his capital. General Montgomery did not plant his foot on General von Arnim's neck when he surrendered the other day and it may be safely predicted that neither President Roosevelt nor Prime Minister Churchill, not to mention King George VI, will subject Hitler or Mussolini to this truly barbarous indignity. Then, Lord Linlithgow's epithets about the Japanese were not well chosen. Lord Linlithgow has met in his life perhaps a dozen or half-dozen Japanese diplomats at the utmost. But

Englishmen, Americans, Indians who have lived in Japan do not testify to their being barbarians.

Swami Vivekananda wrote of the Japanese that they were one of the cleanest people in the world. If cleanliness is next to godliness, this must count for something. Professor Cousens who lived among them for years, noted love of beauty as the dominant national trait. Professor G. C. Allen of Liverpool University whose book "Japan, the Hungry Guest" was published five years ago, is not an indiscriminate admirer of everything Japanese. In his opening chapter he deprecates the tendency among his countrymen nowadays to decry Japan and the Japanese. Whatever is wrong in modern Japan is mostly imitated from the West. The West is hating Japan for having become too like itself. Owing to clash of interests, economic and political, Britain and Japan find themselves on opposite sides. They have got to fight each other. There is no room in Asia for both Empires. By all means fight with all your strength—but why resort to vilification? Lord Linlithgow seems to think that barbarism was peculiar to the Middle Ages. But is our modern barbarism superior in any way?

Last week I referred to the several systems of mind cure. Underlying all of them is the incontrovertible truth that the mind has a controlling influence on the body. A man is very much what his ideals are. Ideals do add a cubit to a man's stature. Ideals are evanescent. They flit across the brain and do not influence character. Ideals, on the other hand, are deep-rooted in one's nature. One cannot do otherwise than live up to them. They are the dharma, the "ness" of each individual. I refer, of course, to true ideals not the fancies which pass for such in drawing-room small talk. The aim of the great religions is to promote the growth of a shining ideal which will dominate thought and conduct throughout life. "Oh, for a man to rise in me that the man I am may cease to be!" is the cry of every religious-minded person. This also is the aim of Yoga. Patanjali would have shed bitter tears if he was told that yoga in the twentieth century has been made the basis of a system of nature or mind cure. One feels one is in perfect health when one forgets that one has a body. Such moments are few but there are such moments in the life of every man. In small children they are the normal life. Wordsworth in his "Intimations of Immortality from the Recollections of Early Childhood" has celebrated them in memorable verse. By the way, it is extraordinary how all the poets gravitate to Monism. The supremacy of the Mind, therefore, is no new discovery of the mind-curers. But the idea of using this tremendous power as a substitute for medicine for the cure of bodily disease, is like trying to cook our food in the sun. It has its dangers and serious ones. Persons who attempted the yogic discipline without competent guidance have become deranged in mind. Of the modes of mind cure, psychiatry or the Freudian method is most fraught with danger. This is only my personal view. My interest in mind cure literature is primarily personal. I wanted to know how far they will be of help to me. I have found that they add little to and are, in fact, a perversion of the precepts which the great religious teachers have bequeathed to humanity. Psychiatry or the Freudian method has the added disadvantage that it destroys the naturalness and spontaneity of family and social life. After dabbling a little in Freudian literature, one is apt, consciously or, which is worse, unconsciously, to spend much of his time psychoanalysing

his relatives and friends. The father silently seeks to discover the particular "complex" which affects his children in disliking those whom he likes and despising things which he appreciates. Brothers similarly seek to dig out the complex; which makes their sisters admire persons whom they regard as commonplace or downright cranks; while the sisters are hunting for the complex which attracts their brothers to girls whom they regard as scheming minxes. In the larger sphere, one hears Gandhiji's civil disobedience attributed to some obscure complex; Stalin's Sovietism as the outcropping of a Georgian complex; and Hitler's attitude to Jews and Mr. Churchill's attitude to India as springing from some near-by complex. There is no love, no truth, no patriotism. Everything is reduced to some "complex" or other.

RECLUSE.

HINDU MONOGAMY AND INDIAN DIVORCE LAW.

(BY KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI, ASKA.)

There are more points than one which challenge one's attention in the recent judgment of Justice Rau and Nasim Ali, J., of the Calcutta High Court reported in A. L. R. 1943 Calcutta 146.

It was in an appeal on a suit for dissolution of marriage brought by a Hindu of the Arya Samaj sect named Dr. Niranjan Das Mohan against his aberrant wife Eva, a wealthy lady of Christian parentage whom he had married eighteen years ago. There are points of sociological importance in the judgment which should interest laymen and lawyers alike, especially Hindus including Brahmos and Arya Samajists.

The marriage took place long before the passing of the Arya Marriage Validating Act of 1937. It was even before the passing of Mr. Justice Macpherson's judgment of 1928 in Sita Devi's case at Patna in favour of the validity of Arya Samaj marriages which received no support from Kulwant Sahay, J; and was evaded also by the Privy Council (vide A. L. R. 1928 Patna 375 & 1932 P. C. 34 and *The Reformer* of September 1928, 30th July and 6th August 1938.) The present couple took the precaution of marrying first under the Special Marriage Act before even the Aryan conversion of the lady and then, after the conversion ceremony, they went through another marriage according to Arya Samaj rites. The Special Marriage Act of 1872 had been amended two years before that time and they could have married under it as professing the Hindu religion. But they declared they did not profess the Hindu, Christian or any other named religion.

On this last point, however, an acute contest of fact and argument was raised at the trial which incidentally disclosed a serious defect in the form of Marriage Certificate to be recorded by the marriage registrars of Act III of 1872 that calls for early rectification, though the Honourable Judges of the High Court have not said so. One question before them was as to the correctness of the two ceremonies of marriage and their legal effect. It was contended on behalf of the respondent wife that the declarations made before the Registrar were defective. The lady averred that while she herself as the bride declared that she professed no religion, the petitioner as the bridegroom declared that he was a Hindu. The petitioner deposed that he, too, declared that he professed no religion. A witness who was present at the ceremony stated that while the petitioner at first declared that he was

a Hindu and the respondent that she was a professed Christian though a Hindu in ideas, ultimately both of them declared that they were of no religion and then the Registrar married them. The petitioner produced a certified extract from the Marriage Certificate Book prescribed by the Act. But it certified simply that the parties "made the declarations required by Act III of 1872," and that "a marriage under the said Act was solemnized between them in my presence." In no marriage do the parties have the prescience or patience to provide themselves with a certified copy of the declarations made by them though each form of declaration has a distinct bearing on the law of inheritance applicable to the couple and their progeny thereafter, and though the validity of their marriage itself depends upon the correctness of the form observed, and although, (as pointed out first in *The Reformer* of January 15, 1938 and demonstrated later by A. L. R. 1939 Calcutta 544), Marriage Registrars even in metropolitan cities like Madras and Calcutta are found to be so ignorant of the law sometimes as to take incongruous declarations from the parties which make the marriage void and yet grant a marriage certificate that "the declarations required by the Act" were made by them.

In the present case too, the parties had taken a copy of such dubious certificate but not of the actual declarations made by them at the marriage, and, what was more strange, the Court found that those declarations were not available now even in the Registrar's Office, which shows indeed a deplorably bad state of Registry service prevailing under Act III of 1872. The Court, however, got over its difficulties by refusing to believe "that, if there had been any such irregularity or discrepancy as the respondent now mentions, the Registrar would have solemnized the marriage."

The Court had still another point to dispose of before the marriage under the Act could be held valid. The contention was further raised that though the declaration be presumed to be in the prescribed form, it was in fact false, since the lady respondent, according to her evidence at the trial, was always a Christian at heart, and yet she declared before the Registrar that she professed no religion. But the Court had no difficulty in holding, with reference to the wording, that "what parties were or were not at heart is as irrelevant to the purposes of this section as it would be difficult to ascertain; the criterion is what they professed or did not profess according to their declarations made at the time." The Court was further fortified in this conclusion by the fact that neither section 17 which provides inter alia that a marriage may be declared null and void when it contravenes any of the four conditions specified in section 2, nor section 21 which imposes a penalty for signing a false declaration, adds the further provision that a marriage may be voided on the ground "that the parties belonged at heart to some religion which they repudiated." Their Lordships, therefore, had no hesitation in holding that the marriage solemnized under the Special Marriage Act was valid "although for sentimental or other reasons the parties may have considered it expedient to follow it up with a ceremony according to Arya Samaj rites."

This decision should in the ordinary course have been sufficient to enable the Court to deal with the application under the Indian Divorce Act by virtue of section 17 of Act III of 1872. But, as their Lordships observed, the learned District Judge who tried the case in the first instance did not stop there. While holding that the marriage under the Special Marriage Act was a valid marriage and that the subsequent marriage according to Arya Samaj rites also

would have been valid if the parties had not already been married, "which is to say in other words that the subsequent Arya Samaj marriage was invalid because of the prior valid marriage under the Act, he nevertheless went on to find that, even if the second of the two marriages was the valid one, the Divorce Act was still applicable" by the terms of section 2 of the Indian Divorce Act, as amended in 1927, one of the parties of the action, the respondent, being a professed Christian at the time.

This last finding upon a hypothetical basis would obviously seem uncalled for when the only marriage held valid, namely that under III of 1872, enabled the court anyhow to apply the Divorce Act. But their Lordships were so pleased with the "very full and careful order" of the District Judge on this point that they entirely concurred with him even adding their own argument on the same basic assumption. They observed that the parties went through two forms of marriage. It was no one's case that neither of them was valid. The wife said that it was the first, the one under the Special Marriage Act, that was valid; according to the husband it was the second, namely, that according to Arya Samaj rites. It was immaterial for their Lordships' purposes which was the correct view. If the wife's contention was right, S. 17 of the Special Marriage Act made the Divorce Act applicable to the dissolution of marriage. If, on the other hand, it was only the subsequent marriage according to Arya Samaj rites that was valid, then the Divorce Act would be applicable *proprio vigore*, or by its own force, one of the parties (in the present instance the wife) being admittedly Christian at the time when the husband presented his petition for dissolution of marriage.

The relevant paragraph of the amended section runs as follows:—

Nothing herein contained shall authorise any court to grant relief under this Act except where the petitioner or respondent professes the Christian religion.

This means, according to their Lordships, on the authority of I. L. R. 18 Calcutta 252, that he or she must be Christian at the time when the petition is presented, not necessarily at the moment of marriage.

To those who have been brought up in the belief that the Arya Samaj is a sect of Hindus as stated in the Arya Marriage Validation Act of 1937 and that Hindu marriages are not subject to dissolution under the Divorce Act even if one of the parties becomes a Christian, though they may be dissolved at the instance of the convert under certain conditions and after satisfying certain tests according to the Native Converts Marriage Dissolution Act, the "proprio vigore" of the Divorce Act thus sprung upon them, must come as a violent eye-opener. But their Lordships tried to mitigate the shock with explanations which imply that it is not to all Hindu marriages that this Act can be applied. Section 7 is said to come in the way somehow. In their Lordships' opinion the effect of that section is this:—"Had the marriage in the present case been polygamous, it might conceivably have been argued that the Indian Courts would have no jurisdiction to dissolve it, since the English Divorce Court does not recognise such a marriage." So, that is that. If it were a mere Hindu marriage it would be polygamous, as Lord Sinha's was in the eye of the House of Lords some years ago. But being an Arya marriage it is monogamous and the Indian Courts had jurisdiction to apply the Divorce Act to it. When the principle of monogamy is introduced into the Hindu law as well without any provision for divorce, the Indian Divorce Act will automatically take charge of the derelicts through the open door of Christian conversion.

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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.

Release Gandhiji : Commenting on Dr. Ambedkar's idea of forming a Government at the centre and the provinces without Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah, *The Reformer* pointed out that every Conference held to find a solution for the political deadlock, All parties and No Party, insisted as a condition Precedent that Gandhiji and the other leaders should be released. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. M. R. Jayakar and others have issued another statement this week appealing to Government to release Gandhiji and other Congress leaders. They point out that Gandhiji's reiteration of his devotion to non-violence was sufficient repudiation of the acts of sabotage committed and which may be committed if the object of Government was only to secure Gandhiji's repudiation. It was unreasonable to require more of him in the shape of a specific repudiation of acts of violence which followed the All-India Congress meeting in August last. It is interesting to note the increasing emphasis with which Government spokesmen have fastened the responsibility for the acts on Gandhiji. Sir Mahomed Oosman speaking in the Council of State said that the Congress could not be acquitted of responsibility. An earlier version of his speech had the word "altogether" but this was omitted in later reports. Sir Richard Tottenham in his pamphlet said that Congress and Gandhiji had used language which is ordinarily associated with violence. In answer to a question regarding the refusal of the request for an interview with Gandhiji of Mr. William Philips, President Roosevelt's Personal Representative, Mr. Amery spoke of the Government of India holding that Gandhiji "instigated" the acts. In view of this positive statement, the demand of Sir Tej and others acquires enormously added weight. To keep some 8000 persons in detention without giving them the opportunity of proving their innocence, is a monstrous step in a Government which is fighting for world freedom. We strongly support the demand and would suggest that the Tribunal to investigate the charges should consist of a British, an Indian and an American Judge of high standing. If this is a domestic question, the United States are now entrenched in the domestic circle in more than one capacity and it is impossible to regard them as complete strangers. The inclusion of an American will not mean lack of confidence in the British and Indian members. We have had proof quite recently of their independence. The inclusion of an American Judge will carry weight with American opinion which is now vitally interested in the Indian problem.

Nationalism at a Discount:—Although the Nazis have been most obstreperous in discarding nationalism in favour of racialism, others too are gradually and imperceptibly feeling their way towards the same intellectual position. Mr. Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of an Empire predominantly of coloured races, draws inspiration from the Anglo-Saxon racial slogan in emphasising the common interests of Britain and the United States. During the present visit Mr. Churchill in deference, no doubt, to the presence of non-Anglo-Saxon elements in the United States, has substituted "English-speaking" for Anglo-Saxon as more appropriate. But all the same it is evident that the British Prime Minister also feels nationalism to be inadequate to express the yearning for an unity not limited by geographical boundaries. The most striking evidence of this tendency, as well as the most recent, is the declaration of the President of the refugee Czecho-Slovakian State, Dr. Benes, that a close understanding between the three Slavonic peoples, Poles, Czechs and Russians, is essential to the peace of Europe. The special significance of this declaration is due to the fact that the Czecho-Slovakian State itself is a conglomeration of three different races, or four, if we include the Sudeten Germans. It is due even more to the almost purely intellectual, not to say abstract, ideologies on which Masaryk based the Czecho-Slovakian constitution. Then there is the historic fact that these three members of the Slavonic family never recognised their kinship until the present war broke out three years ago. Dr. Benes himself as head of Czecho-Slovakia declined the proffered help of Russia to repel German invasion. The Poles would not let Russian troops set foot on their soil though they were willing to be supplied by the Russians with arms. The Russians have regarded the Polaks with contempt and the Poles have regarded the Czechs as an inferior race. Nevertheless, Dr. Benes hopes and pleads for a comity of Slav races.

India's Fighting Men:—When the Indian National Congress was founded fifty-eight years ago, the bureaucracy despised it as representing a microscopic minority. The silent masses were declared to be entirely devoted to the ma-bap sircar. Lokamanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi took up the challenge and demonstrated the solidarity of the Indian people, masses and classes. Now the political leaders are accused of inciting the masses to discontent. The next step was to differentiate between the martial races and the bulk of the population. A section of the Sikhs and all Mussulmans, Bohras, Khojas, Lubbais, Moilahs, and Maracaps were martial races while all Hindus with the exception of Gurkhas, were non-martial and ineffective people. This has now been revised because, owing to the mechanisation of the Army, brains were more needed than brawn and according to the last report young men of good families and

college education, are joining the Army in large numbers. Sir Jogendra Singh some months back corrected Mr. Jinnah's statistics of communal proportions in the Army. Mr. Jinnah had claimed that over 60 per cent were Muslims. Sir Jogendra Singh calculated that they were less than 40 per cent and the proportion has since gone down further. So the martial races were officially given up and now from the Prime Minister downwards appreciative references are confined exclusively to the fighting men. It will not be long before it is realised that the fighting men and the talking men belong to the same breed and that the aspirations of both are the same. The trick of forging distinctions is being played out.

Future Ceylon Constitution:—The Colonial Secretary made a statement in the House of Commons this week on the future constitution of Ceylon. Our experience of the politicians who have climbed into office, does not predispose us in their favour. Nevertheless, the outlines of the constitution which Mr. Oliver Stanley presented to the House, are not calculated to bring up a more reliable and responsible type of politician in Ceylon. Indeed, we think that it is the shadowy power conferred by the present constitution which has made it possible for irresponsible persons to thrust themselves into office. In the proposed new constitution which the Colonial Secretary wanted the Ceylon Ministers themselves to frame, Defence and Foreign Relations are to be in British hands while all the rest covering internal administration is to be with the Ceylonese. This reminds one the story of a clever merchant who sold all of a cow but the udder to a simple-minded customer. Defence, even though half the cost of it is to be borne by Britain, might swallow up the larger part of the Island's revenue and Defence depends on foreign policy. By his foreign policy the suzerain may involve the Island in Defence expenditure far beyond its means. The illusory demarcation between foreign and internal affairs was never more evident than now. Foreign policy and the defence measures incidental to it may create a food famine, may leave the people without cloth to cover their nakedness. The Ministers will be powerless to prevent their people from experiencing the hardships of a war economy which they are not allowed to control. The Ceylonese may agree to this arrangement notwithstanding its patent defects just as there are men in India to undertake any responsibility with very little power to sustain it. But the British Government have world opinion to consider. It is noteworthy that this declaration of policy is made after the Roosevelt-Churchill Conference in Washington where the war and post-war policies in all their aspects are said to have been discussed.

A Ceylonese Mare's Nest:—The Ceylon Ministers and the Governor have not been pulling on well together. The latest difference between them was on the supply of Indian labour to the rubber plantations during wartime. The Government of India refused to allow recruitment and the matter ended to the satisfaction of the Ministers. Another instance in which the Ministers have discomfited the Governor, concerns nominations to the Ceylon Council. The Ministers, it seems, appointed a Commission to investigate complaints of corruption among the members. Corruption was defined in the reference as receiving remuneration for services in the Council. When this is openly done as in the case of British Labour Members before payment of salaries to Members of Parliament was introduced, there is no element of corruption in the practice. Without such remuneration, poor men can never aspire to serve their country in a public capacity. In India,

it is no secret that the European group can not secure the services of businessmen to represent their views in the Legislature. They cannot leave their businesses for months and weeks to look after their interests in the Legislature. Their interests are sufficiently looked after by the Government and their connections in Britain ensure that they have nothing to fear from any exceptional display of impartiality by the authorities in India. Therefore, they have been obliged to engage professional politicians who have no business to look after, to fill the seats allotted to them. There is nothing wrong in their doing so. Among Indians also, there are several members who cannot afford to hang about New Delhi and Simla without help from party or private resources. The Ceylon Commission found that certain members, among them three Englishmen, were in receipt of remuneration for services in the Legislature. The Governor has written to the three Europeans requesting them to resign. In the letter, he says that it is his unenviable duty to do so, as when he nominated them to the Council, he was fully aware of their position and did not regard it as a disqualification. Why His Excellency has not written in similar terms to the Sinhalese, is not known. The Ceylon Ministers will find their victory a pyrrhic one.

A Queer Compromise:—Among the terms of compromise between General Giraud and General de Gaulle, is one which is characteristically British. It is that the two should alternately hold the position of President of the Supreme Executive Council to administer North Africa and to cooperate with the Allies in restoring freedom to France. The compromise shows that the two men have not been able to come to an understanding. If they had done so, there is no need on insisting that they should control the Government alternately. It would have been easier to work if the two had been made jointly responsible for the conduct of affairs. We notice this because it is not improbable that Lord Linlithgow should suggest that Mr. Jinnah and Pandit Jawaharlal should alternately be Prime Ministers of India.

M. N. Roy and the Comintern:—As becomes one of its ancient pillars, Mr. M. N. Roy regrets the dissolution of the Comintern for sentimental reasons though rationally approving it. Mr. Roy himself blames the Communists outside Russia for bringing on this decision. He says that after the outbreak of war in 1939, Communists outside Russia did not appreciate that Moscow policies were dictated by political exigencies rather than by principles. If they did not appreciate, with the Comintern to guide them, what Mr. Roy has worked out for himself, then all we can say is that the Comintern had no justification for existence. Mr. Roy's statement that after the war everything will be all right is ill-advised. It is likely, if taken seriously, to undo the good which Stalin has in mind. It is little incidents like this which show Mr. Roy's desire to outsmart all others. This is not the first time, either.

Gandhi-Jinnah-Linlithgow:—Speaking at the Muslim League session at Delhi, Mr. M. A. Jinnah asked what prevented Gandhiji from writing direct to him and added that there was no power that could stop such a letter reaching him. Mr. Jinnah has been proved right. For though there has been no physical delivery as such, Government have not only made public the fact that such a letter was written, but they have informed Mr. Jinnah of it personally and also made its contents known all over the country. The triangle is such now that any one can feel that the other two are conspiring against him. This does not help the political situation but it provides light relief.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, May 29, 1943.

SOVIET RUSSIA AND WORLD AFFAIRS.

Last week-end, Reuter cabled that the Praesidium of the Communist International at Moscow had advised the dissolution of the Third International, with the object of freeing Communist Parties outside Russia from the decisions of the Comintern Congresses. The Praesidium is a small committee of the Executive Committee of the International which is in permanent session with its headquarters in Moscow. The Executive Committee meets about once in three months. What the Praesidium does today, the Executive does tomorrow; the plenum the day after. Hence everyone has taken the recommendation to be the final decision.

The Communist International was started in 1919 by Lenin, with the object of directing the proletarian revolution the world over and of coordinating the activities of Communist parties in all countries. It was also known as the Third International in contrast to the Socialist Party or Second International which broke up on the war issue in 1914 after 14 years of existence and was revived in 1920. The First International, the International Working Men's Association, was started by Karl Marx in 1864 and collapsed seven years later on the break-up of the Paris Commune. The Third International had an initial advantage over its predecessors in so far as it had the prestige of the Bolshevik State behind it. Its sessions were held in Moscow, until 1928 in the Kremlin. At the second Congress, the twenty-one point programme was adopted and all Communist parties had to subscribe to it. The prestige of the Moscow Government ensured that Russian delegates who represented after all the one country where Communism had been established, controlled the world party. The Yugoslavian Communist, A. Ciliga, in "Russian Enigma" asserts that all the foreign delegates were out of touch with each other and, on all issues relating to a particular country, the representatives of that country found themselves opposed by everyone else if they did not gain the support of the Russians. The Communist International played a prominent part in directing the policies of parties in other countries. It is admitted on all hands that the control was not often wisely exercised. The Webbs in "Soviet Communism" charge the Comintern with going against the Soviet Government's foreign policy. They ask if it is possible to join the two slogans, "Workers of all lands, unite" and "Governments of all lands, unite." But the experience would seem to be peculiarly British. Chinese Communists found themselves hampered rather than helped by instructions from Moscow and in Germany Communists lost their one chance of assuming control of the State machinery owing to the excessive vacillation of the Comintern. Edgar Snow in his "Red Star over China" gives the facts for China. "The three periods of Sino-Russian relations," he writes, "reflect also the changes that have taken place in the character of the Comintern and its stages of transition from an organization of international incendiaries into an instrument of the national policy of the Soviet Union. The Trotskyists greatly exaggerate the importance of Comintern mistakes while they minimize the overwhelmingly adverse factors in the objective situation." In other words, even had Trotsky won in his duel with Stalin, the Comintern

could not have helped much in China. Then he goes on to give the effect of the Comintern's second reversal of policy to helping the Chinese Communists,

The role of the Comintern in the Chinese Revolution has been colossally magnified. It became utterly impossible for Russia to have any direct physical connection whatever with the Red areas, which had no seaport and were entirely surrounded by a ring of hostile troops. Whereas in the past there had been hundreds of Comintern workers in China, there were now two or three, often isolated almost from society as a whole, seldom able to risk a stay of more than a few months. Whereas millions of dollars had formerly gone to Chiang Kai Shek's Nationalists, now a thousand or so at a time trickled in to the Reds. And whereas the whole Soviet Union had backed the great revolution of 1925-7, the Chinese Communist movement was now aided only by a Comintern which could no longer command the vast resources of the base of world revolution, but had to limp along as a kind of poor step-child which might be officially disinherited whenever it did anything malaprop.

In Europe, it was worse. The Communists vacillated between working with Fascists against Social Democrats, and forming a 'united front.' Toni Sender in her "Autobiography of a German Rebel" mentions that meetings of the Social Democratic party were broken up by Communists and Nazis acting together. In France, Communists allied themselves with French Fascists. In his brilliant psychological novel, "Darkness at Noon," Arthur Koestler even asserts that Italian dock-workers were instructed from Moscow to abandon a strike, in order that Russian ships be allowed to supply material to Mussolini's Government during the campaign against Abyssinia. But without taking sides in what is now, after all, a matter of mere historical interest, about Germany it may be said, to quote the words of the Socialist Clarity Group in Britain:

It is extremely doubtful whether Hitler could ever have come to power in Germany if it had not been for that unhappy split in the German Labour Movement which divided the working class into two violently hostile camps. Many of the bravest and best anti-Fascist Germans were to be found among the Communists. But owing to the absolute dependence of their Party on Russia's policy and its corresponding zig-zag course which had no relationship whatever to the development of Germany, the Communists had no chance of consolidating their influence, at one time considerable, over the German workers. Although not at all enthusiastic about the weak and compromising policy of the Social Democratic Party, the bulk of the workers of Germany (as of every other industrial country) chose to remain loyal to it rather than join the Communists. The Communist Parties thus tended to be isolated from the main body of workers in every land. They themselves tried to attribute this, time and again, to mistakes. But consistent failure over a quarter of a century argues a more fundamental weakness.—"U. S. S. R.: Its Significance to the West."

Without entering into details, it may be asserted from the information available that the Comintern lead took insufficient notice of local conditions, with embarrassing consequences to the Communist party most concerned. The fault seems to have been largely due to a lack of initiative on the part of non-Russian Communists who sought instructions from Moscow instead of acting and getting their actions ratified.

If this historically has been the position of the Comintern, its likely influence in the post-war world is something which has caused a great deal of apprehension even among the United Nations. Poland and Yugoslavia have of late been voiced.

their fears. The United States and Britain have today even important groups which hesitate to advocate whole-hearted cooperation with the Soviet Republic. Some time ago it was reported that Stalin was willing to consider the question of abandoning propaganda abroad if Christian missions were given up on the other side. The fact that Stalin's decision to dissolve the Comintern coincides with the despatch of a letter from President Roosevelt to him sent through ex-Ambassador Davies, suggests that the resolve may not be one-sided. As a matter of fact, it would be well if there is an element of reciprocity behind the Russian lead. For the break-up of the Comintern, while it does bring Russia nearer to the democracies, at the same time also bridges the gulf between the Axis and Russia even more effectively. The Anti-Comintern Pact States might well claim that their purpose, the defeat of Bolshevism as a world movement, has been achieved. In another sense, Stalin has shown concretely his adherence to the Casablanca decision to fight for the disarmament of Germany as against his repeated declaration of fighting Nazis only, by his proposal to wind up the Comintern. If there is one country where it may be said that Communism has a chance even during the war it is Germany. Germany after the last war tried democracy and found it unsatisfactory. Since 1932, it has tried Nazism and Nazism has achieved something in showing the German people that a political party can challenge the army and shake its power. Yet as Germany suffers defeats, the people will begin to search for an alternative. The only untried system for them would be Communism. By withdrawing his support to the German Communists and other national Communists, Stalin has weakened the strength of the party.

The Comintern as an international organisation ceased to have any value after Russia turned away from world revolution in 1926. It was mostly functioning as an instrument of foreign policy for the Soviet Republic. Had Stalin during Litvinoff's campaign for collective security, decided for breaking up the Comintern, he would have done a signal service for the cause of peace by removing one source of deep distrust. Now his action is a service to the United Nations on behalf of the war effort.

Unprovoked Assault :—The Bombay press has published a statement by D. G. Tendulkar, author of "30 Months in Russia", giving details of an assault on him by a soldier near the Oval. As the facts made known show, the attack was unprovoked; the soldier was sober or, at any rate, not drunk. Comments in the press have sought for a solution to incidents like this and the best that has emanated so far is that the army authorities ought to do something to penalise soldiers as a class. That the army authorities are not likely to do for the patent reason that, outside poetic fancy, the lamb at home does not become a lion in the chase. At the moment it is more essential to cultivate the fighting spirit than civic virtues. Besides, it is rather drastic to demand that for the brutality of one man the whole body of troops should be penalised and such a measure is not likely to promote the best relations between the military and the civilians. The only thing seems to be that people using roads likely to be deserted, except for soldiers, should not go by themselves; and even on frequented roads, passers-by should be more ready to intervene than they are to-day.

A BANDRA DIARY.

Psychiatry is based on a wrong premise. Broadly, it is based on the assumption that a desire which is not fulfilled, remains repressed and manifests itself in various open and unpleasant forms. The psychiatrist probes into the subconscious and brings out the repressed desire on sight of which the patient is cured. To begin with an emotion or passion which is an intense emotion, is never repressed. Take the case of little children. At one moment they may be sobbing their hearts out because they have not a toy which they fancy. At the next they may be smiling when something else engrosses their attention. The majority of us never get beyond the child stage emotionally. We are literally a "pendulum betwixt a smile and a tear," as the poet says. With a few, the emotion of unfulfilled desire becomes transmuted into a motive for service. In a smaller number still it is sublimated. "Great minds are stung into poetry by wrong. They learn in suffering what they teach in song." When an emotion does not find immediate expression as in children and many adults, and does not become a motive or is not sublimated, it simply ceases to exist. "Refuse to give expression to a passion and it dies," says William James. It never remains repressed. It is suffocated if it does not find an outlet in one or other of these ways. We are taught from childhood by precept and example to avoid unsocial desires. "Grasping hand and roving eye, early teach them self-denial," is a couplet which found lodgment in one's childhood's memory. In passing, I regret that the practice of getting "by heart," as it was called, especially, poetry, has nowadays fallen into disuse. That the cultivation of memory is detrimental to thinking, is a fallacy fostered by people who themselves are afflicted with poor memories. I have personally found the memorising habit very helpful. Many poems which I did not understand when I crammed them, have revealed their meaning as in a flash when later in life I found myself in a context similar, no doubt, to that in which the poet was inspired to think them. The poets have a deeper insight into human nature than psycho-analysts. One of the Freudian dogmas is that men want to escape unpleasant memories and that gives rise to psychic repression. Whether we want it or not, unpleasant memories persist longer than pleasant ones. Grief and pain have a fascination for the human mind which the sensation of satisfaction has not. "Sorrow's crown of sorrow is remembering happier things," and again "Our sweetest songs are those which tell of saddest thought." Obviously pain and suffering have a definite value in human evolution. So much for the foundations of psychiatry. As for its technique, it reminds one of the technique of what is known as "the third degree" in criminal investigation. This technique consists in plying the victim with questions night and day without intermission for sleep or rest. Out of sheer fatigue, the unhappy man confesses to whatever the interrogators want him to. The apparently voluntary confessions before the trying judge of several noted leaders of the Russian Revolution a few years back, astonished the world. The Nazis made a bonfire of Freud's works but the Soviet system is remarkable for its insight into mass psychology.

When I commented last week, on the characterisation by Lord Linlithgow of the Japanese as barbarians, I did not overlook the report that some American airmen who had fallen into their hands during the air raid on Tokyo a year ago had been shot by the authorities on the charge of deliberately

bombing the civilian population. Bombing from the air has been objected to just because it is impossible to confine its effects to military objectives, however expert the airmen. My opinion by itself on such a point is worth nothing. But I have seen it expressed by men who have made a special study of it. At the time when the raid on Tokyo took place, the reports were not explicit on this point. Anyhow, I regard the killing or any maltreatment in cold blood of prisoners as both cruel and cowardly. Whether the prisoner be a civilian convicted of a crime or a soldier taken in war, he is entitled to the protection of the State. International regulations on the treatment of prisoners of war have no sanction beyond the fear of reprisal. The action of the Japanese authorities, therefore, is indefensible from any point of view and is a blot on their escutcheon. But it is dangerous to generalise from this incident in a time of war about the civilisation or racial character of a whole people. In India some twenty years ago, there was a shooting by the military at Jallianwalla Bagh. It was certainly a far more barbarous act than the shooting of enemy prisoners. It turned the tide of Indian politics. It converted many who were admirers and friends of British rule into its detractors. For myself, while I felt its enormity quite as much as others I could not generalise from it and denounce the British as a race of barbarians. In speaking of countries like Japan I cannot forget that Japan's cultural relations with India reach back many centuries and are still alive. Professor Cousens in his *Modern Japan* tells of his visit to a great artist who told him that the Japanese look to India for ideas. The Allied Nations should use their victory to humanise, not to suppress, civilization, Japanese and German.

It was a great achievement of Science which enabled a listener in Bombay to follow the address of the British Prime Minister to a joint session of the Senate and the House of Representatives in Washington. The reception was a good deal disturbed by noises in which it was difficult to distinguish between applause and uproar, and between these and atmospherics. But the Prime Minister's voice rose above them and except at a few intervals his speech was followed without difficulty. Newspapers nowadays use such small types for reports of lengthy speeches that I find it easier to follow them on the radio. The first impression I gained was that Mr. Churchill's manner in the American Congress was different from his manner in the House of Commons. Bryce in his book on the United States notes that the arrangements in the Congress are such that a speaker must shout to make himself heard. As an aside, he remarks that no man can talk sense at the top of his voice. In the House of Commons Mr. Churchill speaks in his ordinary conversational voice with a slight lisp. In the Congress his voice rose above the loud applause which greeted his remarks at regular intervals, lasting sometimes for five minutes. Another thing noticeable was Mr. Churchill had dropped his lip and had even at one or two passages achieved a good imitation of the American drawl. On the whole, however, one got the impression that the Prime Minister was not throughout pursuing his own current of thought. In one or two places he seemed to swallow something before he uttered the next word. This was noticeable in his reference to the "gallant General Giraud" who had taken charge of the administration of French North Africa. It was again in evidence when he referred to the advantage of being Head of the Civil Administration and also of the Army as were the President of the United States, M. Stalin and Generalissimo Chiang

Kai-Shek. There was also an effort on the Prime Minister's reference to India without touching the Indian problem which must have been on the minds of several of his audience. Mr. Churchill pointed out that the Casablanca agreement defined the European front as exclusively for Britain and the Pacific as exclusively for the United States. But he added, Britain would cooperate with the States in aerial attacks on Japan. As I listened to these concessions to American clamour I felt that Mr. Churchill must have had some concessions to balance them, and it struck me these might be on the Indian question.

The increasing need for sparing my eyes throws me to an increasing extent on the radio. The ears have to do part of the work of the eyes. The other day I listened to a special composition in honour of the Indian soldiers in the Tunisian campaign. I am not much of a music-lover though I hope I am not given to treasons, stratagems and other iniquities which Shakespeare imputes to those who have no music in themselves. I fancy that much of the charm of music is due to the associations which particular pieces awaken in particular classes and individuals. When the first note of *Vande Mataram* is struck, any Indian crowd from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin instinctively springs to its feet. The "salute" had no similar associations and the announcer had here and there to indicate by words what sentiment was expected or intended to be experienced by the soldiers at the particular part of the composition. The idea at one part, he stated, was that the soldier was thinking of the girl in his village dancing with a red flower in her hair. I laughed. I could not help laughing. Does a soldier on the eve of battle or on the morrow of victory think of a girl with or without a red flower in her hair? I ransacked my memory for a parallel situation in which the thought of man has been recorded. Byron's lines on the *Dying Gladiator* showed up on the film of memory. The Poets are the true realists. They never dream as "prose folk always do," says Browning. And what did the Poet conceive to be the objects of the first thought of the *Dying Gladiator*? He saw his young barbarians all at play. Then and in association with them, their Dacian mother. I think that dying men or men who have dedicated their lives to anything, are not always thinking of their wives. Their thoughts are for their children, whether of the mind or body. Then of the mother of the children. In Mrs. F. A. Steel's novel *Akbar* asks the Charan widow why she does not remarry and lead a happy household life. "Sire," she replies, "widowhood is something, motherhood is something, wifehood is nescience." That seems to accord with the real sequence of family relations in the dedicated mind.

RECLUSE.

RACE RELATIONS.

Mr. J. B. Petit has reprinted in pamphlet form an article on "Superiority and Colour Complex" from the *Jamshedji Navroz* number of the *Rast Rabhar*. Mr. Petit has put together several instances of European discourtesy and bad manners, chiefly on railway trains. His remedy is that offenders should be dismissed from service and railway authorities who hesitate to give victimised Indians relief, should be suitably punished. He points out that the superiority complex exists among Italians, Belgians, Frenchmen, Spaniards and Englishmen no less than among the Nazis and he adds that unless it is satisfactorily dealt with, the next world war will "in all probability be between the coloured and white races."

Mr. Petit's instances, most of them from personal knowledge, are invariably episodes which ended happily. There are others where the victim has not been assertive and has accepted the position. There can be no legislation to prevent racial incidents. What is necessary is the creation of an atmosphere in which such incidents are not possible. We may leave to Europeans the task of acquiring a more human attitude in dealings with non-white peoples. This is the more so as Mr. Petit says that race arrogance is general—to quote, "the persistent and deliberate cultivation of this canker by the British people even today," etc. After all, it is not reasonable to appeal to a man whom you accuse of being devoid of a race conscience, to show justice and humanity to people of another race.

Is there nothing that can be done among Indians themselves to prevent occurrences which strain relations between the races? It is too often true that in correspondence to the superiority complex there is an inferiority complex on the other side which builds an atmosphere inviting trouble. Nationalism in its rapid growth in India has not developed a counter to this complex because non-violence has provided a political ethic to cover up what one can only term a national fear of physical violence. This is seen even in the reactions to atrocity reports. Whilst the best European mind is appalled at the thought that human beings can inflict such tortures on others, the first reaction of Indians who do not shut their eyes to the facts, is surprise that the human mind and body can endure so much.

It is unprofitable to go into the causes of this way of thinking. The results are painfully visible on every hand. In the last resort, good manners can be only enforced by making it clear that breaches will be more unpleasant in their consequences than any immediate advantage which may be gained. The problem is not peculiar to Indians alone.

The *New Republic* publishes a brilliant study of the Negro question by Thomas Sancton who is engaged in a thesis on the subject. There are two quotations which have a bearing on race relations everywhere. The first is from a letter written fifty years ago by John S. Bassett, a teacher in North Carolina. He wrote—

Considering the violence of the attack (of the democratic press), it seems to me the negro acted admirably. Vilified, abused, denounced as an unclean thing, he has kept his peace; he has been patient. He has borne what no other people in history have borne. He has done it largely because he is a coward in the presence of white men.... What would you do to meet the disease if you were the physician? Tell it not in Gath—but do you know, the white man will continue to run over the negro until the negro learns how to defend himself.

The other quotation is from a Negro who replied to Sancton's advice to Negroes that their problem would not be solved by violence. The Negro drew attention to the different reactions of Negro and Japanese to white bullying:

Isn't there a relationship for you between the fact that the Negro rarely fights against odds and the general disposition to victimize him. The Japanese, regardless of odds, fights back. The other fellow always knows that he is going to get some hurt. That was true of the Pacific Coast in peacetime.... You know what is happening at the Japanese relocation centre in Arkansas. The whites in Arkansas are making the mistake of treating the Japanese as though they were yellow Negroes. The Japanese don't go for that... You can bet your bottom dollar that after a few brushes, these Arkansas whites are going to steer clear of these Japanese, regardless of how few they are. They are not going to like them, but they are

going to respect them because they know that if some Japanese are hurt *they* are going to be hurt. It is time that writers in India started studying the race problem here with similar detachment.

MONOGAMY MADE EASY.

(BY KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI, ASKA)

No conscientious Hindu can point the finger of scorn at the Arya Samaj if it is found that it permits polygamous marriages within its fold. The whole Hindu community is in the same boat with the Aryas. In general practice, all of them may be said to be equally monogamous. But in legal theory, polygamy is not prohibited to a Hindu while divorce is prohibited whether he belong to the Arya Samaj sect or be a non-sectarian Hindu. This accounts for the hard cases, which sometimes come to public notice, of desertion of first wives by men who wish to marry others more to their fancy. Non-Aryan Hindu men of rank and education have been known in the past to seek and obtain the help of Arya Samaj priests, missionaries and other office-bearers for such second marriages in the life-time of the first wives in spite of protests from the non-Aryan public and the entreaties of the deserted women to be allowed at least to remain in the same home to serve the new couples as their 'slaves' have always gone unheeded. Orthodox Hindu priests would have with equal readiness and unconcern officiated at such second marriages if the parties be eligible according to caste custom. *The Reformer*, some years ago, exhausted all its arts of persuasion and provocation by its public writings and its private letters to the Arya Samaj at Lahore and the Head Office at Delhi to elicit an authoritative statement of the Aryan standpoint. But the Samaj is so well organised that not a word escaped from anybody to disclose the true Samaj policy.

It is, therefore, with great pleasure and surprise that we noticed in a judgment of the Calcutta High Court printed in the April part of the All India Reporter of this year that the learned judges found "satisfactory evidence" that an Arya marriage is monogamous. On the strength of that finding, they could even hold that the Indian Divorce Act applied to an Arya marriage, provided that one of the parties happened to have become a Christian by the date of the application to dissolve the marriage. The Arya Samaj deserves the sincerest congratulations from every right-minded Hindu on its authoritative legal recognition as a monogamous sect of Hindus. We welcome the decision with all our heart. It points an unmistakable way out to superseded and deserted Hindu wives of at least the Aryan variety.

But, obsessed as some of us well-wishers and admirers of the Arya Samaj are by certain well-known facts and personal experiences within the past thirty years or more, we cannot help wishing that we too had the benefit of scanning with our own eyes the kind of satisfactory evidence that was placed before their Lordships of the High Court. There is not the least doubt that the Arya Samaj sets a high value on the principle of monogamy, or that it does in fact most earnestly claim that its marriages are, indeed, monogamous. No one can doubt its sincerity and patriotic religious fervour and enterprising missionary zeal. But unless we have been hopelessly deluded all along in our reading of events which happened in our own life-time and before our own eyes, we must conclude that there is some subtle difference in the meaning attached by Arya Samajists to the words 'polygamy' and 'monogamy' which make their claim to be

monogamous impossible of understanding for ordinary minds.

That meaning burst upon us accidentally a few years ago when we had the good fortune to come across a young graduate of the Gurukul Academy of Kangri, Haridwar, an ardent Aryan-Missionary of loveable nature and excellent character, who had just performed a second marriage to the husband of a 16 years old Brahman girl who had been driven out to her parents' home to make room for a Catholic lady of maturer talents. He was most nonchalant in asseverating that the rules of the Arya Samaj prohibit polygamy. Taking pity on our bewilderment, however, he was good enough to add with commendable naivete that no Aryan priest would ever consent to perform a second marriage to a man who continues to live with his first wife.

That gave the illuminating flash which at once resolved the mystery and made it clear as daylight why there can never be a polygamous marriage within the Aryan fold and how easy of fulfilment monogamy is even in India, whatever the English law, and, following it, the *Indian Social Reformer*, may say to make a bogey of it. Viewed in this light, not only the above-noted Aryan marriage of our obscure locality, but that of the Maharajkumar of Tikari conducted by the Arya Samaj of Lucknow in 1909 to supersede his Brahman wife with an Australian lady renamed Sita Devi, as reported in A. I. R. 1928 Patna 375, and the Arya Samaj marriage of Allahabad whereby a Hindu I. C. S. Sub-collector could set aside his orthodox wife to get an England-educated lady of a different caste to do credit to his enlightened high position, as reported and commented upon in *The Reformer* of 1938, and any number of other such marriages that may be authenticated, cannot but appear in their proper perspective as pure examples of monogamy, however much an onlooker may get lost in amazement without this Pickwickian clue.

The Arya Samaj or its priests cannot be blamed for the fate of the first wife in these cases. The discretion, the choice and the responsibility for driving her out of her home is entirely the husband's. The Samaj is never consulted until after she is irrevocably abandoned and a painful situation arises in which the happiness of two other individuals is at stake and cries for the humanitarian help of the Aryan priest. Neither the Samaj nor the priest can sit in judgment over what is past and irremediable or hold a regular trial to ascertain whether there are any justifiable grounds for abandoning the first wife, though they would very much like to do anything to mitigate her sorrows if they can, by recommending, for instance, a higher maintenance grant to her than the husband may be willing to make. Nor have they the legal power to dissolve her marriage tie with the unkind husband and set her free to remarry if she likes. Yet officiate they must at such second marriages by virtue of their Arya Dharma, and such marriages must be deemed to be nothing but monogamous since the first wife no longer lives in the same house with her husband and he is wholly engrossed with her successful rival.

We do not grudge our Aryan brethren the honourable recognition which has been bestowed upon them as a monogamous sect. But we are still left gasping and puzzled about the evidence which has satisfied such astute and clear-headed judges as Justices Rau and Nasim Ali and only feel an irrepressible craving to share their knowledge of the facts in order to apologise to the Arya Samaj.

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

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NOTES.

Mr. Sastry on the Mahasabha:—There is a tragic pathos in the observations of the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastry at the public meeting held in Madras to celebrate Mr. Savarkar's birthday. Mr. Sastry said that, though he did not belong to the Mahasabha, he was an admirer of Mr. Savarkar as a genuine patriot. "The circumstances of India today," he went on to say according to the report in the *Hindu*, "required that there should be a Mahasabha of that kind and it should have a man of power and original thought as its president." Mr. Sastry appealed to members of the Hindu Mahasabha to understand that the secret of success of any national organisation lay in "according unwavering loyalty to a tried and proved leader." Mr. Sastry is next only after Gokhale the most distinguished member of the Servants of India Society which is pledged to the non-communal principle so far that an unconfirmed report has it that members of the Society have been instructed not to speak about Pakistan, for or against. By "circumstances of to-day" Mr. Sastry, no doubt, meant chiefly the existence of the Muslim League. Dr. Shyam Prasad Mukherji, Working President of the Mahasabha, also said at Lyaalpur that the Mahasabha is a purely defensive organisation and that it would cease to exist the moment the aggressive Muslim League ceased. Nevertheless the doctrine of nationalism, if it holds good at all, must hold good in the face of all circumstances. Democratic leaders justify their adoption of totalitarian methods on the same ground of circumstances. That is to say, they admit that democracy cannot win against totalitarian systems by adhering to democratic methods. Nationalism and democracy on such grounds are only fair weather doctrines. Mr. Sastry's condition of success of national organisations, namely, implicit loyalty to a leader also takes us on the same road. The tragedy and pathos of Mr. Sastry's observations lie in the fact that such a lifelong exponent of nationalist democratic principles, is obliged by the force of events to avow that a communal movement is necessary to ensure the safety of nationalism, and that it should be under an unquestioned dictatorship.

Mr. Savarkar's Mistake:—Replying to an address presented to him on his sixty-first birthday last week in Poona, Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, said that it was after the death of Lokamanya Tilak that, under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi, the Congress first accepted

communalism in politics. Mr. Savarkar surely forgets that the Lucknow Pact was and has been hailed by the Lokamanya's friends as a great achievement of his career and that the Lucknow Pact not only recognised communalism in politics but accorded weightages to Muslims. Both in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report and in the Simon Commission Report, the Lucknow Pact is advanced as the chief obstacle to the adoption of a general non-communal principle unless the Muslims are first persuaded to relinquish the concession assured to them in that Pact. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, the stoutest opponent of communalism in politics, died in 1915. Gokhale who was opposed to weightage but was agreeable to the recognition of the fact of the existence of separate communities, also died that year. These deaths left the field clear for Mr. Tilak to assume the leadership of the Congress as Gandhiji had not then entered the political arena and was actually recruiting for the first world war. For full four years, the Lokamanya was the master of the Congress. It was Jallianwala Bagh which brought Gandhiji into the Congress. The Lokamanya was opposed to the non-co-operation idea, root and branch, but just at the psychological moment he died and no other living leader, not even Madan Mohan Malaviya, could withstand Gandhiji's presentation of non-co-operation as the sole alternative to anarchic violence. Gandhiji, it is true, accepted the communal principle in politics, and went to extravagant lengths in the direction of seeking to appease the Muslim League—so extravagant that the League itself began to suspect his motives—but it was Mr. Tilak and not Gandhiji who first accepted the communal principle and got the Congress, against Dr. Besant's passionate opposition, to accept it.

Mr. Jinnah's Ingenuity:—The danger of a public man relying mainly on his cleverness for advancing his cause, has been illustrated by Mr. Jinnah's statement on the refusal of the Government of India to pass on Gandhiji's letter, but not its contents, to Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Jinnah says that it was a malevolent attempt on the part of Gandhiji to embroil him with Government. He is clearly of opinion—and he should know—that his relations with Government are at present unembroiled. Attention was recently called in the House of Commons to the deplorably violent language against Government in Mr. Jinnah's presidential address at the last session of the League and Mr. Amery parried the question by referring to the approval, expressed in the address, of Government's action against the Congress and to the League not having started a satyagraha movement. In Bengal, Sind and the North-Western Frontier Province the League has been able to institute Ministries under countenance of the Governors, assisted by the voluntary and involuntary abstention of Congress members of the Legislatures from attending the Legislative sessions. So Mr. Jinnah has good grounds for complacency about

his relations with Government and he is not concerned with the rights and wrongs of Government action. Mr. Jinnah also says that the letter which Gandhiji wrote to him, although it was not delivered to him, was not the kind of letter which he contemplated in his address. Most people who read the address even in the revised version in the *Dawn*, including the editor of the *Dawn* itself, did not understand that Mr. Jinnah had made specific terms for Gandhiji's letter which he invited, the basis of his declaration that Government would not dare to decline to pass it on to him. But for this challenge Government would certainly have had no excuse for communicating to Mr. Jinnah the action they had taken on Gandhiji's letter. Their action amounted in effect to saying, "Here we have dared to do what you said we would not. What are you going to do about it?" Faced with this challenge, Mr. Jinnah after a couple of days' rumination, found it wise to draw in his horns. He might have done this with good grace without butting at Gandhiji.

Standard Cloth :—When Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar announced with much gusto that the cloth scarcity in the country will be relieved by the production of standard cloth, *The Reformer* suggested that the scheme would be a failure. The fact is, when an Indian under the present system is translated to the Government, he instantly discards all his knowledge inherited and acquired of the ways of his people, their prejudices and preferences, and talks and probably thinks in the language which is most easily understood and appreciated by his bureaucratic colleagues. *The Reformer* is not an expert in the textile trade or industry, nor has it made a special study of the administrative problems involved in providing the people with sufficient food and cloth. Nevertheless, the fallacies of the standard cloth solution are so obvious that a mere tyro in Indian public life cannot fail to see them. The illusion was kept up all these three years. Members of Government kept assuring the public that standard cloth would be shortly coming into the market. For the first time, Mr. M. S. A. Hydari, Secretary to the Supply Department of the Government of India, candidly acknowledged at a meeting of the Textile Advisory Committee this week that "the standard cloth scheme had so far failed to provide cloth either in substantial quantity or at constant and low prices."

Staging a Trial :—It was a curiously significant reply which the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, gave to Mr. Sorensen's question whether any response had been made to the request of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and other Indian leaders that Gandhiji and other detained Congress leaders might be given an opportunity of refuting the charges against them by the appointment of a judicial tribunal. Mr. Amery's answer was that the Government of India had no intention of "staging a trial of Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders." The word "staging" as applied to judicial proceedings has sometimes been used of the practice in totalitarian States. But in England a judicial trial has always been regarded as the most effective method of establishing the guilt or innocence of persons accused of political offences. Mr. Amery evidently does not regard it in that light. He apparently regards a judicial trial as mere stage play, and that the guilt or innocence of an accused person is better judged by the Executive than by a Judge sitting in an open Court. No one seems to have taken exception to his description of a judicial proceeding in the House of Commons. Staging a debate in the House of Commons, would be more appropriate and in accordance with reality than staging a judicial trial, though the latter too may be staged if a

powerful and unscrupulous Minister finds it expedient. Mr. Amery also pointed out that the Government of India's statement reprinted as a White Paper made no charges of pro-Japanese sympathy. There are passages in the statement insinuating such sympathy. In the Legislative Assembly there were more open accusations from the Government spokesmen. Mr. Amery's remark practically means that there is and has never been any foundation for such a charge by whomsoever made. That is something.

The Talpade Case :—It is not very edifying to comment on the judicial controversy between the Bombay High Court and the Federal Court on the Talpade Case. The Federal Court had declared that Rule 26 of the Defence of India Act under which Talpade, a political detenu, was held in confinement was invalid and sent back the case to the Bombay High Court which had rejected Talpade's application, to be disposed of in the light of the opinion expressed by the Federal Court. The Bombay High Court sent back the case to the Federal Court requesting more specific directions. One of three judges who heard the case, dissented and held that the only thing to do was to release Talpade and Government could rearrest him if they cared to under the new Ordinance. The majority judgment urged as its chief ground that the Government, if it intended to appeal to the Privy Council from the Federal Court decision, would be embarrassed if there was no specific order to appeal against. The Federal Court has remitted the case to the High Court maintaining their original decision. Incidentally, the dual jurisdiction of the Federal Court and the Privy Council, causes some confusion. It is desirable to make the Federal Court the final Court of appeal or to define more clearly than at present the classes of cases which may be taken to the Privy Council without the intervention of the Federal Court.

Coalition Governments :—Government are not happy in having to run seven provinces under Governors with Advisers. They want to prove that the Congress is not all India and that they can have popular governments in the provinces without Congress co-operation. In the three Muslim majority provinces, Bengal, Sind and N. W. Frontier, they have been able to get Muslim League Ministries formed. The achievement in the Frontier Province is specially noteworthy because the province is overwhelmingly pro-Congress. Not satisfied with this, attempts are being made to set up coalition Ministries in Hindu majority provinces. Madras, Bihar and the Central Provinces are reported to be likely to have coalition Governments. In Madras, the Hindu Mahasabha leader, Mr. Varadarajulu Naidu, has approached the Justice and Muslim party leaders. Evidently he is waiting to know the result of the by-election for the seat vacant by the death of Mr. Satyamurti. In Bihar a former Prime Minister, Mr. Yunus, has been invited to assist the Governor to install a popular Government; and he seems to be not without hope of success. In the Central Provinces the chances seem to be more doubtful. There has been no talk of a non-Congress Government in Bombay or the United Provinces. While there are many people who feel that so long as Gandhiji and other Congress leaders are detained without trial, it will not be in the true interests of India's political progress for others to step into their shoes, still the country as a whole is getting impatient of the policy of Congress members of Legislatures in not resigning their seats so as to enable other representatives to subject Government policies and measures to criticism which is sorely needed.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

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RUSSIA AFTER THE COMINTERN.

In a passage which he evidently regarded as of outstanding merit, Dante describes a scene in hell in which two spirits, one formed as a serpent, the other in human shape, struggled and each assumed the other's shape :

The soul transformed into the brute, glides off,
Hissing along the vale, and after him
The other talking splutters; but soon turned
His new-grown shoulders on him, and in few
Thus to another spake: "Along this path,
Crawling as I have done, speeds Buoso now."

It was not entirely accident that this was in that part of hell set apart for offences against religion. The fire of fanaticism is necessary for the transformation, on both sides. The passage which is preceded by a lengthy description of the detailed change, comes to mind in regard to the recent recommendation from Moscow for the dissolution of the Comintern, in relation to Nazi-Fascism. That recommendation is not the last act of the transformation.

Mussolini in Italy declared that Fascism was not for export; Hitler had no interest in non-Germans when he spoke of plans for his Third Reich. Bolshevism, on the other hand, began as the Russian application of a world principle. In that it was in the direct line of descent from the French Revolution and from Liberal Democracy. But from the Spanish War to the present day, through the conflict which arose between the systems, a change has been taking place. The anti-Comintern Pact tore the veil of non-intervention from the authoritarian states. The Western Democracies, first, and, now Russia, have declared for the right of peoples in all countries to determine the political structure of their nations.

Since the announcement of the recommendation, the text of the Praesidium's decision has been published; and also Stalin's letter to the Chief correspondent of Reuter's in the Soviet Union. The letter is important. It points out that the dissolution was intended to remove distrust and occasion for anti-Soviet propaganda, for one thing. But one does not abandon an ideal because of misunderstanding. Hitler's propaganda against Russia, and the suspicions entertained by democratic powers are not at their height today. Nazi attacks are now dismissed as the biased opinions of an enemy. In the alliance that now subsists between the United Nations, criticism even of Russia is hushed because of the needs of the situation. In the circumstances the decision to break up the Comintern now means that Russia—for Communists elsewhere have been content to acquiesce in the lead from Moscow—needs the support of others as much as they need hers, as one must dismiss the fancy that Stalin has suddenly grown hyper-sensitive. As such it is an act of national defence, to be regarded somewhat in the same way as food control, rationing or any military strategy. Its value has to be judged by its success. Immediately it seems to have had some effect in disarming suspicion.

Apart from its effect on Communist parties elsewhere and their relations with working class parties, the decision, as Stalin's letter clearly shows, has a bearing on international relations. Stalin writes :—

It facilitates the work of patriots of all countries for uniting freedom-loving peoples into a single inter-

national camp for the fight against the menace of world-domination by Hitlerism, thus clearing the way to the future organisation of a companionship of nations based on their equality.

In plain words this pleads for the revival of the League of Nations and for a return to collective security. The Russian leaders who have abandoned their comrades in other countries, are not likely to insist on "equality" if it is denied to any nation later. Mr. M. N. Roy in an article in *Independent India* ends a profound discussion of the Comintern with the observation that Communists elsewhere have betrayed their supine subservience to Moscow by enthusiastically welcoming the proposal for the dissolution of the party and he adds that that in itself justifies the Moscow lead. This is the first time we have heard anyone suggesting that the Communist headquarters aims at promoting independence of thought among its followers. As a matter of fact, the responsibility would seem to rest all the more on the leaders if their following is incapable of thinking things out. But that is by the way. Does anyone seriously think that Russia is going to throw away an opportunity of influencing the post-war world because some countries are not given "equality?" If he does, disillusionment awaits him. There has been much discussion about the basis of the future collaboration between nations. It must be, it is said, a league of the peoples, not of the governments. This has been widely canvassed by idealists in democratic countries. And at the same time almost, Russia abandons her slogan, "Workers of all lands, Unite." Given the choice between idealists in the democracies and the men in authority, Stalin, himself hardest of realists, has chosen the latter. It would have been strange had he acted differently. Elsewhere we indicate how he is preparing for the peace conference. If political actions mean anything, these surely mean that conditions after World War II will not differ materially from conditions after World War I, except in their magnitude.

Orissa Cyclone Relief :—We have received from the Secretary of the Orissa Cyclone Relief Committee, organised by the Servants of India Society, a report of the work being done in the district of Balasore which was most affected by the cyclone of October last year. The loss of life and property was tremendous. Swami Bichitranand Das estimated that one lakh of cattle had perished, hundreds of human lives were lost, and that 76 per cent of the paddy crop was destroyed. The Committee has been able to give some relief to the sufferers but that is very little in proportion to the devastation which has overtaken the district. The Report contrasts the liberality of the Bengal Government in providing relief for the areas affected in that province and the niggardly provision made by the Orissa Government. With the best intentions, the Orissa Government by itself can do little to cope with situations like this. The Province is too small and isolated from the rest of the country. Its constitution into a separate province has helped the people very little. It has only fed the vanity of a few politicians by enabling them to figure as Ministers. This is another illustration of the necessity for unified control at the centre. Each province thinks only for itself under the present dispensation and it is only the existence of institutions like the Servants of India Society that keep alive in the minds of the people the sentiment of All India solidarity. We strongly commend the Servants of India Society's appeal for liberal public support.

ADYAR MANUSCRIPTS

The Theosophical Society has played a considerable part in stemming the tide of indiscriminate imitation of western ideas and manners which had set in with the introduction of British rule and, particularly after the introduction of English education. The Brahma Samaj and the Arya Samaj had done admirable work in the same direction. The distinctive feature of the Theosophical movement was that it linked up Indian culture and philosophy with the culture and philosophy of the West. Dr. Besant was the main instrument in this synthetising process. She was closely associated with the Free Thought and Labour movements in England in association with Bradlaugh, Bernard Shaw and the Webbs. The perusal of a theosophical work given to her for review by the late Mr. Stead brought her into the Theosophical movement and to India. Valuable spadework had been done by Madame Blavatsky and Col. Olcott. The Adyar Headquarters had been established. One of the important pioneer efforts of Adyar was the formation of a manuscript library. Priceless manuscripts had been lost or destroyed in thousands and the work of vandalism was still in full swing. Col. Olcott had the bright idea of arresting the process and rescuing manuscripts by the institution of the Adyar Library. This, founded in 1886, has now developed into one of the most important collections of Sanskrit books and Sanskrit manuscripts in the world. The first volume of the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Library has just been published (Adyar, price Rs. 15.). It comprises only the Vedic Section. The manuscripts number one thousand and eight. A summary of the contents and character of each manuscript is given in English and Sanskrit. In a comprehensive introduction, Director C. Kunhan Raja points out that in forming the Library and publishing important manuscripts, the object of the Theosophical Society was not merely to bring together a collection of books but to promote cultural harmony amongst the different communities of India. Unlike political novices, Col. Olcott realised that the difference of languages, cultures and religions in India is a thing to be proud of and it was Col. Olcott's aim to promote such harmony. The affairs of India, to him, were a part of the affairs of all nations and countries. The Catalogue is a standing monument to the great interest which this distinguished American took in India.

Allah Bux Murder:—It is nearly a month since the ex-premier of Sind, Mr. Allah Bux, was murdered in broad daylight in the vicinity of a Police Station in Shikarpur. A semi-official statement issued immediately after the murder declared positively that there was no communal or political motive behind the crime and it was due to personal animosity. There were two men with the murdered leader. The culprits were said to have been traced by their foot-prints up to certain localities. A special officer was deputed by Government to investigate on the spot. A reward of Rs. 10,000 has been offered for information which will lead to the identification of the criminals. There has so far been no arrests. It is impossible to believe that such a crime in such circumstances can remain undetected. It is the duty of the Government of Sind, if it cannot with its resources run the men responsible for the murder to earth, to invite the help of the Government of India without delay. It will be a serious reflection not alone on the Sind Government if the criminals are allowed to escape the penalty which is their due. Sind is another province which has suffered by being endowed with the onerous dignity of a separate autonomous province.

BRITAIN AND AMERICA.

Mr. Devere Allen's *No-Frontier News Service* which has changed into *Worldover Press*, is growing more interesting if less spectacular. It used to deal largely with political events. Mr. Devere Allen showed considerable enterprise immediately when war broke out by shifting his headquarters to Belgium until its occupation. Back in America, his service concerns itself more now with social and economic trends, with useful studies of South American States, and with articles about conditions in occupied countries.

E. Dixwell Chase, a regular contributor to *Worldover Press*, writing on February 8, 1943, gives a clue to some of the probable consequences of Stalin's initiating the dissolution of the Third International. At the post-war conference to settle the world's future, there would have been three probable sources of dissension among the victors—Britain's imperialism, the U. S. A.'s economic supremacy and the U. S. S. R.'s world communism. Mr. Churchill's periodic pronouncements have added rather than removed the fear and suspicion that the British hope at the least to maintain their Empire. Because the U. S. A. has the means to dictate the economics of the post-war world, she will have to go far in concrete measures to establish the disinterestedness of her intentions in a very suspicious world. Her position is the more difficult because every step she takes to assure her own people that they will not suffer from World War II, as they did from World War I, will increase suspicions outside America. Yet world attention was distracted from these two questions by Russia's probable attitude. Now Stalin has eliminated that problem by a shrewd and daring act. Mr. Chase's article shows what Britain and America will have to face. He writes:

"Americans have been having a field day denouncing British imperialism and British leaders who appear reluctant to part with the empire at a moment's notice. And British journals, during recent weeks, have been questioning, with increasing anxiety, American post-war economic and political intentions. It took an extraordinarily fruitful and constructive international conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations to get this situation up on the operating table and effect a cure. Out of that conference emerged the startling realization that if imperialism remains to plague the world after the war, Americans will have largely themselves to blame.

"The fact is that Great Britain's post-war economic survival depends to a great extent on whether the United States in its international dealings goes 'rugged individualist' and nationalist, or whether it goes 'internationalist' and co-operative.

"Here's why. In the past, the United Kingdom has been able to support a large population only because thorough-going industrialization has made her people highly productive. They were able to make and sell abroad enough manufactured goods to pay for the food and raw materials that had to be imported. Income from investments overseas and from shipping and insurance helped out too. But the world conditions that made this possible have changed radically during the past 80 years, and will have changed beyond recognition by the time this war is over. Other countries that used to buy their manufactured goods from England now make their own, or buy them from the United States. And war has immeasurably hastened the liquidation of British investments in other countries.

"During the last few decades, Britain has turned increasingly to her empire for economic support.

The Ottawa Preferential Trade agreements were an effort to recover within the empire the economic outlets that were gradually slipping away elsewhere. (This policy gave another spin to the vicious circle in which all nations were involved of "sell all we can and buy as little as possible.") Furthermore, from a political and military point of view, the empire, despite its shortcomings, gave Britain, and the whole world, for that matter, a certain degree of stability.

"So, at the recent Institute of Pacific Relations conference at Mont Tremblant, Canada, when the American delegates pounded the table and demanded of the British delegates that Britain should apply the Atlantic Charter to the Asiatic empire, the Britishers replied by asking what steps the Americans were prepared to take, economically and politically, to replace the empire and make it possible for the United Kingdom to live. Finally, out of the give and take of the conference table, came the realization that the solution was a two-way proposition. Both sides would have to advance simultaneously without waiting for the other, or else neither side would budge.

"Americans would have to hasten their willingness to participate in world politics, and would have to think of their export trade as a co-operative undertaking to be dovetailed with the needs of other nations, while Britain would have to speed the liberation of her colonies and readjust her industry so that it would mesh with, rather than conflict with, industrial production elsewhere.

"Only in this way, the delegates agreed, could real progress be made, for Americans would recoil from taking part in a world organization as long as it appeared to be only a means of protecting reactionary imperialism, while Britons would be unwilling to relinquish their one source of security in the face of American political isolationism and economic expansionism."

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL PARTIES.

The meaning of the Government of India's curious way of dealing with Gandhiji's letter to Mr. Jinnah seems to be quite clear. It does not take seriously its own characterising Gandhiji as a rebel who must apologise before receiving any consideration as a political figure. Otherwise it would have not only not delivered but even suppressed the letter instead of making it public. For danger to a State lies not in the mere fact of one who challenges its authority communicating with persons outside, but in what he communicates. Yet it clearly states that it cannot allow Gandhiji this freedom of communication as long as he has not repented. As the *Dawn* has shrewdly pointed out, there seems no reason why Mr. Jinnah should be shut out of an etiquette which allows Gandhiji to address Lord Linlithgow and Lord Linlithgow, Gandhiji in friendly terms without endangering the safety of the State. The reason must be that Lord Linlithgow wishes all communications and peace negotiations to go through him. Gandhiji can write to Lord Linlithgow asking him to inform Mr. Jinnah and the message will be forwarded. This arises out of a more serious complication in the situation, a qualification of the frequent assertion that, if Indians agree, then the British will come to terms. Now this is modified in the light of Government's action to mean that Indians must agree to something approved by the British. In view of this, it is very doubtful whether, even if Gandhiji were to say he was responsible for the post-August disturbances and that the Congress had made a mistake, Government would relax its hold. Certainly any words

chosen by Gandhiji will be carefully scanned to discover traps. Of the parties to this squabble, it is clear that Government and the Muslim League are not unhappy at the turn of events and are not likely to attempt to solve the stalemate. The Congress, as a political party, cannot expect its opponents to oblige it. By now it must have realised that whatever long-run hopes it may have, immediately it has decidedly been silenced. Any successes it may hope for must arise out of the errors of its opponents. For that they may be depended upon. In spite of this, the mere fact that the Congress has lost the initiative is unfortunate for it. It would be politically sound if Gandhiji asked the Viceroy with whom he can correspond, in what terms the Government wanted the Congress to declare its abandonment of the present policy and position. Naturally the reply would necessitate consultation between Working Committee members which the Government could not properly disallow. To avoid charges of bad faith, provided the Congress High Command is agreed that the conditions warrant a withdrawal, the actual wording of the Congress declaration may be sought from Delhi. We see nothing humiliating in this, in the light of so many strategic military withdrawals and retreats in war which is, after all, only the politics of violence. Besides, in the past non-Congress leaders have done this service for the Congress. Their services may not have been recognised but they have been appreciated, and, whenever trouble has broken out with the Government, have been requisitioned for peace-making. Now that they have tried and are unable to do anything owing to the attitude of Government, it is up to the Congress to pull its own chestnuts out of the fire, assuming that the Congress does wish to get them pulled out.

SIR V. T. KRISHNAMACHARYA'S SPEECHES.

We have had with us for some time a volume of speeches by Sir V. T. Krishnamacharya's speeches as Dewan of Baroda State. They cover a period of seventeen years, a record in the annals of Baroda. Sir Krishnamacharya has all his life been an administrator but he is a keen student of history and politics, evidence of which is visible even in his purely departmental pronouncements. The key-note of his utterances is the organic unity of life. Political, social and economic aspects of it, are interrelated and you cannot touch one without considering the effect on others. In his address to the Baroda Legislative Assembly Budget session last year, he developed his ideas on this principle and the consequent necessity of keeping constantly in view the pace of social progress in framing political constitutions. In a living society the two grow together. Great Britain is the most conspicuous example of social and political institutions having developed together. Yet even in Great Britain political democracy had outpaced social institutions. The condition of South Wales miners is in some respects worse than that of our depressed classes. It is notorious that economic democracy has lagged considerably behind political democracy. The failure of democracy—because democracy has failed—is due to the failure of statesmanship to realise the solidarity of all phases of national life. The ballot box, even when its secrecy is assured, cannot bridge the gulf between a wealthy merchant or landowner and his wage-earning workmen. Socialism, Marxism and other revolutionary schemes are the outcome of this inequality. Lord Acton pointed out that tyranny was possible under all forms of government and the tyranny of popular governments can be even worse than that of autocracy. He, therefore, defined democracy as the reign of law in which the individual citizen

is responsible only to the law. At the same time, there is no reason why India should be deemed unfit for self-rule on the ground that she does not fulfil the ideal conditions needed for the successful working of democracy. Democracy has lost its meaning as government by majority. It now means "just government" whatever the form of the constitution might be. There has been much ignorant sneering at "Ramarajya" because Gandhiji has sometimes described his ideal government by that term. Ramarajya is only dharma-rajya, or the reign of law independently of the idiosyncracies of individual monarchs. Ramarajya is Acton's democracy. Successive administration reports of Baroda bear ample testimony to the liberal spirit and insight of Sir Krishnamacharya's administration. Several of the speeches in this volume are valuable contributions to the all too scanty literature on the evolution of Indian political thought.

DARBHANGA MARRIAGE.

The Maharajahiraj Bahadur of Darbhanga married for the third time on May 6. The marriage was celebrated with usual pomp and grandeur at Darbhanga. A beautiful *mandap* was especially erected for the purpose in the vicinity of the Lakshmisagar Raj Tank, where the Maharajahiraj was seen chanting Vedic Mantras. The Maharajahiraj has given Rs. 500 to the Chairman of the Darbhanga Municipality for feeding the poor.

So runs a U. P. message from Patna published in the "Hindusthan Standard" of May 12. The "Hindu" of the same date gives further information that the fortunate bride is the fourth daughter of the late Pandit Hansmani of Mandrauni.

The hearts of all Hindu parents of many daughters will surely go out in sympathy and sincere congratulations to the new Maharani. The princely House of Darbhanga is a Brahman family of highest repute for wealth, public charities and religious orthodoxy. Hindu law being what it is, it would be impertinent, ungracious and futile to probe into the reason for polygamy in wealthy aristocratic families, even of the Brahman caste. It is very touching to note that the distinguished bridegroom was seen chanting Vedic Mantras on the auspicious occasion. God grant that his orthodoxy may constrain him to do no more such chanting in his lifetime! Humble folk living ordinary lives can have no direct knowledge of the human feelings and sentiments that may be at work behind the inscrutable Purdah of princely houses. But, if they are anything like what is known among human beings in general, one can guess that the dirge to domestic happiness chanted simultaneously on the same auspicious occasion in overful hearts of the superseded Maharanis, interned in isolated splendour in the inner palace, must have been in purely unvedic doleful prose. That the same fate may never overtake the latest Maharani, should be the incessant prayer of all pious Hindus who hesitate to support marriage legislation in favour of Monogamy.

K. R.

THE SUCCESSION BILL AND "SEPARATE" PROPERTY.

(BY KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI, ASKA.)

It is very heartening to see that eminent Indian Jurists who have held some of the highest positions in public life and under the Crown are taking pains to explain to the public and support the provisions of the Intestate Succession Bill now before the central legislature.

The Right Honourable Mr. M. R. Jayakar, retired Judge of His Majesty's Privy Council, has already spoken in its favour at Bombay. Sir B. L. Mitter, former Law Member and present Advocate-General to the Government of India, and also Sir Sultan Ahmed, who, as Law Member, introduced the Bill in the recent session of the Assembly, are reported to have addressed the citizens of Delhi last week under the auspices of the Delhi Provincial Council of Women at the same time. As Sir B. L. Mitter has truly observed, it is but a tiny portion of the huge edifice of Hindu law, which has wholly fallen into disrepair, that the present Bill seeks to repair. We join our fervent hope with his and the Rt. Hon. Mr. Jayakar's that the Hindu Law Revision Committee headed by the Hon. Mr. Justice Rau, which has been rather hastily disbanded, will be reconstituted as early as possible to complete its beneficent work. It gives us immense pleasure to note that Sir Sultan Ahmed hopes still to be in charge of the Bill, though the Law portfolio has been shifted from his hands.

We have only one observation to make by way of constructive criticism on what Sir B. L. Mitter has said about the scope of the Bill. This criticism has already been communicated to the Honourable Mover through the Government of Orissa by the Social Welfare Association of Aska when opinions were called for on the Bill last July (vide *The Reformer* of August 22, 1942.)

We cannot perhaps complain that the Bill presupposes some knowledge on the part of the public, of the general Hindu law of property and its various modes of devolution, independent of its own provisions. A preliminary exposition of that subject in the form of sections, may be difficult within the scheme of a fractional code. We certainly cannot complain that the scope of the present Bill is limited and that it does not undertake to deal with all the kinds of property which a Hindu may leave at his death without a testament. Joint family property, for instance, whether ancestral or acquired by joint funds, labour and skill or by unselfish individual members for the benefit of the whole family, passes by survivorship but not by inheritance, and is, therefore, reserved for treatment in a later Bill. The present Bill does not disclose how those two forms of devolution differ from each other. It seeks to regulate succession only to "heritable property," which it defines simply as "property which belongs to an intestate in his or her own right and passes by inheritance as distinct from survivorship." By way apparently of putting beyond doubt the implication of this definition, however, an illustration is appended which says that "all property of a Hindu governed by the Dayabhaga School of Hindu law is heritable property as it passes by inheritance but not by survivorship; so too is the self-acquired property of a Hindu governed by any Mitakshara school of Hindu law, as such property also passes by inheritance and not by survivorship." No doubt, it is only an 'Illustration,' and not an 'Explanation.' But the limitation which it makes of the term 'heritable' to the "self-acquired property" of a Mitakshara Hindu—that is, practically every non-Bengali Hindu, as contrasted with the "all property" of a Dayabhaga (that is, Bengali) Hindu—points only to a further reservation on the scope of the Bill than is apparent on the wording of the definition. Under Mitakshara law as at present in force, the share in joint family property which a member takes at partition of the joint estate is entirely at his disposition and passes by inheritance to his widow, daughter, daughter's son or mother if he dies sonless and intestate. If such separated share

is not to be treated as "heritable property" covered by the Bill, because it is not "self-acquired" but ancestral, his heirs lose a valuable right of inheritance which will have to be restored to them by another Bill. To this extent, therefore, the Bill seems to be defective even within its limited scope, unless the term 'self-acquired' is declared to include such separate share in ancestral property which, together with a man's self-acquired property, as ordinarily understood, forms his separate estate in current legal parlance; or the Illustration is deleted or amplified or otherwise brought into line with the larger intentions of the learned authors of the Bill which may be inferred from the wider language of the definition coupled with one's own knowledge of the current Hindu law not derivable from the present Bill.

It is heartening to read in the short summary of the speech reported in the papers that Sir B. L. Mitter is of opinion that "the Bill sought to deal with the law relating to succession to the *separate* property of Hindu which the owner could dispose of" (*Italics ours*). But Mitakshara Hindus may be excused if they still feel shy to share the optimism of the great Bengali Jurist in this respect in view of the present Illustration.

Even if it is made clear that the Bill has authority to deal with all separate property, there is still the other hurdle to reckon with, namely, the new Government of India Act which has shorn the Central legislature of its power to deal with "agricultural lands." This makes whatever "property" it may in the fulness of its wisdom and generosity grant with both its hands to female heirs, substantially hollow inside, though rich in principle and potential worth. In the face of the Federal Court decision on the point in connection with Dr. Deshmukh's Act, the unanimous suggestion of the Delhi Provincial Council of Women "that the Government of India should include agricultural property within the scope of the Bill", is rather inexplicable.

THE ARYAN PATH.

Editor : SOPHIA WADIA

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

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NOTES.

Madras By-Election:—The contest between a Congress and a Justice Party candidate in Madras for the seat in the Indian Legislative Assembly rendered vacant by the untimely death of Mr. Satyamurti, has resulted in the success of the Congressman, Mr. P. Rangiah Naidu, by 4568 votes against 1508 for the Justice candidate, Mr. Sundara Rao Naidu. Any one with an elementary knowledge of human nature would have foreseen the result. The Congress candidate's chances were also advanced by the action of the Police Commissioner of Madras forbidding election meetings in favour of the Congress candidate, leaving the field clear for Justice Party propaganda. The *Guardian* of Madras observed in its last issue that the Commissioner's action would turn many voters in favour of the Congress candidate. The Madras by-election is a straw but it shows the trend of public feeling over the greater part of the country. We say "feeling" because the victory of Mr. Rangiah Naidu is not so much a reflection of public opinion on Congress policy as of resentment against the autocratic methods of Government. It is time for Congress leaders to revise the policy of members abstaining from attending and taking part in the proceedings of the Legislature. The electors evidently expect their members to function as members. It will be surprising if Dr. Vardarajulu Naidu persists after the result of this election in his attempt to form a non-Congress Ministry in Madras.

Akola Railway Smash:—The Bombay Calcutta Mail which left on the evening of 3rd June ran into a goods train at a station near Akola, on the Bombay Nagpur line, in the early hours of June 4. Nearly eighty persons were killed and 140 injured, several seriously. The communique issued the next day stated that the enquiry made so far did not reveal any intention of sabotage. The Bombay Calcutta Mail is one of the most important trains in the country, and the disaster must be probed to the bottom. A few days later, was reported a holdup in the Southern Mahratta Railway, and the looting of money intended for the wages of the railway's employees.

American Strikes:—We have been baffled by the assiduity with which Reuter has been cabling messages from America about strikes taking place in the United States of America. Many of them were fairly important it is true but one of the first measures in a country at war is not to play up

strikes. What is true of a single country, ought to be true of the United Nations as a whole. But here every phase of a strike is reported. The impression conveyed is that, though America's potentialities for war production are great, there are difficulties which prevent her fullest contribution to the United Nations war effort. On Wednesday appeared a message about fifty-seven girls going on a sit-down strike because they were asked to wear slacks instead of skirts. What is it that makes this item worthy of being cabled out at a time when several important items are slurred over in the cables?

Fischer Ban:—A New Delhi order has been issued forbidding the publication of the writings of the American journalist, Louis Fischer, on Indian topics in original or in translation, in this country without their being first submitted for revision to the Chief Press Adviser, Mr. Fischer, when he visited New Delhi, had interviews with the Viceroy during which His Excellency spoke to him with considerable freedom. He was a guest at a celebration of Independence Day at which he was privileged to sit next to Her Excellency the Vicereine. It is evident that the Viceroy and Lady Linlithgow intended to impress Mr. Fischer that the Government of India is not like the Government of the United States where a homogeneous population, consisting of immigrants from all Europe with about 12 million negroes, offer few problems equal in complexity to those of India with only two large communities both of which are of the same racial origin and had lived together for centuries before the British set foot in this country. Lady Linlithgow went a step further than the Viceroy. She posed a leading question to Mr. Fischer, "Do you think these people (evidently the Indians who were at the party) capable of governing themselves?" Mr. Fischer was expected to say, "Of course not, Your Excellency, the British owe it to humanity to govern them." But this Mr. Fischer did not say. He irrelevantly referred to what English Tories had said of American colonists a hundred and fifty years ago. Unmindful of the convention that what the Viceroy or his wife says to visitors should not be repeated to others, Mr. Fischer in his blunt American way quoted them in his articles and talks to his countrymen on India. These were reproduced in the Indian Press. The Viceroy's own remarks about Gandhiji and the feeling in India about Britain were of not much consequence when reproduced in the Indian press. But Lady Linlithgow's opinion of the capacity of Indians to govern themselves was somewhat of a shock. It rather confirmed Mrs. Portal's thesis in the paper read at the East India Association in London, about the influence of Englishwomen on Indo-British relations. Here is the first British lady in the land confiding to an American journalist what she would not have said to an Indian—even one of the Executive Council Members—her scepticism about Indians

ability to rule themselves. The Viceroy has been saying that after the war Indians will be granted self-government which, in the opinion of the Vicereine, they cannot manage. If Her Excellency did not say this to Mr. Fischer, a press communique would have put the matter right. We are inclined to think that it is this indiscretion of Mr. Fischer that has provoked the new order. It may be followed by another forbidding Viceroys' wives from expressing their opinions about Indians to American journalists. The American people should take note of the strong pressure on their representatives in this country to adopt Anglo-Indian views. All of them, we are afraid, will not have the strength to withstand it.

The Atlantic Charter and North Africa:—The Atlantic Charter did not exclude any nation, race or country, from its scope. It was Mr. Churchill who explained in reply to questions about its application to India and other countries, that what President Roosevelt had in mind when drawing up the Charter was only the lands overrun by Nazis. North Africa comes under this limited definition. But when the Nazis were finally cleared out of North Africa, the two great democratic authors of the Charter have quietly handed it over to its pre-war French masters without saying a word about self-determination of the African natives. Neither in Britain nor in the United States has a single voice been raised, so far as we have seen, in protest against this glaring departure from the Charter. The African problem has been discussed in both countries as one concerning Generals Giraud and De Gaulle. This is of some interest to us in India. It means that, in spite of high sounding phrases, the old Imperialism is to be restored and that the war, so far as Africa and Asia are concerned, will merely restore the status quo. This was already implied in the recognition of the Dutch claim to Netherlands Indies. The North African settlement is a further confirmation of this intention of the two principal parties among the Allied Nations.

Standard Cloth:—The Secretary of the Commerce Department of the Government of India, Mr. M. S. A. Hydari, after three days conference with millowners in Bombay arrived at an arrangement, the underlying idea of which was summed up by the Chairman of the Bombay Millowners Association, Sir Vithal Chandavarkar, as being that no mill henceforth will be able to sell a single yard of cloth above the price fixed by Government. Whether the price fixed by Government will be within the means of the poor, neither Mr. Hydari nor Sir Vithal could say. Meanwhile a story of Government distribution comes from Calcutta which is too rich to be omitted in any discussion of Government control. It is included in a statement issued by Mr. S. J. Desai, Secretary, Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, "A commercial organization in Calcutta recently got only nine bales of standard cloth i.e., 1800 pieces for distribution among 150,000 workers on its roll, and when opened they were all found to be sarees." It is probable that "standard cloth" is meant for men as well as women. These are days of equal rights for both sexes and what can be more impressive evidence of such equality than that men and women should wear the same clothes? In fact, when it is intended that the numerous varieties of clothing in India should be merged in a single "standard cloth," there is no reason why any distinction should be made between saree and dhoti. The revolutionary work in which the Government is engaged at present, is to "standardise" life in a country which has resisted standardisation from time immemorial. By temperament as well as philosophy, the Indian people are opposed to "steamrolling" and

now by means of rationing in food and cloth and in other ways they are sought to be "unified" while on the plane of politics the pattern most favoured is distinctions by caste, creed, language and province. The Government of India are confident that this contrarious policy will succeed. They are sublimely unconscious of the fact that they are here attempting a task which their predecessors wisely forbore from approaching.

The Next Viceroy:—About a month ago, we were told that the selection of Lord Linlithgow's successor had been made and that an announcement was imminent. Then, the report was that the announcement had been delayed owing to the Prime Minister's visit to Washington. Mr. Winston Churchill has returned to London and is perhaps contemplating a visit to Moscow. Chungking also is a probable destination. The announcement may be indefinitely delayed and it may turn out that Lord Linlithgow has been given a further extension as it is deemed inadvisable to change horses when the stream is being crossed. India will receive the news whenever it comes with equanimity. But the nomination of Mr. Casey, whose name is mentioned now, will be rather a bitter pill. Mr. Casey is an Australian, and, though he was repudiated by the Australian Prime Minister, when he accepted a job at the hands of Mr. Churchill as Minister abroad, still he will be unacceptable as being a native of a Dominion which does not admit Indians to citizenship. A further black mark against him is that he owes his position in British politics solely to Mr. Churchill and is bound to come here with the Churchill doctrine firmly planted in him. India is glad that she has been spared Field Marshal Smuts who was mentioned at one time as destined for New Delhi. If the elections next month run against him, he may yet seek solace for his loss in Hindustan. Seriously, however, if no plausible Englishman or Scotsman or Welshman can be found, why not select an Indian for the Viceroyalty? Evidently this cannot be thought of even though it may be necessary to get a Viceroy from the Allied Nations who are now joint partners in the Empire. The husband of Princess Juliana, as Viceroy of India will be able personally to direct operations for the reconquest of Netherlands Indies.

Sir R. P. Paranjpye and the Hindu Mahasabha:—Last week we commented on the presence and speech of the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastry at a meeting to celebrate Mr. Savarkar's 61st birthday. Equally noteworthy is the presence in the chair of Sir R. P. Paranjpye at a Bombay meeting for the same purpose on Sunday 6th June. Sir Raghunath is a leading light of the Liberal Party in India. While in Britain and the United States the Liberals are emerging from their wilderness, it is unfortunate that Indian Liberals of the first rank should weaken in their faith in their national, non-communal outlook. Except as one nation, there is no future for the people of India. Both the Muslim League and the Mahasabha do not want Indian Unity. The Congress is for the time out of court and even otherwise it is also communally biased.

British Socialism after the War:—In a contribution to *Worldover Press*; from London, Maurice Cranston gives the prospects for Socialism in post-war Britain. He writes:

Do not imagine, that there is any threat of Socialism. The ex-U. S. Ambassador, Joe Kennedy, once thought so, but in fact there is hardly anyone here to ask for it. The Labour party, dominated by the Trades Unions, would gladly come to terms with Big Business, Sir Stafford Cripps has moved well to the Right, and the Communists care for nothing but the U. S. S. R. Only the ageing Independent Labour Party and a few Fabians keep the red flag flying.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, June 12, 1943.

LEAGUE MAHASABHA PACT?

After inducting nominally Muslim League but really motley Ministries in Bengal, Sind and the N. W. Frontier provinces, the bureaucracy is seeking to repeat the performance in the erstwhile Congress provinces where Muslims are a minority. The bogus character of these Ministries is evident from the declaration, after an inordinate interval, of the Punjab Prime Minister that the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact postulating non-intervention by Mr. Jinnah in Punjab affairs in return for Sikandar's cooperation in all-India matters, is still in full force. Some of his Muslim League colleagues in the Punjab had denounced the Pact and ordered Sir Chhotu Ram, who repudiated Mr. Jinnah's inclusion of the Punjab Ministry in the Muslim League achievements, to get out of the Ministry. It is not too much to infer that a similar pact is tacitly in force in Bengal, Sind and the Frontier. The programme of the Nazimuddin Cabinet in Bengal cannot be reconciled with the fundamental principles of the Muslim League notwithstanding Sir Nazimuddin's protestation that it is a League programme. In Sind, Sir Ghulam Hussein Hidayatulla, while professing to follow Koranic precepts, is careful to avoid provoking the Governor to repeat his treatment of the late Allah Baksh. In the Frontier province, Aurangzebe Khan, in his anxiety to retain the solitary Sikh gentleman whom he has got into his Cabinet, prefers to say as little as possible of Pakistan or the Muslim League. It is worthy of note that Mr. Meher Chand Khanna, a prominent member of the Hindu Mahasabha, has refused to enter a coalition with Sardar Aurangzebe Khan. In Bengal too, Dr. Shyam Prasad Mukherji, working President of the Hindu Mahasabha, has denounced the method by which the Nazimuddin Ministry has crept into office. In view of the action of these two Hindu Mahasabha leaders, it is difficult to understand Mr. V. D. Savarkar's statement offering the cooperation of the Mahasabha to form coalition ministries in the Congress majority provinces. Perhaps, this is merely a tactical move because some of his conditions are such as Mr. Jinnah cannot accept without swallowing his previous declarations. Whether that be so or not, we strongly object to the idea of a coalition between the two communal organizations as a betrayal of the principles for which Indian leaders from the time of Raja Ram Mohan Roy have consistently stood. That principle is that India is a single indivisible whole and the Indian people are a single nation. That we have understood to be the ideal of the Hindu Mahasabha also. To postulate as Mr. Savarkar does about the proportions of those who invoke Allah in their prayers and those who invoke Shiva or Vishnu or Durga, and that the head of the Ministry should be one who does not call God by the name Allah, is in flat contradiction to the ideals professed by the Mahasabha.

We regard it positively as an act of political indecency for any Indian group to accept the responsibility, which is implicit in accepting office, for detaining thousands of their fellow countrymen, some of whom are world figures, in prison without trial. The recent judgments of the Federal and Calcutta High Courts have demonstrated that the ordinances under which these men are detained, lack the most elementary regard for the rights of the citizen. We have

said and we repeat that the programme of the Hindu Mahasabha as outlined by Mr. Savarkar, appeals to us as a national programme and we have suggested that the definition of "Hindu" should be enlarged so as to include Muslims and Christians. So far as Christians are concerned, the *Mahratta* assured us in a recent issue that they are admitted to Mahasabha membership in Maharashtra notwithstanding the official definition of Hindu in the Mahasabha constitution. It may be hoped that this practice will extend all over the country and that eventually the definition of "Hindu" will be enlarged so as to include all Indians. But so far this has not been done as regards Muslims in any part of the country, not even in Maharashtra. More than that, Mahasabha speakers express sentiments about Muslims much the same as Mr. Jinnah does about Hindus. Mr. Savarkar himself is a constant offender in this respect. If the Mahasabha enlarges its definition of "Hindu," as we have suggested, there is no need for a coalition because the Mahasabha will be a national body. As compared to the programme of the Mahasabha, the programme of the National Congress since 1920 is hampered by irrelevant issues each of which is a matter of lively controversy. *The Reformer* has differed from the Congress and still differs, but so long as the Congress leaders are detained in violation of the elementary principles of civilised jurisprudence, its differences with the Congress fall into the background. For it and for the country, the immediate issue is to get this injustice undone. The deadlock cannot be solved until the padlocks are removed from the prison-doors of these detainees. That this is the view of large classes of the population was forcibly demonstrated by the overwhelming majority of votes cast for the Congress and against the Justice Party's candidate at the Madras by-election last week. Incidentally it is significant that the Vice-President of the Mahasabha did not contest the seat as was at one time confidently stated. The cause of justice is greater by far than the interests of any community, large or small. Mr. Savarkar is a very worthy person but he has not a whole view of the Indian problem and cannot therefore take a statesmanlike view of India's present and future. We trust other members of the Mahasabha will not hesitate, from considerations of a united front and loyalty to the leader, to repudiate Mr. Savarkar's offer to the Muslim League. As we have remarked more than once, no pact, between Hindus and Muslims can be accepted as the basis of India's political or social evolution.

BEYOND THE WAR.

In an article in the *Political Science Quarterly* Nathaniel Peffer, one of America's best known students of international affairs, discusses the part which the U. S. A. can expect to play in the post-war world. It is worth noting that the first step he takes in clearing the ground, is to remove any misimpression in the American mind that any of the great Powers want America's leadership. None of the Powers would accept committing the right of decision in political matters to any single nation, least of all to America. For though America has been accepted as disinterested and her strength respected, there is not much admiration of her political acumen. "From the Volga to the Atlantic," says Mr. Peffer, "all Europeans are united on one proposition, and perhaps only one, that Americans are politically children... There have been times when certain Powers or groups would have been glad to follow America, if America was going in a direction

advantageous to themselves—but only so long as it did." The only result which may be expected from supremacy conferred on America, is, observes Mr. Peffer, the unity of Europe out of hatred of America. Naturally that is not likely to commend itself to Americans.

Mr. Peffer, however, has something to say in this connection about Britain and Russia, which has been corroborated by Mr. Churchill's recent speech in Parliament. "The British lion," he writes, "will not have stood at bay, mangled for four or more years, and then, with the foe prostrate under its paws, meekly follow on an American leash. Not in Elizabeth's or Victoria's day was Britain further from any mood of abdication as a great Power. As for Russia"—pace the dissolution of the Comintern—"it is fantastic even to raise the question." Mr. Peffer wrote these words early this year in February. In June the British Premier has given added value to the foresight of the political thinker: "It is an error...to suppose that, previously unprepared and ill-armed, the Anglo-Saxon democracies will emerge from this war weakened and prostrate, even though victorious. On the contrary, we shall be stronger than ever before in force and I trust also in faith....I am very sorry that we have not yet been able to bring into counsel Marshal Stalin or other representatives of our great Ally, Russia, which is bearing the heaviest burden and paying by far the heaviest price in blood and life." In spite of this regret, however, Mr. Churchill is not quite heartbroken at Russia keeping out. He referred to the ties that had grown between Britain and the United States and, amidst the applause of the Commons, he hoped that in the post-war world, the two countries will work together. The post-war organisation was to be founded on understanding between Britain and America.

The British might well welcome this ideal. But there is another point of view which is prevalent in the United States. The U. S. A., like the British Empire, has other elements than the Anglo-Saxon within it and within the political and economic system that hangs on it. Stressing the Anglo-Saxon element, as the British Prime Minister complacently and persistently does, will not make matters easy for the United States. Rather the contrary. South America which the Good Neighbour policy of the American President has brought into the Allied camp, is Latin. Welding the American peoples, North and South, into one group has been the less spectacular but more valuable achievement of President Roosevelt. It is not helped by insisting on the United States being Anglo-Saxon.

Even in America itself, the insistence is not wise. For, while Mr. Peffer says that Europe distrusts America's political wisdom, he also observes that Americans wish to keep out of European prejudices. Of the two solutions he discusses of the political structure of an international organisation, the first is that which brings in several nations. The second is an alliance with Britain. And the second, he clearly states, is a counsel of despair. It means nothing less in short than America's entry into power politics; preparing not to end war but to fight another one. Perhaps because he was speaking to an American audience, Mr. Peffer did not dwell on the difficulties which this procedure would entail. Moreover, it is unnecessary to dilate at length on suspicions which compelled America, with all her democratic sympathies, to wait in two wars for direct provocation before entering on hostilities.

INDIA IN AMERICA.

A Reuter message dated June 4 gave an account of Mr. Henry S. L. Polak's speech at the East India Association, London, on his return from a lecture tour in the United States of America. Mr. Polak was described in the message as an expert on Indian affairs. But it was not made clear that his knowledge of India has been rendered obsolete by the rapidity of developments here after the war broke out. Mr. Polak deplored the ignorance which existed in the U. S. A. on India and pleaded for Indians and British, official and non-official, going over to educate the Americans. They must be "duly qualified to deal objectively and sympathetically with Indian national aspirations." Mr. Polak has been unfortunate in the past in his relations with the press and he has had at least once to issue corrections of reports of his speeches or protests against breaches of confidence. It may be true now too. The very words objective and sympathetic in association make the sheerest nonsense. However, assuming that Mr. Polak did say it, it would be not unfair to assume that Mr. Polak himself, in his own opinion at least, admirably fitted these requirements. Naturally, since he would not otherwise have gone to America on a lecture tour. Lacking clarity of thought he has bungled badly whether one looks at things from India's point of view or Britain's. As for objectivity, the most charitable thing to say is that Mr. Polak's incoherence is due to excessive emotionalism consequent on war. In the main part of his speech, Mr. Polak was woefully wrong in two important points. His impression of India's attitude to America has been gleaned from, one suspects, Axis broadcasts which notoriously seek to spread dissension among the Allies by questioning the motives of the United States and of Britain. One of the peculiarities of the Churchill-Amery school of thought is that, owing to their attitude of superiority to the Asiatic mind, its chief exponents tend to attach more importance to the enemy propaganda directed at India than to what is going on in India itself. Mr. Polak evidently took his cue, if not his material, from the India Office. It is true that the uneducated, non-political Indian, worried by high prices and astonished at the presence of American troops in large numbers, somehow thought at one stage that the meaning of the Lease-Lend arrangement was that Britain had mortgaged India to America in return for help in the war. But the persistence of the old conditions, both political and economic, dispelled these suspicions. And they surely were not "Congress Party circles and Indian business interests." Mr. Polak glibly asserts that both these sections have had growing suspicions of American imperialism. We should like to know how Mr. Polak got this idea and from what non-official source he can substantiate a statement which he must have repeated several times in the U. S. A. We have seen no reference to it even in the messages sent from here to American journals.

Mr. Polak has a certain privileged position as a friend of Gandhiji and a colleague of his in the old South African days. When he has in the past given out his views on any Indian political question, they have been neither favourable to national opinion in India nor opportunely expressed. We fail to see how he can claim to know the views of Congress Party circles and Indian business. Nor does he rest there. He comes back from America and says that this suspicion has damped the interest of Americans in India and their desire to intervene. For a propagandist—Mr. Polak, it cannot be denied, was

in America for propaganda work—this tortuous technique of misrepresentation is a feeble effort. The whole fabric crumbles when one asks oneself who will benefit out of this deliberately created chaos. We have not seen any slackening of American interest in India. On the contrary, one American writer, Louis Fischer, has had a ban placed on his articles by the Government of India.

The *Times of India* London correspondent a day later sent a message covering the same speech, in which he stated that Mr. Polak's bonafides were questioned in America and he was often dismissed as an official propagandist. It would be naive to assume that Mr. Polak was the only one. He seems to be but a link in a long official chain and not the strongest link at that. As for his suggestion to send speakers and writers to America, we are opposed to it as a waste of money which will ultimately come from the Indian or British taxpayer. The Americans are not fools to be taken in by such ruses. If there is anything about India which has to be said to the U. S. A., Mr. Churchill may tell President Roosevelt all about it when he meets him. There remains the sad case of those who feel they must dispel ignorance about India abroad. Well, let them do it in their own country. Ignorance is always present and we fail to see why Mr. Polak should go to America to talk of Indian national aspirations when he has been notably silent about them in Britain itself where after all most of the work has to be done. There is one final warning: It is not British propagandists in America who can mislead American opinion. The most they will achieve, and that they are doing, is to widen the gulf between India and Britain by showing that a ruling country can descend to malicious propaganda abroad, on domestic problems as they are loudly proclaimed to be, where Indians have no right of reply. The danger is that they will be followed by a crop of Americans put on to the job.

JOSEPH ON JOURNALISM.

The Punjab University has the distinction of being the only Indian University which has a Department of Journalism. The work done by the Department is not so well known as it might be. But it has annual celebrations and at the last of these Mr. Pothan Joseph delivered a scintillating address. No journalist has had such wide and various experience as Mr. Joseph and no better choice could have been made for instructing young and aspiring journalists in the task which lies before them. Mr. Joseph said that, if a young man came to him and asked his advice as to making journalism his career, he (Mr. Joseph) would answer, "No." And he gave his reasons, very cogent ones, from the point of view which he took up, for the negative advice. If material reward is the object, there are two professions which a young man would do well to avoid—Journalism and the kindred profession, Teaching. This is not true only of this country but even of such free and prosperous countries like the United States and Great Britain. The prizes in both professions are few. The blanks are numerous. An eminent English journalist, Sir Edward Clarke, observed that the great fascination, and the only one, of Journalism, is that if one has a good cause at heart, it gives him the opportunity of striking a blow for it at an opportune moment. The Anglo-Indian Press which Mr. Joseph held up as a model, has at heart nothing higher than the cause of supporting the Government for the time being. It is significant that, when Anglo-Indian newspapers were most

numerous and influential, they had far fewer subscribers than the few survivors among them boast of today. The economic as well as other conditions surrounding the growth and decline of the Anglo-Indian Press, have no point of analogy with those of the Indian or any other Press. Mr. Pothan Joseph seems to have a special grievance against the proprietor-editor whom he conceives as being invariably illiterate. This is far from being true. The proprietor-editor is often a man with ideas which he seeks to propagate single-handed because he cannot get anybody to join him in the enterprise. The most readable journals in India and elsewhere owe their reputation to proprietor-editors. The *Manchester Guardian* is an outstanding example. The capitalist-owned newspapers against which Mr. Joseph aimed his shafts with more justice, are few in India. The returns of journalism are at no time as attractive as those of cotton or sugar. Not even now when the National War Front and other official advertisements have greatly added to them. A newspaper is a subsidiary business with capitalists whose main or major interests are, perhaps, in the Stock Exchange or Cotton Green; and as every one knows this there is no difficulty about discounting the opinions expressed in their papers. Even they, to be fair to them, do not seek to control policy except when some issue which comes particularly home to their business or their bosom crops up. The danger today is more from the political boss than from the businessman. The Indian has an innate respect for intellect unlike the Anglo-Saxon who has an inveterate contempt for ideas. Of course, where the journalist himself prefers to forego his status as an intellectual and is willing to plead any cause which his capitalist or political boss espouses, the latter can not be blamed if he takes him at his own valuation. Mr. Pothan Joseph ended by appealing to Government to come to the rescue of the down-trodden Indian journalist. This is a cure worse than the disease. This will kill what little independence is still left to the Indian Press. The British government in India has never loved the Indian Press. Even so sympathetic an administrator as Sir Thomas Munro held that a free Press was incompatible with foreign rule however benevolent. But for a short interval, India has never had a free Press. For three decades at least we have had only a licensed Press. If, in addition, Government were to regulate the conduct of newspapers on the lines, which we understand Mr. Joseph to have in view, of factory legislation, we will inevitably have an official controlled Press like the totalitarian countries. The fact is that Mr. Joseph approaches the Indian journalists' problem from the wrong end. India is not Great Britain nor the United States and Indian journals can have no worse models than the Press of these two wealthy, imperialist countries. A large number of small journals rather than a small number of mammoth newspapers, would best meet the needs of India.

ARGENTINE POLITICS.

Argentina has had a double revolution. Castillo was driven out last week-end and General Rawson held office as President for about 4 days. Then he too gave way to General Ramirez and a military dictatorship. *Worldover Press* has the following note on Argentine:—

"The essential point to remember, in seeking to understand Argentina, is its nationalism. Much that has been written in the United States about the Argentine being pro-Axis has been exaggerated. Argentina is nationalist, rather than pro-Axis. The pressure being exerted upon her is not helping much.

Along with a general pro-United Nations feeling there exists—often in the same person, and markedly if you take a cross-section of the population—a resistance to United States hegemony.

"Internally, Argentina's condition continues to be unwholesome. Elections are generally considered to be fraudulent, with stuffed ballot boxes and all that. Martial law (or technically a state of siege, if there is a difference) still reigns and is becoming the normal state. Freedom of speech and press are restricted. Pressure groups and capitalistic forces are able to get and keep privileges, in spite of contrary public opinion. The situation is not extremely bad, just gradually worse. Moving pictures in the Argentine are developing along distinctly nationalistic lines, partly as a reaction to the extreme United States nationalism spread by the films from Hollywood.

"Many South Americans, for that matter, upon learning of vast sums being spent by the United States for schools, to purchase magazines, subsidize radio programmes, etc., exclaim, "They think they can buy friendship." On the other hand, the allocation of tankers to bring their precious cargoes of oil has recently helped a lot to build good feeling."

NEGROES IN THE U. S. A.

The *New Republic* has printed a series of articles in its January and February issues by Thomas Sancton dealing with the Negro question which show how acute feelings are between the races in America. There is a brighter side to the picture. The Washington correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* reports the decision to enforce equal pay for all in war industries, regardless of race. In the *New Republic* February 15, which has been received in India, Helen Fuller writes of attempts made recently to have an anti-lynching law on the statute, their failure and the work of a group of lawyers in the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice to use the existing laws relating to liberties of the citizen for protecting the Negro. She observes:

For years there have been on the books Sections 51 and 52 of Title 18, United States Code. Section 51 makes it a crime to conspire to injure or oppress any citizen in the exercise of federally secured rights. Section 52 makes it a crime for anyone who is clothed with state or federal powers intentionally to misuse them to deprive any inhabitant of such freedoms as that of speech, of the press or of the platform. The Bill of Rights and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments are guarantees against oppressive action by state or federal governments. Sections 51 and 52 of the Code are sharp weapons to enforce those guarantees.

Apart from the Negro question, the significance of the recent action lies in the fact that the central government is intervening to prevent local injustices. The safeguard for minorities lies at the Centre, not in those localities where prejudices run riot. The lesson is rendered the more important by the circumstance that liberal-minded legal leaders from the South where the Negro problem is acute, have been able to make headway against reaction by determined effort in Washington. Moreover, what the legislature failed to do, the Courts of Justice have brought about. We give the history of the struggle in Helen Fuller's words:

"Martin Catlette, a deputy sheriff of Nicholas County, West Virginia, was the first to feel the blade. Three boys, members of Jehovah's Witnesses, had come to Cichwood, West Virginia, to distribute their strange literature. They were ordered out of town by members of the American Legion and the local police force. They left, but returned the next day to ask the mayor's protection while they

handed out their pamphlets. They were taken to Sheriff Catlette's office. His contribution to law and order was a series of telephone calls to Legionnaires.....a mob of about fifteen hundred people. Sheriff Catlette, evidently a stickler for the proprieties as he chose to interpret them, took off his badge and announced: "What is done from here on will not be done in the name of law." The boys were forced to swallow great doses of castor oil. Then they were roped, led through town to the outskirts and warned to get out and stay out.

"But then, under the direction of Raoul Berger, one of Victor Rotnem's men, Sheriff Catlette found himself indicted and convicted, by the United States Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, under Section 52 of the United States code. Judge Armistead Dobie delivered a momentous opinion. Twenty-five years ago the courts ruled that it is a denial of "equal protection" to refuse a Negro equal Pullman accommodation on the ground that a state law forbids it. Judge Dobie extended this principle, with perfect logic, from lesser matters to great ones, by ruling that it is likewise a denial of "equal protection" to refuse state police protection against mob violence.

"Then came the Howard Wash Case. Wash had been convicted by the local courts on October 16 of the killing of Clint Welborn, a white man. Wash claimed self-defence. The jury refused to deliver the death penalty. Wash was temporarily lodged in the Laurel jail waiting sentence to life imprisonment. Around six o'clock, Wash's wife and three-year-old daughter, one of eight children, came to see him. The grapevine had been at work, for when they left Wash was heard to say, as he kissed them goodbye, "Well, a man can't live forever." At two a. m. the mob..... came looking for him. Luther Holder, deputy sheriff and jailer, had the key to the "mob-proof" steel front door, and he had plenty of time to lock the mob out. But instead he gave them the key—and Howard Wash.

"Special Assistant Attorney Frank Coleman of the Department of Justice took direction of the case, in cooperation with the local United States Attorney, Toxey Hall. The highly respected Jackson attorney William H. Watkins presented the evidence to the grand jury. It took the Mississippi grand jury only five hours to indict Sheriff Holder and Shotts, Pryor, Jones and Johnson, under Sections 51 and 52, for conspiracy to deprive Wash of his constitutional rights. It charged further that Holder, under the colour of law, "did, wilfully and unlawfully, fail, refuse and decline to protect the said Howard Wash."

"Note that in opening up this road that may lead to protection for Negroes against mob violence without a federal anti-lynching law, action under these sections of the United States Code has been taken not merely by Washington officials, but by Southern jurors, Southern judges, Southern attorneys."

Prohibition in India :—The most ardent advocates of democracy are anxious to find some sanction for it other than the brute force of numerical majority. In the course of an article headed, "The Use and Abuse of Majority" in the current *New Review*, Mr. M. Rathaswami attempts not very successfully to find a middle path between majority rule and minority rights. Curiously, he chooses the introduction of Prohibition by the Congress Governments in some parts of the country during their short careers as an instance of the abuse of majority power. He starts with the fallacy that Prohibition belongs to a Puritan ideology. Most total abstainers—a growing number—are not puritans. They are actuated by medical and scientific considerations. In this country they are actuated

also by the precepts of religion which in many cases were inspired sanitary motives. The great majority of the Indian people are forbidden to drink liquor by religion and they have for ages followed the religious precept with great benefit to their mental and physical powers. The Congress governments had not merely the majorities in the Legislature but the moral sentiment of the country behind them in introducing Prohibition. Mr. Ratnaswami observes:

Prohibition by State action has never been the tradition of Hindu social ethics. It has always been a matter of religious injunction or social taboo. It was left to Congress governments to drive it through the legislatures against the view of political minorities that advocate temperance reform by social action in conformity with individual liberty and against the pleading of religious minorities, like the Catholics that wanted the use of wine for Mass given to them as a matter of right and not to be subject to the inquisitorial visit of excise officers.

Mr. Ratnaswami is a Christian, probably a Catholic. We have often noticed that Indian Christians are more ignorant of Indian tradition than foreigners who have paid some attention to Indians affairs. Prohibition by State authority was normal under Hindu rule. The Peishwas had prohibited the manufacture or sale of liquor and Elphinstone bore testimony to the excellent effect and advocated the continuance of the policy after the annexation of the Peishwas' territories. The Catholics were allowed the liquor needed for the Mass under the Congress regime. No inquisition was attached to the right when it was not suspected of abuse. The advocates of temperance through social measures had realised the futility of their efforts so long as Government policy encouraged the manufacture and sale of liquor. Most of them had, therefore, thrown in their weight with Prohibitionists. There is today no Temperance Movement anywhere. The movement everywhere calls for Prohibition. Mr. Ratnaswami has made a very unfortunate choice to demonstrate his theory of the abuse of majority 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.

Complexity of Indian Problem:—The standard argument against Indian freedom is that it presents a complex problem which none but English statesmen can understand. Every propagandist, Henry Polak, among them, harps upon the same string. Sir S. E. Ranganadhan, Adviser to the Secretary of State, now High Commissioner for India in London, has just returned from a propaganda tour to the United States. He combined with his political mission membership of a Christian Missionary Conference somewhere in America, as the representative of Indian Christianity. In his first public pronouncement after his return to London, Sir Ranganadhan told the British public that he found much misunderstanding in the United States but now there was better understanding, implying though he did not say so, that this was the effect of his mission. There are two ways of looking at every question. From one point of view every question is a highly complex one. From another, it is very simple. The process of digestion, for instance, physiologically analysed, is an extremely complex process. If one sat down to understand it all before taking even a glass of water, he will never get the glass to his lips. But men drink and eat every day and many times a day without giving a thought to the physiological process. Walking is a highly complicated physiological process requiring the co-ordination of a multitude of muscles. But, except when one has an attack of lumbago or gout, one never thinks of this but walks. In the same way the Indian problem is complex to persons who do not want it solved. It is simple to those who feel that India must be free or perish. In the same sense that the Indian problem is complex, the British problem, the American problem, the Chinese problem, the Russian problem, is complex. Lenin said that he would teach every washerwoman the art of government. To him it seemed quite simple. The Tsarist regime, on the other hand, was too overwhelmed by the complexity of a constitutional government even to attempt one. It found sending politicals to Siberia the simplest way of solving the Russian problem. Men like Sir Ranganadhan do not realise that the alternative to Indian freedom is to keep thousands of men and women, his equals in culture and character, his superiors in the spirit of sacrifice, in confinement, in many cases, without trial. We are sure that Sir Ranganadhan found at least a few Christians at the Missionary Conference who raised this issue.

Special Courts Given up:—The Federal Court confirmed the judgment of the Calcutta High Court declaring the Governor General's Ordinance under which Special Courts were appointed to try sabotage cases, to be beyond the power conferred by the Government of India Act. The public expected a Validating Ordinance to follow on the lines of the one which followed the Federal Court's judgment in the Talpade Case, amending Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules. Instead, the Governor-General bowed to the Benches and issued an Ordinance to the effect that cases decided hitherto by Special Courts will be deemed to be decided by the ordinary Courts and will be subject to the rules pertaining to them as to appeals and other particulars. This marked change of policy is probably due to the new Law Member, Sir Asok Roy, lately Advocate-General of the Government of Bengal and leader of the Calcutta Bar, perhaps the strongest in the country. The Calcutta High Court, although it started with the handicap of the Elijah Impey tradition, soon completely outlived it and has under renowned Chief Justices asserted the independence of the Judiciary.

Releasing Prisoners:—Though the Government and the Secretary of State for India have been firm in their declaration that there will be no change of policy, prisoners and detenus are being released unconditionally in batches in several provinces. It is evident that the pressure of public opinion is beginning to tell. We may expect the process to continue with possibly accelerated velocity. By the time the next Viceroy—Sir John Anderson the ex-Governor of Bengal is the latest mentioned after having been relegated to the background for many months—lands on India's shores, probably only a few hundreds of the most prominent Congress leaders will continue under detention. The Linlithgow-Maxwell policy is being liquidated, it is clear. This is a welcome sign. Every as regards those who may remain in detention, Government will, we trust, relax the restrictions, especially as regards interviews, now enforced. Even near relatives are not allowed to meet the detenus. Convicted prisoners are entitled to this right under the jail code and it is unreasonable and harsh to deprive detenus of it. Allowances also should be made for the families of those who are prevented from earning their living.

Government Control:—The Bombay public had experience of two controlling measures recently. The first related to sugar. The Food Controller announced the new measure in a communique where he explained that stocks were sufficient but to ensure equitable distribution and to save the public the inconvenience of queuing up in the rain it had been decided to ration sugar. The quantity allowed was 10 ounces per head per week for adults and five ounces per week for every child above two. Below two years no child was thought deserving of sugar. We would like to be told on what basis the "equitable distribution" has been made.

If there is sufficient stock, this is a bad order because this low distribution of sugar will necessitate large stocks being kept back. Children consume and need more sugar than adults because they are more active. The order places a premium on families where adults predominate since, as families are more closely in touch with human requirements than governments, adjustments will be made in the home to meet the defects of the order. If the Food Controller wishes to save the public the bother of queuing up in the rain, the Commissioner of Police has other views. He has chosen the monsoon for introducing his order for queuing up for buses. Every form of transport has had a heavy strain placed on it since the war and buses have had more than their share. It was not expected that the queuing up order would immediately make it easier for passengers but it was hoped that it would at least prevent overcrowding. To the crowds who wait for buses are now added members of the police force who see that those who have to get off a bus, get precedence over those who have to get in. Otherwise, the old scrambling still persists to the detriment of those who take the order seriously. Several passengers, it has been seen, loiter aimlessly in the vicinity of their bus stops rather than come within the law. In place of the old single group at the stops, there are now several clusters hanging about. There is another side to all this. As the little discomforts increase, men's minds are going off politics. A few leaders might still discuss Pakistan and other problems but soon they will not find anyone to listen to them. For, if politics is not going to bring relief, it has little interest to the ordinary man. And Indian politics today would seem to have bartered the present for a future which cannot be visualised clearly even by the men in authority. The Indian stage is set for a political miracle, even the promise of one, and the politician who seizes the occasion, will find conditions favourable to him.

Cloth Order:—The Government of India has issued an order to control prices, production and sale of yarn and cotton cloth and to prevent hoarding. As the machinery for working the scheme is more easily grasped than the scheme itself, it is best to deal first with that. There is to be a Textile Commissioner—to fit in with the order, it would have been more appropriate to call him "Cotton Cloth and Yarn Commissioner"—appointed by the Central Government and there may be additional Textile Commissioners appointed by the same authority. A Board of twenty-five members, with a non-official chairman nominated by the Government is to advise the Government through the Textile Commissioner. There is provision for committees, sub-committees, and a standing committee. As it is only advice, the Board is allowed wide scope including not only the purposes of the order but also the export of cloth, yarn and raw cotton; for this is the only place where export is mentioned in the order. It is made clear, to quote a hackneyed phrase of the bureaucracy, that "the final decision rests with Government." The non-official chairman gives the machinery the necessary popular colouring. The order comes into force at once. Stocks have to be declared as on July 31 by August 15. The consumer is restricted to having cloth or yarn in his possession not exceeding "his normal requirements", and the provincial government has to sanction any prosecution for contravention of this clause. The manufacturer is allowed to store stocks equal to three months' production of cloth and yarn necessary to produce two months' supply of cloth. Cloth on looms and yarn in the process of manufacture

into cloth is further exempted from this control. The order is silent about the stocks a dealer might keep, presumably because Government feels that the manufacturer and the consumer are the chief hoarders. However, if this is found incorrect, another order will set things right. Experience will test the wisdom of the cloth order. But it seems at first glance to be an attempt at tackling a problem of scarcity the wrong way. Instead of increasing the quantity of cloth available which is the obvious way, the Government has hit upon an elaborate machinery which will have much work maintaining itself.

Ceylon Constitution:—Ceylon Ministers have accepted the offer made to them by the British Colonial Secretary, on their own interpretation of the terms, which the British Government may or may not accept as the correct interpretation of what they had in mind. But no interpretation can prevail against the two conditions, namely, that the Defence and Foreign policy of the Island will be outside the control of Ceylon Ministers. That is to say, Ceylon Ministers will be under an obligation to regulate the finances and the internal administration of the country so as to fit in with the Foreign and Defence policies of the British Government. They will be responsible for the kitchen garden, while the kitchen itself will be for others. The offer of the British Government to share the cost of defence in equal proportion with Ceylon, does not affect the principle. In practice, it might not make the burden more bearable by Ceylon. What may be a trifle to the British purse will make a large hole in that of Ceylon with a fraction of the national income of Britain. Though these considerations have not weighed with Ceylon politicians who are prepared to pay any price for being released from the veto of the Governor on anti-Indian legislation, they are of grave significance to us in India. What is being offered to Ceylon will be presented to India and has been presented. India has rejected it but the Ceylonese acquiescence will encourage the British Government in its plan to evolve a new and restricted type of Dominion Status for its Asiatic possessions. This new type is little better than what has been foreshadowed for the Colonies in Africa. The destinies of Ceylon are bound up with the destinies of India. Ultimately, they have both to coalesce in a federal or some closer relation. Any development in either country which is not in line with this consummation, is a barrier to the progress of both. Therefore, though Ceylon politicians have accepted the scheme, India must enter its protest against it as hampering the natural evolution of Indo-Ceylonese unity.

Special Courts Ordinance:—Lord Linlithgow would be astonished to see the following glaring instance of abuse of his Special Courts Ordinance, now repealed. We are indebted to the *Pioneer* of Lucknow for the observations of Mr. R. Gregory, L. C. S. District and Sessions Judge, Bareilly. In acquitting the accused, the Judge said:

I have been informed that strict instructions were issued that cases should only be tried under the Special Courts Ordinance, which was enforced after the political disturbances of 1942. The present case arose out of a simple complaint in March, 1942 (about 4 months before the Ordinance came into force) and was a private complaint of a person alleging that his wife had been kidnapped by several persons of his own village. Having taken up the case under the Ordinance the Magistrate was competent to inflict a sentence up to 7 years, and a greater sentence than this in the present circumstances, even if the facts had been proved to be true, would have been nothing short of barbarous.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, June 19, 1943.

"BEYOND THE ATLANTIC CHARTER."

It was pointed out in last week's *Reformer* that the Allied Nations—particularly Great Britain and the United States—have completely given the go-by to the explicit terms of the Atlantic Charter even in the narrow interpretation of Mr. Winston Churchill, in handing over North Africa to be squabbled over between two French Generals. In an interview to the *Worldover Press*, M. Pierre Cot, a former democratic French Minister now in America, expressed strongly his concern that the North African situation should not be used to foist upon France a government not in accord with the French principles of liberty, equality and fraternity, and that in North Africa itself the rights of Arabs and Jews should be respected and upheld. One of the four conditions on which M. Cot laid stress is, in his own words, to get into contact with the Arabs and to accord to them the same consideration that Frenchmen receive. M. Cot said:

I wish to insist upon this point. The Arabs and the Berbers comprise the largest part of the North African population. Not to recognise their rights, not to associate them with the resistance, would be to play into the hands of Nazi propaganda. This propaganda would have good reason to denounce our hypocrisy, if we ourselves apply the Hitler doctrines of racial inequality. For example, there must not be three categories, Frenchmen, Jews and Arabs. There must be but one.

It should be noted that M. Cot invokes not the Atlantic Charter but the ideals of the French Revolution in support of his demand for racial equality. The Atlantic Charter is chiefly concerned with economic, not with race, equality. Being a document bearing the imprimatur of the British Premier it must be interpreted in the light of his attitude on race relations. The *New Republic* (November 28, 1942) published the text of an address delivered by Vice-President Henry Wallace, the wisest, most far-sighted and broad-minded statesman among the Allied Nations, at the Soviets Friends Society in New York under the heading, "Beyond the Atlantic Charter." Mr. Wallace's thesis was that "the old democracy" must give place to "the new democracy" which he defined as consisting "not only of the Bill of Rights democracy, but also economic democracy, ethnic democracy, educational democracy, and democracy in the treatment of the sexes." Referring to ethnic democracy, he observed:

Russia has probably gone further than any other nation in the world in practising ethnic democracy. From the Russians we can learn much, for unfortunately the Anglo-Saxons have had an attitude toward other races which has made them exceedingly unpopular in many parts of the world. We have not sunk to the lunatic level of the Nazi myth of racial superiority, but we have sinned enough to cost us already the blood of tens of thousands of precious lives. Ethnic democracy built from the heart is perhaps the greatest need of the Anglo-Saxon tradition.

Mr. Wallace, perhaps, did not intend this as a pointed rebuke to the British Prime Minister, the most distinguished living exponent of the Anglo-Saxon tradition. So far as Mr. Winston Churchill is concerned, the Atlantic Charter must be interpreted as an extension of the Anglo-Saxon traditional race attitude. The French tradition is far more tolerant in this matter and that, indeed, is in Nazi eyes the cardinal sin of France for which she had to be

completely vanquished. Russia, too, was marked out for Nazi hatred because of her indifference to race distinctions. The French leaders have now a unique opportunity to introduce ethnic democracy which is in line with their own national tradition, in the erstwhile French Empire in Africa and Asia. M. Cot, answering objections to race equality as being incompatible with empire, said:

Permit me to consider France rather than the empire; the people rather than the beneficiaries of imperialism. The justification for colonial policy, before the bar of history, is that it be an instrument of liberation, a step towards freedom for colonial peoples. Otherwise this colonial policy is nothing but an instrument of exploitation. Furthermore, we must be mindful of the great historical movement which is taking place before our eyes: the people are not going to war today to defend colonial empires, but for the conquest of liberty.

Mr. Henry Wallace does not believe in an exclusive European settlement. According to him, millions of Americans are coming to see that "if Pan-America and the British Commonwealth are the warp of the new democracy, then the people of Russia and Asia may well become its woof."

The Reformer has all along maintained that the Atlantic Charter is not only of no advantage to agricultural countries but is positively adverse to their interests. Sir Girjashankar Bajpai, Agent General for the Government of India in Washington, speaking at the International Food Conference recently held in Hotsprings, pointed out that India in respect of her food, clothing and other essential requirements was practically self-sufficient. Only a small proportion of her rice requirements was imported from Burma. The loss of Burmese rice can be easily made up by converting the area under cotton exported to Japan and Italy to the cultivation of rice. In fact, the policy of favouring cotton cultivation at the expense of food crops, was conceived not in the interests of India but of Lancashire. Although Indian cotton was not exported to England, it kept the price level down by providing cotton for other countries which would have competed with Lancashire for Egyptian and American cotton. This is an abnormal feature of Indian economy which circumstances have removed. Self-sufficient countries like India have nothing to gain by the Atlantic Charter which is meant exclusively for the benefit of countries which in the pursuit of overseas trade have depleted their food resources and have to get them from agricultural countries. What is wanted for India and China is an Agriculturists' Charter assuring security to the cultivators of the soil.

SAVARKAR'S POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY.

The President of the Hindu Mahasabha, Mr. Savarkar, is as absolute a believer in violence as Gandhiji is in non-violence as the means to freedom. In acknowledging the tributes paid to him at a Bombay reception on June 6, he said:

Read the contemporary political documents and you will understand that it was our pistols and bombs which were instrumental in bringing about such political progress as we have made. (*Mahratta* June 11.) It would have been well if Mr. Savarkar had specified some of the contemporary documents which he had in mind. Looking, however, not only to contemporary documents but to historical evidence over a long period, the pistol and the bomb have always helped Authority more than the people's cause. Mr. Savarkar is doubtless aware that the agent-provocateur is a prominent person in tyrannical regimes. His business is to stir popular discontent into violence so that Authority may suppress it, in the name of law and

order, by its organised force. The emergence of the pistol and the bomb in the Bengal Partition days helped the bureaucracy to forge weapons which have survived the immediate purpose for which they were forged. It was the same in Tsarist Russia when the agent-provocateur was systematically used to inflame and suppress legitimate discontent. Despotism is never so happy as when it has to deal with a violence movement because in dealing with violence it can secure the sympathy and support of the great mass of peaceful citizens who care only to be left to carry on their avocations without interruption. The Indian bureaucracy can deal effectively with violence. But "civil disobedience" baffles it. Contemporary writers have observed that Governments with the modern engines of destruction from the safety of the skies, cannot be coerced by any movement of popular violence. Only completely non-violent passive resistance is left to the people. The Government of India have suppressed the recent disturbances but they are still afraid to release Gandhiji and the Congress leaders who are pledged to non-violence. In fact, in order to justify the detention of these men, Government apologists are obliged to advance the paradoxical proposition that non-violence inevitably leads to violence and has done so in India. Mr. Savarkar is superficial in his view of the merits of the bomb and the pistol. Revolutions brought about by their means have ended in worse tyranny. As De Ligt aptly observes, "The more violence the less revolution."

All violent revolutions have provoked counter-revolutions. Moral force is always superior to material force. Though it is slow in operation, it is surer of results. It is not that we accept unreservedly Gandhiji's gospel of non-violence. The difference between violence and non-violence is not in the act but in the motive. The sword and the ploughshare are of the same material and each does nearly the same kind of work, cutting up. But the plough is an emblem of peace while the sword is the symbol of war. Physical non-violence is compatible with very violent motives. The word can slay as well as or better than the sword. The pointsman in the signal cabin can cause enormous loss of life by non-violently omitting to set the right points as much as an anarchist who blows up a bridge with dynamite. There is a non-violence which is the most virulent violence and a violence which is pure non-violence. Mr. Savarkar said in the same speech:

I accept this reception, not so much for my own self, but on behalf of those revered martyrs from the war of Independence of 1857 down to Chaphekar and Kanhere and those hundreds of patriots who are even now in jails fighting for our freedom! This sacrifice and suffering will not be in vain. We shall see the golden day.

No doubt some, perhaps several, of these men sincerely believed that they were serving the cause of freedom, and they are, therefore, entitled to the tribute which the President of the Mahasabha paid to their memory. Mr. Winston Churchill, Philip Guedala says, spoke in appreciative terms at a private function when he was Home Secretary, of Dhingra who was hanged for the murder of Curzon Wylie. Mr. Savarkar thus shares with the British Prime Minister his admiration for violence from a patriotic motive. All the same, Mr. Savarkar is very superficial when he says that such political progress as Indians have made is due to the bomb and the pistol. No one can say that these two weapons have had no part in bringing India to her present plight, call it progress or regress. But even a cursory view of the history of the last twenty years, shows that the non-violent, non-cooperation movement as conceived by Gandhiji,

which was intended by him to counteract the bomb and pistol cult and did so to a large extent, has been chiefly instrumental in awakening political consciousness among the masses, which is the only political progress worth speaking of. In other respects, our political progress has been merely clutching at shadows and letting go the substance. The old Anglo-Indian Governors-General, like Lord Mayo and Lord Northbrook, held that light taxation was the key to good government in India. Since the introduction of "the elective principle," popular representatives have been forward in increasing expenditure and taxation. Gokhale was the last of the advocates of economy in the Indian Legislature. Today our very "economists" are urging government to increase taxation. In pursuit of what Mr. Henry Wallace calls "the Bill of Rights Democracy," we have completely ignored or but casually attended to the other four democracies, the economic, the educational, the ethnic and the democracy of the sexes.

SAVARKAR CELEBRATIONS AND SIR R. P. PARANJPYE

Objection has been raised to our comments on Sir Ragnath Paranjpye's presiding over Mr. Savarkar's birthday celebrations on two conflicting grounds. The first is the attitude of the *Mahratta* which in its current comments claims Mr. Srinivasa Sastri and Sir Ragnath as men who have steadily come round to the Mahasabha view but do not wish to break from old associations. This does little credit to these distinguished Liberals though it is understandably the view favoured by Mahasabha people. Political affiliations are not religious or communal ties which are expected to cling to one from birth to death. It might be a welcome thing for the Mahasabha to have Liberals coming out on its platform occasionally. But it is no use for the Liberal Party and "old associations" might well appreciate a clean break rather than a formal connection.

The other point of view is expressed in Sir Ragnath's speech at the Savarkar celebration. The justification is from the other angle, defence of Sir Ragnath, and it rests on three premises. First, there is no harm, but much to praise, in joining in the celebrations of a political opponent. To this the *Mahratta* article is a complete answer. For in politics, unlike certain other matters, it is no use assuming that, so long as you are clothed in your own righteousness, it does not matter what other people think. Besides one can congratulate Mr. Savarkar on an auspicious occasion, without presenting oneself prominently on what is a political platform. A politician's birthday is largely of interest to his followers and in this country that is another opportunity for demonstrations. In other countries, it is not usually celebrated. The second defence is that Mr. Savarkar has changed from the old days in the methods he advocates. "He has realised," says Sir Ragnath, "that a few stray murders of Europeans or a few bomb explosions will not lead us to our goal; nay, that they would even hinder our quick approach to the ideal." No man can speak for another. Sir Ragnath in effect said that Savarkar was an old revolutionary turned Liberal by age. There can be no more pathetic presentation and naturally Mr. Savarkar in his speech on the same platform promptly contradicted this statement. We notice his speech elsewhere. The third argument was developed with considerable plausibility by Sir Ragnath in a discussion of politics, religion and communalism which is, as far as its principles go, one of the most constructive contributions to the subject. We reprint it this week. Sir Ragnath Paranjpye has

stood consistently for the views he now expresses and in his speeches and writings he has attacked, ridiculed and opposed communalism. It is all the more unfortunate, therefore, that he should now cast wistful eyes on Hindu communalism to overcome Muslim communalism. Indian nationalism is not the virtue of the majority community only. It will fail if efforts are made to develop it in one community alone. In fact, it is the especial duty of the majority to cling firm to its ideals. The choice is not, as Sir Raghunath says, between appeasement and uncompromising communalism. "Still in thy right hand carry gentle peace to silence envious tongues; Be just and fear not." It is not the peoples who have failed but the leaders and the rout of the Liberals is the most tragic of all.

Sir Raghunath has made a clear case against any attempt at appeasement. It is a courageous stand in these days when a section of the Congress, headed by the veteran Mr. Rajagopalachari, seems prepared to go to any lengths to meet secessionists. But Sir Raghunath has unfortunately failed to see that, by creating a counter-irritant, one merely strengthens the communalists, adds to their number, and in effect accepts their doctrines. He has drawn largely from the European analogy. But he has failed to imbibe its real lesson. His remedy would oppose Vansittartism to Hitlerism. Instead of opposing nationalism to Mr. Jinnah's tactics, he wishes "strength to Savarkar's elbow." By that revealing confession of failure, he would set back Indian politics to the state of European politics before 1939. The reason is obvious. Whilst he claims that Savarkar has moved from emotionalism to real politics, what he has demonstrated is that Sir Raghunath has moved from political idealism to defeatism which is emotionalism in despair. How deep the despair is is shown by two passages in the speech. In the first, Sir Raghunath's deep prejudice against Gandhiji has led him to attribute the introduction of communalism in Indian politics to Gandhiji in a very confused piece of writing while he himself admits that the Lucknow Pact paved the way to communalism and that British officials engineered the first move thirty years ago. The second is his attack on the Muslims for profiting by political agitation in which they had not had a part. In all countries it is the few who agitate, the many who gain—and this regardless of communities. We are surprised that Sir Raghunath of all persons should have made this remark. The text of his speech on the occasion of Savarkar's birthday more than confirms the regret of *The Reformer* at his defection.

Mr. M. S. A. HYDARI.

Sir,

Writing in the *Reformer* of June 5 on the Standard Cloth Scheme, you refer to Mr. M. S. A. Hydari as Secretary to the Supply Department of the Government of India. He is not. He is Secretary to the Department of Industries and Civil Supplies, which is a newly created department. It is different from the "Supply Department," the Secretary of which is Mr. E. M. Jenkins.

I do not like any inaccuracy, however trifling, in so distinguished a journal as *The Reformer*. Hence this note.—Yours etc., A READER.

[We are obliged to the correspondent for this correction. Time was when the names of high officials were on the lips of every schoolboy. Nowadays, there are so many of them and so frequent are the changes, that it is difficult to keep count of them even for journalists.—*Editor*.]

MADRAS BY-ELECTION.

The *Sunday Observer* (Madras) is not the best exponent of Justice Party politics. Its crude invective is more amusing than convincing. To be born a Brahmin is in its eyes the most heinous offence in the world. To be a non-Brahmin, that is, not a Brahmin, is the supreme good. One does not expect anything thoughtful from a journal with such violent likes and virulent dislikes. But it is the only journal which has attempted an explanation of the overwhelming defeat of its party candidate at the recent Madras by-election, other than those which are obvious. Some time before the election *The Reformer* gave reasons which made the Justice candidate, Mr. Sundara Rao Naidu's discomfiture inevitable. One of these was the declaration of the Justice Party leader, Mr. Ramaswami Naicker, of his intention to go over to the Islamic fold if he did not get Dravidistan. Now, the non-Brahmins particularly of South India, are a profoundly religious-minded people, from whom have sprung numerous saints and sages revered by all classes. To tell this fervently religious people that if they did not get Dravidistan they should all become Muslims, is not the surest way of winning their confidence. No wonder that, according to the admission of the Editor of the *Sunday Observer*, Ramaswami Naicker was left severely alone by his friends and colleagues to plead Sundara Rao Naidu's cause on the hustings. He bitterly complained in a speech after the election:—

The Leader of the Opposition in the Legislative Assembly, Kumararaja Sir M. A. Muthiah Chettiar of Chettinad, I am reliably told, paid only Rs. 1000—and that in two instalments of Rs. 500 each! In my opinion the whole election could have been run by the Kumararajah Sir M. A. Muthiah Chettiar of Chettinad, who owes his influence, power and honour to the Justice Party. Yet what did he do? He paid Rs. 1000 and told the Party-men that he would not be in Madras during the period of the election as he had to go to the hills. Other leaders of the party were conspicuous by their absence except Periyar E. V. Ramaswamy, who in his old age could not do more effective propaganda than what he tried to do. So much for the leaders. As for the rank and file, the *Observer* candidly admits that they refrained from going to the polls. This, in the circumstances, is quite natural. According to the *Observer* there are 16,000 Central Assembly voters in Madras City, of whom not more than 4,000 are Brahmins. The *Observer* estimates that of 12,000 non-Brahmins, only 1,508 voters took the trouble to go to the polling booths to vote for the Justice Party candidate. The *Observer* gives the following explanation of why 9,736 non-Brahmins did not vote:

On the one side, they saw the Justice candidate, a representative of the Party which is co-operating with the British, and with whom the British would not share power, and evidently thought, "What's the use of voting for this candidate? Nothing much is going to happen. Therefore, why bother?" As for the Congress they would have thought that a Party of saboteurs and exploiters did not deserve their vote. That we think is the clear psychology that influenced those large number of non-Brahmin voters who adopted an attitude of neutrality in this election.

If, as the *Observer* says, this is the psychology of the great majority of non-Brahmins, it only means that the Justice Party has no convictions and is only a clique bent on acquiring power without responsibility. Surely if they regarded the Congress as a body of saboteurs, it was their duty as citizens to get the Congress candidate defeated by at least as overwhelming a majority as that which he was able to secure at the polls. Their not doing so clearly shows not that they are themselves

saboteurs at heart but that they do not regard Congressmen as saboteurs. *The Observer* says that all the 4000 Brahmin voters voted without exception for the Congress candidate. One Brahmin at least has congratulated the *Observer* in a letter published by it on its having made itself a power during six short years and recommending Government to regard the paper as its best adviser. This gentleman at least would have voted for the Justice Party candidate. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, it is said, did not vote. The *Observer* has, therefore, no reason for its estimate that all the 9,000 who did not vote were non-Brahmins. The proportion of abstainers would roughly be the same among all classes, if anything larger among the Brahmins as they include a large proportion of officials who abstained as a body, in view no doubt of the Government attitude to the Congress. The late Madras Congress Ministry's action in regard to temple-entry, has alienated a considerable number of the orthodox. We are inclined to think for these reasons that the abstentions among Brahmin voters were proportionately more numerous and that the Congress candidate had a considerable number of non-Brahmin supporters.

COMMUNALISM AND POLITICS.

(BY RAGHUNATH R. PARANJPYE.)

We have been suffering too long from an inferiority complex and we must get out of it if we are again to win the respect of the world. Savarkar lays proper stress on this factor and that is the conscious or unconscious origin of his passionate eulogies on the deeds of our ancestors of his soul-stirring songs and poems and of his eloquent appeal to the public and especially to the younger generation. But I am sure he is equally conscious of the mistakes made by our ancestors in the past, like not learning from their enemies the new improvements in the art of war. His present apparent opposition to the Congress arises from his disbelief in the absurd homage, often merely verbal, paid to non-violence and non-co-operation. These matters encourage, more often than not, this inferiority complex which it is the first duty of patriots to remove.

In trying to raise the morale of Indians, and especially the Hindus who form the large majority in the country, Savarkar lays stress on the glorious traditions of old India but he is not blind to the defects of Hindu Society which a break in its gradual evolution for several centuries has given rise to. He is thus keen on the consolidation of various Hindu communities and especially the scheduled castes for whom he did very valuable work, particularly during his internment at Ratnagiri. Inter-communal dinners and the foundation of a temple open to all communities at Ratnagiri may be mentioned among his activities at the time. He is equally sound on other items of social reform though he has not carried out any special propaganda about them.

Savarkar is naturally most loved all over India as the accepted leader of the Hindu Maha Sabha. Although I am not a member of the Sabha, I can very well appreciate his point of view and understand the working of his mind. The fundamental problem in India is the apparent antagonism between Hindus and Moslems. Personally I am entirely opposed to the introduction of religion into politics, and in India especially our political leaders ought to have been careful to keep religion out of politics and sought to bring all communities together on a purely secular basis. The earlier leaders of the Congress followed

this wise policy but all that changed with the advent of Gandhiji into our political arena. Gandhiji has made and confessed to many Himalayan mistakes but, to my mind, his greatest blunder whose effects will be felt by our country for many a long year, has been this strange admixture of religion and politics. He ought not to have stooped to gain a temporary political advantage by introducing the question of Khilafat as the main plank in the Congress platform. The temporary advantage was soon lost and the result of Gandhi's mistaken policy has been only a worse embitterment of the relations between the communities which has now gone to the limit of a demand for Pakistan.

Savarkar's occasionally extreme advocacy of Hindudom is a natural reaction to the aggressive claims of Muslims. The continued insistence by the Muslims on their political importance and on their having been rulers of India before the British can never be tolerated by the Marathas who were mainly the people from whom the British won their Indian Empire. I have no wish to go into ancient history. A politician should be a forward-looking individual. Both sides should agree to forget or at least keep silent over the dead past, and work for the future.

The Muslim approach to politics has been to harp on their special claims. Since the establishment of the Congress they have as a body kept aloof from active participation in political agitation, but, when any forward step was about to be achieved as a result of this agitation, they came forward to demand an excessive share of the concessions to be granted and generally succeeded in getting their demand. I am not certain that some sections of the British did not welcome this conflict between the two communities. It is well known that the Muslim deputation which waited on the Viceroy over thirty years ago and which for the first time introduced the poison of Communal Electorates into our political system, was engineered by some British officers themselves. Our own leaders made at Lucknow what I consider the fatal mistake of agreeing to the Lucknow Pact. They did this undoubtedly with good motives and wanted once for all to settle this quarrel. But the first step on the slippery slope of communalism was then taken with the consent of Indian leaders themselves and it has not been possible to cry halt in this downward process and we are going down at an accelerated pace along this communal path ever since.

The only political ideal for any Indian is a free Indian democracy in which all shall be equal before the law, in which all shall have equal voting power. Any weightage or similar non-democratic measure is entirely out of place. Backward sections of the people should be encouraged in every possible way to come up to the level of the advanced sections, but it is fatal to put them in a situation in which their very backwardness becomes an advantage. It is for such an ideal of real democracy that I believe Savarkar stands. He is not averse to letting the Muslims have their legitimate share in the Government. If they decide to give up their particularist claims, Savarkar will be the first to welcome such an olive branch. But he is legitimately opposed to the policy of appeasement at all costs to which the Congress seems to be committed. He is not prepared to give a blank cheque which the Mahatma seems prepared to give. Such appeasement has never succeeded as Chamberlain saw to his cost in a few months and found that Hitler's demands rose continually and he at last claimed world domination. Muslims' demands for Pakistan seem designed to lead to an ultimate

dominion over the whole of India. Savarkar is perfectly right to resist this impending national calamity and we all wish strength to his elbow in fighting it.

I occasionally feel that rather than follow this policy of appeasement at any price it would be better to change slightly the direction of our political movement. Let not the Muslims feel that Swaraj is to be striven for only by the Hindus and that they are there to reap its fruits. If the Muslims will not join in the agitation except on exorbitant terms, let the Hindus strive to consolidate their own strength, to improve their physique and morale, to learn to defend their own country, to get rid of their inferiority complex. The Muslims will soon realise that, if the Hindus keep away from political agitation, they themselves are not going to have their political position improved.

COOPERATIVES IN THE POST-WAR WORLD.

(BY E. DIXWELL CHASE)

Pronouncements on post-war organization and planning by world leaders share a broad common denominator of agreement with many previous plans that have been put forward by various bodies in the United States and elsewhere. Behind this area of agreement there appears to lie the common yearning for an era of fair play, cooperation, and mutual respect among nations. But the question remains whether the outline of principles which seems to be emerging is coming from a wide enough base of popular discussion, or whether it represents only the meeting of a relatively few minds who will later find that they have gone too far ahead of the people to have their plan adopted.

Herbert Hoover was on solid ground when he warned against trying to create a new heaven and earth in a few months around a Versailles table. Broad, animating principles can be agreed upon by all concerned in advance. Concrete application has to be carried out by the people themselves, with the help of experts trained in the ways of assisting the organic growth of new economic, social, and political methods. Imposed from above, the new order will not stick. Encouraged to grow from the ground up, it can and will.

One of the most hopeful channels for encouraging the desired organic growth of international collaboration on a popular plane appears to lie through the Cooperative Movement. Cooperatives offer many advantages to post-war reconstruction that are hard to find elsewhere. Although many of them have been liquidated in Europe, there are still millions of Europeans who were once members of a Co-op, and who know well what cooperation is. It should not be hard to assist the liquidated societies to reorganize. There at once would be many democratic nuclei through which relief could be channelled during the earlier months of peace, and which could start almost at once on the job of organizing the exchange of goods on the basis of need rather than profit.

Back in March, 1942, the British Association for the Advancement of Science held a conference in London on the problems of reconstruction for European agriculture. Almost without exception the many distinguished agricultural experts pointed to cooperatives as the most practical and speedy way of getting European agriculture going again. In other fields of enterprise too, cooperatives may prove to be the quickest means of getting Europe off of a dole—which will certainly be as distasteful to the recipients as to the givers—and on to its own democratic feet—*Worldover Press.*

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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 Beveridge Plan:—The *Christian Evangelist* describes the Beveridge Plan as the answer of intelligent capitalism to communism in the field of social security. It says:

The Beveridge programme can be carried out without any social revolution, or any change whatever, in the field of free competition. All it does is to impose a compulsory insurance policy on every individual with provision for meeting and paying both premiums and benefits. Such a scheme would eliminate poverty, unemployment and most of the serious cankers which afflict the body politic.

But the question is, Can it be carried out? It assumes that the national income of Britain after the war will, notwithstanding the enormous wastage of war, continue to be what it was in the pre-war period. How far is this assumption likely to prove true? Many countries which furnished lucrative markets for British goods have become impoverished. Many have set up their own industries. The status of a creditor depends on the solvency of his debtors. It remains to be seen whether the new regimes in the debtor countries will be willing to take over the debts of the pre-war regimes. The other great difficulty in carrying out the Beveridge Plan is that it will need a wide extension of the bureaucratic system to administer it in all its ramifications. Practically one half of the population will have to be engaged to administer the various insurance schemes. The bureaucracy will, in the circumstance, become masters and the rest of the population its serfs. The remedy is sure to be worse than the disease. Communism too has developed a bureaucratic regime whose burden on the people is for the time being masked by the overriding demands of a defensive war. But it will be felt as soon as the exigencies of war are over. The Government of India have not paid any attention to the Beveridge Plan. They expect the people to look after the insecurities envisaged by the plan without any aid from Government which will go on drawing more and more upon the people's resources for paying policemen and soldiers. Both Communism and its capitalistic counterpart in the Beveridge Plan are bound to break down. The world must revert to the old principle that the State must take only a fraction of the earnings of the people and must confine its efforts to ensuring security, external and internal, and stimulating by education a healthy enterprise in the people to produce all their needs, without depending

on foreign countries. The excessive importance given to foreign trade lies at the root of the wars for the last two centuries.

Wavell's Assurances:—In order evidently to dispel the misgivings consequent on his selection to succeed Lord Linlithgow as Viceroy of India, a public demonstration was staged in London at which, under the sponsorship of Mr. Amery, the Viceroy-designate delivered something like a manifesto on his mission in India. Such assurances have long ceased to count for anything with the people of India, though there are yet a few Indians who look upon the Viceroy as a *deus ex machina* able to change the course of policy and events. The majority who have studied politics, fully realise that the course of statesmen is definitely predetermined by the conditions created by the past. Much of Sir Archibald Wavell's time in India will be taken up in clearing the terrible mess which the epoch of Willingdon and Linlithgow has left behind. Expected to initiate departure from the Willingdonian ways, Lord Linlithgow has gone beyond the extreme points of the Willingdonian regime. Sir Archibald himself does not seem to realise that India can not throw herself wholeheartedly into the war effort until the Indian fighting man as well as the Indian talking man who despite the official illusion, are, brothers under the skin, is able to look his fellowmen, Chinese, French and Americans as well as British, in the face as a freeman like them and not as a member of a subject race. Sir Archibald's remark that political reform need not wait until the end of the war, is an advance upon the position which Lord Linlithgow and Mr. Amery have hitherto steadfastly maintained. But political reform which does not produce in the Indian, fighting man and talking man, the feeling that he is a free man like his comrades of other lands, is of no value. On the other hand, without far reaching political reforms, it is possible to produce the sense of equal freedom in the Indian if only British statesmen will descend from their pedestal. Every new job at the top—and every day these new jobs are created—goes invariably to a Briton. An Australian or South African is brought in if no Briton is available. Sir Archibald Wavell has not shown during his time in India as Commander-in-Chief any sign that he is above this race prejudice. On the other hand, he is credited, rightly or wrongly, with having been one of the instruments in sabotaging the Cripps scheme by opposing the allocation of Defence to an Indian Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council. Both Abul Kalam Azad and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru formed the impression from their interview with him that he was not friendly to Indian aspirations. He declared in London that he is in hearty sympathy with those aspirations. India will save herself further disappointment—she has had enough of them and to spare—if she hopes for nothing from the change of Viceroys and treats the event as of no concern to her.

Government and Universities :—In the Bombay University Senate, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad whose services to the University have been many and important, moved a resolution of protest against the Director of Public Instruction's attempt after the August disturbances to exercise control over colleges affiliated to the University but not aided or maintained by the Government. The discussion revealed that certain scholars in Ahmedabad had been deprived of their scholarship; because the head of the college in which they studied, refused to furnish information relating to the conduct of his students, after the disturbances began, to the Director. Sir Chimanlal made out an unanswerable case for the resolution which was supported by Sir Vithal Chandavarkar, another ex-Vice Chancellor of the University, and was carried, against an amendment which sought to postpone decision. The course suggested by Sir Chimanlal's resolution was the least that can be adopted against bureaucratic attempts to impose other than educational standards in awarding and continuing scholarships. It would have been bad in all conscience had the issue been political but that a difference between a Principal and the Director should be visited on students is thoroughly indefensible.

Politics and Education :—In his speech to the A. I. C. C. on August 8th, Gandhiji was very careful in his appeal to students. He asked those who out of nationalistic feelings did not want to continue their education, to withdraw from colleges. The students, however, were not very discreet and very often their zeal outran their intention. As a consequence, work in the colleges was dislocated but, when in November many of them sought readmission, it seemed that the crisis had been got over. This June the colleges started a new year and some of them have sought insurance against repetition of the old trouble by guarantees from parents and guardians that their wards would behave; others from the students themselves. It is unfortunate that the very fact of their seeking admission should not be sufficient evidence of a desire to pursue an educational career. It is even more tragic that the educational authorities in the three months they had before admission could not evolve a general formula to make it clear to the students seeking admission that education was not a pastime. But the direct appeal to students seems the more desirable as it tends to foster responsibility in them. Because in the past too much has been made of students keeping out of politics, there is danger now of the pendulum swinging the other way. There is a difference between interest in politics and making a nuisance of oneself to those who do not share your views. There are a few among the many seeking admission to colleges, who feel that they have the right to do anything to express their political feelings. To them we would appeal to keep out of the colleges. They are not students who are drawn into politics but politicians invading educational institutions. The first great work of colleges and universities is for staff and students to join in keeping the academic world free of outside intervention, whether from Government and the police or from politicians. Professors and students who do not appreciate this to its fullest, have no place in education.

Allah Baksh Murder :—A Press message stated three weeks back that it was believed, by whom it was not said, that the late Premier of Sind, Allah Baksh, was murdered by Hurs. After several months of martial law, during which over 160 Hurs were hanged and shot and numerous others sentenced to terms of imprisonment, martial law was recently lifted from the Hur districts. It is unthinkable that in the

vicinity of a city as important as Shikarpur, the martial law authorities had left a pocket of Hurs who were able to perpetrate the nefarious deed in broad daylight in the vicinity of a Police Station, too.

Allowances to Detenus' Families :—Last week we called attention to the injustice of denying to the families of persons detained for political reasons, the right of visiting them, which is allowed under jail rules to convicts. The denial is a vindictive measure. We also suggested that detenus' families should be given allowances suitable to their station in life as is done with regard to State prisoners under the Old Regulations. It seems that such allowances are paid in some provinces at the discretion of the authorities. The practice should be followed uniformly in all provinces and as a matter of right and not at the discretion of the persons who happen to be in authority. Detention without trial should not be made a source of needless hardship to members of the families, wives, children, aged and infirm dependants, of persons whom the State feels it its duty in the public interests to deprive of their personal freedom.

Race Riots in U. S. A. :—Industrial Detroit came into prominence last week owing to riots which broke out between negro and white workers. Leaders from both races conferred with the Mayor and issue a joint statement attributing the disturbances to fifth column activity in the United States on an organised scale. Later the Mayor ascribed the riots to negro influx from the South. Most of the men killed, said one report, were negroes. In view of the fact that there have been so many strikes in America, this looks like a labour question primarily. President Roosevelt has passed many orders for removing inequalities in wages and it is very likely that these have created ill-feeling among white workers. The fact that the negroes were the worst sufferers, would show that they were taken unawares and that the first attack came from the other side. In an article in the *New Republic*, Thomas Sanoton refutes the charge that there is fifth column work among Negroes.

De Gaulle and Giraud :—After mentioning that in North Africa, in Algiers, there is a battle of slogans between the supporters of General Giraud and those of General De Gaulle, the *Times of India's* War Correspondent says that both slogans mean the same thing. The dispute is merely about the reorganizing of the French Army. But evidently it is serious as it keeps the French divided. Reports of an agreement based on both Generals being Commanders-in-Chief of two different armies "till the two are fused into one" indicate at best a temporary truce. Dr. Hans Weigert in his book on Geopolitics says that De Gaulle was recognised by Haushofer as far back as 1935 when he was but a Colonel in the French Army. Haushofer wrote that her position in the Mediterranean would be defended by France as long as Frenchmen thought like Charles de Gaulle. Now with the reconquest of Europe much in Allied minds, this remark gains strength.

Sugar :—The Government of Bombay has issued a press note announcing that children under two will be allowed two ounces of sugar and above two up to twelve they will be given the same ration as adults—10 ounces a week. The earlier decision—to allow children under twelve half an adult's share and none to those under two years—was due, we are told by the note, to the fact that sugar had to be put on the list of rationed goods and, as the cards in use allowed children one unit and adults two in the matter of grains, the practice was extended to the new article as well.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, June 26, 1943.

LORD LINLITHGOW'S SUCCESSOR.

If Sir Archibald Wavell whose appointment to the Viceroyalty was announced last Saturday, assumes charge in October when Lord Linlithgow is due to lay down the office, he will start his career under many and serious handicaps. We advisedly say "if" because we have a presentiment that our mercurial Prime Minister may change his mind and may find that Field Marshal Wavell's services are absolutely necessary in another sphere. This is what happened in the case of Sir John Dill, who was nominated two years ago to the Governorship of Bombay in succession to Sir Roger Lumley. Mr. Winston Churchill is ostentatiously indifferent to Indian opinion and its adverse criticism of the selection of an Army man to govern the peaceful province of Bombay would have weighed not at all in the Prime Minister's mind when he decided that Sir John Dill was more necessary in Washington than in Bombay. The initial and most serious handicap of Sir Archibald's viceregal career is, of course, that, for the first time since the assumption of the Government of India by the Crown, an Army man is to be the head of the Government of India. More than thirty years ago a British Government successfully opposed the strong desire of King Edward VII to have Lord Kitchener appointed as successor to Lord Minto. The story is told in some detail in Lord Morley's "Recollections." The reasons for which the Asquith Cabinet opposed Lord Kitchener being sent out to India, are in force today more than in 1910. The general principle that the Civil Power should be paramount in the governance of India as of Britain, is more urgent today when a war is raging and the tendency to subordinate all considerations of legal and constitutional government is in full swing. The case against the appointment of a soldier to a position requiring statesmanship was never more strongly stated than by Sir Archibald Wavell himself in his Cambridge lectures. We are indebted for the following passage from them to the *Hindu*. Sir Archibald observed:

Interchangeability between the soldier and the statesman passed for ever, I fear, in the last century. The Germans professionalised the trade of war, and modern inventions, by increasing its technicalities, have specialised it. It is much the same with politics, professionalised by democracy. No longer can one man hope to exercise both callings, though both are branches of the same craft, the governance of men and the ordering of human affairs... The politician, who has to persuade and confute must keep an open and flexible mind, accustomed to criticism and argument; the mind of the soldier, who commands, and obeys without question, is apt to be fixed, drilled and attached to definite rules.

In a speech which he made at a public meeting in London on Tuesday, Sir Archibald completely contradicted himself. He said it was a mistake to think that the military mind is always thinking of military things. To the common man, however, his appointment can mean only one thing: that India cannot be controlled by civilian administration and requires the iron hand of a Field Marshal to keep it in order. This is an admission which should delight the enemies of British rule more than its friends. If Lord Kitchener's appointment was, as Lord Morley contended at the time, incompatible with the mild reforms then introduced, Field Marshal Wavell's is much more so with the greater reforms promised at the end of the war. From the purely personal point of view also Sir Archibald's

selection is less happy than would have been Lord Kitchener's. Kitchener had the reputation of being a stern economist. His expeditions always cost less than the estimates. Field Marshal Wavell, on the contrary, has the reputation of doing things on a lavish scale.

The other and more particular handicap under which Sir Archibald will start, is that his appointment is made in circumstances which are calculated to show that the Field Marshal is selected not because he has any special qualifications but because no British statesman of passable qualifications can be got to accept the post. For nearly a whole year, certainly during the last five months, several names of front-rank British statesmen have been canvassed in the most important and responsible organs of the British Press and it was even stated that some of these had been offered and had declined the Viceroyalty, the most important office under the Crown, next only to that of the Prime Minister. Sir Archibald Sinclair and recently Lord Halifax were said to have been offered and to have refused the Viceroyalty. Sir Archibald Wavell's own record during the last three years has been fitful. Sir Claude Auchinleck, inducted into the Indian Command with much fanfare of journalistic trumpets, had hardly completed his first year when he was transferred to the African Command and Sir Archibald transferred from Africa to India. In a few months, Sir Archibald relinquished the Indian Command with a message of farewell to the Indian Army which no one suspected was only to mean *au revoir*. He took up his headquarters somewhere in Netherland Indies. Shortly before the Japanese overran Eastern Asia, Sir Archibald was back in India and General Hartley who had been nominated Commander-in-Chief became his Deputy, a new appointment created for the occasion. Last year high hopes were expressed of the impending reconquest of Burma. These were not realised. When Mr. Churchill last visited Washington, Sir Archibald Wavell with other high Army officers from India was there and participated in the conferences with President Roosevelt and his Army Chiefs. It was immediately rumoured that Sir Archibald would be transferred to the supreme command of the European Continent where the Allied Nations were to start vigorous operations. During his stay in Washington, it was stated by a responsible press agency that Mr. Churchill invited Lord Halifax to serve a second term in India, and he declined. The general belief that statesmen do not take any decisions, in such important matters as the selection of a Governor-General without prolonged and profound thought, has again and again been belied as the reminiscences of the rulers in different countries show. Mr. Churchill especially is a statesman who is given to improvisation. That he is not addicted to fixed principles is borne out by a comparison of the opinions he has expressed in his writings, with the policies and measures he has followed during his four years as British Prime Minister. Sir Archibald Wavell will not have the advantage, a considerable one, of coming to the Viceroyalty with the prestige of many of his predecessors—Ripon, Dufferin, Lansdowne, Curzon, Hardinge, Irwin and even Linlithgow. All these men held high positions in British public life. What aggravates the intriguing character of Sir Archibald's selection is the re-nomination of Sir Claude Auchinleck after he had been in a cloud for several months after his summary supersession by General Alexander during one of Mr. Churchill's lightning visits to Egypt. It is at the same time announced that the command of operations against Japan, including presumably operations against Burma, will be placed in charge of another officer

whose name has not been announced. We do not know what the personal relations are between the Viceroy-designate and Sir Claude Auchinleck who has already taken over the Commander-in-Chiefship in India. But unless they are extraordinarily different from most human beings, we fancy that the Commander-in-Chief is likely to be predisposed as often as not to disagree with the Viceroy. The situation is full of interest to the psychologist.

Against these considerations which weigh against Sir Archibald's Viceroyalty there is only one which can be conceived in its favour. As a military man he knows the limitations of military power. Lord Linlithgow and Sir Reginald Maxwell have been acting as if the Police and Military are omnipotent. Sir Archibald may be expected to be free from this illusion. Even a military despot, says Dicey, must have a modicum of public support. Sir Archibald may, therefore, relax some of the numerous and annoying restrictions on every day life imposed by viceregal ordinance. He will also be able, if he is willing, to curb the inordinate demands of the military under the plea of war necessity. He may, if he is so minded, do something in these directions. It will not be much. The position in India today is beyond the power of any individual statesman, unless he be of the highest originality and moral eminence, to improve. Then there are the vested interests which have all along thwarted every attempt to give Indians more initiative in the affairs of their country. The examples of Lord Ripon and Lord Curzon are a warning to the Indian Viceroy to remember his subordinate character. Without any political background in British politics, Sir Archibald, when Mr. Churchill ceases, as he must, sooner perhaps than may be thought, to be the Premier, will find himself a political orphan. The American explanation of his unexpected choice for the Indian Viceroyalty is probably the true one. The command of the campaign in Asia is to devolve on an American General as also perhaps the command in Europe. Sir Archibald is too big a man to serve under an American who like Eisenhower is his junior. The Indian Viceroyalty offered a way out and Mr. Churchill took it not in the interests of India but in the exigencies of Anglo-American relations. As for India and her people, they have touched the last stage of autocratic rule under Lord Linlithgow. There cannot be a lower deep under any one, be he Army man or civilian.

LICENSING VICE.

Sir,—Some two or three weeks back a report appeared in the *Evening News of India* regarding the spread of venereal infection in Bombay. The report stated that the spreading of commercialised vice in Bombay with the concomitant danger of venereal infection is engaging the serious attention of the authorities who are reported to be considering measures to check the evil and one of the propositions, we are told, which is being seriously discussed, is to carry out compulsory medical examination of all the women known to be in the business and to deport all those found to be suffering from any infectious disease. The report further says that the evil has spread out to non-tolerated and respectable areas and venereal wards in the City hospitals are full and the clinics and prophylactic stations are finding it almost impossible to cope with the increased number of patients seeking help and advice. The source of this information has not been disclosed. But, knowing as I do the policy of the Government of Bombay and from the inquiries that I have made, I feel confident that the authorities concerned, viz., the Government of Bombay, would

never agree to the introduction of regulation, i.e. licenced houses and medical examination of women in Bombay Presidency. But time and again ghosts are created regarding the spread of venereal diseases and false measures are suggested for its eradication or its control which in the end would bring more injustice, cruelty and humiliation to our unfortunate sisters whom it is our duty to befriend and help. It is now definitely admitted by all those who have some experience of social work in regard to the commercialised aspect of prostitution that the views that medical examination would control and lessen venereal diseases were held in the 19th century, and in the light of the investigations and experience gained during the last 25 years such views are all exploded theories now.

It is humiliating for a woman to be forced to regular medical inspection when men are not subjected to similar medical inspection. Besides, it has been found from experience of the countries where such system of inspection prevailed, that these inspections are worse than useless. They give a false sense of safety and they do not in any way help reduction or control of diseases.

The Bombay Prostitution Committee of 1921-22 which was appointed by Government acting on the resolution moved by me in the Bombay Legislative Council in September 1921 and of which I was one of the members, definitely decided against segregation, as such segregation is first, impossible and secondly, it advertises vice, concentrating it, as it does, in one locality.

The very suggestion of medical inspection, segregation and control by an officer would make prostitution a state recognised trade and therefore would be an indirect encouragement to the profession and would lend respectability to it.

Last week a cable from Washington stated that Mr. Stimson, the War Secretary denounced as "sinister rumours" reports that the war department had agreed to the issue of contraceptives and prophylactic equipment to members of the Women's Auxiliary Corp. He branded rumours and charges of immorality against members of the W. A. A. C. as completely false and a "reflection on the whole of American womanhood."

May I urge upon the Government of Bombay the necessity of a similar announcement regarding their non-acceptance of medical inspection of women which naturally implies licenced houses and state recognition of the trade? KANJI DWARKADAS.

Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas does well to raise a note of warning against State Regulation of Vice. The battle was fought and won sixty years ago by the strenuous exertions of Mrs. Josephine Butler. But since then there has been a deterioration in public opinion. At present anything is possible under the cover of military necessity—*Editor*.

POLITICAL DEADLOCK—A SOLUTION.

Sir,—The Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Liberal Federation and the stalwart Non-Party Leaders have woefully failed to solve the present political deadlock. It therefore now rests with Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress Working Committee to make their earnest efforts to restore the country to normal life, by responding to the appeal of H. E. Lord Linlithgow to annul the resolution of the 8th of August. This Resolution may be divided into parts, namely the part formulating the National Demand and the Ultimatum Clause. It is the ultimatum clause that has offended the soul of H. E. Lord Linlithgow,

Mr. Amery, and every other Englishmen; for it is not for Lord Linlithgow, Mr. Amery, and Mr. Churchill to dictate what the National Demand shall be, which it is the prerogative of national and even sectional organisations to formulate. Moreover, the substance of the National Demand, *viz.* Independence, has been fully conceded in the Cripps' Offer. Gandhiji who does not stand on prestige and who nobly responded to Jinnah-Saheb may be trusted to write to his dear friend, Lord Linlithgow, undertaking to advise the Congress Working Committee to withdraw the Ultimatum Clause in the Resolution of 8th August. It is not national humiliation but even political strategy, to repudiate the purposeless and impracticable threat of launching the Civil Disobedience Movement especially at this critical juncture. Gandhiji has already deplored the serious disturbances that happened after the 8th August; and, if Lord Linlithgow would not insist upon Gandhiji's accepting the responsibility for the outbreak of violence, as it is a question of individual conscience, but be satisfied with the repudiation of the Ultimatum Clause, there is still room for solving the political tangle. If the Mahatma and the Viceroy respond to this appeal, the entire Indian people without dissipating their energies in fissiparous tendencies, will be enabled to toe the line with the United Nations and concentrate on the quick winning of the war in the East, and the early bringing of peace and freedom to this distracted, suffering world.—R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.

MASS AWAKENING.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

When there is occasion to stress the barrenness of the Gandhian programme, it has been the fashion to defend the unproductive activities of the last two decades as having caused a "mass awakening" as it is called. In your remarks headed 'Savarkar's Political Philosophy' you have reverted to this myth if you will permit me to call it so. I have tried to trace out this so-called mass awakening but so far I have not been able to see any glimpse of an awakening properly so-called. There has been of course a flare for shouting slogans and creating empty noise, but, if there had been any mass awakening deserving the name, things would have been quite different from what they are to-day. If by masses we mean the people in the countryside, I am afraid they are as indifferent as to who rules them as they used to be when the advent of the English was acclaimed by leaders as a deliverance from the tyranny of pre-British days. The present generation of young men, on whom will probably fall the mantle of power, if it comes sooner than it seems it will, appear to be an almost hopeless lot of helpless listless beings with neither ideas nor ideals and certainly not any spirit of service. I am speaking of them as a whole. If boisterous demonstration unsupported by solid work is mass awakening, they certainly are awakened; but not otherwise. Elder people are busy wealth-hunting, or notoriety seeking: generally they sit on the fence and sometimes perform acrobatics—jumping over the fence on one side or another as it suits them. It is indeed a sad reflection on our nationalism, but I am afraid there is no real political awakening. I shall read with interest what you may have to say in support of your assertion about the mass awakening referred to above.—VEERBAL H. MEHTA.

We are surprised at Mr. Mehta's description as a myth, of the awakening of the masses under Gandhiji's influence. The leader of the Turkish journalists delegation when asked if he would try to meet

Gandhiji, replied, "Why should I meet him when I see his influence on every side." This was said at a Press Conference in Bangalore. How does Mr. Mehta account for the fact of the overwhelming success of the Congress over the Justice candidate in the recent Madras by-election where meetings for the Congress were prohibited and the weight of Government influence was thrown heavily on the opposite side? There are none so blind as those who will not see.—*Editor.*

PROPAGANDA AND THE PRESS.

Mr. D. F. Karaka has brought out a pamphlet, "Karaka Hits Propaganda" (Sound Magazine, Bombay; Re. 1/8/-). He uses as his motto the famous lines of William Lloyd Garrison of which Mr. Karaka once wrote that the last four words, "I will be heard," were the most important. His pamphlet bears witness to this interpretation of his, with the emphasis on the "I."

After an indictment of official propaganda which he has mainly achieved by an industrious scissors plied through the columns of the Indian press, Mr. Karaka ends on the note, "Give the right men the jobs, and they will find the tools." What the Indian press has been insisting on, is that, in the absence of political peace in the country, propaganda is futile. What Mr. Karaka wants is a change of personnel!

To the telling case which the Indian press has against propaganda, Mr. D. F. Karaka has added his own personal experience. He has much to say and what he does not say is even more eloquent than his words. For Mr. Karaka was in the thick of propaganda himself. He reached a stage when he was quite at home with propaganda and propagandists. He was, or so he says, in the habit of meeting them very casually—"one day in Thapar's room," "I happened to find myself," "I felt a sudden urge to pay a courtesy call." The good old days when Abu Hassan, after excessive indulgence in opium and alcohol, found himself translated into the Caliph are gone. This is not Haroun Al-Raschid's country; nor these his times. One does not get mixed up with officials unless it is deliberate.

Mr. Karaka has been in it fairly deep. In his own opinion, he had touched a point where he had become a cog in the propaganda wheel. For over a year, he had broadcast twice a week. He does not say that he stopped of his own volition. In fact, he does not even know why he went off the air. He came close to Mr. P. J. Griffiths whom he attacks in this pamphlet—so close as to be asked to become Deputy Leader of the National War Front in Bombay!

You would hardly believe that one day in Thapar's room in Delhi Mr. Griffiths asked me if I was willing to become the Deputy-Leader of the National War Front, Bombay. I asked him jestingly if he would let me call myself a Gauleiter. Then he knew that I was not the man he had thought I was.

The impression conveyed is that it was not the first meeting. How had Mr. Griffiths felt that Mr. Karaka was the man to be Deputy Leader in Bombay? And why should a stale joke about gauleiters put off the offer? The clue to these questions are not in the pamphlet. Mr. Griffiths might be able to throw some light on the subject. Incidentally, it may be said that a National Front Leader differs from a Gauleiter as chalk from cheese. The Gauleiter has power over those in his district and he is responsible to his party bosses. The National Front Leader has no power and no responsibility. Had Mr. Griffiths a sense of humour, he would have told Mr. Karaka that he may call himself what he pleased. Perhaps he feared that

Mr. Karaka might take the job too seriously and try to change what began as a joke into something serious. The National Front depends on persuasion; the little there is of it would die out if anyone tried to build it on compulsion.

For all his nationalism, Mr. Karaka does not say that he cut off from the official propaganda because he did not like its ways. On the contrary, he says that the officials grew cold to him after his return from Chungking where he had gone with the help of the Information Department. However, let us quote him,

During a brief visit to Delhi... I happened to find myself in the Imperial Secretariat and felt a sudden urge to pay a courtesy call on Sir Frederick Puckle who had been, I am bound to admit, one of the chief official sponsors of my trip to Chungking... I have even been AIR's official observer in Chungking.... I found the reception somewhat cold... I stayed longer in Puckle's room than I had intended.

Perhaps it was because of the Delhi heat outside, Mr. Karaka's intention and even his unintended stay were in the country's interests. But he does not say what happened there except that he was piqued to learn Sir Frederick had not read his book on Chungking; that Sir Frederick was hurt at something Mr. Karaka had written about the life of Europeans in Bombay; and that Sir Frederick was honest. The cause for coldness which Mr. Karaka cites—that he should have criticised Europeans in the Bombay Gymkhana for dancing and drinking, and the argument on it which he had with Sir Frederick—does not seem adequate. Arguments like this occur every day and no association is snapped because of it. It has obviously not struck Mr. Karaka but no Government department helps a man in pure altruism; it usually has a purpose to be served. The coldness, it is possible, was due to the feeling that the purpose had been served; or that it could no longer be served by Mr. Karaka. In short, maybe, he was, in their eyes, just a fly on the wheel.

Mr. Karaka has a misdirected attack on the goonda advertisements of the National War Front. He quotes the *Bombay Chronicle's* outraged leader on the subject. But he omits to say that the offence in the advertisements lay in the fact that, though the word "we" was used freely, the source was not mentioned, thereby committing the press in which they appeared to the views expressed. No one can object to Government using any language about people who are out to upset them. But it is a different thing when Government does it under cover. This point is one which every journalist worth his salt knows. For the *Press Press Journal* wrote about it. What is more it refused the advertising. But its example was not followed by any other paper, not even the *Chronicle* of which Mr. Karaka is a distinguished ornament. It is always difficult to have one's cake and eat it. That the effort is worth making is obvious because the effort is made. But it does seem hard to complain when one finds it cannot be done.

The press has made its case against propaganda before political settlement. To add to it now is to paint the lily. But let not the reader of "Karaka Hits Propaganda" say he has not been warned. On the cover is a photograph of the author in person lighting a lighted cigarette.

"Karaka Hits Propaganda" is as the crackling of thorns under a pot. Moreover, if we are to make an effective case against propaganda, we cannot do it by saying we can achieve better results in the existing conditions. This is an offer, without making any bones about it, to bluff the public. No one who claims to have the public interest in mind, can seriously put this forward. Keeping in mind the conflict between Government and the people here

it is quite clear that both cannot be served. Even when the publicist's devotion to the public interest is beyond question, the charitable inference is that it is really an attempt to bluff the Government. There is a cleverness which verges on the silly. There is much work to be done in this country, by journalists no less than others. It is time they put away childish things.

S.

AS AN AMERICAN VIEWS JAPAN.

Although Americans are grouped with the British as Anglo-Saxons, there are fundamental differences between the psychology of the two peoples, due no doubt to the vast open spaces and the varied landscape of the United States and to the cramped, conventional surroundings of Britain. The Englishman, for example, is too prone to dismiss those with whom he does not agree as barbarians, "lesser breeds without the law." The American is more open to the lessons of experience. He wants to understand the background, the inner springs of the behaviour of men and nations. A good instance and a timely one is furnished by an article in Dr. John Haynes Holmes' *Unity* for December 1942. Lester Mondale warns his countrymen not to make the same mistake about Japan's spiritual resources as they did about Japan's military strength which cost them Pearl Harbour. Japan, he says, amazed the world with her sudden adoption of European science and philosophy, her rapid industrialisation and precipitous rise to the status of a world power. He goes on to observe,

Along with this scientific and mechanical progressiveness has gone in recent years what, to our eyes at least, has been a precipitate religious retrogression. What is even more mystifying about this paradox is the further fact that with each step of retrogression has come increased national unity, heightened national morale, and intensified nationalistic fervour.

There is no paradox in this. Japan has modernised herself in order to meet the aggressive West on its own ground and with its own weapons and found her own soul in the process. The same phenomenon, paradox if you like, is in process in India and China and Turkey and Russia too. A nation or an individual gains in strength and stability when he assimilates new things without losing his moorings in his own culture and tradition. Mr. Mondale proceeds to illustrate his observation from Willard Price's "Children of the Rising Sun." Price personifies modern Japan in Machida, on his two acre farm high in the mountains, a hundred miles from Tokyo. Here is a word picture of the Machida family as Willard Price saw it:

These two acres he inherited from his father who had three sons and six acres, two acres for each son. Machida has two sons and when he dies each of the sons will get an acre. Neither of the boys, however, can figure out how he can support a family on one acre. Machida has electric lights and a radio. He, with 99.8 per cent of his fellow countrymen, can read and write. He takes three daily papers, several magazines; and among his many books are writings of Julian Huxley and Sinclair Lewis. From a little plot of mulberry bushes Mrs. Machida gets the leaves to feed her silkworms, and from their silk she weaves underclothes and beautiful kimonos for the entire family. From the kiri, or shoe trees, growing nearby, they make their shoes. The roof over their head is thatched with rice straw from their own field. The sliding doors or wall-panels that separate room from room in their house are made of paper they themselves press out of the pulp of the kozo tree growing nearby. From the walnut trees at their back door come the walnuts for the pantry; but the walnut trees

are so trimmed that enough sunlight gets through to take care of the strawberry beds below. And nearby in the shade in several pools fed by a falling stream are different varieties of edible fish. Covering the tiny patches or terraces of ground below are closely planted sprigs of wheat, barley, cabbages, special long-rooted radishes that have a limburger aroma, carrots, bamboo shoots that grow a foot a day, beans, potatoes; fruit trees in every rocky nook—every plant, its leaves cleaned of insects by hand, looking "wax-like and as if put in position by a tweezer." From this soil, as fertile as it was a thousand years ago, Machida will get at least two and probably three or more crops this year. From this soil comes the fuel for the bath-house and bath that Machida, like all Japanese, must take morning and evening—a bath at 115° F., and one which does not merely moisten the dorsal regions but which comes neck high. In this bath Mrs. Machida used to sit and splash with her young children. Now, after the day's work is over, neighbour women come over occasionally, climb in with her, and exchange gossip. From his two acres comes enough profit for Mr. Machida to send his older son to agricultural school; to support himself, his wife, his daughter, his second son, and his wife's servant. From the two acres comes the breakfast served Willard Price—all seated in the early twilight of an April morning. The walls have been removed or slid back, and before them spreads the beautiful spring out-of-doors—the terraces below, the misty valley, and mountains in the distance. Sitting cross-legged on mats before the little ankle-high table they proceed with the meal: bean soup, rice with eel caught in their own rice field, omelet, sweet potatoes, lotus, bamboo, white radish, pickled chrysanthemum petals, and a tea made of cherry blossoms.

Early that same morning Price had been awakened by the clapping of hands. Looking up he saw through the darkness a glow of light in a corner of the next room—candles burning before the little Buddha-shrine, with its gilded Buddha image, and Mr. Machida bowing, ceremonially raising the sheathed sword that his soldier son had carried in China and which was sent back to him on the son's death. This same sword he had carried in the Russo-Japanese War; and his grandfather, in a Sino-Japanese war. Then the words to Amida Buddha intoned in a high-pitched voice: "Namanda, namanda, namanda, ... namanda namanda, namanda, ... namanda, namanda, namanda." (corruption of *Namu Amida Butsu*.)

Mr. Mondale suggests that the mere overthrow of the military might of Japan—which he thinks necessary as a prelude—will not be enough to make the Japanese willing cooperators in a new and peace-loving world order. The Japanese should be taught, that there is something more dignified, more noble, more glorious than the Imperial Head to live and die for. The Japanese must be Christianised. Can Christianity do for the Japanese what a thousand years of it have failed totally to do for Europe? An Indian Christian friend who has lived for many years in the United States, is fond of saying that if American Negroes were Muslims instead of Christians, lynching would have died out long ago, and might in fact have never been practised. Christian influence on the aggressive, predatory European, has not materially affected his natural tendencies. The Asiatic, on the other hand, is by nature non-aggressive, especially the Asiatic who has come under the influence of Buddhism. The Asiatic is further inclined to make religion not merely a Sunday exercise but a rule of life. Christianity as represented by Christ's teachings, therefore, is calculated to make him more easy of exploitation than he naturally is. If Japan becomes Christian, Mr. Mondale is right in thinking, she will cease to count as a Power though she may produce many saints like "the lovable Kagawa."

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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.

Judicial Deadlock :—Students of the Indian constitution under the Government of India Act, 1935, called attention to the absence in it of machinery to implement the decisions of the Federal Court in Indian States in cases where they were parties. The part of the Act relating to the States has not come into force. Meanwhile, the same difficulty has arisen in implementing the Federal Court's decision in a province in British India. The Talpade case has uncovered this defect in the constitution. Talpade, a detenu under Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules, applied to the Bombay High Court for a habeas corpus order. This was refused. He appealed to the Federal Court which found that the Rule itself was invalid and referred the case back to the Bombay High Court for disposal in the light of that finding. The Bombay High Court held that the declaration of the Federal Court about the rule would not justify the release of Talpade, and asked for a specific direction to that effect from the Federal Court. The Federal Court held that the power to issue a habeas corpus order was vested in the Bombay High Court and that the Federal Court has not the power to do more than declare its view of the law. The Privy Council furnishes an analogy. The Judicial Committee merely advises the King and the Executive Government gives effect to the advice. That seems to be the role of the Federal Court according to its own interpretation of the law. The Bombay High Court has again declined to act on the opinion of the Federal Court. The Chief Justice took the line that, as the Federal Court had not heard the whole case and had only decided on the point of law, the High Court was not bound to adopt its opinion as to the legality of Rule 26, as a direction to release Talpade. This is rather difficult for the layman to follow. If the law under which a man is arrested is no law, the man may be arrested and imprisoned under some other law, but so far as this particular Rule is concerned, it seems obvious that his detention cannot be legally continued. The Governor-General has amended the old Rule and made it retrospectively effective. But the validity of this amended Rule itself has been rejected by the Calcutta High Court. Although the Bombay High Court is not bound by any ruling of another provincial High Court, the Courts subordinate to it, in the absence of a pronouncement by that Court, are bound to apply the rulings of any other High Court, or to explain why they cannot do so. The deadlock which

has arisen, can be, we hope it will be, solved by the Government of Bombay releasing Talpade as a harmless Congressman. It is unfair to keep a man in detention, under a law whose validity is denied because two Courts cannot agree as to their respective functions.

Contempt of Court :—*The Reformer* recently called attention to the increasing number of cases of "Contempt of Court." The general belief hitherto was that no appeal lay from committals for contempt of court. None has so far been made or entertained. The Privy Council has now dispelled that belief. The credit of moving the Privy Council—an expensive procedure beyond the means of many Indian journals—belongs to the *Hindustan Times* of Delhi. The Allahabad High Court after a prolonged enquiry fined the Editor and sentenced his correspondent to two months imprisonment—the former for a comment on information furnished by the latter, and the latter for furnishing the information. Mr. Devadas Gandhi preferred to go to prison in default of payment of fine because the correspondent was not given the option of a fine. The case was an extraordinary one. The "contempt" now declared by the Privy Council to be no "contempt," did not refer to any judicial proceeding but to an extra-judicial action alleged to have been taken by the Chief Justice. When the full text of the Privy Council judgment is available, it may be necessary and possible to make further comment.

Political Judgment and Mass Awakening :—Mr. Verbal H. Mehta's contention that there has been no political mass awakening in the country is further developed in a letter which we publish elsewhere. His rejection of the Turkish Mission would be not invalid if it were not for the fact that the Mission on its return to Ankara has expressed opinions adverse to Indian national opinion, but never questioned its existence. His dismissal of the Madras electoral vote is astounding. What evidence does he want? Certificates from Linlithgow and Amery? This is not sarcasm. After all, the Hon. Dr. N. B. Khare on being appointed Executive Councillor expressed satisfaction that an alien bureaucracy had recognised his administrative ability when his own countrymen had not. Mr. Mehta might with reason say that he is not pleased with the extent of the awakening. But he is far beyond the mark when he denies it altogether. In the concluding sentences, Mr. Mehta reveals a wistful regret at the failure of the movement as well as a feeling that, because it failed, Gandhiji was wrong in starting it. And read with that the whole letter seems more an indictment of the people than of the leaders. One of the defects of Congress policy in the last two decades is that its top men made impossible demands on the people and left them after the effort with a feeling that failure was owing to the defects of the people themselves, though the leadership was grand. But this does not mean that the country has not gained by even the

effort made. Besides, it is rather presumptuous for men who have not participated in an agitation to make a grievance of its weakness. As for slogans and boisterousness, Mr. Mehta's attitude is similar to that which has made parties with better political judgment, better long-range programmes and better perspective collapse in the past twenty-five years before Fascism, Nazism, Stalinism. It nullified the Labour Party in Britain and extinguished Liberalism both there and in India. It is a certain pseudo-intellectual contempt for emotional appeals; a self-righteous desire for political influence while professing to disdain political methods. In its mildest form this shows itself in not wanting to have political work among those not developed as much as oneself. Mr. Mehta has confused "mass awakening" with political judgment. In all revolutions the masses involved are not all political thinkers. The successful revolutions owed their success to leadership. The Congress in its vicissitudes since August 8, 1912 can scarcely be called a movement. Certainly even its leading personalities were not quite sure whether it was revolution or political agitation and they were looked up before making up their minds. Gandhiji's "Quit India" failed not because the people did not rise to the slogan; but because between Gandhiji, Nehru and Azad, the slogan had been robbed of its contents till no one knew what it exactly meant.

Sincerity :—When Sir Stafford Cripps came on his peace mission to India, Englishmen including the Viceroy commended him to the Indian people for his sincerity. Now that Sir Archibald Wavell has been named the next Viceroy, the British press tells the world that he is sincere. Sincerity in politics is not so rare a quality as is imagined. It has often existed. What is wanted is sincerity coupled with imagination and insight. Besides, the tribute to Sir Archibald means either that nothing more can be said of him or that the quality is lacking in the present Viceroy.

Burma and Rice :—It is reported that the Collector of a district told the people who had not enough rice to eat, that they should all join the Army and reconquer Burma and then and only then would they get enough rice. The idea underlies the Government of Bombay's communique announcing a further reduction in the rice ration in Bombay city and suburbs. It begins with the preamble that, owing to the rice from Burma having ceased to come, Government is obliged to cut down the ration from three-quarters to one-half. Burma was not conquered in order to provide rice for India. Scrutiny of the State papers relating to that adventure, does not reveal that the rice of Burma was the main cause of the conquest of that country. In any case, the people of India were not responsible for the conquest and they are not responsible for its loss either. We are not sure that its reconquest would improve the rice situation in this country. Anyhow the introduction of Burma in the communique was irrelevant to the point of absurdity. The other reason in the communique is that the supplies expected from other provinces have not come in the quantities expected. Why is this? Is the Government of India which has now the control of food supplies, favouring some provinces at the expense of others? It has been urged by official spokesmen that the food stuffs exported to other countries, is only a small fraction of the total Indian production. But it is that last small quantity which determines the prices and determines their distribution. The first duty of a Government is to see that the people have enough food. This comes even before the duty "to govern." Already there are signs to show that the Indian masses are giving up

their traditional fatalism and becoming festive after the manner of western mobs. It is not easy to preserve law and order among a starving people. The worst of it is that the man in the street begins to ask what is the return which he can hope to get from the sacrifices to which he is subject in consequences of the war. That is a line of enquiry which a prudent Government of India must seek at all costs to prevent from extending.

Factious Opposition :—The opposition to the Hindu Intestate Succession Bill now before a Joint Select Committee of the Indian Legislature, seems to be chiefly influenced by what we can only characterise as factious sentiments. The opposition is confined to one or two places. Some of the promoters seem to be inspired by jealousy of anything useful being done in the Legislature when the Congress members abstain from attending. The fault here is not with the supporters of the Bill but with the abstainers. Others like Bhai Paramanand profess to see terrible consequences to Hindu society as a result of passing the measure. As a matter of fact, the Bill mainly follows the practice in an increasing number of cases in which property is disposed of by wills. The points in which Hindu law as administered in Bombay is in advance of the proposals of the Bill are few. They can be incorporated in the Bill. The great benefit of the Bill, is that it provides a uniform code for all India. We trust that the Viceroy and the Law Member will not be intimidated by the representations addressed to them. Orthodox opposition is intelligible but there is not much of it. The opposition of people who profess advanced views in politics and even in social matters, can only be treated as proceeding from interested motives or from mere factiousness.

Internal Troubles in U. S. A. :—President Roosevelt's troubles in his own country are increasing. The coal strike has provoked anti-strike legislation which has caused resentment among workers in all industries. This law was passed by Congress overruling the veto of the President. In fact, President Roosevelt is now going through the same experience as President Wilson in his second term. The Congress, both houses, are in open revolt and under the American constitution the President can not do anything important with the Congress against him. For the first time in the history of American Negroes, there has been an organised riot between them and the Whites on a great industrial town. Internal troubles in the United States, during recent weeks, have been reported by the news agencies in exuberant detail. Even such a trifling incident with absolutely no international significance as the accidental shooting by the President's grandson, a lad of ten years, of a playmate was thought worthy of being broadcast to the world while, according to the London correspondent of the *Hindustan Times*, Reuter, although informed of the Privy Council proceedings in the contempt of Court case appeal, did not think it of much news value even to India. Twice, during the last few days, the President has been defeated in Congress on matters which would have involved the resignation of the British Cabinet. But the President can not resign. He must go on to the end of his term engaged in constant wrangle with the Congress which in important questions he is bound to carry with him. Coming at a time when the war situation is entering a definitive phase, these troubles can not but affect, not the prosecution of the war but, the authority of the United States in the Peace settlement. In the last Settlement Britain and France remained masters after the withdrawal of the States. In the present, Britain and Soviet Russia may be the controlling factors.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, July 8, 1943.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE AND WOMEN'S PROGRESS.

The *Visvabharati Quarterly* for February—April opens with an English translation of an address delivered in 1936, by the late Dr. Rabindranath Tagore at the All India Bengal Women Workers' Association, on the advance in the status of Indian women during the past one hundred years. When the Poet was a young man, say sixty years ago, women, he says, used to move about in Calcutta in palanquins. He calls this the palanquin age. Tagore's eldest sister was one of the first batch of girl students to join the Bethune College.

She used to go in a palanquin with its doors open, which disturbed the peace of mind of many conservative aristocrats, fastidious of their family decorum. Even to wear a blouse or chemise was a sign of coquetry in those days of "just one sari for one female" and it was not an easy affair for women to maintain the lofty standard of decency and to travel abroad in railway compartments.

The poet contrasts this with the present state of things. He says:

That covered palanquin age has receded to a remote past. The marriageable age of our girls also began to shoot up quite naturally. Many obstacles in their path are vanishing before our eyes. Women of high families are regarding illiteracy as a matter of shame which makes them feel as uncomfortable as they previously felt when using an umbrella or a pair of shoes. As against the discredit of being uneducated, it is nothing to be chafed for their lack of skill in making curry-powders or in dressing vegetables. In other words, the plea that a girl's worth is exhausted by her domestic qualifications is not accepted by the chief valuers in the marriage market. The worth of a girl is being more and more ascertained with reference to her proficiency in that knowledge which is universal and which transcends the limits of our immediate daily needs.

Tagore spoke of "high families" as if the great change in women's status is confined to them. In Bengal there is no middle class and that may be the reason why the advance has not spread to the masses. But elsewhere in India the changes which he noted have been more extensive and have largely filtered down to the masses. Girls' education nowadays is limited only by the want of a sufficient number of schools. In some places girls have entered boys' schools in larger numbers than their brothers. Hundreds of families send their daughters to secondary schools and colleges as a matter of course along with their sons. The progress has necessarily been more rapid in the areas where the purdah had never existed. Since Tagore spoke, the purdah even in these areas has ceased to be an impediment to women's education. Indian social and family life has been and is being revolutionised by the changed attitude towards women and their functions. Gandhiji's influence in bringing women out of the purdah and making them co-sharers with their brothers in the struggle for national freedom has been tremendous. The volumes of *The Reformer* bear testimony to the growing strength of the women's movement at different stages during the last half a century. Once the main obstacles to reform, they are now the dynamic behind it.

There is one point in which it is necessary to correct or rather amplify Tagore's address. He does not give due credit to the forces at work in bringing about this far-reaching change. He suggests that the whole change automatically effected itself. "The change," he says, "took

place with the change of our surroundings." That is quite true. But what was the "change of surroundings" and how did it come about? One of the gravest mistakes of the political movement, Congress, Muslim League or Hindu Mahasabha, is to ignore the vital factor in this change of environment, namely, the British connection. Politicians seem to think that the recognition of any benefit as having accrued from that connection, detracts from the strength of their case for freedom. They seem to think that denunciation of British rule as a blight without any redeeming features, is necessary to give momentum to their propaganda. This is entirely wrong. To give credit where credit is due, is the best way of carrying conviction as to the strength of our criticisms of that rule. The British Government of India has not consciously and deliberately worked to raise the position of women. As a matter of fact, the position of women in Britain was as bad as, if not worse than, that of Indian women in the beginning of the last century and right up to the middle of it. Women in Britain had to fight hard to gain admission to colleges and universities, to enter the professions, to get the right to vote at parliamentary elections and to sit in Parliament. All these things have been achieved in India without any struggle. It is British rule which created, not of set purpose, and even against its own inertia, favoured and stimulated the movement of women's emancipation. When the historian comes to assess the essential service of the British connection, he will unerringly lay his finger on the release of the mighty force so long pent up of women's energies and aspirations in the cause of progress. Tagore studiously avoids reference to this cause when he speaks of the change of environment as having brought about the revolution in social and family life consequent on the emancipation of women of India from the subjection of centuries.

OFFICIAL DESIGNATIONS.

The "Reader" who kindly corrected our mistake about the precise official designation of Mr. M. A. S. Hydari, while agreeing that the frequent increase and changes in the official hierarchy at New Delhi make it difficult to know who is which at a given moment, recommends that we should get a copy of an official publication which records these transmigrations. We wonder whether it is really worth the price. The Government of India's personnel, particularly its Indian personnel, does not bulk as largely outside as it does inside New Delhi. The English personnel is constant and recognisable. Maxwell at the Home Department, Raisman at the Finance and Benthal at the Communications, are permanent fixtures as much as the Viceroy. The Indian personnel is constant only in its fluctuations. The Law Member of today is posted to Information tomorrow. The Labour Member becomes transformed into Member of a truncated Defence. The Member for Civil Defence is spoken of as likely to become Member for Food. As for Secretaries, Mr. Bozman is the only fixed star in the official firmament. Mr. Hydari was once Secretary of the Education, Health and Lands (strange combination) Department. Perhaps he was at some time Secretary of another Department. So far as we know he is not Secretary of the Industries Department by his own choice. If he were, there would be some point in "Reader's" solicitude to have him described by his correct official designation. The matter is really too trifling to merit discussion. To be frank, we published "Reader's" first letter because it tickled our vanity to see *The Reformer* described as a "distinguished journal."

A BANDRA DIARY.

A Reuter's message dated London, June 28, ran as follows:

"It is quite clear that Mr. Gandhi does exercise great power by means of his fasts," declared the Archbishop of Canterbury at a meeting of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta on Tuesday night. "It is also quite clear that he resorts to them avowedly as a method of securing certain objects which, no doubt, he believes to be good. But the kind of belief in the sort of hypnotic value in deliberately exhibited or even self-inflicted suffering is to my mind totally remote from the Christian doctrine of the place of suffering in life. That you should use it as a deliberately chosen instrument seems to me to be quite contrary to the Christian understanding of its place in life."

The Archbishop admits that Gandhiji's fasts exercise great power. His Grace does not limit its influence to India. His object in making the remarks at the Oxford Mission was to counteract this influence. He does so by differentiating between the Christian and, what he calls, the Hindu idea of suffering. The Archbishop holds that Christian suffering should have no object in view. It should be suffering for the sake of suffering. It should not be deliberately exhibited or self-inflicted. He characterises the influence of Gandhiji's fasts as having only a sort of hypnotic value, implying that Christian suffering has only a pulpit value. The Archbishop's remarks confirm my impression that the potency of sacrificial suffering is but feebly envisaged by Christianity. The betrayal by Judas does not fit in with the popular idea of Calvary. Jesus Christ himself fully understood the value of suffering as a sacrament. Like every wise teacher, however, Jesus adapted his teachings to the capacity of his pupils, mostly unlettered fishermen and shepherds. He avoided anything abstruse which was beyond their understanding. That he himself had a deep insight into the value of renunciation, is proved by stray hints in his utterances—as when he said that he who seeks to save his life will lose it and he who is ready to cast it away will find it. When Jesus told the cripple to take up his bed and walk, he was clearly anticipating Coue though he did not call it hetero-suggestion. The miracles can be explained as the effect of hypnotism which is the condition which predisposes individuals to respond to suggestions from the hypnotiser. What was it that inspired the Christian martyrs, if not the faith that their blood will be the seed of the Church? What did Ridley mean when at the stake he exhorted his fellow Protestant martyr, Latimer, to be of good cheer because the fire that they lit that day in England would never be extinguished? It is hardly consistent with his high office that the Archbishop should ignore the patent lessons of Christianity in order to uphold the Christianity of the Churchill-Amery regime.

The philosophy and ethics of renunciation which is voluntary surrender, never found such clear exposition as in the life and teachings of Gautama Buddha. They are aptly stated in Sir Edwin Arnold's beautiful lines in his "Light of Asia":

One even as I
Who ache not, lack not, grieve not, save with griefs
Which are not mine, except as I am man;—
If such a one, having so much to give,
Gave all, laying it down for love of men,
And thenceforth spent himself to search for truth,
Wringing the secret of deliverance forth,
Surely at last, far off, sometime, somewhere,
The veil would lift for his deep searching eyes,
The road would open for his painful feet,
That should be won for which he lost the world,
And Death might find him conqueror of death.

Here, indeed, is the pure rationale of "vicarious sacrifice." Since the time of Gautama the Sakya-muni, this doctrine has become the corner-stone of Indian religious life. Buddha himself did not claim that this doctrine was his original discovery. When after the Great Enlightenment, he returned to his father's capital, he pained and surprised his father by entering the city by a backlane in ascetic's garb, begging-bowl in hand. The whole population had assembled in gaily decorated streets to welcome him. But none recognised him except his devoted and loving wife, Yashodara. The King was wroth when he heard that his son had come into the city as a beggar. He rushed to the place but when he saw the serene face of the Buddha his anger gave place to curiosity. And he asked, "Son, why is this?" The answer was: "My father, it is the custom of my race." The King in surprise asks, "What race?" And Buddha answers:

The Buddhas who have been and who shall be:
Of these am I and what they did I do,
And this, which now befalls, so fell before,
That at his gate a King in warrior mail
Should meet his son, a Prince in hermit weeds.

The same doctrine is developed in greater amplitude in the Bhagavad Gita which teaches that all life is a sacramental sacrifice. Gandhiji, therefore, is in the direct line of his native tradition. The Archbishop's interpretation of the Christian principle of sacrifice is forced and unconvincing. I doubt if it is shared by many Christian thinkers; if the present Metropolitan of India, for instance, would agree with Archbishop Temple. It is in keeping, however, with the purpose of the Church of England which is to lend an odour of sanctity to British imperialism. I should add that the Church of England has produced several inspired souls but they do not often make their homes in Lambeth Palace.

Archbishop Temple's thesis—I am writing on the basis of Reuter's summary of it—is not the only or the most grotesque of the attempts which are being made to distort Christ's teachings to fit in with the passions and prejudices of the hour. It took my breath away to read the following by a regular contributor in the *Christian Evangelist*, (February 17) the organ of the American Disciples Church, under the heading "Pearl Buck and the Church."

In Pearl Buck's article, entitled "Can the Church Lead?" we have the statement repeated rather frequently that the Christian gospel may be summarized as a belief in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Obviously the major propositions in the original Christian Gospel were not the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, but rather the sacrificial death of Christ culminating in sacrificial life and especially his resurrection from the dead. It is common for modern liberals to substitute abstract propositions like the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, for the concrete facts of the gospel. The early evangelists never did this. They would not have gotten to first base if they had. We wonder whether Miss Buck's gospel can be effectually substituted today for the original message.

In support of his view, the writer, Frederic D. Kirschner, cites St. Paul and argues that this powerful, self-appointed propagandist of Christ should be regarded as the authentic interpreter of Christ's teachings. This reminds me of the story in "Brook Kerith," that Jesus who had returned to the Monastery of the Essenes, asked the Abbot's permission to go back to the old scenes of his ministry to correct perversions of his teaching by those who spoke in his name. The wise head of the ancient Order

dissuaded him, saying it was no good, that the people would not believe him. Why does Kirschner rely on St. Paul when there are Jesus' own words to prove that the Fatherhood of God was the corner-stone of his message and the brotherhood of man followed from it? No word was so often on Jesus' lips as "Father." Full three pages of small print in Cruden's *Concordance* is devoted to the word Father. The Lord's Prayer begins with the invocation to "Our Father." How in the face of these facts, a regular writer, presumably an ordained clergyman, in a prominent Christian journal, can write as Kirschner does repudiating the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, as alien to Christian teaching, I cannot imagine. When I read the Archbishop's casuistry about the Christian idea of sacrifice and the Rev. Frederic D. Kirschner's comment on Pearl Buck's faith, I cannot help asking myself, "Is Christianity cracking up with Western civilisation?"

The transformation of the sacrificial religion of the Vedas into the renunciatory religion of the Upanishads, which is the basis of present-day Hinduism, is one of the most remarkable achievements in human history. In the history of the Hebrews too prophets like Isaiah denounced sacrifices as hateful to God and insisted that what God asked for was the humble and the contrite heart. But the Jews did not heed the message of their prophets. They persisted in the sacrifices until the destruction of the Temple and their dispersion by the Romans, left them without an altar upon which to offer sacrifice. The Hindus did and, long before Buddha preached his religion of compassion, the Upanishads had turned Hindu thought in other directions. "Following an extremely remarkable line of thought," says Hoffding, "that which drives men to worship gods was itself regarded as the true divine power. Brahma meant originally the magical creative word of prayer, but afterwards came to denote the principle of existence itself. If we ask more definitely what Brahma really is, no other answer can be given than that he is one with Atman, with the soul which each man knows within himself. We get here (i. e. circa 800 B. C.) the first attempt at metaphysical idealism." ("The Philosophy of Religion," pp. 159-160.)

The Upanishads were the mighty powerhouse which effected the transformation from sacrifice to renunciation. Renunciation is not self-sacrifice. In renunciation there is no sense of deprivation. On the other hand, renunciation is the highest bliss. The Isopanishad is one of the shortest and the greatest of the Upanishads. Its first verse proclaims that the Universe is pervaded by the Deity from the minutest atom to the loftiest mountain mass. Renounce it and enjoy. Do not covet another's possession. It was this verse which at a critical moment in his early life turned the thought of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, father of the Poet, from worldly to spiritual things. He has told the story in his autobiography. His father died leaving his estate heavily involved. Young Devendranath was in a fix. As he sat brooding, a scrap of paper wafted by a passing breeze to his feet, attracted his distracted attention. He picked it up. It was in Sanskrit characters, and at that time he did not know Sanskrit. He took the piece of paper to the family Pandit. When he heard it translated to him, he writes, "Nectar poured into my soul." He placed the whole estate at the disposal of the creditors.

The ideal of enjoyment from renunciation was for long unintelligible to me. I asked friends who were scholars and they too were unable

to explain. The Commentators as usual only add to the obscurity. It suddenly struck me one day, when I was not thinking about the subject at all, that the explanation was quite simple. It is within the experience of every human being. What greater enjoyment is there than that of giving to those whom we love? Which father or mother will not go in rags to feed and clothe the children? The extension of this feeling to all humanity is the way in which the Kingdom of Heaven can be soonest realised. The association of pleasure with possession is the cause of the world's misery. The sanyasin has dissociated the two. It is said that Swami Vivekananda had an exquisite carving in ivory presented to him by a Maharaja. A visitor admired it. As the visitor rose to leave the Swami took the carving and handed it to him. "It is yours," said the Swami, "Take it." The visitor protested, "No," said the Swami, "your admiration for it has made it yours." The visitor had to accept the gift. But the Swami enjoyed giving it to the visitor more than he would have done by seeing it in his study daily. That is how renunciation brings enjoyment more than possession. That, it struck me, was the meaning of the seer of the Isopanishad.

RECLUSE.

After the Comintern:—For some time after Russia came into the war, Communists all the world over were pressing vigorously for a second front in Europe to relieve pressure on the Soviet. They were not the only people, for a large mass of opinion was forming round the agitation in democratic countries. The agitation put up by the Communists for an all-out effort against the Nazis sounded unconvincing in view of their previous condemnation of both sides as imperialists at war. By the time the Comintern was dissolved, their value to Russia had been seen as very little, if not an actual embarrassment. With the dissolution, pressure in democratic countries for a second front assumes more importance. And Stalin has been quick to seize on it. The Soviet press which is officially controlled, is agitating continuously and with vigour for a second front. On the second anniversary of the German attack on Russia, Moscow Radio broadcast an appeal for a second front in Europe. Looking at the war itself, the time chosen is most ill-chosen. There have been day and night raids on German industrial areas. Italy is pounded day after day. There is threat of invasion from across the Channel. If reports are correct, Hitler is moving troops into Italy by way of the Brenner Pass, the longest route to Italy; and at the same time he is devoting some attention to fortifying the Channel area. The Balkans, both internally and as a possible point of invasion, are another source of anxiety. If, as is not unlikely, Italy collapses in the next two months, Germany faces the prospect of being driven back to the old frontiers, or at any rate the post-Munich frontiers. All these factors remove the value of second front agitation. They not merely keep Hitler's forces divided, they compel Germany to switch her industrial machinery and her communications system to facilitate movement from East to West. This is to reverse the prevailing movement which, since the fall of France, has been Eastward. In the circumstances Stalin's present agitation is occasioned by political rather than military needs. Had the demand been necessitated by the military situation, it would not have been so publicly made—by Stalin of all persons. It is an obvious instance of fighting for position at the peace conference.

MONOGAMY IN LAW—I.

(BY KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI, ASKA)

English Law recognises the six successive marriages of England's highly Christian king, Henry VIII, as strictly monogamous, though they involved much cruelty to the first five wives. The late Lord Satyendra Prasanna Sinha of Raipur never married more than once. Yet the sensitive legal conscience of the House of Lords jibbed at his single marriage, calling it a polygamous marriage inasmuch as it was solemnized under Hindu law, and making that a ground for holding up the succession of the second Lord Sinha to his father's seat in their gilded chamber. It is worthwhile for Hindus, including Brahmos and Aryas, to look at this picture and that and see wherein lies the sense of this apparent absurdity.

When Croesus, King of Lydia, famous in history for his proverbial wealth, displayed all his riches to Solon and asked, "Am I not the happiest man in the world?" that Athenian sage is said to have replied that he should reserve his opinion till Croesus died. And, truly enough, Croesus himself realised the wisdom of this reservation when, not long after, he found himself bereft of every worldly possession and chained to a stake to be burnt alive on the funeral pyre by Cyrus the Persian who was provoked to war by Croesus himself. So may the happiest Hindu wife be suddenly overthrown any moment and without any provocation too. No one can predict at a man's first marriage, whether he would live with the same wife happily till his death or will seek to be relieved of her on the way replacing her by another, or would be tempted to seek the companionship of an additional and more favoured wife to make the life of the first wife miserable without relief. Shall we then have to wait till a man dies to determine whether he was a polygamous or monogamous individual? If so, is every marriage monogamous in which the man never had occasion or temptation to marry a second time? And does the first marriage at least remain monogamous, or does it also become polygamous, when the man marries a second or third time?

From a survey of the case law it would seem that, so far as a Hindu is concerned, the nature of his marriage is determined neither at his death nor at any of his marriages, from first to last, but at his very birth, by the personal law which attaches itself to him the moment he is born. And that personal law is the Hindu law which permits polygamy to the man and refuses divorce to the wife. Marrying a second time while the first spouse is living, is held to be a crime even in India; but in the case of Moslems and Hindus, bigamy is punished only when the offender is a woman. A Hindu male, therefore, who returns with a Burmese wife from Rangoon after a continuous stay there of over twenty years, can prosecute his Hindu wife, whom he had married and left in her parents' home when she was but a child under ten, and get her imprisoned for having married another man in his never-ending absence but he himself would be free to take one or more wives again with the blessings of Hindu law!

An opportunity was for the first time given in 1872 by Government by its Special Marriage Act (III of 1872) to every Hindu who may so wish, to bind himself to a life of monogamy by marrying under it. But this boon was granted only at the cost of disowning the Hindu religion. In 1923 this disability was sought to be removed but the amended Act only added an alternative form of marriage which allowed the profession of Hindu religion but deprived the parties of their Hindu status in several vital respects, from which penalty those who foreswore the Hindu reli-

gion under the same Act were exempted. The Act continues, therefore, to be practically repugnant to the generality of Hindus who may otherwise be willing to adopt a monogamous law of marriage. Of all Hindu communities, the Radhaswami sect of Dayalbagh alone, known as Sat-Sangis or Holy Companions, has adopted the amended Act as compulsory marriage law for all its members.

There was a time when Law Publishers in Madras and elsewhere used to mislead the public by naming Act III of 1872 as "The Brahma Marriage Act" in their Civil Court Manuals. Even among those who knew the exact scope of the Act, there were many under the delusion that this Act had been officially adopted by the Brahma Samaj as part of its unavoidable marriage ritual binding upon every member, so that Brahma marriages without exception would be monogamous though the parties to it be of Hindu birth and ancestry, and the Brahma Samaj as a body could justly claim to be a monogamous community though it has no monogamous marriage law of its own which can take effect automatically on the performance of the Brahma marriage ritual alone. But that is all exploded now as having never had any foundation in fact.

MASS AWAKENING.

Sir:—Even at the risk of being accused once more of refusing to open my eyes, I must say that I was utterly disappointed by the note you were pleased to append to my correspondence about 'Mass Awakening' in your issue of the 26th inst. I had looked forward to being presented with an array of indisputable facts pointing unerringly to the awakening in dispute.

What the Turkish Press Mission said or what a Madras electorate did is not relevant to the question. My contention has been there has been no *real* awakening. I have already conceded that if boisterous demonstration and the creation of noise nuisance spell mass awakening I have nothing to say. But if awakening means a desire to do one's utmost towards the promotion of self-government and a readiness for sacrifices necessary for the achievement of this purpose I see no signs of any awakening properly called mass awakening. We are all still self-centred and mindful only of our own interests and concerns. I need not say that there have been individual cases of awakening, but for mass awakening of any sort I am afraid I still see no evidence. I still contend that if there had been an awakening such as you think there has been, the leaders could not have been behind prison bars as they are to-day. Mr. Gandhi made this same mistake of misjudging the temper of the people when he lauded the Quit India campaign.—VEERBAL H. MEHTA.

Sugar:—We regret that *The Reformer* last week in a confusion between ounces and units in the rationing system put the quota of the child under two at two ounces. It should have been two units or ten ounces. Now under the new system all, from under two to the top limit, get the same ration, ten ounces. It would be well if the Food Controller thought again and increased the quantity. It is quite true that consumption has to be controlled; that the purpose of rationing is to reduce consumption. But sugar, after all, has a more valuable place in food than just pandering to the sweet tooth. The quantity now allowed gives a fine handle for propaganda. If such a thing had been put into force in occupied Europe, we could have played it up, and certainly we would have played it up, as an attempt at keeping the resistance power

of the people low. The press is always admonished not to do or say anything which will either give information useful to the enemy or embarrass one's allies. Let Governments here profit by the wisdom the Government of India hands out to others.

South African Indians :—It is difficult at this distance to estimate the relative merits of the differences reported among Indians in South Africa. The messages from that country are not clear. Ultimately no doubt they turn on personal differences. No Indian in South Africa, we are sure, welcomes the "Pegging" Act recently passed by the Union Parliament. No one can possibly be opposed to its repeal or replacement by more equitable legislation. If the offer now made of reserving suitable sites for Indian residential purposes, had been made before the obnoxious law was passed, Indians would have co-operated with Government without loss of self-respect. In the nature of things, Indians, speaking generally, wish to live together as being more convenient for social relations. It is the compulsory segregation implied in the new Act that involves a vital principle on which there can be no compromise. It is likely that, as in India, so in South Africa there are Indians who are willing to accept small concessions on the principle that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush. The bird in the hand, however, is often illusory. It is likely to be snatched away as soon as the purpose for which it was offered as a bait is served. In any case, we in India can only deal with the question on the ground of principle. Experience has shown that the concessions so far made have not in the least conciliated anti-Indian sentiments. Only the securing of the full franchise will ensure civilised treatment in democratic countries. Indians must now repudiate all the old concessions as to immigration, and insist on enjoying equal rights of citizenship with the white races.

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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.

President Roosevelt's Troubles:—In last week's *Reformer* reference was made to the difficulties of President Roosevelt arising out of conflicts with Congress and between Whites and Negroes. His difficulties appear to extend even to the personnel of the Administration. A Washington message dated June 29 reporting the proceedings of the Senate Appropriation Committee, mentioned a violent altercation between Vice-President Henry Wallace and Secretary for Commerce, Jesse Jones. Mr. Wallace who is also Chairman of the Board of Economic Warfare, complained that the Secretary of Commerce had been a source of obstruction in carrying out the plans of his Board. Mr. Wallace said that Mr. Jones and his department had thrown a great many obstacles in the way of the exercise of the Board's wartime powers. Mr. Jones characterised Mr. Wallace's statements as malicious. He justified the action of his department. This exchange of words has only an interest by contrast with the avoidance of publicity in similar matters under the Indian system. The more important part of the message is that, at a Press Conference held later, President Roosevelt, when he was asked about the incident, is said to have remarked that Mr. Wallace's charge against Mr. Jones took him by surprise and wished that such matters would be brought before him before being aired in public. It is clear from this remark that the President and the Vice-President of the United States are not as closely in touch with each other as they should be in the public interest.

Vice-President Wallace:—Ordinarily, the Vice-President has only to preside at meetings of the Senate. In case of a vacancy in the Presidentship during the term of four years by death, disability or resignation, he steps into the Presidentship. The office is generally of no political significance and second or even third rate men are elected to it by the same constituency, at the same time and in the same manner as the President. In the present case, however, there are exceptional circumstances. Mr. Wallace is not a second rate man but an outstanding figure not only in the political but also in the cultural and ethical sphere. Apart from politics and office, Mr. Wallace is a greater personality than the President. His pronouncements on world problems are characterised by breadth and vision which are not always conspicuous in the President's fireside chats. Mr. Wallace is a thinker and a leader of thought

not an opportunist politician. He is held in high respect for his personal character not only in his own country but all over the world. His nomination to the Chairmanship of the Board of Economic Warfare, as indeed his election as Vice-President on the same ticket as Mr. Roosevelt, shows that the two men at the beginning of Mr. Roosevelt's third term, were close friends and associates. Something has happened to break this relation to such an extent as to preclude the Chairman of the Board of Economic Warfare from approaching the President in the first instance, as he would have ordinarily done, with his complaints against the Commerce Secretary. Mr. Wallace must have felt that it was no good approaching the President as the Secretary was simply carrying out his instructions. The President can dismiss Mr. Jones who is his nominee but not the Vice-President who is elected by the same constituency as himself. There are evidently difficulties in the way of Mr. Wallace's removal from the Chairmanship of Economic Warfare which is in the President's power. The chief of these is the personal prestige of Mr. Wallace.

Russia and the Democracies.—The great illusion of the day is Russian Communism. Many "intellectuals" in the democracies suffer from a new-found admiration of the Russian system; it is praised in many drawing rooms; it is lauded from many platforms. And, if anyone should feel inclined to regard the Russians as not very much more idealistic than any other nation, he is outmoded. One finds even such a writer as Olaf Stapleton giving a reason for his admiration for Russian Communism. This is a mistake. No one should seek to justify his prejudices. Mr. Stapleton's reason is that Communism has developed the spirit of resistance in Russia to the present pitch. As it was not present before, it must be Communistic rather than Russian. Therefore, Communism is not antagonistic to nationalism, as was believed in the past, but strengthens the national spirit. There are several fallacies in this way of thinking. The system which prevails in Russia today is more Russian than Communist. This must be recognised by those who have followed the histories of the Third International and of the Soviet Union. Had it been otherwise, the Third International would have been alive today and Russia off the map. There were several factors making Bolshevism more Russian than Communistic, an important one being the lack of initiative of non-Russian Communists in the Third International.

Mr. Aney for Ceylon:—The appointment announced on Wednesday of the late Member of the Government of India for Overseas, Mr. M. S. Aney, as the Agent to that Government in Ceylon, is a novel feature in Indian politics. Mr. Aney resigned his Membership of the Executive Council of the Governor General along with Sir H. P. Mody and Mr. N. N. Sarker because Gandhiji was not released on the commencement of his last fast. It was a poor reason for people who were responsible for the policy

which drove Gandhiji to undertake the fast, Mr. Aney himself, in a statement issued shortly after, seemed to think that he was rather hasty in his decision. He also hinted that he might go back to the Legislative Assembly as leader of the Opposition. We are not sufficiently interested in his present acceptance of a subordinate post in the same Department, to search for the reasons for it. There is a precedent in the appointment of Malcolm MacDonald who was Colonial Secretary in the Chamberlain Cabinet, to the High Commissionership in Canada. Sir Stafford Cripps' transfer from the Leadership of the House of Commons and a place in the War Cabinet to the Ministry for Aircraft Production also offers a parallel. In both the British instances, however, the persons concerned were comparatively young men who could without difficulty adjust themselves to the changed positions. Mr. Aney is advanced in years. His experience has almost wholly been limited to his own province. The kind of work devolving on the Agent in Ceylon is different from that he has so far distinguished himself in. The appointment has rather the unpleasant flavour of a political job which augurs ill for the new Chief of the Overseas Department.

The Khare Conference:—Following the example of his colleagues, Dr. N. B. Khare, the new Overseas Member of the Government of India, has held a conference of advisers on the "pegging" legislation of the South African Union Government. The Press was not admitted to the Conference and we have only a summary of the proceedings gathered by correspondents to go upon. Some of the members, it is said, deprecated adopting any measure calculated to impede the war effort. This argument has had no effect on General Smuts. The members who raised this objection were evidently the Europeans. Europeans in India as a class are in sympathy with the anti-Indian policies of their kinsmen in Africa, East and South. The Bombay Europeans declined the invitation to associate themselves with the requisition for the Sheriff's meeting and it was Mr. Horniman's signature which overcame the Sheriff's insistence on having at least one European name in it. The Editor of the *Times of India*, Sir Francis Low, although in poor health, attended the meeting but he was there in no representative capacity. It was not necessary under the circumstances to have invited European representatives to the Conference, and they, as might be expected, advised that India should be more concerned about the war effort than the Union of South Africa. In a conflict with the Dominions, it is India which is expected always to give in. Lord Morley once remarked that it was more difficult dealing with the Dominions in such matters than with foreign countries. If India were a free country, General Smuts who has to depend partially on the Indian Navy for the defence of coast line, would have been very soon brought to see reason. As it is, India has to fight the Dominion with her hands tied behind her back. Retaliation was suggested but in a matter where racial prejudice inspires hatred, commercial issues will not count. Besides, there is not much trade between India and South Africa. For all his brave words, Dr. Khare will soon realise his limitations. Meanwhile, General Smuts spoke ominously in his election address of his having no designs except commercial ones in the African continent. Commercial designs have led to empire in India and may do so in Africa. If the South African Whites get the upper hand in Africa, the coloured population may abandon all hopes of ever being anything but hewers of wood and drawers of water. We see

no purpose in retaining an impotent representative of the powerless Indian Government in South Africa. The Indians in South Africa do not want him.

Childish Nationalism:—The *Bombay Chronicle* which, we notice, still uses the English language as the medium of expression, has thought fit to indulge in the luxury of armchair nationalism in its comments on Sir Chimanlal's address at the Women's University. It blatantly denies that Indians fighting for political freedom have been inspired by English language and literature. What else have they been inspired by? Gandhiji has himself given the sources of his inspiration. To all of them he had access in English. More, even his reading of Hindu scriptures was first in English. It may be something to be ashamed of that Indians rediscovered their heritage through the English language. But of what? Not surely of the English language, which should have our gratitude. Nor is that all, great though it is. The spirit of critical study has come to us from the English language. To deny all this in the name of nationalism is worse than petty.

A Candid Admission:—In his first Press Conference after the resumption of the post of Commander-in-Chief in India, Sir Claude Auchinleck compared the position of India two years ago with its position today. Two years ago, he said, India really was not in the war zone at all. She was producing large numbers of men and quantities of munitions for use overseas and the only trouble then was in Iraq. Indian troops stopped it. It was about the only thing that happened. "All our efforts were directed to raising forces to help operation in the Middle East and in Europe." The Commander-in-Chief omitted to mention that this was justified on the ground that the frontier of India had moved to the Nile and to the Rhine and by resisting the enemy there we would be preventing the war from extending to India. Events have exposed this myth. "The whole situation has completely changed now," said His Excellency. "India has a war front and has had to defend her own frontiers against a pretty severe threat." By defending the Middle East, India has not escaped becoming herself subject to the menace as was represented two years ago. If it be said that the British Government did not expect Japan to declare war, that only shows that their outlook was wholly faulty. We have wasted men and material in the Middle East without preventing the frontiers of India being threatened. Incidentally, we admire the skilful use which Sir Claude made of his unofficial presence in India after he was relieved of his Command in Africa by Mr. Churchill.

Food Controller's Progress:—The ration of sugar has been increased from ten to twelve ounces per head per week. The gradualness of the concessions made to public demand in this matter was probably due to a feeling that the people could not bear the shock of both concessions being made at once. Sometimes it is worth making an error because of the pleasure one can give while retracing one's steps. The Bombay Government has done this, though somewhat grudgingly. The rationing system itself is full of pitfalls for a population the greater part of which is illiterate. How Government expect the masses to fill in the numerous details demanded of every applicant in the several forms which incidentally consume a lot of paper—we can not understand. If a person changes his residence, he has to submit a new application and it takes three or four days at least to get him a new ration card. The complaints about the quality of articles rationed have been met to some extent. But the working of the system presents insuperable difficulties to the generality of the people.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, July 10, 1943.

ENGLISH AND FREEDOM.

In the address which Sir Chimanlal Setalvad delivered at the annual convocation of the S. N. D. T. Women's University, Sir Chimanlal approached the chief subject of separate education for women on muffled oars. He said that both advocates and opponents had a good case. They should not find it very difficult to agree to differ. But he concluded with the subtle hit at the separatist school that "when reason is not able to perform its function as a guide, it is only natural that many of us should fall back on instincts and traditions." The Women's University was started to provide education for those women who for one reason or another would not attend co-educational institutions. It was thought that the numbers would be many. As a matter of fact, there are more women, far more, studying in the common university than in the separate university. Sir Chimanlal's patching up of the controversy is not likely to work. It is definitely not a question where there can be agreement to differ. For in education, nobody is prepared to take risks.

Sir Chimanlal struck out boldly, however, for the place of English, the literature of which he described as the "secular Bible of freedom, modern humanism and individual self-realization." We entirely agree with him on the importance he has given to the English language. There have been educational and political attempts to work up Hindi into the place of English. The very idea is, in the linguistic sphere, what the charka has been in the industrial age. We know this view will be definitely unpopular. But we fail to see why one language which came to the country several centuries ago, should be regarded as more acceptable because of the lapse of time, rather than another which came in two centuries back and is still a living force with us. It is the common argument, among Hindi enthusiasts, that national solidarity will come with the adoption of Hindi as the national language. The transition period is ignored because it does not fit in with this line of argument. The attempts of the Rajagopalachari Ministry to make Hindi compulsory in secondary schools in Madras ended in a complete fiasco, the only section to be injured being the party which made the experiment. In Bombay, we understand the matter was done more subtly and Urdu or Hindi has a place in the child's education for a brief period. But it has not benefitted any people except those who would have learnt Hindi in any case, or Urdu. The one chance of Hindi being put on this country as the language of inter-provincial intercourse, is if the Government of India can be induced, cajoled or bluffed into placing their strength behind the Hindi movement. Sir Sultan Ahmed can do more on the quiet in the Government of India than, say, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari in a national government. A purely Indian Government could not impose Hindi on the peoples of this country for obvious reasons. The non-Hindi members in that government, for one thing, will not prove as acquiescent when they find that it will result in Hindi becoming the language of the courts, the legislature, commerce, administration and the like. But it might be that, if allowed and encouraged to grow side by side with the existing English, Hindi may in course of time come to replace English as the inter-provincial language. Before that does happen, we

may be sure that it will have as much resemblance to the Hindi of today as modern English has to Elizabethan English, if as much as that. The question has to be considered dispassionately. One reason for not neglecting English in an enthusiasm for cultivating Hindi, is that there is nothing in Hindi which other Indian languages cannot give by way of modern thought. The future solution will probably be in the development of regional languages within the provinces and the use of English for inter-provincial and international purposes. Sir Chimanlal was wrong in the use of the phrase, "mother tongue," in this connection. He was speaking of education from the point of view of the University, the central co-ordinating educational force in the area it serves. The stress should rest on the language of that area, or languages. In most cases that will be the mother-tongue of the people there, but not invariably. The difference between the thoughts roused by the phrase "mother tongue" and those set working by the term "regional language" is fundamental. The latter term is purely one concerning ideas related to utility and practicability.

In another matter too, Sir Chimanlal might have been more specific seeing that he was speaking to a women's university. That is, the contribution of English literature to the status of women. If there is one aspect of social life in which definite progress has been recorded in the past century, it is in those things which concern the treatment of women and children. The debt we owe in this to English ought never to be lost sight of. Issues have a knack of getting confused and people rarely see the implications behind the causes they often champion. Yet there is a strange irony in women, educated women at that, speaking for the elimination of English and the setting up of Hindi in its place. For even if all that English has achieved in the way of women's emancipation is ignored, surely one could not readily forget that Hindi is the language of the purdah lands. The implications of the purdah reach far deeper in society than the mere practice of it. It nearly always spells polygamy also.

IRELAND AND INDIA.

The history of the Irish and Indian national movements has many striking points in common. The appointment of Field Marshal Wavell to the Indian Viceroyalty is a fresh point of analogy. Field Marshal Lord French was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in circumstances which are not without resemblance to those in India. The Home Rule movement in Ireland was the counterpart of the old Indian National Congress. The following description of the position of Mr. Butt, the leader of the movement, might stand for Surendranath Banerjee or Gokhale:

The conduct of English parties did not strengthen the position of Mr. Butt. They listened to his arguments with great good humour, and voted against him when he had quite finished. He was regarded as an exemplary politician and his parliamentary methods were considered most respectable. Ministers paid him many compliments. No British Government could have desired a more temperate, courteous, or reasonable opponent. Never were courtesy and reason more poorly served. At every sitting of Parliament Mr. Butt was ready with his programme. At every prorogation he departed empty-handed. "What am I to say to this?" asked the Law officer, on one of the occasions, of the Prime Minister. "Speak," replied Disraeli, "for fourteen minutes and say nothing." This was typical of the attitude of power towards Irish affairs.

This was also typical of the attitude of power towards Indian affairs in the old Congress days. In another passage the same writer says :

Mr. Butt was patient; he believed in patience; he counselled this to his followers. He was opposed to 'a policy of exasperation.' He thought that reason would prevail and that violence of any kind would estrange "our best friends in England." "Gentlemen first, patriots afterwards," was the motto of his followers. And in return they received that form of respect which, being devoid of the element of fear, is closely akin to contempt.

The two passages are taken from the Life of Lord Randolph Churchill, by his son, Mr. Winston Churchill, now Prime Minister of Britain. Butt was shunted off the leadership of the Irish Party in Parliament by Mr. Parnell who was in every respect his complete antithesis. This may be compared to the elimination of the Liberals from leadership by the Tilakites and later by the Gandhites though neither Mr. Tilak nor Gandhiji can be mentioned in the same breath as Parnell so far as their personal lives are concerned. The parallelism between Satyagraha and the Sein Fien movement in its inception is too obvious to need elaboration. It is worthy of note that there was an O'Dwyer and a Maxwell in the Irish as in the Indian movement. Archbishop O'Dwyer of Limerick nobly stood out for the people. Sir John Maxwell was the Commander-in-Chief in Ireland entrusted with the administration of martial law. The analogy may be extended further. The partition of Ireland was first mooted and carried out during this period. Ulster is the unmistakable parent of Pakistan. Carson was the prototype of Mr. Jinnah whom Lord Birkenhead, once Carson's 'galloper', later Secretary of State for India, wanted to leave "high and dry." Another point in common to both countries is the place of America as an intriguing factor.

Field Marshals are not sent to dependencies with the object of conciliating the people. The arts of conciliation are not part of their training and discipline. Field Marshal French was sent to Ireland to coerce the people. Before he went to Dublin, the Field Marshal had declared that if, within a given date, the Irish did not volunteer in sufficient numbers for the Army, he would have them fettered. Conscription was in the air and he was sent to apply it to the Irish people. It is wrong to think that the Army man is incapable of insidious methods of trapping the enemy. Sir Henry Wilson has recorded that at a dinner at which he met Mr. Lloyd George and Field Marshal French, the Prime Minister impressed on the Field Marshal the necessity of putting the onus of first shooting on the rebels. The Field Marshal's regime was the darkest in Irish and the blackest in English history. For Ireland it was the darkness before the dawn. For Britain, it was the prelude to DeValera.

The only point of difference between Irish and Indian nationalism is that, while the Irish nationalists believed in and practised violent methods in politics as much as the British, Gandhiji's place at the head of Indian Nationalism is a guarantee that non-violence will continue to be dominant in its counsels. This is an important difference which is not affected by the bureaucratic formula that non-violence is only violence in a more virulent form. There are violent-minded Congressmen as, it may be hoped, there are some non-violent-minded bureaucrats. But the men at the top chiefly count. In the one case they know no other method than violence, while in the other non-violence is held as a religious principle.

A BANDRA DIARY.

"Your letter has touched me deeply. It shows that there is an invisible bond between us which is capable of surviving political differences." Thus wrote Gandhiji from the Frontier Province on the 7th May 1938. The letter to which Gandhiji refers, was written on reading a moving article in the *Harizon* in which Gandhiji declared that he was groping for light and was not finding it. The tone of the article was one of deep depression. I have enough problems of my own and a life prolonged beyond expectation has convinced me that men are best left to grapple with their personal problems without interference even from the kindest motives. But this article of Gandhiji's somehow shook me out of this conviction. I felt that I must write to him offering such help as I could. I pointed out to him that men who dwelt on the heights were always on the brink of deep abysses. Their safety lay in keeping their gaze constantly turned upward, never for a moment downward. I illustrated this with a bit of my own experience. Some thirty years previously I, with my friend, the late Narasingrao Divatia, was going up Jakko in Simla. We did not take the broad road up the hill but a footpath which skirted it. Half way up there was a breach not more than a foot or two in the path. This Divatia easily passed but I who had come to Simla only a day or two before and had not quite got over the effect of the change from the plains, could not cross. I felt paralysed. I could look neither up nor down. My eyes were fixed on the breach. At this moment I saw a small boy grazing sheep at a short distance and called to him. He came, understood my plight, and held out the pole which he had in his hand. That pole itself could not have saved me. But the instant my hand touched it my perplexity vanished and I passed over as if nothing had happened. I narrated this and hoped that my letter might prove to be the shepherd's rod to Gandhiji in his depression.

I am quoting Gandhiji's letter here as it furnishes a good starting-point to explain my political position. A subsidiary reason is that Gandhiji's letter was written on a slip of flimsy hand-made paper in ink which is already fading and I wish to give it the permanence of print. What were the political differences between him and me to which Gandhiji refers? Up till 1920, Gandhiji held the same views as those which I had held from my early manhood. He regarded the British Government not as a foreign Government in the ordinary sense of the term but as a stage and a necessary stage towards self-government. Its ideals were proclaimed in many documents and those ideals were attainable by constitutional methods. My faith in constitutional methods was confirmed by my experience of social reform. K. T. Telang had furnished what was thought at the time a conclusive answer to those who held that the National Congress should have given the first place to social reform in its programme. He maintained that we had to follow the line of least resistance and that it was easier to secure political reforms from the British Government than social reforms from Hindu conservatism. Events have exposed the fallacy of his reasoning. Hindu society was difficult to move but when, once it started moving, it went forward with increasing momentum every day and every hour. In fifty years Hindu society has changed beyond recognition. The reforms which were bitterly opposed, have come to be accepted as of course. The greatest of all and the most fundamental is the education of women. The contrast

between the Hindu attitude to it forty years ago and now, is nothing short of amazing. Whereas in the political field we have got stuck and a complete reversal of aims and methods has been recognised on all hands to be necessary. The social reform movement would not have succeeded if it had followed the policy of non-co-operation. Several Hindus became converts to Christianity in despair of reforming Hindu Society. They have ceased to count as a social force. They have escaped some social difficulties and one hopes that they have not fallen into others, perhaps worse. In any case, Indian Christians have become negligible as a force in national regeneration. They have become a caste without the cohesion and the co-operative force of caste. I received some years ago a letter from an Indian Christian who wanted to know if there was any legal procedure by which the members of an Indian Christian family can constitute themselves into a joint family of the Hindu type. Evidently some at least of the converts have not found the heaven on earth they were promised on baptism. The method of working within the society in which we were born has succeeded in India. It is the method which is best described in the words of Edmund Burke: one must touch the wounds of Society as reverently as the wounds of a parent. The same method I feel will equally prove effective in all including the political sphere. True, that while ties of blood and family affection bound reformers and conservatives in the social sphere, between the British rulers and the Indian people such ties are wholly lacking. More than that, the British look down on Indians as a subject race although the subjection is to themselves and the result of their desire to dominate. There is no common ground on which the two can meet. But there is the common ground of humanity. I think that the method which has given good results in social, will prove equally efficient in the political field, provided we work with the same determination and patience as in the former. Non-co-operation, therefore, did not appeal to me. It repelled me in fact. Moreover, Gandhiji after 1920 completely relinquished his former estimate of British Indian rule and represented and believed it to be a blight upon every phase of India life. On the other hand, while keenly conscious of its failings, I could not shut my eyes to the great mission of emancipation which it has inaugurated in India. The political differences between Gandhiji and myself are traceable to these two: the estimate of British rule and the methods of political reform.

RECLUSE.

GOONDA ADVERTISEMENTS.

Sir,—In your review of Mr. Karaka's book in the *Indian Social Reformer*, you refer to the *Bombay Chronicle* and say that the *Bombay Chronicle* did not refuse publication of the Goonda advertisement of the National War Front. This is a mistake. Through inadvertence this advertisement was published in one or two issues of the *Bombay Chronicle* but later on it was stopped. In any case, after the advertisements were editorially condemned in the *Chronicle*, they were not published.—A READER.

The phrase, "through inadvertence," covers many lapses. We are glad to publish the correction.—EDITOR.

COMMUNISM AND RUSSIAN NATIONALISM.

It is interesting to note the general impression that the resistance offered by all Russia, civilians no less than the army, is due to Communism and the feeling among the people that they have an interest in the country, that they are all one. The cause of this impression is that the enthusiasts have read nothing outside the post-Bolshevik period and have nothing to compare the present with. If they are contradicted, well, the other view is brushed aside beforehand as reactionary. The fact seems to be, however, that at most it can be claimed for Communism in Russia that it has not destroyed, but, on the contrary, preserved undimmed the old Russian spirit. This in itself is no small thing seeing that Communists in other countries have turned their backs on nationalism in seeking light from Moscow. The following extract from Tolstoi's "War and Peace" describing Russia in the days of the Napoleonic War, shows Russia's tradition of resistance:

Strange, indeed, are the official narratives which tell us how this or that king or emperor, having quarrelled with his neighbour, collects an army, fights that of his foe, wins the victory, massacres a few thousand men and appropriates a whole nation of many million souls. And it is certainly difficult to understand why the defeat of an army, that is to say of a hundredth part at most of the whole country's forces, should entail its submission; nevertheless, facts confirm the accuracy of views of the historians. If the army gains a great victory, the rights of the conqueror are at once asserted to the disadvantage of the vanquished; if, on the other hand, it is beaten, the nation behind it, as it were, loses its right in proportion to the check it has suffered, and if it is entirely routed, submits entirely. It has always been so—at least so history tells us—from the earliest times to the present day...But in 1812 the French marched as conquerors into Moscow, and instead of striking a death-blow at the existence of Russia, the outcome was the destruction of their own army of 600,000 men.

The whole course of the invasion of 1812.....proves to a demonstration that, in the first place, a victory does not necessarily lead to conquest—is not even a sure promise of it; and, in the second place, that the power which decides the fate of nations is not inherent in conquerors, armies and battles, but has a quite different source.

French writers have told us that, excepting in the cavalry, the artillery and the baggage-trains, everything in the Grande armee (of Napoleon) was kept in perfect order. They admit that provender was lacking for the horses and beasts, but that for this there was no remedy as the peasants burnt their hay rather than sell it.

Hence it must be inferred that a victory had not its customary results, because the very peasants who, after the departure of the French poured into Moscow to plunder the town—not, it must be said, a proof of any very heroic feeling—preferred burning their fodder to selling it to the invaders, notwithstanding the high price they offered.

Suppose now, that two men are about to fight a duel with swords, by strict rule of fence, and suppose that one of them, finding himself very hard-pressed, throws away his weapon and seizes a club wherewith to defend himself. Though he may, no doubt, have found the simplest means of attaining his end, if his chivalrous feeling still induces him to throw a veil over this breach of established rules, and to maintain that he has fought and conquered in due form, it is easy to see how confused the reports of such a duel are likely to be... The Frenchman is the duellist who insists on the combat taking place with proper formality and courtesy; the Russian is the antagonist who flings away the

sword for the bludgeon; while the reporters, who try to account for the issue on approved principles, are the historians.

In fact, after the evacuation of Smolensk, the war took a course which cannot be accounted for by any received tradition, the burning of the towns and villages, the retreat after each battle, the club hurled at the foe at Borodino, the pursuit by skirmishers, the guerilla warfare, all were out of the place or cognisance of law. Napoleon, who had struck the correct duelist's attitude at Moscow, knew this better than any man and he never ceased complaining of it to Koutouzow and the Czar, in spite of his remonstrances, and of the shame which some high personages may very possibly have felt at seeing the country fight in this fashion, the national bludgeon was lifted, and, without any question as to good taste or correct rule, fell and hammered the French unremittingly, till its stupendous, brute force had utterly crushed the invader.

Happy the nation who, instead of handing the sword hilt to a generous conqueror, boldly seizes the first cudgel that comes to hand, without stopping to think what others would do in the same case, and then never lays it down till rage and revenge have given place to contempt and pity.

These words could with great aptness be applied to conditions in Russia during the present war. In fact, had a war correspondent with the Russian armies begun his career with a despatch composed solely of these passages from Tolstoi, he would have held the attention of his readers.

What then follows from this? If one considers the Bolshevik movement in relation to Russian nationalism in its historical perspective, it clearly shows that it is not Communism which has roused Russian nationalism and given life to it again. Rather might it be said that Russia, hard-pressed in the last war, resorted to Communism to save herself. It was to Russian national life then what the scorched earth policy has been to the Russian peasants. In the immediate result it broke up all that national sentiment could feed on. But national movements are not to be judged by immediate results.

To the peoples at war it is not very material, anxious as they are to finish it, what cause inspires the resistance of the most valiant of the Allied Nations. But to the post-war world, this is a vital fact which has to be seen right. Prejudices, on both sides, prevented the world, in Russia and outside, from seeing the Bolshevik phase as part of Russian history. The thread of continuity, it was thought and felt, had snapped in 1920. That conception was, on the one hand, at the basis of the division between Russia and other nations. It was, on the other, the sap which gave life to the Comintern. The dissolution of the Comintern gives an opportunity for the Allied nations to get out of the mistaken notions of twenty-five years. Will they avail themselves of it? For in the final analysis, it is that which will mark them out from the Axis powers which are still clinging to the illusion.

INDIAN FUNERAL REFORM.

Sir,—The Crematorium built by the Rajkot Social Service League is now getting popular and also the use of the hearse for carrying dead bodies. Rajkot public having recently collected Rs. 2,000/- for the purpose of laying out a Municipal garden at the Crematorium. H. H. The Thakor Saheb of Rajkot has been pleased to add Rs. 8,000/- to the public fund and ordered the public works department of the state to complete the garden without delay.—C. TEJPAL.

MONOGAMY MADE EASY.—II.

(BY KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI, ASKA.)

Neither the Central Samaj at Calcutta nor any other Brahma Samaj has made it an inflexible rule of its constitution and procedure to resort to the SPECIAL MARRIAGE ACT at every Brahma Marriage, and as a matter of fact few Brahmos care to resort to it nowadays. As the venerable writer of "A Bandra Diary" has pointed out in *The Reformer* of 8th May 1943 it is not the fault of the Samaj that it is so. The Special Marriage Act of 1872 was not what the Brahma Samaj asked for. It wanted a Brahma Marriage Act, and what the Government gave was "one for religious vagrants who were not particular about repudiating all religious belief." The amendment of 1923 could be of no greater attraction to Brahmos than to non-Brahmo Hindus because of its compulsory alienation from the joint family and from the Hindu law of succession. "A considerable section of Brahmos," as vouched for by the same venerable writer, "could not therefore subscribe to the declaration of unbelief", or to the alternative of belief in Hindu religion either, and simply "risked future litigation by abstaining from registering their marriages under the Act." There are, however, still a half-hearted few who are old-fashioned enough to fear that a Brahma marriage may not be complete unless it is registered under the Act. But they seek to demonstrate their preferential respect for the Brahma creed and their faith in the legal potency of its marriage ritual by having a Brahma marriage first as it can be conveniently arranged at very short notice and is in any case unavoidable for a religious couple, and then take their own time, extending in some cases to several months or even more, to go before a Marriage Registrar, little suspecting that the faith and creed they professed and sought to emphasise at the earlier Brahma ceremony is practically foresworn and wiped out at the subsequent civil function when they solemnly declare themselves still "unmarried" and as professing the Hindu religion or no religion at all.

There is also legal trouble stored up for their wives and the community by such conscientious men. One has always to beware of rapacious Hindu reversioners who will not scruple to claim property for themselves on a man's death by raking up the question of validity and legitimacy. Even apart from that contingency, the community which is interested in securing for the bride a proper wifely status on the monogamous principle is placed at a woeful disadvantage by these conscientious objectors to the Special Marriage Act. For considering this point we shall assume as beyond doubt that a Brahma marriage is valid by itself, under Hindu law and Brahma custom which cannot but be recognised by our law courts. But will it be a bar to the supercession of the wife by a second marriage of the husband, and can the first wife get her marriage with him dissolved under any circumstances or will she continue to be his wife in point of law however much she may be ill-treated and deserted? What remedy has the Brahma Samaj got in such contingency?

It is now clear from reported cases, that where the same bridegroom and bride go through two forms of marriage each valid by itself, the first valid marriage, be it a civil or a religious one, is the only effective marriage in law and the second, nullity even if it may not amount to the offence of Bigamy. When a Brahma therefore makes it a point of conscience grandly "to take the risk of future litigation" by avoiding Act III of 1872 altogether or seeks to exalt the Brahma

ceremony by performing the Civil marriage later which will be null and void, what he actually does in legal effect is at best to retain in his own hands the Hindu law right of polygamy without conceding to his wife the right to free herself from his marriage tie even if ill-treated and abandoned. At the worst, that is, if a Brahma ceremony effects no valid marriage, the conscientious objector of the heroic type retains even the freedom to deny the legality of the marriage itself and to refuse maintenance to his wife, while the wife of the second type of Brahma alone gets the full benefit of the belated civil marriage though her children, if any, born in the interval between the religious and civil ceremonies will remain legally illegitimate even if the Brahma Samaj may recognise their mother's first marriage as "socially valid."

Luckily, however, although the Brahma Samaj as an organised community has been in existence for over three quarters of a century, not a single case of moral lapse or cruelty to wife in the ranks of the conscientious objectors has come to public notice as yet, and there may be no reason why, even in the post-war era, we should timidly apprehend such misfortunes. Still the Brahma Samaj may have to decide some day whether its earnest desire to maintain its character and justify its claim as a monogamous community is efficiently implemented or made perilously open to frustration by such heroic souls as insist upon boycotting the Special Marriage Act or denying it the seat of honour at their marriage.

The new Hindu Marriage Bill which is awaiting introduction in the Central Legislature has Monogamy for its central principle. While providing for civil marriage as well under its auspices, it also throws open its sacramental marriages to all Hindu dissenters by exempting them from the observance of any of the requisites and ceremonies prescribed as essential for an ordinary Hindu marriage and recognising as valid "the customs or usages of any locality or community to which both the parties belong." We wish it had also made clear by a definition or explanation or illustration that the Brahma Samaj would be regarded as one such privileged community. It cannot be too late to do so even now. But without a move on the part of the Brahma Samaj in that direction any such attempt on others' part would be open to criticism and rebuff from Brahmans themselves. "There may be a remnant of the old generation of Brahmans who repudiate all connection with Hindu society and religion, but the great majority of Brahmans surely do not do so", says the "Bandra Diary" referred to more than once before. This is indeed of happy augury for such rapprochement.

ARMY RECRUITMENT.

In the House of Commons on Thursday, Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, gave the figures for recruitment in the army in India—first according to provinces; and next according to religion. This kind of detailed information is not very wise to give out now but it is necessary, perhaps, because of past mistakes of the same kind. Mr. Amery's figures are very curious. They are for the provinces and Nepal. The full hundred in the cent is divided between the provinces and then an extra eight per cent is thrown in as from Nepal. In the religious groups too, there is no attempt to show the Gurkhas as separate; they are lumped with the Hindus who are 50 per cent; the Muslims are 84, Sikhs 10 and others 6 per cent. There is one question which occurs to us. Why has not Mr. Amery given similar details regarding American troops, British troops with further subdivisions, Australian troops and so on? Why are we not told of the proportion of Indian officers to European in the army and other details of the kind?

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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.

Food Conference Fiasco:—The All India Food Conference which was held in New Delhi early this month to solve the acute problem of shortage of food commodities in several provinces, decided to leave every province to shift for itself. The attempt to bring food supplies under the control of the Central Government which would arrange for an equitable distribution of the stocks available, was resisted by the provinces and was abandoned. The Government of India Act expressly forbids Provincial Governments to pass any law or take any executive action prohibiting or restricting the entry into or export from their province of goods of any class or description. Indeed, this is the chief advantage of Federation, namely, that there will be free movement of trade within the Federation. It is now declared to be within the power of provincial governments to prohibit, restrict or bargain with other provinces for allowing goods to come into or go out of the provinces. We can understand, though we strongly deprecate, a surplus province like Sind standing out for this concession but we utterly fail to see any sense in the Premier of Orissa hailing this as the great achievement of the Food Conference. We have recently seen statements of the deplorable food situation in Orissa and pictures of famished women and children bearing a remote resemblance to human beings in that province. If a free flow of food was anywhere most urgent, one would think that it was in Orissa. The Maharaja of Parlakimedi who occupies the position of Premier, however, seems to think that the abandoning of Free Trade as between provinces is a great blessing. He says that Free Trade would only benefit profiteers. What does it matter to the people if the profiteer is a private person or the provincial government? Sind is reported to have made a profit of a crore of rupees by cornering the surplus food.

And Madras Too:—More surprising than the Maharaja's rejoicing over the abandonment of internal free trade, is the lively gratification expressed by Sir Hugh Hood, Adviser to the Governor of Madras, on his return from the Food Conference. The Maharaja is a big landlord and landlords have never taken kindly to Free Trade, inland or foreign. But Sir Hugh is an English official without any vested interests except as for his pension, in the province where he serves. "The main thing is", Sir Hugh is reported to have said at a Press Conference in

Madras, "that Free Trade was dead and buried and the only obligation for this province was to supply 3500 tons of rice a month to the Army. All other quotas in existence at present were internal, namely, to our own deficit districts." Sir Hugh added that Travancore, Cochin and other similar neighbours were to receive, under the basic plan of the Central Government, their supplies from specified provinces such as the Central Provinces and Sind. That a member of the All India Civil Service who may any day be called to the Central Government, should take this narrow isolationist view, is deplorable. Sir Hugh complained that before restrictions were imposed a few months back, an unlimited export was proceeding to such distant places as Bombay. Perhaps, Sir Hugh is not aware that Bombay is not too distant from Madras to attract over half a lakh of South Indians who are now more or less a permanent part of the population of Bombay and other cities in this province. Matunga is just a replica of Mylapore or Triplicane transplanted in this city. Madras rice imported to Bombay was mostly for the benefit of the South Indian population who are partial to their accustomed diet and habits. If this population had not settled in Bombay, Sir Hugh would have had to find rice for it in Tanjore and Palghat. He also grumbled that Madras had to supply rice to Travancore, Cochin, Ceylon, Mysore, Hyderabad. He seems to overlook the certainty that if rice was not sent to these neighbour States, the immigrants from them to Madras Province would have increased by leaps and bounds; and the Madras Government should prohibit the free movement of the population, large sections of which are Madrases by heredity and culture. There was one point in Sir Hugh's statement with which we agree. The conditions for successful rationing, he said, were not present in Madras and the Government was not, therefore, in a hurry to introduce it there. What is true of Madras is true of the greatest part of the country. Bombay is an exceptional case and has taken kindly to rationing. But there are few other towns which have the same favourable conditions. The Food Conference proposed to introduce rationing in urban areas throughout the country. Surely, other urban areas are not more favourably situated than Madras to attempt rationing with reasonable prospect of success. We have seen that in the judicial part the federal system has already broken down. Now in the sphere of trade we see that there is to be no co-ordination either. Even without the express provision of the law, a Central Government should be able to enforce free trade between provinces by its moral authority alone. The moral authority of an individual or a Government is in inverse ratio to the coercion used. The Government of India have so little of this commodity now that the provinces are able to intimidate it into a dereliction of its essential purpose.

President's Envoy :—It seems that the hopes previously expressed that Mr. William Phillips, personal envoy of President Roosevelt, would be soon returning to India, are not to be realised. Like Col. Louis Johnson, his predecessor, Mr. Phillips will remain in his own country. Another man may or may not be sent out to represent the President. Perhaps not. The reason given for Mr. Phillips' non-return is that the situation in India is a purely military one, whatever that may mean. The danger of invasion is definitely less today than it was when Mr. Phillips was last here. Field Marshal Wavell has doffed his uniform and donned civilian clothes preparatory to his assumption of the Indian Viceroyalty. Reuter is particular to describe the garb in which the Viceroy-Designate appears at different functions. We are told that Lord Wavell appeared in a lounge suit to address a Trades gathering. No doubt these things matter a good deal with the British public. Unfortunately, it is not as easy to change one's mental habits as to change one's clothes. Once a school master, always a school master. Once a soldier, always a soldier ready to obey the word of command. Indians are not so obtuse as the British Premier thinks. Whether the next Viceroy wears a lounge suit or a loin cloth, it is all the same to us. Obviously President Roosevelt has agreed to keep his envoy off India, leaving Mr. Churchill to do his best or worst to solve the Indian deadlock.

Missionaries to the Front :—After waiting for eleven months, some Christian Missionaries have plucked up courage to sign a long-winded memorial to Government to release political prisoners as an act of amnesty. The tone of the document is apologetic and virtually endorses the Government assertion that the detained politicals were responsible for the acts of sabotage and other crimes which broke out after they were well within the four walls of their prison-house. All these months, now fast approaching a year, the missionaries were consenting unto the detention of these men, numbering several hundreds, without trial before a regularly constituted tribunal. Now when no civilised Government can hold these men and women in duress without bringing them before a Court of Justice, these estimable gentlemen come forward with a half-hearted plea which, of course, will be represented as having brought about whatever next step the Government may decide to take. For our own part, we are sure that the memorandum of the missionaries would not and should not count one way or the other in the further steps which Government must take. Simultaneously Delhi correspondents are flying kites about Gandhiji having written to the Viceroy recanting his past actions and praying to be allowed to meet his Congress colleagues. The men should be either tried and their guilt established or they should be set free with an expression of regret on the part of Government for shutting them up on mere suspicion. Mr. Amery has already declared that there is no charge of collusion with the enemy on the part of the Congress leaders. After Madame Chiang Kai-Shek's outspoken declaration in Washington it would have been ridiculous if he had not done that.

Sir Sultan Ahmed in Bombay :—On Thursday July 15, a curious social function was held at the Taj when Mr. A. S. Bokhari, Controller of Broadcasting, was "At Home" to Sir Sultan Ahmed, Member for Broadcasting and Information in the Government of India. Sir Sultan Ahmed was in Bombay in connection with the Standing Committee meeting of the Editors' Conference. Mr. Bokhari came to Bombay, presumably in connection with Sir Sultan Ahmed. Mr. Bokhari's presence in Bombay during the Stand-

ing Committee session had no relevance to the business of the Editors' Conference. But it is rumoured that Sir Sultan Ahmed's reorganisation plans have chiefly to do with All India Radio, and that for some strange reason Bombay has been chosen for a discussion between the Controller of Broadcasting and the Broadcasting Member instead of Delhi which is the official headquarters of All India Radio. However, advantage was taken of the auspicious coincidence, to throw an At Home at which invitees were given an opportunity by Mr. Bokhari to meet Sir Sultan Ahmed. Members of the Editors' Conference and the Newspaper Society attended. The fact that both Sir Sultan Ahmed and Mr. Bokhari are coming down from Delhi, and the bulk of the other guests from other parts of India, makes the Bombay At Home a trifle ludicrous, and it cannot be regarded as a local function at all. It can either be a function to make All India Radio more popular; or it can be simply a personal party given by Mr. Bokhari. If it was the first, it would have been more seemly had Sir Sultan Ahmed given the At Home to the President and Standing Committee members of the Editors' Conference. Even in the present chaotic unconstitutional state of affairs, the Hon. Member should be the link between the people and his department, not the official head of the department the link between him and the people. Even Mr. Amery who felt that there were no Indians fit enough or able enough to be appointed to the portfolios of Finance, Home and War Transport, has vouched for the representative character of the eminent gentlemen whom he had selected for the Viceroy's Council. The greater part of the invitees, we learn, was from the press and among them, again, the Standing Committee members who are twenty-eight predominated. There is the official order limiting parties to fifty, which leaves very little for outsiders. The Standing Committee which had assembled in Bombay of set purpose to discuss their problems and had invited Sir Sultan Ahmed, needed no assistance from Mr. Bokhari to "meet" Sir Sultan at the end of a two-day session. Therefore, the only tenable ground is that the At Home was given as a purely personal function by Mr. Bokhari to enable some friends of his to meet Sir Sultan. This looks rather far-fetched because it is quite likely that Mr. Bokhari does not know some of the many invitees to his party. But, even if it is accepted as the true explanation, the larger issue is raised, whether it is proper for a Government official to entertain publicly an Executive Councillor, particularly the one who is at the head of his department. There can be no two opinions about the impropriety of such functions and a healthy convention should be established against the practice.

Bengal Governor Indicted :—Mr. Fazlul Huq, lately Premier of Bengal, presented to the Provincial Legislative Assembly a formidable indictment of the Governor for ignoring and even overriding the decisions of Ministers where they had the right to take decisions and generally acting with scant regard to his Instrument of Instructions. Owing to the enforced resignation of the Huq Cabinet certain parts of the budget for the current year could not be passed by the Bengal Legislature. The Nazimuddin Ministry brought up for sanction these at the first sitting of the Legislative Assembly after their assuming office. But on a point of order the Speaker refused to allow them to be introduced. It is stated that the Governor has asked the Secretary of State for India for instructions as to how to get over his constitutional impasse.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, July 17, 1943.

THE PRESS AND THE GOVERNMENT.

Speaking to the Standing Committee of the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference on Thursday, Sir Sultan Ahmed, the Member for Information and Broadcasting in the Government of India, outlined his publicity plans. In the course of his speech, he gave his hearers the benefit of his opinions on the relations between the press and the Government. The speech was broadcast and has been published in all the newspapers. The first striking point in Sir Sultan Ahmed's picture of Government-Press relations, is the idea he seems to have firmly in his mind that there is already freedom of the press. Supplementary to this is his exoneration of his department. He was, he said, surprised not that there had been mistakes but that so few mistakes had been committed. The Press knows now where it stands. It was hardly necessary for Sir Sultan to add that he wanted the Press to discharge the responsibilities which the freedom it enjoyed, entailed. The new Information Member's term of office is, it is not unfair to infer from this, to be devoted to seeing that the press does this. For the rest, Sir Sultan offered to be watchful of the liberties of the press. They were not any more apparently to be the concern of the Editors' Conference. This naive sentiment which does credit to Sir Sultan Ahmed's heart, is unfortunately based on an altogether wrong theory of the duties of the Press and of its relations with the Government. All this, in spite of his pathetic desire to show that his department was different from that of Dr. Goebbels, is rank Goebbelism more blatant than anything that the Reichs Propaganda Minister ever put out. If Sir Sultan meant to be reassuring, he has chosen the wrong way.

In effect Sir Sultan asked for a price to be paid by the Indian press in exchange for the doubtful benefit of having him as its watchdog. As worded that price was support of the war effort and opposition to the Axis. But the price is really support of the repressive, negative policy of the present Government of India. The anxiety of Government to get as many pledges of good faith from the Press as possible goes with the policy of restrictions on the Press. If it is madness there is method in it. The Home Department places the restrictions, the Information Member or if none is there the Chief Press Adviser asks for an assurance, and the Press loses more ground. That Sir Sultan Ahmed was able to breathe unction into his words, means merely that he wished to convince wider audiences than the one immediately before him of his earnestness and, perhaps, himself too that he will stay in office in comparative permanence. His vehemence which went far beyond the needs of the occasion, is also not characteristic. For as Law Member Sir Sultan was less obtrusive and had even built a name for solidity.

The new Information Member has been indiscreet with a vengeance. The relations between Government and the Press had just settled down to a little quiet. The problems had become problems of routine, disposed off between the Chief Press Adviser and the Special Press Advisers and the Advisory Committees. He has now stirred up the waters and he has only himself to thank if he finds them muddied. The press has had many grievances but they bore them good-humouredly, in the consciousness that in any free discussion they

got the better of the argument. The editors did not concern themselves with Government publicity and propaganda and generally Government propaganda did not obtrude on journalism. All this is changed. Sir Sultan has gone into the working of his department and he has found it good. It is, he says, even being copied in Washington. He omitted to say whether by the U. S. Government or by the Indian Government's publicity office there. And he has asked the Press to constitute itself into a weapon of his department.

Sir Sultan Ahmed's reference to Crewe House and to truth was very unfortunate. There is a good deal of information about Crewe House which is available to the public and it is not very flattering to any propagandist. Mr. R. S. Lambert, editor of the *Listener*, has something to say about Crewe House in 'Propaganda' (Discussion Book), which Sir Sultan Ahmed might read with benefit. He writes—this is of the last war—on British propaganda:

To quote from 'The Secrets of Crewe House,' First of all axioms of propaganda is that only truthful statements be made. But this actually means little more than that allied propaganda realized the value of apparent veracity. The only sin in propaganda is to be found out in disseminating inaccuracies or falsehoods. But among the methods admittedly resorted to in British propaganda were the sending to neutral newspapers in Switzerland and Scandinavia of "London letters," purporting to be written with a pro-German flavour, but actually containing pro-allied propaganda. The German papers...actually printed these letters as genuine..... Since much of the allied propaganda was based upon giving publicity to statements of allied policy which were afterwards not carried out, the propaganda itself, though accurate in a secondary sense, was in a primary sense misleading, since it was based on false undertakings.

However, the propaganda with which Sir Sultan's work is concerned is not propaganda directed against the enemy but on the people of this country. Of this Mr. Lambert observes:

As Lord Ponsonby has pointed out, "A Government which had embarked on the hazardous and terrible enterprise of War must at the outset present a one-sided case in justification of its action, and cannot admit in any particular whatever the smallest degree of right or reason on the part of the people it has made up its mind to fight. Facts must be distorted, relevant circumstances concealed, and a picture presented which by its crude colouring will persuade the ignorant people that their Government is blameless, their cause is righteous, and that the indisputable wickedness of the enemy has been proved beyond question." Under a democracy more explanation has to be given than under an autocracy. Allied governments concentrated on propaganda at the outset for home consumption. In Britain, above all, propaganda was necessary for the stimulation of recruiting—a motive which rapidly impaired standards of truth and impartiality, and encouraged falsehood.

Seeing how India declared war, these remarks have an added force now and here. It is for reasons like these that the impression is widespread that "the voice of the people cannot be the voice of God if it is an echo of State propaganda."

There was a reference to the success of the Government's propaganda as revealed by several criticisms made to Sir Sultan that there was none today. It is obvious from what quarters these criticisms come and, though Sir Sultan's inference betrays considerable simplicity of thought, it is refreshing to know that he is not going to be a victim of those who are seeking fresh worlds to conquer. Sir Sultan continued that it would defeat the purpose

of propaganda if the achievements made by it were disclosed for the sake of a temporary gratification. Here Dr. Goebbels has the advantage over him. For Sir Sultan will find in books like the "End of Economic Man" that the Nazi Propaganda Minister has even told his people that what he was about to say was not correct. And he has been cheered as he said it. There is reason and sound common sense in distrusting secret propaganda. Sir Sultan said that he would not shout from the housetops the methods used. But he did tell the world on Thursday. The trouble now is that even innocent stuff will be suspect. It was a tactless blunder. There is something to be said for a full and frank disclosure. But half-confessions are always dangerous.

Sir Sultan announced his intention to take up seven editors on his publicity committee. In his reply the President of the Conference requested Sir Sultan to leave the editors out of the Publicity Committee. This was a wise request. The Press in any country, and more so in India, has a long continuity. It has greater interests than any government. The publicity needs of any government are often dictated by short-range interests of the present Government of India, always. The Press should not get mixed up with those interests. It was the more surprising, therefore, that Sir Sultan Ahmed revealed in a second speech that Mr. K. Srinivasan had already accepted a seat on the Publicity Committee. In view of this fact, we find it hard to understand the request to be left out. Apparently there was no very deep principle behind it. The speech made by Mr. K. Srinivasan, President of the Editors Conference, in reply to Sir Sultan Ahmed's address, revealed the main disadvantage which an Information Member who is the least stable element in the Government of India, labours under. Mr. Srinivasan had the facts all at his finger-tips and he easily shook many of the deeply expressed convictions of Sir Sultan Ahmed. He pointed out that the Information Department had been grossly neglected by the Government of India and that its functions had been usurped by the Home Department. He attacked the line of propaganda taken abroad and denounced the Indian censorship which is the negative side of propaganda. The reference to the Tunisia Day celebrations and the failure of Government to provide paper for the press to bring out special supplements, was somewhat unfortunate as it gave the impression that this was the only obstacle. There are many newspapers which would not have celebrated an African victory in view of the treatment of Indians in the South African Union. There are other reasons. Mr. Srinivasan tended to be idealistic in his attitude towards propaganda when he said that it should never have recourse to distortions of the truth. But it is an error on the right side. His reference to the restraint of the press was a timely hint to Sir Sultan that there had been a great deal of forbearance on the part of the Press. Sir Sultan Ahmed had asked for the cooperation of the Press in exchange for his cooperation. As a gesture, he began badly by having his own speech broadcast while denying that facility to the President's trenchant reply. If Sir Sultan is to attend other functions like this in future, it would be well if the other side makes a point of insisting on this elementary courtesy. They cannot force All India Radio to broadcast their reply but they can exercise compulsion on their distinguished visitor by resisting these ways of "subtle propaganda."

A BANDRA DIARY.

I said last week that the older generation of political-minded Indians did not regard British rule as foreign rule in the ordinary sense of the term. This was the natural consequence of the fact that the British conquest of India was not a conquest in the ordinary sense of that phrase. It was not a conquest like the conquest of Ireland or the Transvaal or Burma. Every rupee of the cost and four-fifths of the troops employed in the establishment of British rule, were Indian. Seeley's view that British rule was established by becoming involved in an internal revolution which was in process, is the right one. The Moghul Empire had collapsed under the weight of its intolerant autocracy under Aurangzeb. The Hindus who were able to throw off the yoke of Delhi, were devoid of the strength and the foresight needed, to rear a new empire on the debris of the Peacock throne. In the words of Mathew Arnold, India was hovering between a world which was dead and a world which was powerless to be born. The founders of the British Indian Empire were not obsessed by any feeling of race superiority. Sir Thomas Munro told a Committee of Parliament that, if civilisation was a matter of exchange, Britain might gain from the import cargo from India. The people of India cared more for their religion and social customs than for politics. The British undertook to protect them and the people were content to let them run the government. This division of functions was unnatural. The political power invaded the economic life and through its economic dominance, the cultural, social and national life. It was the Parsi, Dadabhai Naoroji, who first realised this and focussed attention on the economic drain as the crucial danger of British rule. But even Dadabhai did not consider that the economic evil was inseparable from British rule. He worked to the last, in spite of many disappointments, in the hope that persistent political agitation would result in the elimination of economic exploitation as a factor of the British connection. Gandhiji learnt his first lessons in politics from Dadabhai and to him the poverty of the masses seemed the inevitable consequence of British rule. The industrialists and commercial classes rallied to Gandhiji's call as affording a great opportunity for ousting the British manufacturer and merchant. The ideas of Freedom did not much appeal to them. Help us first to get the foreigner out, said the late Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola the last time I saw him about a year before his death; and then the Indian capitalist will be with you for political freedom. I am not quoting his very words which were a bit more spicy. Mr. Churchill was not altogether wrong when he described the Congress as a movement to oust the British industrialist and merchant by Indians of the same class. But he was wrong in suggesting that there was anything wrong in that.

My attitude to the British Empire was somewhat peculiar. The economic aspect of British rule did not strike me as its most important aspect, as one by which it should be finally judged. I once moved Gokhale to indignant protest by remarking that Dadabhai Naoroji was not an original mind but rather an indiscriminating disciple of the Manchester school. Neither was I wholly content with the goal of colonial self-government as it was called before Dominion status became a part of British political ideology. Forty years ago I told Lovat Fraser, then Editor of the *Times of India*, that in about fifty years an Indian would be Prime Minister of the British Empire. Fraser was a man of ideas and liked to discuss them. He did not laugh at me

as a dreamer but soberly asked what my reasons were for thinking so. I explained that the British had put together without any plan or principle a number of possessions in different parts of the world. They had not the mental equipment needed to unite them in an organic whole. This the Indian had. For ages the search for and the realisation of the unity underlying diversity has been the preoccupation of Indian thinkers. In religion and social life they had framed a pattern for the union of diverse elements in common bonds which were strong without being rigid. They can and will do the same for the British Empire. By helping the Empire they will develop the strength and vision needed to help India to fulfil her own destiny. India would help Britain too to achieve her world mission. Fraser listened to this rigmarole with patience and remarked that there was something in it. To be a Dominion of the British Empire intent on getting the most out of while giving the least to it, is not a worthy end. To remain as at present the concubine, as the clever versifier of the *New Statesman*, Sagittarius, put it, of the British Governor-General for the time being, is intolerable. India can remain in the British fold only if she can help Britain to achieve the great ideals which her history and tradition have proclaimed to the world. Britons have as a nation ceased to believe in these ideas. That is all the more reason why India should bend her energies to their fulfilment. In this task Indians are bound to come in conflict with the British administration in this country. They must face it with courage and fortitude. The idea of separation from the Empire is incompatible with this view. Subhas Bose holding a directly contrary view, was right in getting out of the country and co-operating with the enemies of the British Empire. No subject country has thrown off a foreign yoke without the moral and material support of stronger nations. The only fault I find with Bose is that the Allies he has made are not exactly the Allies who will help him to win and keep Indian independence. I particularly refer to the Germans. Mr. Winston Churchill in a recent address quoted Disraeli's pregnant saying that a people are ruled either by tradition or by force. The Japanese are ruled by tradition and are, therefore not the same type as the Germans who are ruled by force and who will rule India by force. But Japanese tradition will have no meaning in India and, therefore, they too will have to fall back on force. If on no better ground than on that it is better to bear the ills we have than fly to others that we know nought of. Bose's course is, to say the least, foolish.

I read always with pleasure and profit the speeches and writings of Mr. B. J. Wadia. I, therefore, took the liberty of writing to him to request an explanation of a statement, which I understood to mean that caste was worse than slavery, in a recent speech of his reported in the newspapers. I have in my own small way been trying to get the system as it is ended. But neither I nor any other of its critics had thought of comparing caste to slavery. On the other hand, many foreign writers have extolled it as having saved Hindu civilization from dying out like other ancient civilizations. Mr. Wadia has responded promptly to my request and has allowed me to publish his letter. It is reproduced below:

"I do not remember having said, 'caste was worse than slavery,' nor do I know where I have been so reported. Referring to the caste system prevailing in India I did say that the great factor in

human civilization, namely, the sense of man's equality and freedom, was, because of that system absent from ancient India, and that it could not take root among people who formed themselves into exclusive groups which only became more distinct with the passage of time. I also added that the system had to a considerable extent retarded India's progress, because it makes for isolation, as castes are naturally not given to loving one another. It was only from the point of view of our progress towards unity and freedom that I said at the end that the caste system of India was "more pernicious" than the system of slavery known to Greece and Rome. The slave system did not, however, retard the progress towards freedom and unity in Rome, nor did it interfere with the development of the City States of Greece in which the voice of Democracy, namely, Government by the People, was heard for the first time. I agree with you that many English and foreign writers have extolled the caste system as having saved Hindu civilization. I too observed that we were all ready to talk with a large vagueness about the caste system and to ascribe to it all India's troubles, meaning thereby that it had also its good points."

The only comment which I will make at present on Mr. Wadia's letter is that "progress" which in the last century had an almost axiomatic import, has to be reinterpreted in the light of history during the last forty years, of the countries which were its standard-bearers. For myself I confess that I am inclined to think that the effects of caste have never been more pernicious than those of economic classes and nationalism which are responsible for all the bloodshed and misery of our time. I would say in passing that the word "caste" does not express correctly the connotation of the Varnashram. The Parsis in India are a true caste in as much as they are completely isolated in social and spiritual life from the rest of the population. Between the Hindu castes, however, there is a permanent bond in these spheres in which every Hindu moves.

RECLUSE.

MR. S. SINHA AND THE LANGUAGE QUESTION.

There are two contributions on the subject of Hindi in Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha's *Speeches and Writings* (second edition) which illumine the discussion on the subject of making Hindustani the all-India language. The first of these is a minute appended to a report on primary education in Bihar by a primary education sub-committee of an educational reorganization committee. It was in 1931. The question there discussed is in what language is education to be imparted in primary schools in Bihar. The committee recommended education in the child's mother-tongue. Mr. Sinha has made a careful distinction in his minute which is worth noting. Whatever the language used, he says, it should be a literary language. Mr. Sinha points out that, though Hindustani is spoken only by a minority in Bihar, yet it has been accepted as the common literary language there. "Hindustani is not at all," he writes, "the mother tongue of the people of this province. The language spoken by the vast bulk of the people is called by philologists 'Bihari' a group distinct from Bengali and from eastern Hindi. The Bihari language is sub-divided, again by philologists, into three well-known groups known as Maithili, Magadhi and Bhojpuri." In another context Mr. Sinha observes that the Bhojpuri dialect of Bihari is spoken by the majority of people in the commissionerships of Benares and Gorakhpur in the province of Agra. If the bias for education in the mother-tongue was used, says Mr. Sinha, to encourage these numerous

dialects now, where hitherto they had been set aside for the standard forms of Hindi and Urdu, then very soon the homogeneity of population in Bihar would disappear. Therefore, Mr. Sinha asks for the acceptance of Hindustani as the medium of instruction for Bihar, for all those who have in the past accepted it. The qualification is necessary. For, as Mr. Sinha adds, "I have no objection to Bengali children, resident in Bihar, being given education in their language, not because the Bengalis constitute culturally a distinct people in the population of the province, but because they not only possess a distinct language of their own, but also because they have so far been imparted education in their mother tongue."

Rising out of this, there is a curious history of linguistic evolution. Dialects may be set aside in favour of a literary language, not taught in schools. Then even though a dialect may be the language of the greater number of people in a given area, it gives way to another language, which of course must be akin to it, that is taken up as the medium for instruction. Thus the standard forms of Hindi and Urdu had come to be accepted as the common language for Upper India. For by itself Hindi, says Mr. Sinha, is the language of only a part of the United Provinces; whilst, as for Urdu, he cites many Muslim authorities to disprove the theory that it was the language of the camps and bazaars of the conquering army of Musalmans. One authority in fact goes so far as to state, "I have searched histories, diaries and other papers for the name Urdu; but I have been unable to find it mentioned anywhere. As a matter of fact the word Urdu came into use almost suddenly in the middle of the nineteenth century. Wherever this language is mentioned, it is called Hindi or Hindustani." The difficulties of both Urdu and Hindi referred to in these observations are intensified by the tendency, described with much detail by Mr. Sinha, of writers in both languages to go back to the root languages and eschew popular words. Urdu has been drawing more and more from Persian and Arabic until a scholar like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru had to complain of the confusion roused by the importation; while the deliberate introduction of Sanskrit equivalents by Hindi writers for commonly accepted words, set in the rot at the other end. These tendencies by restricting the understandability of the languages, reduce its value as a *lingua franca*, even for Upper India. Hence comes in Hindustani, which in comparison to Hindi and Urdu is not a literary language at all. The two scripts which are in use for these two languages, add to the complications. And Mr. Sinha gets out of the whole futile controversy with a "Plague on both your houses" and turns to Hindustani.

Mr. Sinha hopes that Hindustani will become the medium of expression throughout India. But then in the non-Hindustani areas, like Bengal and the South and Maharashtra and Gujerat, there are other languages, distinct and developed. Children have been taught in these languages in the primary schools. More, some languages which had not been known to have a script, have been provided with one by the missionary worker. Any educationist, and in fact anyone of commonsense, will witness to the futility of language studies with the great majority unless the student has opportunities to use it. The teaching of second languages in the Universities is a faroe. Because to most people the second European language is never needed. The teaching of Hindi in South India will similarly be futile. The South Indian is likely to gain more by learning a language, other than his mother tongue, which is generally

used in his region. Even in Bombay Presidency, there is more scope for Gujerati and Marathi than for Hindi. The throwing in of a few hours of study for examination purposes in some particular language does not bring about even practical or working proficiency in that language. The experiment has been tried and it is not successful in its result.

The purpose of language is, one is apt to forget, expression, getting your ideas across to the other man without rousing side issues. How far has Hindustani succeeded in achieving this object? Within the Congress there have been enthusiasts who have taken up the cause of Hindustani. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself declared that it was a disgrace for an Indian to use a foreign language, English, in talking to other Indians. But Pandit Jawaharlal, when faced with the practical problem of listening to non-Hindustanis speaking Hindustani, once actually appealed to them to speak in English because their efforts at Hindustani were unintelligible to him. This was a noteworthy admission. There is another practical problem which confronts us. Isolation is dead, even in America where it was developed into a policy. For better or worse, we believe better, India is part of the world today as she never was before. For international purposes we must have English. It has been objected that the English prevalent today is defective. That is no reason to give it up. Rather the contrary. If we adopt Hindustani as an interprovincial language, then we must have the next generation learn both English and Hindustani, with equal proficiency, in addition to the mother-tongue, sometimes in addition too to one regional language. Is this not too heavy a burden on the child?

In the end, the claims of Hindustani to be the all India language will rest on its being a living language. If it is that, then it will not attempt to translate foreign, even non-Indian, concepts into Hindustani words but bodily take them over. The attempts to devise a new vocabulary are in direct conflict with its claim to be alive. But the greatest obstacle to its acceptance is, as we pointed out last week, the fact that it is the language of reaction.

CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS MARRIAGE.

Sir,—In an article "Monogamy made Easy II" published in the current issue (July 10) of your paper, the writer has remarked, "It is now clear from reported cases that where the same bridegroom and bride go through two forms of marriage, each valid by itself, the first valid marriage, be it civil or religious one, is the only effective marriage in law and the second, nullity even if it may not amount to the offence of Bigamy." This is not quite clear. It is true if the parties marry under the Special Marriage Act and then go through Vedic rites, the first will be the valid marriage and they will be governed by the Special Marriage Act. But the converse of this is not quite true, i. e. if the parties go through Vedic marriage first and then register their marriage before a Marriage Registrar under the Special Marriage Act, the first Vedic marriage will not be valid and the second form of marriage under the Act will not be nullity as is supposed by the writer. In the first place the Registrar will not even register the marriage of persons who have undergone their marriage with Vedic rites in the first instance unless of course the parties declare before him that their first marriage gone through Vedic rites was void and was merely a faroe. For the supplement to the Bombay Registration Manual (chapter IV) page 49 Departmental Instruction (5) clearly says

"when a religious marriage between the parties has preceded civil marriage a mark to that effect added to the usual declaration that the declarant is unmarried is not objectionable particularly when parties think that the previous religious marriage is void."

Thus in both cases the Special Marriage Act will prevail. The writer should clarify his remarks by discussing the reported cases mentioned by him in his article.

K. B. GAGENDRAGADKAR.

HINDI.

Sir,—You have complained of the childish nationalism of the *Bombay Chronicle* in one of its articles. Your complaint may be right. Your article on "English and Freedom" may not be revealing any "ism" but some of its arguments are certainly petty. The criticisms of *The Indian Social Reformer* are always dignified and insightful and it was not a little surprising that it should stoop to specious reasons to attack Hindi.

Age is not the important argument in favour of Hindi—Hindustani. Most of our languages you, of course, know are allied, they belong to one family and even the Dravidian languages are full of Sanskrit words. Even now Sanskrit is the principal linguistic reservoir for their languages to drink from. The result is, millions of men who have not gone to school understand Hindi—Hindustani. For centuries it has carried with it the idiom of the mediaeval saints. I am a Gujarati and do not want Hindi to encroach on Gujarati. But I cannot be blind to the fact that it is understood by large masses of Indians and is the most near to being the *lingua franca* of India.

You complain that Hindi carries with it the implications of the purdah. Cannot we say that English carries with it the evils of Imperialism and organized christianity?—V. R. TRIVEDI.

The purdah stands for the subordination of women in secular life, while the trend of English literature is towards Freedom. "You cannot argue one into slavery in the English language," Sir Sankaran Nair used to say. Can that be said of Hindi or Sanskrit for that matter?

"MASS AWAKENING."

Sir,—Your remark: "Mr. Mehta might with reason say that he is not pleased with the extent of the awakening," comes very near to the position I took up. I said that there has not been any awakening "properly" so-called; no "real" awakening. I conceded that there were cases of individual awakening. Another point you have made supports my contention made elsewhere that our leadership needs a change for you say, ".....between Gandhiji, Nehru, and Azad the slogan (Quit India) had been robbed of its contents till no one knew what it exactly meant." I am not at all sorry that the 'rebellion' failed. I had elsewhere suggested the organisation of an opposition to it and you yourself had failed to find any fresh cause for it. I am rather glad because I believe that had the Britishers quitted India our country would most certainly have fallen from the frying-pan into the fire—need I say which? I will not pursue the matter further, but thank you for the patience with which you allowed me to have my say.—VEERBAL H. MEHTA.

We published this letter which, frankly, we do not understand at all, because of the writer's promise to drop the subject. We do not say Mr. Veerbal is deliberately confusing things. But clarity of expression can only come with clear thinking.—Editor.

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

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NOTES.

Kashmere Dewanship:—Sir Maharaj Singh who became Dewan of Kashmere four months ago, is reported to have resigned. We are sorry but not surprised. Just after the announcement of his selection but before assuming charge at Srinagar, Sir Maharaj Singh presided over the All India Christian Conference. In his presidential address he rather went out of his way, as the *Reformer* noted at the time, to eulogise Mr. Jinnah and to testify to the strength and representative character of the Muslim League. Now, the one point on which Mr. Jinnah and his League are uncompromising, is that Indian Muslims will never submit to Hindu Raj. Mr. Jinnah, of course, has British India immediately in mind but he has not excluded Indian States from his purview. The ruling house of Kashmere is Hindu and its population largely Muslim. Sir Maharaj Singh with his attitude to the League and its leader will be embarrassed in resisting the overtures of the League to the Muslim subjects of the Maharaja. Sir Gopalaswamy Aiyangar, the late Dewan, had much difficulty in countering outside propaganda and though he succeeded for the time, the danger is still there. In choosing Sir Maharaj Singh's successor His Highness will, no doubt, look beyond the circle of British Indian officials. Public men with first hand knowledge of the deeper currents of national life not only in the political but also in the far more important social and intellectual spheres, are not wanting, from among whom His Highness may make a suitable choice. By the way, Sir Maharaj Singh is not the first Indian Christian to hold the office of Dewan of an Indian State. Sir Joseph Bhore was a successful Dewan of Cochin, and Mr. Thambu Chetty, a Roman Catholic, of Mysore.

New Explanation for Burma Evacuation:—When the public in India and elsewhere is beginning to forget the exodus, more agile than dignified, of the Burma Government on the approach of the Japanese, Sir Reginald Dorman Smith who has pitched his headquarters at Simla, has come forward with an explanation which is not likely to modify the impression created by that event. Sir Reginald suggests that he and his officials wished to and would have remained at their posts but for the order of the War Cabinet which insisted on their quitting. Why the War Cabinet which ordered the Governors of Hongkong and Singapore to stick to their posts to the last, should have followed a different policy in Burma, Sir Dorman does not explain. Nor

does the War Cabinet with whose permission he has, no doubt, issued his fresh and belated statement. He says that the reason why the Burma defence collapsed, was that adequate and timely reinforcements were not despatched. By whom should these have been sent? Someone must be held responsible for the omission. No one so far has been called to account for it. The Indian public has been at a loss to understand what the Governor and his establishment in Simla were doing to justify their existence. It is reported that they are drawing up plans for the development of Burma after it is recovered from the Japanese.

Private Secretary to Viceroy:—Among many curious circumstances attending the choice of Lord Linlithgow's successor, is that the Private Secretary to the future Viceroy had been chosen before it was decided who the Viceroy was to be. One of the Secretaries to the Government of India, Mr. E. M. Jenkins, went or was sent to London some months ago and it was freely mentioned at the time that he would return as Private Secretary to the next Viceroy. This is now confirmed. Perhaps Mr. Jenkins had been consulted about the selection of his chief.

Missionaries and Politics:—At the All Parties Conference held in Delhi during Gandhiji's last fast the Rev. John Mackenzie of Bombay began his remarks supporting the plea for Gandhiji's release with the declaration that Christian Missionaries did not take part in politics. The representation issued last week by some British Christian Missionaries, does not bear out this profession. It is a purely political document, in more senses than one; the arguments advanced in it are those of expediency. The moral issue is studiously evaded. Rather it is conceded in favour of the Government action in detaining hundreds of Indian leaders, some of them of considerable authority in the moral and religious spheres no less than in the political and social, by the plea for amnesty implying that these men have been rightly detained. If it is objected that the British Missionaries did not wish to enter into the right or wrong of the detention, that again was shirking the one issue on which men devoted to religious service may be expected to speak authoritatively. As a matter of fact, Principal Mackenzie's declaration was not correct. British and even other missionaries do take part though generally in an insidious way in politics. There have been and are honourable exceptions. There have been and are also some who do not subscribe to the theory that missionaries should say nothing about doings of authority and who have openly espoused the popular cause. These, of course, have had to pay a price which they have cheerfully paid. The Christianity which Missionaries preach to Orientals is fundamentally different from that which they preach to their own white people at home.

Mr. Amery on Indian Food Situation:—That any statesman with a reputation for clear thinking should advance and that any Parliament with a sense

of responsibility should accept without demur, some of the reasons which Mr. Amery gave in the House of Commons for the acute situation from shortage of food in this country, would be incredible were it not unfortunately true. The Secretary of State's first reason was that the cultivators over wide areas withheld food grains from the market. The largest number of Indian ryots are poor peasants living in thatched sheds. Where do they store the grain which they are supposed to withhold? There may be some big landholders who are doing what Mr. Amery imputes, without a shred of evidence, to cultivators as a class. The second reason is a palpable absurdity. It is that the food shortage is due to the people eating more food than usual! Why? Because of the inflation. This is the first time that inflation has been officially admitted. Until now we have been assured either that there was no inflation or that it was only on an insignificant scale. Even, on a large scale, inflation cannot explain shortage of food. People do not, they cannot, eat more than they normally do because they have acquired more purchasing power. There are millions of people in India who never get a whole meal any day and, if Mr. Amery meant that they were getting a full meal, there may be some sense in his statement. But, unfortunately, the condition of thousands of people in several provinces, does not show that the masses are getting a full meal. People cannot be eating more than usual and at the same time starving more than usual. The only reason, based on fact which Mr. Amery alleged, is deficiency of transport. With the railways making abnormal profits, this reason too is untenable. More of the railway wagons should be spared for the movement of food. The war cannot be won with the population starving over large areas, and even if it be, it will bring no benefit to the victors. The Government measures so far have yielded poor results. We are not impressed by the statistics of fall in the index figures published since this was in type. The last All India Food Conference which was opened by the Viceroy was a fiasco. The Food Member, Sir Azizul Huq's statement was conspicuous for its vagueness. It left each province to fend for itself and for its own part, the Central Government promised definitely only to wage relentless war on private profiteers. The provinces which are shamelessly profiteering, will be left alone. In order apparently to support Mr. Amery's theory, the Government has issued an ordinance prescribing five years imprisonment as penalty for lending money on commodities including bullion. This is a desperate remedy. It is in fact no remedy at all. It will be evaded on a large scale. Bogus sales will be resorted to and the erstwhile lender or his nominees will figure as owners by purchase. Government can fill their jails until there are not enough jails to hold the large number of prisoners committed for offences created by ordinances. But this will not fill empty stomachs. And the jail population will have to be fed.

Milton Speaks :—The Government of India may not heed the Indian press and public. But we hope that they may be inclined to heed the warning voice of Milton :

The hungry sheep look up and are not fed,
But swoll'n with wind and the rank mist they draw
Rot inwardly and foul contagion spread :
Besides what the grim wolf with privy paw
Daily devours apace, and nothing said :
—But that two-handed engine at the door
Stands ready to strike once, and strike no more.

These lines were meant for the nurture of souls but they apply equally to nutrition for body.

Volunteer and Voluntary :—The *Hindustan Times* publishes the text of the Delhi Chief Commissioner's order served on its Press, forfeiting a security already deposited and demanding a fresh security in respect of an article in the Hindi journal, *Hindustan*, printed at the same Press. From a passage quoted from the article in the order it appears that the objectionable element was in the confusion in the writer's mind of "volunteering" with the term "voluntary" in the phrase "voluntary recruitment" as applied to the Indian Army. The *Hindustan* is written in Hindi and, perhaps, the distinction between the two terms is not marked in that language. Volunteering means offering to do a piece of work in the army or in civil life without the stimulus of recruitment, the monetary reward for the service being a secondary matter. "Voluntary" enlistment, on the other hand only means the absence of legal compulsion. In the old days in India and elsewhere it was obligatory on the part of the citizen to give his service without remuneration to repair tanks, to build temples, to make roads, and to do other things contributory to the common good. This custom was denounced as barbarous by Europeans who, however, regard and enforce conscription for military service. Like several old customs, this one is now widely advocated as conscription for social service. The writer in the *Hindustan* seems to think that soldiers if not conscripted are mercenaries, unless they had volunteered without the spur of the necessity of earning a livelihood. In this sense most men from the highest to the lowest are mercenaries whether they are engaged in civil and social work or in military service. The ill odour attaching to the word "mercenary" is purely due to British usage. In American usage such nice distinctions are ignored. A harrister or a doctor in England and in India would feel deeply hurt if he is said to be hired. The proper word is "engaged." In America even eminent counsel like Wendell Willkie would be said to be hired and they would take no offence. It is a matter of convention and custom. The Chief Commissioner being an Englishman is naturally sensitive to subtle shades of meaning but the average Indian sepoy who is normally a peasant or unskilled labourer, does not mind whether his earnings are called, wages or pay. It is due to the Press as much as to the Government that its expressions should be interpreted in a broad and beneficent and not in a sinister sense. We believe that there is a Press Advisory Committee in New Delhi and this point of interpretation could have been easily cleared up by reference to it.

The Late Dr. Sundara Reddy :—By oversight which we greatly regret, *The Reformer* did not notice the death which occurred a month back of Dr. Sundara Reddy. After a brilliant academic career, Dr. Reddy joined the medical profession. He was for many years a Professor in the Madras Medical College and as such earned the respect and affection of his students and colleagues. But it is as a pioneer in social reform that he will be remembered by a large circle of friends. His marriage to the distinguished leader of the Indian women's movement, Dr. Muthulakshmi, was not only the union of two kindred spirits but also a great stimulus to the work of Mrs. Reddy in the Legislature and in public life. He took genuine pride in her work and by his unobtrusive co-operation enabled her to extend it in several useful directions, without interfering with the even course of their happy home life. His death at the age of 74 after a short illness creates a gap in Indian social life. Our best sympathies go forth to the family.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, July 24, 1943.

MR. CHURCHILL'S WORRIES.

The Atlantic Charter, once hailed with enthusiasm, is beginning to appear in a different light to some English politicians as the prospect of victory comes nearer. It was suggested by a Member of the House of Commons on the 14th July that Mr. Churchill should negotiate an amendment of the Atlantic Charter in view of the apprehension in Great Britain that some of its clauses would greatly hamper freedom of action of the United Nations in settling the terms of peace. The clauses which aroused apprehensions were specifically indicated in a question to the Prime Minister. He was asked if he was aware that the first two clauses of the Charter bound the Allies in a way which might be highly perilous when the peace treaty was discussed. Mr. Churchill replied that they had many worse worries than that. The first two clauses of the Atlantic Charter are: (1) Their countries (Britain and the United States) seek no aggrandisement, territorial or other, and (2) They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned. Mr. Churchill has explained that in drawing up this "Declaration of Principles"—the official title of the document—he and President Roosevelt had in mind only the nations of Europe whom the Nazis had subjugated. President Roosevelt himself, on the contrary, has more than once indicated that the Declaration applied, as its terms clearly show, to all nations. The *Reformer* pointed out recently that, in handing over the control of North Africa to General Giraud, the Atlantic Charter had been overlooked. The United States Government has since declared that it does not recognise the Giraud regime in North Africa as the French Government and that it will only recognise the regime established when France is once more a free country. This is probably meant to show that the President has not overlooked the implications of the Atlantic Charter.

What are the dangers which are apprehended from the first two clauses in the peace settlement? When victory was yet doubtful, these dangers did not reveal themselves or were thought worth risking. With victory at hand, they have suddenly disclosed themselves. Mr. Churchill's reply that they had much worse worries than that, adds further to the perplexity. What are these worse, more immediate worries? When Lord Wavell's appointment to the Viceroyalty of India and that of Sir Claude Auchinleck's to succeed him as Commander-in-Chief in India were announced, it was also announced that it was proposed to relieve the Commander-in-Chief, India, of the responsibility for the conduct of operations against Japan and to set up a separate East Asia Command for the purpose. It was added that a further announcement on the subject would be made soon. This further announcement has not been made though it is more than a month since this communique was issued. The decision to relieve the India Commander-in-Chief of responsibility, which we understand to include sending of troops and munitions, for operations against Japan, is a wise decision. America might use India as a base just as Britain is using Iran, Iraq and Egypt as bases. But what about Burma? That seems to be one of the "worse worries" which Mr. Churchill had in mind. Should the Burmese have the right of determining what government they would wish for themselves? Would China agree to leave Burma which is so necessary for her own

defence in the hands of any power but herself? America is taking the leading part in the war against Japan in Burma. Should she not have a say in the disposal of Burma? When it requires many persons to catch a single hare, no one of them can have the sole right to cook and eat it.

TRUTH IN PROPAGANDA.

Gandhiji's contribution to Indian politics has been many-sided. But the central feature of it all is that he has brought, first, political opponents, then the Government itself, to judge him and the political situation by standards he raised. Non-violence and truth have been made into current political coin by Gandhiji. The developments since August 1942 may have failed in their declared objective. They have succeeded in forcing the Government of India to declare its aversion to violence—and that too in the middle of a terrific war. Independence was not condemned as a political goal but the use of violence to achieve it has been denounced by the White Paper, by the official advertisements and by National Front propaganda. Now comes the other plank, Truth. Sir Sultan Ahmed in his speech at the Editors' Conference in Bombay earnestly argued that Government propaganda was built round truth. Mr. K. Srinivasan, the President, also paid a tribute to truth when he said that the press was heartily in agreement with Sir Sultan's theory of linking propaganda to truth. But these platitudes cannot be taken seriously. Does Sir Sultan Ahmed who declared emphatically that this war was worth winning, mean to tell us that, if winning it depended on his suppressing the truth or even circulating an untruth, he would rather lose the war than depart from truth? Mr. Srinivasan has an old-world courtesy about him and probably he did not wish to hurt the feelings of the distinguished visitor. But it would have been more correct and more conducive to healthy relations between press and Government, had he made it clear that the press did realise the limitations suffered by a government, any government, in the pursuit of truth—and specially in wartime—and was prepared to make all allowance for them. After all, the press is interested in ensuring that those Journalists who desire to adhere to truth, are not penalised for doing so. If that is asking for too much, it may at least be conceded that the public be aware of the restrictions placed on the press, so that blame may fall on the right quarter. To place all sorts of checks on the press and then declare that the press is free, is not only to evade responsibility but to damn the press in the eyes of the public. In short, the press only asks the Government to practise truth in its relations with it. So far this has been asking too much.

It is important to see the relations of the Press and the Government in the proper perspective because it is more than possible that the Editors' Conference will in future be more closely linked with the Department of Information. Sir Sultan Ahmed is insistent on having representatives from it on his Publicity Board. If it can make its influence felt even in this purely advisory capacity, its representatives must act as one man. Obviously it will be next to impossible to get Government to be guided by the advice of the Editors' Conference on its publicity. The Conference must, therefore, be the more careful to ensure that it is not represented as approving of a policy it has no material voice in forming. The President in his speech outlined some of the activities of the Government of India in its publicity campaign of which the Press as a whole disapproved. There has been much agitation publicly against the

"goonda" advertisements. If the Standing Committee succeeds in getting the right of electing its representatives on the Publicity Committee, it can see that these views are pressed home. If the members are nominated by Sir Sultan Ahmed, then a heavy strain will be placed on the loyalty of members of the Standing Committee to the Editors' Conference as an organisation. This will be true even if the Standing Committee ratifies the nominations later. A resolution has been adopted by the Standing Committee in regard to the Publicity Board which has not been made public yet. It either accepts the President's lead in his reply to Sir Sultan Ahmed that editors be left out of the Publicity Board, or has set it aside. Very likely Sir Sultan's reference to Mr. Srinivasan having been the first journalist to accept—suggesting by implication that there had been others approached who had also accepted—made the Committee feel that a lost position had to be retrieved. There is no use crying over spilt milk. But it might be mentioned here that the Standing Committee of the Editors' Conference has always insisted on the Government consulting it on all matters affecting Government-Press relations. If the Information Member wanted representative editors on his Board, he should have approached the Standing Committee for their names. Sir Sultan Ahmed is new to the Department. He probably was unaware of this understanding. But what is one to say of the editors who have ignored the Standing Committee? Surely they should have been able to enlighten Sir Sultan Ahmed on this practice. If they have any reason for not consulting the Standing Committee, they should make it public. For the future, it would be well if the Editors' Conference is consulted and kept informed by its members of any step contemplated by them as a measure of co-operation with Government, or non-co-operation. The screws of the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference need tightening. The threat to the organisation lies in the fact that it would seem to be its own top men who have ignored its existence.

A BANDRA DIARY.

Professor P. A. Wadia is an old friend for whom I have great respect. He is an independent-minded man who is not afraid to incur the displeasure of authority or the disfavour of those who claim to represent the masses. My one regret with regard to him has been that he likes to work behind a curtain while the duty of a man of his character and position is frankly to speak out his mind for the benefit of the public. In the matter of Prohibition, for example, Professor Wadia, I have reason to think, did not fall in with the popular Parsi outcry against it. But he did not speak out. That, however, is now old story. I am glad that the Professor has shed his shyness and is coming forward with courageous criticisms of erroneous measures and movements of Government as well as of Indian publicists. I have perused his statement, as President of the Parsi Freedom Group, on the endeavours which are being made to form popular governments while the Congress is banned and Congress leaders are detained without trial in large numbers. I find myself in agreement with Professor Wadia's criticism of the attempts to constitute popular governments in the provinces where Congressmen are in a majority in the Legislative bodies, without their co-operation. The Governments constituted artificially in Sind, Bengal and the North-West Frontier provinces are already in deep water. They are bound to fail in other provinces. But success or failure is not the

main criterion. Politics without principle is sheer brigandage. I do not agree that the Congress represents the whole country. No more does the Muslim League represent all Mahomedans nor the Hindu Mahasabha all Hindus. The British Parliament does not represent all Britons nor the American President and Congress represent all Americans. It is only by convention that these institutions are called representative. If the Congress were not banned and if Congressmen were not in large numbers held in duress by the fiat of the Executive Government, I would have welcomed the endeavour to form popular Governments independently of the Congress, the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha. Constitutionally I detest all party affiliations as detrimental to freedom of thought and conscience. But so long as Congressmen are kept in detention by arbitrary orders, I do not think that it is morally right for any Indian, individual or organisation to assume the responsibility for the unlawful detention of hundreds of fellow-men, some of whom are much my betters in every way.

The Standing Committee of the Editors has trespassed beyond its legitimate limits in passing the resolutions about obscene advertisements and offensive cartoons. Obscenity is a term which has different connotations to different minds. Our Missionary friends regard the Linga, the conventional image of Shiva, as an obscene object. The act of procreation was branded as a sin when immaculate conception was adopted as a creed of the Christian faith. The Hindu view of procreation is totally different. It is regarded as sacred and several sacraments are prescribed for various stages of the growth of the infant in the mother's womb. The late Mr. Jamnalal Bajaj once declared that Congress would not hold a session in Puri unless all the carvings which he considered obscene in the Jagannath temple were cut out. The images carved in Elephanta were defaced as an act of piety by the Portuguese who believed themselves thereby to be securing for themselves a high place in Heaven. Several other instances can be cited to show that obscenity is one of the most difficult ideas to define. Really it reflects the mind of the observer more than a quality of the observed. Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao used to relate a story, which brings out the essentially conventional content of obscenity. As Dewan of Indore he had to preside at a State banquet. He was ultra-orthodox in respect of his meals, which brought him in collision with the group of young reformers to which I belonged. But he was punctilious in the discharge of his official duties and presiding at the banquet was one of them. In the middle of the feasting, the Dewan felt a boot persistently and vigorously treading on his toes. He was bare-footed as was his custom. He turned to his neighbour, a military officer, and asked for an explanation. The officer replied that there were ladies at the table and they were outraged by his use of the word "leg" which was not used in polite society! I have heard of a Collector's wife who fainted when an Indian subordinate walked into the bungalow barefooted. The dress of women nowadays tends more and more to shortness at both ends. It may ultimately come to Gandhiji's loin cloth. The law relating to obscenity is always a trial not so much to the accused as to the magistrate or judge. A young lady student in Lahore wrote to Gandhiji that she had refused to read Keats' poems because one of them had an erotic flavour! Thirteen years ago I came from Karachi to Bombay in a ship. It stood

out some distance from the pier and the passengers, about one hundred and fifty, had to get into an open barge with benches on four sides. A Hindu lady who occupied a central seat, slightly put aside her sari and took her baby to her breast. All eyes were lowered in respect. A giggle from one of the passengers caught my ear. It was from a young Indian woman dressed in imitation of the European. To her a mother feeding her baby in the natural way, was obscene! The Standing Committee resolution is, moreover, an encroachment even as a piece of advice, on the sole discretion of an Editor to judge of the propriety or impropriety of the matter which he publishes subject only to the law of the land. The resolution about Cartoons is an even more unjustifiable encroachment on the freedom of the artist. It is very difficult to say what is offensive and what is not. Of course, every one likes to be represented as being more handsome, wiser and more honest than he is. But the cartoonist is not a portrait painter and all high-placed officials are not exactly Apollos. The cartoonist has his limitations of medium and subject. Some noted politicians owe their eminence to their caricatures. I am familiar with most of the Indian newspapers published in English and I do not as a rule find obscene advertisements in them. The vernacular newspapers, nowadays, are edited by the same class of men as the English papers, and I am sure that they are as careful as they. The only obscene advertisements I have recently seen are some issued by the War Publicity agencies. They will not be affected by the Standing Committee's resolution. Another serious objection to the two resolutions, is that they are likely to convey a totally wrong impression to the public in India and abroad of the moral calibre of Indian journalism.

RECLUSE.

THE PLANCHETTE.

We had thought that the vogue of the planchette, which was great at one time, had passed away for good. We were therefore surprised to see fifty pages of two issues of the Quarterly Journal of the Bangalore *Mythic Society* (of all journals!) filled with the answers of a "Spirit" to questions put to it by three gentlemen of Bangalore some ten years ago. One of the three was an engineer. The other two were chemists. Three other friends, also engineers by profession, attended the sittings which lasted ten days off and on. The language used by both questioners and the Spirit was English, not Urdu, nor Hindi nor Hindustani. This is remarkable as the Spirit which spoke through the planchette disclosed itself as that of a woman of Amritsar. She was murdered by her husband in a fit of jealousy. The Spirit further revealed that the husband after murdering his wife reported his crime to the Police, and "is now somewhere in the Andamans." These facts are easily capable of verification. The Amritsar police and judicial records of the year 1917 when the murder was stated by the Spirit to have been committed, would establish whether it was stating facts. The gentleman who has reported the conversation, claims that his friends who participated in it did so as an "experiment." If so the first thing to do was to verify the personal story told by the Spirit. This does not seem to have occurred to them though the ten years since the experiment, was ample time to carry out a much more protracted enquiry than would have been necessary in this case. The questions put to the medium ranged over a wide field. Indeed, the questioners seem to have credited the Spirit with omniscience. It was the

Spirit itself which declared that it did not know some things or could not answer some questions. In answer to a question if the murdered woman had children, the Spirit replied, "No, it is the worst part of it." The questioner wanted to know why. The answer was, "No rites were performed." The questioner persisted and the Spirit answered, "I was not admitted into our world." He asked "Why do you come to the planchette?" The answer was, "To help humanity." Some hundreds of questions, glancing from heaven to earth and from earth to heaven, were put to the Spirit. The Spirit had told the questioner that it had no flesh and therefore did not need food or sleep. But it seems that the Spirit was subject to fatigue. It did not appear some days and it explained that it was because it was tired or was not disposed to answer questions. "Can you tell us our previous janmas (births)?" the Spirit was asked. "Yes" was the answer and some were given of those present. As regards future births, the Spirit declared its inability as their future births depended on their present actions. But surely their present actions depended on their past. The future can not forget the past and if the Spirit could know the past it must surely know the future. Indeed, past, present and future are but parts of Time which itself is an incident of our fleshly vesture. We lose the sense of Time when we are absorbed in work or thought. A Spirit which has no flesh, can have no sense of time. From the ethereal, the questioners often lapsed into the mundane. The Spirit was asked if it agreed with Gandhiji and Tagore on their views on birth control. The reply was cautious and qualified. The Spirit was asked to compare Mrs. Besant and Mahatma Gandhi. The answer was after the manner of the Grecian oracles.

While materially Gandhiji is unparalleled in the spirit of self-sacrifice, his soul has not attained the state of perfection which Mrs. Besant's has and I repeat that in worldly matters, in mundane purity, Gandhiji is unrivalled while Mrs. Besant is supreme in spiritual attainments.

The Spirit's description of itself is interesting:

I can assume any suitable form but for the sake of uniformity I shall describe roughly. A medium-sized young woman, height five feet two inches, nearly round face, rather huffy (puffy?) cheeks, nose not very prominent, dark eyes, thick eyebrows and heavy mattress of hair. Well, in short, as Milton would say, 'buxom, blithe and debonnaire.'

This type is not native to Amritsar. It is more common in South India. As the Spirit expressed its preference for South Indian temples, the body which it wore was perhaps an exotic in Amritsar. Milton could not have had this type in mind. His buxom beauty was no doubt blue-eyed and had flaxen hair.

SICKNESS INSURANCE.

It is full 16 years since the International Labour Conference adopted a draft convention on the subject of sickness insurance for workers in industry and commerce and domestic servants, and defined the general principles upon which schemes of insurance should be based. However, as in other matters, Government and employers have succeeded hitherto in deferring the application of the convention to Labour in India. The Bombay Textile Labour Inquiry Committee recommended in 1940 the adoption of a scheme of sickness insurance for workers in the textile industry, to start with in Bombay and Ahmedabad; and it put forward tentative proposals which showed how a sound scheme could be taken in hand without imposing an undue burden either on the employers or the

employed or on Government who according to the Committee should necessarily participate in the scheme.

Although the Government of Bombay have shelved the report of the Committee, the Government of India took in hand the question of sickness insurance last year when they placed Prof. B. P. Adarkar on special duty to report on the subject, after conferring with employers' associations, labour organisations and provincial governments. Discussion of the subject has thus assumed practical importance in industrial and labour circles. To such discussion a valuable contribution is made by a recent publication on, "The Problem of Sickness Insurance" by Mr. R. P. Keni. The author who is an officer of the Labour Department of the Government of Bombay, brings to bear on his treatment of the subject, in its practical aspects particularly, knowledge and experience of labour conditions in Bombay Province. But it is not merely in its treatment of the practical aspects of the question of sickness insurance that the publication is helpful. The survey that Mr. Keni makes of the place of sickness insurance in programmes of social security based on a close study of the question, is equally instructive.

The phrase 'social security' has acquired special significance since the publication of the Beveridge Report in England some months back, but to ensure to the people freedom from want is by no means a new ideal placed before the nations of the world for the first time in history. However, as the process of industrialisation goes ahead and the mechanism of production gets increasingly complicated, new problems arise which have to be solved by the adoption of methods which might not have been conceived of when the structure of economic life was simple. It is for this reason that the International Labour Conference expressed the view in 1925 that the protection of workers against risks endangering their livelihood or that of their family could best be attained by means of a system of social insurance granting clearly defined rights to the beneficiaries.

It is Mr. Keni's purpose in this book of his to define these rights in one particular sphere of the factors that endanger a worker's livelihood in old age, unemployment, fatigue, sickness—the last named seems to be the one that merits immediate consideration, as sickness is normally responsible for larger inroads into the average wage-earner's income than any one of the other factors. Once the view is accepted, schemes have to be examined for according protection to the worker by preventing or reducing his loss of income and securing a saving in expenditure on medical aid by some scheme which provides cheap or free medical relief treatment and enables the worker to receive payment regularly during the period of their sickness. In an appendix Mr. Keni gives a summary of the various schemes of sickness insurance that are in operation in 23 different countries, Germany and Austria having been the earliest to have introduced the system. In all these countries a form of insurance is compulsory for the workers; in most of them the State makes contribution and participates actively in conducting them.

Taking the tentative proposals of the Bombay Textile Labour Inquiry Committee as a basis for discussion, Mr. Keni examines various schemes in the light of the general principles anticipated in 1927 by the International Labour Office. The scope of application of a scheme of sickness insurance, the benefits to be allowed under it by way of cash payments, in the shape of medical relief and in other approved forms, the financial resources of the scheme including contributions from various quarters, the machinery for administration—all these aspects of the

question are examined by Mr. Keni scientifically and with a wealth of detail which enhance the value of the publication for the labour worker, the administration and the student of social affairs. All these discussions should help insurance to be introduced, if not all over India and for all industries and occupations, at least for the well-organised large-scale industries in the country. The importance of such schemes arises from the fact that the greater cause of destitution among industrial workers, as the Webbs observed years ago, is sickness.

V. L.

CRISIS IN CLOUDLAND.

Time 1944. Lord Wavell's arrival and the first months of his Viceroyalty have been spent in demilitarising the various phases of Indian life. The Press comes last. The Indian Press Army, created in 1943 in the decline of the Linlithgow regime, has been demobilised. The editors are back in mufti, no longer lieutenant-colonels, and the A. I. N. E. C. is awaiting rebirth. But at the meeting of "Twenty-eight," as the editors choose to call themselves, there is much confusion, and anxiety and intrigue. As the curtain rises, we see them clustered together in the centre of the room, eyeing with bewilderment a single chair and a table planted on the left. Door opens on right and slowly, before the astonished gaze of the Twenty-eight, a second chair is pushed in by distinguished-looking individual whom one recognizes as the leader of the group, the President. A man of extraordinary charm, the President owes his success with his colleagues to the great quality of combining ambidexterity with not letting the right hand know what the left does. The fact that no one stirs to help him as he advances and sets the second chair by the first, makes him, if possible, more pleasant.

President, looking round him with paternal benevolence: Well, gentlemen, here we are again. I am sorry I can't ask you all to be seated. But in a few moments we shall at least know—eh-eh, where we stand. What, no laughter? (*As he ceases, there emerges from the right door a benevolent-looking individual, followed by a saturnine attendant carrying a banner inscribed "Department of Prolificity, Humility, Uncion and Truth."* The President looks apprehensive as both make for the table and he realises there is no chair for him. *But proceeds*) Well, friends, I shall ask the Honorable Member for — P

Hon. Member, smiling beatifically and pointing at the banner, waves his hand airily: Let us dispense with formalities. I take it I am introduced. These long words are tedious. If you wish to refer to the Department over which I have the pleasure to preside, just call it Phut. Well,—

"Other Times" Editor, with dignity and suppressed wrath: May I ask the Member for Phut—laughter—why we have no chairs? Even if we are to be kept standing, is it proper to deny our revered President—laughter from anti-President group as point is rubbed in—a seat? Is this the co-operation that—

Hon. Member, amid voices that clamour this side and that: Let me explain this. In his introductory remarks, your President said a very happy thing. Friends, he said. We are all friends here. Let us try and understand each other's difficulties. The Department has been, as you know, receptive to suggestions. We have three suggestions as to furnishing this room where in future we shall all meet happily and, I hope, frequently. The first is that we furnish it Indian style, with carpets and hookahs complete. The second favours Western furniture as more helpful to discussion. The third is a happy compromise. It emanated, I must confess, from my ingenious friend here of whom you will see more in the days to come. A chair, he said, and a table would meet the situation. He calls it necessities

of life furniture. It was extremely thoughtful of your President to provide a second chair. I thank him. So long as these cordial relations persist, we shall be friends. In view of the close ties that bind us together, I have decided to organise the Press into a Section of the Phut Department, called the Printed Word Section. (*Murmurs all round obviously disapproving.*) I like your spirit, gentlemen. I welcome criticism. But you must hear me out. Why Printed Word? Because I wish to include among my friends all who have anything to say. I am setting up an advisory committee consisting of chosen men from you, a few representatives from the wrapping trade whether it be chocolate-wrappers or cigarette cartons, traders in old newspapers—in short, men from every walk of life. You must give me your co-operation. The Committee will be purely advisory. Mine is the final decision.

President :—If I may say so, Sir, we of the press would rather be left out of this nondescript Committee. (*Consternation depicted among front rank editors at what might follow.*)

Hon. Member :—You may say so. But as the poet said, "Fear wist not to evade as love wist to pursue." How can I do without you? (*Appears visibly moved in contrast to unusual cheerfulness of his standard-bearer.*) My friends, you must not desert me. I must have you on the Committee. And I shall. I am happy to announce that I have overcome your President's objection. He has already agreed to help me. And there are others. (*Cheers as hope revives among audience*) I shall come to you here humbly and as a friend to listen to your complaints on matters of detail. As members of my Committee, you will come to me and together we shall decide questions of policy. Let us not delude ourselves. Post-war reconstruction is more difficult than waging a war. Patriotism is not enough; publicity is also necessary. United we stand; divided you fall.

As the Hon. Member concludes on this lofty note, his standard-bearer produces mysteriously a bag-pipe and plays "God Save the King" with a skill born of much practice. By force of habit, the auditors stand stiffly by whilst the two depart without haste. Confused and excited buzz ensues in the room after their exit. With effortless ease, the President settles down on the table on which he sits cross-legged, indulgently smiling on the group, his face turned slightly to the left. There three members widely differing in appearance, are seen moved by a common purpose—to reach the two chairs. The struggle ends in all three seating themselves a trifle precariously after the President has unobtrusively brought the two chairs near each other.

President : Well, now that is over. Has anyone any suggestions to offer?

First of seated trio : We should choose our representatives on the Committee. Let us stand by our rights. (*Chorus of approval.*)

President : Is that agreed to? (*Shouts of yes.*) I am afraid it will not be accepted by Phut. But we can do this: Let us all elect those whom Phut has nominated. Is that accepted? (*Subdued Support.*) Good.

Suddenly silence falls again as from right comes in once more the standard-bearer. He walks quietly to the table and takes up his banner. Smiling sardonically the while, he picks up H. M.'s hat from under one of the chairs.

Standard-bearer : Sorry, gentlemen—I mean, friends—we had forgotten these behind.

He places hat on the top of the banner and lifts it high with a menacing gesture. Taken aback all standing members fall down on their knees.

Standard-bearer, with dangerous pleasantness : That is not necessary—at least, not now.

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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.

Obituaries on Mussolini:—Mr. Winston Churchill's speech in the House of Commons on the fall of Mussolini, was revealing. He seems confused in the hour of triumph. Italy was going, he said, to suffer unless she surrendered unconditionally. There was a dramatic reference to fire and steel, to scorching the country, and the British Premier roundly denounced the Italian people for having tolerated Mussolini for twenty years. He enunciated the proposition that so far from the change in internal administration affecting the Allied prosecution of the war, the relentless prosecution of the war will be the only pressure used by the Allies to bring the Italian people to choose a suitable government. Having said this, he went on to observe that it would be a grave mistake for the United States and Britain to act so as to break down the whole structure and expression of the Italian State. "We certainly do not seek to reduce Italian life to a condition of chaos and anarchy and find ourselves without any authority to deal with." Mr. Churchill who has proved himself capable of great deeds, failed to tell the Commons how exactly he proposed to achieve this miracle of searing, scarring and blackening Italy from one end to the other and still leaving the country in a state of order. "There can be really no valid defence," said Mr. Churchill, "for any people which allows its freedom and inherent rights to pass out of its own hands." This does not seem to be in consonance with the Atlantic Charter or with the United Nations' promise to free those nations which have passed under Nazi rule. President Roosevelt's line of propaganda is different, though Mr. Churchill made much of the collaboration between the British and U. S. Governments. There the stress is on honourable capitulation. The Vatican is busy with peace moves. In the midst of all this bustle, Sir Sultan Ahmed thought it necessary to add his voice to the general obituaries pronounced over Mussolini and rushed to the mike on Monday night to explain to India the implications of Mussolini's fall. There is dramatic irony in a Member of the Viceroy's "expanded Council" denouncing the unrepresentative character of Mussolini to whose credit it may at least be said that, when his people did not want him, he abdicated. And it is equally curious that Mussolini should be now accused of being power-crazed, when he has shown himself capable of resigning. Possibly it is argued that he had lost the support of his colleagues, even Ciano having voted for the King assuming control. But Mussolini has been

confronted before with political opposition and has dealt with it adequately. If there is one thing which is to Mussolini's credit, it is the fact that he has shown that a dictator can resign. It is also to the credit of the Italians.

Murderous Assault on Mr. Jinnah:—Coming while as yet the mystery of the murder in broad daylight in a public thoroughfare of Mr. Allah Bux, late Premier of Sind, continues to remain unravelled, the news of the murderous attack on Mr. M. A. Jinnah on Monday naturally aroused widespread anxiety. The assailant, Mahomed Rafique, was described as a Khaksar but only a day or two previously the Khaksar organisation was formally dissolved and leading Khaksars have repudiated and strongly condemned the assault as opposed to the principles of the movement. By his personal pluck which even at seventy remains undiminished, Mr. Jinnah warded off the knife aimed at him and the assailant is safely in the hands of the Police. Mr. Jinnah's call to the Muslims to remain calm in the statement which he issued immediately after the assault, has turned out to be superfluous. His regret expressed in the statement that his assailant was a Muslim, was inapt.

Mahasabha Contradictions:—A Monday's morning paper had the news, "In view of the indiscipline displayed by him (Tarak Nath Mukherji), in accepting the office of Minister in defiance of the mandate of the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha, his name has been removed from the roll of members of the Sabha." It had also the news: "Dr. Hemandas Wadhvani, a member of the Hidayatulla Cabinet in Sind, who has specially come to Bombay to bring about a meeting between Mr. V. D. Savarkar and Mr. Jinnah as a preliminary to a League-Sabha understanding, had discussions with Mr. Jinnah for nearly two hours regarding various problems. Dr. Wadhvani had an interview with Mr. Savarkar later in the evening." This paradox is in accord with Mr. Savarkar's declared policy that the Mahasabha should vary its tactics from time to time according to circumstances in the different provinces. At the same time the Mahasabha and its permanent President have repeatedly declared that they stand for an India one and indivisible. The unity of India can be consummated in the political sphere—it is already firmly rooted in the social and cultural spheres—only by steadfastly pursuing a uniform policy based on principle, and not by playing fast and loose in order to secure a temporary gain in a particular province or, worse, by elevating opportunism into a philosophy. That is to say, leaders or those who profess to be leaders, should sternly resist every temptation to think of India and her people except as an organic whole and communal and territorial divisions as parts of it, just as hands and feet are parts of the body and cannot survive the death of the body. The one thing in favour of communal movements is that they tend to override narrow provincialisms. If communal movements

combine with provincialisms, the axe is laid at the root of Indian unity. Dr. Hemandas's tactics will leave the Sind Hindus isolated from the rest of India while the Muslim League will have added to the scalps which it has collected, of persons who profess to speak for Hindudom.

Provincialism and Indian Unity :—But it is not only Mr. Savarkar and his friends who want to eat the cake and have it too. Several Nationalist leaders who proclaim their faith in the organic unity of the country and the importance of maintaining it in order to make the country self-sufficient economically and politically, make the same mistake. The the recent All India Food Conference decided to leave the provinces to settle among themselves how they can dispose of their food production on the most advantageous terms each to itself. For an All India Conference to contemplate this as a solution of the problem daily growing more dangerously acute, is to belie its claim to call itself All India. The parties who are interested in the perpetuation of disunity as the sure means of preventing its growth into nationhood, will naturally welcome and actively promote the deepening of provincialism. They have exploited communal differences and now they have the provincial differences to work upon in the most acute form of a struggle for the means of living. But it is utterly opposed to the idea of India as one and indivisible. India, one and indivisible, means that the woe and weal of one part of the country will be felt as affecting every part of it. So long as the intellectual aspiration for unity is not supported by a moral conviction and an emotional grasp of the idea, Indian unity will be no more than a slogan. Apart from that, the problem of food supply can be dealt with only when we deal with the country as a whole. We referred last week to the express prohibition of inter-provincial trade barriers in the Government of India Act.

Facing Both Ways :—The Government of India is the worst sinner in the contradictions of its food policy. At Hotsprings Conference it participates through its delegation in drawing up plans for pooling the world's food resources and distributing them equitably to all nations. In New Delhi it divides India's food resources into provincial pockets and asks each province to do with its own bit as it likes. Even in this, there has been no consistency. While making the provinces autonomous in dealing with their food resources, the Government by means of daily ordinances is penalising merchants and householders for various acts of omission and commission. The latest ordinance, making advances on commodities punishable with five years' imprisonment, is the climax. *The Reformer* pointed out last week that this is no remedy at all. A London cable to the *Bombay Chronicle* quotes the comment of the *Economist* which likens the Government of India's ordinance to Canute's attempt to stop the waves from touching his chair. It is impossible to think that the financial advisers of the Government of India are insensible to the futility of their attempt. They are driven by inexorable necessity to do something and they do what comes into their heads at the moment. If there is no consistency, there is still less continuity. Mr. N. R. Sarker who was Commerce Member until February, held that the food problem could be dealt with satisfactorily only as an All India problem and then the Government of India took over the responsibility. His successor, Sir Azizul Huq, has completely reversed Mr. Sarker's policy and decided that the provinces are the proper authorities to cope

with the situation. Everyone for itself and the devil take the hindmost, is the order of the day.

Sir Sultan Butts in :—In this medley of confusion and contradiction, Sir Sultan Ahmed, Member for Information in the Government of India, speaking at a meeting of the National War Front in Patna, butted in with a series of pragmatic assertions on the food situation. Here is a sample of Sir Sultan's oratory:

It is a monstrous delusion to believe that the food situation is due to any real shortage of food. It is due to nothing more or less than the fact that our social sense which we believe had sufficiently developed, had either not adequately developed or deteriorated, that people of all classes have allowed their selfish fears or their desire for gain to count for more than the needs of the nation. In this respect the cultivator, the middleman, the speculator and the householder who lay undue stocks, were all blameworthy. (*Searchlight*, Patna, July 21.)

What Sir Sultan was attempting here was to indict the whole Indian people, some forty crores, in order to exculpate the Government of which he is a member, of the charge of having taken the food of the people and having sent it to feed the population of other countries under British occupation. Since Sir Sultan Ahmed launched his thunderbolt in his native city, Government has tacitly admitted the charge by stopping export of rice from India. If, as the Member for Information asserted, the exports had little effect in reducing the food supply in this country, the Government of India must have been moved by an unusual urge to placate public clamour in stopping rice exports. This is not the only instance in which another Department of his Government quietly pricked Sir Sultan's bubbles. Close on the heels of his flamboyant asseverations to the Editors in Bombay, the Chief Commissioner of Delhi clapped a double security on the *Hindustan Press* after forfeiting the one which had already been in deposit. Sir Sultan's way of handling statistics is more robust than convincing. He said that only two per cent of India's food production was exported. When a young woman was charged with infanticide, she pleaded that it was such a small baby. It is the last percentages which determine prices. What is the sense in reclaiming at great cost swamps for cultivation with the slogan "Grow More Food," when, according to the Information Member, there is no real lack of food, only lack of unselfishness in the people? After having charged the people with inadequate development of the social sense, Sir Sultan appealed to those very people for co-operation with the National Front which he also took under his ample wings. Why is the social sense of the people inadequately developed? An elementary principle of jurisprudence is that responsibility rests with those in whom power vests. Sir Sultan knows where power rests and has rested for a century and a half in this country. He is false to his legal training in fastening the responsibility on the people. This is seething Innocence in her mother's milk with a vengeance.

Italian Colonies :—In answer to a question in the House of Commons, the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Antony Eden, stated that the territories held by Italy as colonies before the war, largely in Africa, would not be handed back to Italy in the peace that is to come. The question seems to be somewhat out of place and Mr. Eden would have been discreet if he had expressed his disapproval of any speculation in regard to such matters at the moment. What happens to the Atlantic Charter? Besides, Britain has not only her own wishes to consider in any scheme for redistribution of territories.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, July 31, 1943.

MUSSOLINI AND ITALY.

Once more, as has been aptly said, "the Kaiser departed but the generals remained." On Monday morning the news was broadcast that Benito Mussolini had tendered his resignation and that King Victor Emmanuel had accepted it. Marshal Badoglio had stepped into his shoes and indications of the liquidation of Fascism were eagerly picked up and circulated. By the evening the press and the radio had exhausted their choicest phrases in reviling Mussolini. Yet in many ways Mussolini had during his twenty-one years of power touched heights undreamt of by other European personalities. If Hitler achieved the climax of his power when the Premiers of France and Britain sought him out at Godesberg, Mussolini achieved an even greater triumph when the statesmen of democratic Britain and America addressed frantic and fulsome appeals to him to restrain Hitler and to mediate. He had come under eclipse when Germany entered on its war programme. But it was also an opportunity for him. "Whenever I see an international situation on the horizon," said an earlier Italian statesman, Depretis, nearly fifty years ago, "I open my umbrella and wait till it has passed." Mussolini did not open his umbrella. The fall of France offered too tempting a bait for him and he fell for it. As he reflects on his past in his retirement, Mussolini who has shown himself capable of great political insight, must be seeing too late that Italy's metier is not war. In 1914, he was the great exponent of Italy joining the Allies. On that he broke with his Socialist colleagues. Of the outcome of that war policy Stephen King-Hall writes:—

Italy was bribed to espouse the cause of the Allies by the Secret Treaty of London, in which she was promised colonies in Africa and Asia Minor and the return of "Italia Irredenta" round Trieste and the Trento. At the Peace Conference the victorious Powers resumed their traditional habit of treating Italy as the jackal at the feast.....In the end the Italian delegation returned from Paris empty-handed except for the part of Austria known as the Dolomites and a slice of territory—much smaller than Italy desired—round Trieste, but not one square inch of German territory in Africa. (*Our Own Times*.)

In Italy itself the economic structure had broken down. Italy had suffered, besides, two million men in wounded and a third of that number were killed in war. Yet it was in this confusion that Mussolini rose to power. Had Italy not participated in the second World War, she could have consolidated her empire in Africa—the Italian King had been, before the war, accepted by the "civilised" world as Emperor of Ethiopia and Haile Selassie had gone into the background. And just as Mr. Churchill did not seriously disapprove of Russian adventures against Finland and the Baltic States, he might have looked without disfavour, too, on "local wars" against Albania and Greece. President Roosevelt in fact on the eve of Italy's declaring war, promised Mussolini the same authority and prestige at the peace conference as if he had participated—on the right side? It is perhaps just as well for the post-war world that Mussolini left these flattering appeals unheeded.

The King and Marshal Badoglio between them have achieved the overthrow of Mussolini and of Fascism. For that reason it is worth studying the attitude of the Fascist party to the Italian royal family and to the army. In the early days, Mussolini concentrated

his attack on Liberalism. He had begun, it is true with the indiscreet expression of republican sentiments. But, as power came nearer his grasp, he made his decision. King Victor Emmanuel was distrustful of the Fascists. But a couple of proclamations by the party chiefs allayed his fears—sufficiently, at any rate, to make him refuse the proclamation of martial law in which the last Government of Liberal Italy sought refuge. The "march on Rome" was converted into a demonstration of one hundred thousand Black Shirts who paraded before the King, bringing to him "The homage of Fascist Italy." Then Mussolini set about placating the army. He mentions in his Autobiography that he

discouraged every manifestation on the part of army officers who wanted to bring me their plaudit. I have always considered the army outside and above every kind of politics. The army must, in my opinion, be inspired by absolute and conscientious discipline; it must only attend with the deepest will the defence of frontiers and of historical rights. The army is an institution which must be preserved inviolate. It must not suffer the slightest loss of its integrity in its own dedication.

Before coming to power, Mussolini had used army leaders for his politics. He made sure that the attempt would not be repeated. His first action in coming to power was to dissolve the Quadrumvirate of Generals who, with him as Duce, directed the policies of the Fascists. In his first cabinet, he assured his Minister of War, General Armando Diaz, that he would give him an army worthy of the country.

For the first few years, the Fascist regime was marked by all the signs which totalitarian regimes have shown elsewhere,—liquidation of political opponents, suppression of freedom of press and platform, secret police, education in party politics of even children and an unbalanced emphasis on militarism. In spite of that, however, Mussolini had a constructive side to his programme which drew the admiration of political opponents. Mr. H. N. Brailsford in a series of articles in the *New Statesman* paid generous tribute to Italian colonisation in Africa. In Italy itself, his regime was praised by several tourists who were impressed by the punctuality of trains and the eradication of beggars from the streets. In the constitutional field he derided the Liberals and Socialists and other parties which showed hesitation in wielding power when they held it. And it has now become a classic jibe at democratic parties in pre-Fascist or pre-Nazi times that they were timorous of using power and abdicated to lesser men. The reproach has been proved to be ill-judged. Now in the light of Mussolini's own resignation, it is not so difficult to understand. Little has come through of the reasons that prompted the decision. If the King could have brought it about, Mussolini would have resigned earlier. If Marshal Badoglio could have removed him, he would have not have waited so long. It is possible that it was the force of public opinion, so long derided by Mussolini. The appeal in the Badoglio proclamation to the public to avoid recriminations suggests this. But even that does not seem to be the whole story. These may explain why Mussolini was forced to withdraw; but not why he was induced to resign. The raids on Sicily and other centres in Italy very probably persuaded him that the end for Italy was not so far off and that it was disaster. Probably too he wished to save something for his people out of the wreckage. For, unlike the majority of post-war dictators, Mussolini was himself a native of the country which he governed.

THE INDEX NUMBER.

Mr. N. R. Sarker, late Commerce Member of the Government of India, in a comprehensive statement issued soon after taking office last year said that the absence of reliable statistics was hampering efforts to devise right policies, and foreshadowed the setting up of suitable machinery to remedy this drawback. The same complaint is repeated in the first number of the *Indian Labour Gazette* which the Labour Department of the Government of India has started, with reference to statistics for industrial workers who form a small and compact class. Incidentally, we would suggest to Dr. Amedbkar that it is high time that the artificial distinction between industrial workers and agricultural workers who are the great majority, should be done away with, particularly as in India the man who works in factories is able to fall back on his field when there is unemployment through trade depression, strikes or lockouts. Even as regards the limited field of industrial labour, the *Labour Gazette* points out that there is a great deal of variety in the scope and method of constructing cost of living index numbers as between different parts of the country. In spite of these defects the index numbers for India have a value as indicating broadly the economic trends as they develop from time to time, in the natural course of events. But index figures artificially brought about by Ordinances have no significance whatever as sign-posts in the country's economic life. Such are avowedly the index figures issued last week by the Government of India, in a communique dated July 21. It runs:

For the first time in 1943, the index numbers of wholesale prices of commodities by groups of articles, Calcutta and all-India, have not shown their progressive upward trend but have actually declined.

The Calcutta index number for all commodities, after steadily advancing from 250 (base July 1914-100) in January to 325 in May, declined to 319 in June. The all-India index (Economic Adviser's number; base, week ended August 19, 1939-100) progressively rose from 190 in January to 248 in the middle of June; thereafter there was a weekly drop, the figure for the week ended July 10, 1943, (latest period available) being 238. In Calcutta, as compared with May, June registered the following declines: cereals from 473 to 447, pulses from 374 to 365, tea from 192 to 130, wool and silk from 262 to 220 and metals from 354 to 342. Thus there has been an appreciable fall in the index numbers of food grains. "Other food" articles, on the other hand, showed a rise from 545 to 565. Between the middle of June and the week ended July 10, the all-India index number of the food group declined from 308 to 293. Taking all primary commodities together, the decline amounted to seven points, from 240 to 233. Cloth declined from 318 to 491. All manufactured articles showed a drop of six points, from 268 to 260. The period in which the above decline took place, saw the promulgation of a series of anti-inflationary measures by the Government of India and of the Cloth Control Order.

The communique gives the index number only for Calcutta. The *Indian Labour Gazette* does not include Calcutta in the list of centres for which numbers are being published at present in various provinces. Nor does Calcutta appear as one of the Indian cities for which similar figures are given in the tables in the *International Labour Review* published by the International Labour Office now functioning from Canada. The *Labour Gazette* publishes a scheme for collecting and dealing with All-India statistics which was formulated three months back but that is hardly likely to have come into operation yet. The *Labour Gazette* itself observes that the scheme must necessarily take some time before its results become available as a guide for practical action. According to the communique,

however, the scheme is in operation and producing results. Government wanted to show that their anti-inflation measures are effective and they have been in too great haste to avail themselves of the services of the infant organisation. An ordinance declaring that index numbers will be deemed to have fallen to the base level, whether that be 1914, 1927 or 1939, would have been equally convincing and would have saved the trouble of setting up a new bureau not to mention its cost which, of course, does not count in these days.

Index numbers are used to indicate changes in the value of money and not, as popularly understood, the quantities of commodities. Hence it is possible that the Calcutta index number may disclose a fall even more considerable than that shown in the communique and yet the people of Bengal may be suffering the condition described in the moving appeal which we publish today from Swami Sambhuddananda of the Bombay branch of the Ramakrishna Mission, which we cordially commend to the public.

The only country in the war whose index numbers are higher than those of India, is China which is under a blockade. There is no blockade of India but we are suffering many of its consequences.

FRIEND OF FRIEND.*

Nearly one month after this book was received, the Red Cross Committee of India wrote requesting that it may be mentioned in reviewing it that, though the Red Cross has accepted the author's offer to make over all profits from its sale to that organisation, it "is not able to sponsor a book of this nature, the contents of which do not in any way deal with matters connected with its activities." It is not altogether right to say that there is nothing in the book which the Red Cross can sponsor. There is, for instance, a striking incident in connection with the Quetta earthquake which the author mentions and which is obviously within the purview of the Red Cross. The Bishop of Lahore who had gone to Quetta to help in the relief work, appealed to the author Sir Colin Garbett who was in Multan, some hundreds of miles away, asking urgently for sixty sweepers, a hundred beds and fifty lanterns. Sir Colin's knowledge of the ways of Indian merchants helped him to respond to this call. One of the rich men of Multan had celebrated his son's marriage. This Hindu businessman called on the Deputy Commissioner to pay his respects when the officer was racking his brains to find money to meet the Bishop's call. Sir Colin here interpolates a remark that Indian businessmen kept two sets of account, one for the Income Tax Department and the other for their personal use. Sir Colin enquired how much money the Shettia spent on his son's marriage and if the sum set apart for religious and charitable objects had been disposed of. The visitor thought that he might with the help of his friends find enough money for the sweepers, beds and lanterns, and within twenty-four hours of the Bishop's call these were on their way to Quetta. This instance is typical of the personal and individual methods which, it is the central purpose of the book to show, are more expeditious and effective than official routine. Although Sir Colin now and again refers to the advantages of his legal training, he is distinctly of the view common among his class that judges are unnecessary fifth wheels in the administrative coach which can be smoothly run by personal contacts, with the police and revenue officials in the background. Sir Colin's

dislike of Congress and all political movements are equally prominent in this book. The general impression one gets from the book is that, though the author joined the Civil Service in the first decade of this century, his predilections are all for the Anglo-Indian official of the East India days who dispensed justice in his shirt-sleeves under a spreading banyan tree. He is thus an anachronism and the book itself is an anachronism. It is far less interesting than Sir Bamfylde Fuller's *Reminiscences*, partly because Sir Colin never rose above the rank of Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government.

Sir Colin's account of his contribution to Miss Katherine Mayo's "Mother India" is interesting and confirms the common belief that her Indian tour was sponsored by high officials. On receiving a telegram from Sir Malcolm Hailey, then Governor of the Punjab, Sir Colin met Miss Mayo and her companion, Miss Newell, at a wayside station. The full account is too lengthy to be reprinted but the concluding passage throws new light on Miss Mayo's object in undertaking her Indian tour. Sir Colin himself remarks that it is curious that in all the clamour that greeted the publication of "Mother India" the vital point of motive has been entirely forgotten, if ever known. He quotes Miss Mayo's words :

I am not an ordinary globe-trotter or a novelist hoping in a few weeks tour to write a romance of Indian life; nor am I come with a mission to praise or blame the Indian people or the British administration. I am concerned only with America and American politics.

German propagandists had exploited the Irish question to create anti-British feeling in America. That was no longer in issue. They had fastened on India. Saints and Swamis from India were gaining influence in the United States even among church people. Miss Mayo continued :

I am using my personal influence and my reputation as a publicist nominally to report on a matter of public health—ought the quarantine regulations to be tightened or can be relaxed. But that is camouflage. What I do want to find out is the truth, and so to present it to my people that they may realize the justice or injustice of the denunciations of your rule in India, which the Germans in particular are outpouring directly and indirectly through agencies that have no suspicion that they are being used.

Sir Colin's belief that Miss Katherine Mayo's motive was not understood by her critics in India, is due to the closed circle in which he lived and moved in the Punjab.

A BAD PRECEDENT.

Sir,—I am glad that *The Reformer* has pointed out the impropriety of the At Home given by Mr. Bokhari, the Controller of Broadcasting, to the Hon. Sir Sultan Ahmed, the Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council in charge of the Broadcasting Department. Apart from the other obvious anomalies which you have pointed out, you have done a service to Heads of Departments who may not enjoy the same affluence as the present Controller of Broadcasting. It is easy to see how, if this is allowed to become a precedent, it must prove highly embarrassing to persons who cannot afford or are temperamentally averse to such extra-official, inter-departmental courtesies.—SCRUTATOR.

T. SUNDARA REDDI.

(Contributed.)

The life and work of the late Dr. T. Sundara Reddi have some precious lessons for the youth of India today which it would be a pity not to recall now that he has passed away.

Sir. C. R. Reddi, life-long friend of the late Dr. Reddi, has now aptly written, "He was an unostentatious patriot, a great and good man who shunned publicity, and a social worker who was silent."

Dr. Sundara Reddi, in his 19th year, when a student in the Junior Intermediate class, refused to marry an imposed bride selected by rich relations under whose care he was. He went out into the world with almost nothing in his pocket, except his railway ticket to Bangalore. In Bangalore, he, a boy from a rich and wellknown family, took up the job as time-keeper in a mill on a salary of Rs. 8/- a month. The European Manager of the mill quickly discovered his ability and character and made him a personal clerk on Rs. 25/- a month.

The young man's spirit of adventure made him face the unknown world again and, after much hardship, he won a Mysore Government's scholarship which took him to Madras to join the L. M. S. course—Rs. 8/- a month. He spent four years in Madras and took his L. M. S. Diploma. His relatives tried often to tempt him back to the comfort of the old home and to the arranged marriage, but with no success. After five years as Hospital Assistant he took a loan and went to England where after four years he took the L. R. C. P. & S., L. F. P. S. and F. R. C. S. degrees. He was the first Indian from the South to take the F. R. C. S. degree and won high distinction in England for his operative surgery. On his return from England he first became a lecturer in Anatomy in the Vizag Medical School, then Chief Medical Officer of the Pudukotah State, and then was at the Madras Medical College first as assistant professor and then as Professor of Anatomy for eleven years till he retired in 1931. As a Professor he was a brilliant teacher and stern disciplinarian.

It was while he was Chief Medical Officer in the Pudukotah State that he married Dr. Muthulakshmi who, on her side, had the distinction of being the first woman to take the M. B. C. M. Degree in Madras. She was a woman fired with the spirit of social service. It was thus a true marriage of souls and out of it has come all that have made their lives so significant to us.

Dr. Reddi became a champion of the rights and freedom of women even in his youth and long before he married Dr. Muthulakshmi who is today one of the outstanding leaders of Indian's woman movement. While he was still in Government service and when his wife took a plunge into politics, he told his superior officer who wanted him to curb his wife's political activities, "My wife is a free and responsible woman. It is impossible for me to interfere with her."

Even as a young lad he fought against every kind of social tyranny. He befriended the Harijan and treated him as an equal. He fought against every kind of caste superiority. He hated hypocrisy and was often frank to the point of rudeness.

Though a nationalist and patriot he was never narrow or intolerant. His sons still remember how he once ordered a well-known man out of his room in an angry voice for saying that most European women are immoral.

In the Anatomy room of the Medical College he always taught the Mantram, "Devotion to duty is my religion." It was a favourite saying of his that

the service of man alone is the service of God. He was a great devotee of Shri Ramakrishna Paramahansa and the teachings of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda constituted his Veda. During his last days of illness he continually refreshed his spirit in those rich wells of their utterances. He always translated his religion into practice and that was why he laboured hard with Dr. Muthulakshmi in building up the Avvai Ashram which today has grown into a first class institution sheltering numerous orphan children and destitute women of all castes and creeds. During his last days he was planning to build up a Rural Medical Mission outside Adyar. He and Dr. Muthulakshmi had purchased the land needed and were making plans when he passed away. According to his wish he was cremated on this very land and it is now Dr. Muthulakshmi's dream to build up a Rural Maternity Home over the ashes of the man whose heart had always gone out to the poor in their sufferings.

OBSCENE ADVERTISEMENTS.

Sir,—With reference to the comments of 'Recluse' in your last issue (Bandra Diary) in connection with the Editor's Conference Resolution about obscene advertisements, I beg to state some facts with which I am concerned.

Some women friends and myself had been thinking about some advertisements appearing mostly in vernacular papers about "Birth Control". Each and every one stated that these medicines were likely to result in abortions and so should not be taken by pregnant women—thereby hinting *definitely* that they could be used for such a purpose. We learnt from doctors that their use was made by women to get rid of unwanted children which resulted in shattering the health of many women. Moreover, the doctors told us that to their knowledge there was no medicine to be taken orally to *prevent* conception. Thus all remedies going under the name of "Birth Control" were measures for abortion. These facts made us request the Editors to put a stop to such advertisements. So far as our request goes, there was no mention about obscene advertisements. But I know that Women's Associations formerly did make request to stop such advertisements. I do not know how our new request was mixed up with the old and only the old part was brought before the Conference.

With regard to the standards of decency and obscenity, with due respect to 'Recluse' I may mention that, inspite of instances quoted by him, there is such a thing as decency absolute and it is not always relative. One must admit that standards of decency vary according to age and country. Still there are matters which are considered not decent by all people in all ages. So, a line has to be drawn somewhere.

As regards taking away the prerogative of Editors, I may point out that managers of large papers cannot attend to minute details though the responsibility is theirs. Moreover, such papers have separate Advertisement Departments which are chiefly concerned with financial gain.

As regards lowering the Newspapers in the estimation of Indian and outside public, I beg to submit that the harm caused to the number of women by taking the help of quacks weighs far greater to my mind, and why should we fight shy of plain truths?—VIDYAGAURI R. NILKANTH,

A BANDRA DIARY.

In last week's diary I referred to the difficulty of defining the word "obscenity" in commenting on the resolution of the Standing Committee of Editors' Conference. The very next day a striking illustration of the difficulty came to my notice. One of the important daily papers, edited by a very prominent member of the Committee, published an advertisement which I consider to be obscene. The Editor, a Member of the Standing Committee, however, must have thought it innocent, otherwise he would not have allowed it in his columns. I can not contemplate the alternative that he also regarded it as I did and allowed it notwithstanding the resolution of the Committee passed less than a week previously. I have also come across (last week's Catholic *Examiner*) an editorial calling attention to a case tried by the Chief Presidency Magistrate in which a keeper of a bookstall was convicted of selling obscene literature and sentenced to pay a fine and to one day's imprisonment. The *Examiner* indicated the nature of the obscenity in its observation that "it was interesting to note that the foulest of them combined their lasciviousness with an attack on the Christian religion, particularly on Catholic Church practices." The Magistrate is said to have made strong remarks on the bad corrupting influence of such writings but the sentence of one day's imprisonment, in his view, obviously satisfied the ends of justice. The law empowers him to inflict a year's imprisonment for an offence against religion and three months' imprisonment for disseminating obscene literature. The section relating to obscenity was inserted in the Penal Code in 1925 to give effect to an International Convention. People who have travelled in Europe since then, did not notice that the Convention was greatly honoured in the observance.

I have seen Lady Ramanbhai Nilkanth's letter which is published in this issue. I am not an advocate of obscenity whether in advertisements or in books. My point was and is that the Editors' Conference in passing the resolution acted outside its competence. The Conference is composed of Editors who might have agreed among themselves not to publish objectionable advertisements. In fact they could have done this without a Conference. The operation of the Penal Law in such matters is spasmodic and arbitrary. I have heard of at least one recent case in which a newspaper was convicted of publishing an obscene advertisement and the plea that the same advertisement had appeared in other journals, was rightly rejected by the court. As for the practical difficulty, mentioned by Lady Nilkanth, it is easily overcome if ever it exists. The Editor being the responsible person is usually consulted about advertisements of doubtful propriety in many newspapers. He has the right to insist on this being done and his veto in any case should be final.

RECLUSE.

ENGLISH AND FREEDOM.

SIR,—In the last issue of your paper the views you have expressed about English and Hindi in the article under the above heading, appeared to me a little strange. You say that both Hindi and English are languages foreign to India. This may be due to some confusion in your mind. You think that Hindi came to India with the Mohamadan rulers just as English with the British. This is quite wrong. There was Hindi here before the advent of the Mahommedans. Hindi is as much Indian as Tamil and Telugu or any other language of India. It prevailed

and prevails still in Northern India. It is the language in which Tulsidas wrote his Ramayan and Suradas sang. After the Mahamadan advent, it is Urdu that came into being as a result of this language that the people coming into contact with that of the Mahamadan. The claim of Hindi to be the 'lingua franca' of India lies in the fact that it is the language of the majority of the population of India. If the minority just learns it, it becomes at once the language of the whole and it is for this the Congress Governments took it up.

Now, you say that the study of English is connected with the movement of our freedom started by the National Congress. Both these views will appear very strange on a little reflection. To connect freedom with English or any other language is itself wrong. For freedom is a mental attribute and language is an expression of one's mind merely. I think that English is the measure of our political as well as mental subjection and the National Congress advanced its movement to the extent to which it freed itself from its dependence on English and took to Indian languages in the propagation of the movement. We cannot develop ourselves fully towards freedom by depending on others in any matter. Hence it is that in all democracies due importance is given to the language of the people and mother tongue is coming to have its due place in all education. So, far from being the language of the 'free', English I may say is the language of the 'unfree' today, as its importance is due to the empire of the British and the Americans. The Britons and Americans whose language it is, may themselves appear to be free. But, so long as they have empires and hold others in subjection, they are not really free.

A language is only really a means of self-expression and communion with others. So one language is as good as another for this purpose.

—M. M. SHAMBAUG.

BENGAL & ORISSA RELIEF.

Sir.—You are fully aware of the helpless and pitiable condition of the starving millions of Bengal and Orissa. Rice is sold at Rs. 40/- to Rs. 42/- per maund. The prohibitive price has driven thousands to starve and hundreds to die of starvation. Many have become desperate and are committing suicide. To save this peculiar situation the Ramakrishna Mission and other allied societies have already been working in the highly afflicted areas through more than a dozen centres rendering relief to thousands of souls. The Mission has at present been giving free distribution of food to the unfed, clothes to the naked and supplying corn at a much reduced rate to the helpless and distressed people of Bengal. The work has to be conducted for a pretty long time as the earliest harvest comes up only in November next. As soon as the funds are forthcoming, the work will also be extended to Orissa which is equally distressed.

We, therefore, appeal to you most fervently for your quota of help to the Ramakrishna Mission Bengal and Orissa Starvation Relief Fund to enable it to accomplish the work which it has undertaken. Any contribution sent to (1) The President, Sri Ramakrishna Ashram, Khar, Bombay, 21, or (2) the Secretary, Mr. D. M. Daru, Solicitor, Ali Chambers, Modi Street, Fort, Bombay, or (3) the Treasurer, Mr. F. J. Ginwala, Solicitor, 107, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay, or (4) The Manager, Comilla Banking Corporation, Amar Building. Sir Phirozshah Mehta Road, Fort, Bombay, or (5) The Manager, Calcutta National Bank, 'Dhan Nur Building,' Sir Phirozshah Mehta Road, Fort, Bombay, will be most thankfully acknowledged. — SWAMI SAMBUDDHANANDA,

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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. Savarkar's Resignation:—After six years of strenuous effort, Mr. V. D. Savarkar has resigned the Presidentship of the Hindu Mahasabha. The years in the Andamans had undermined a robust constitution. For several years after his return his movements were restricted to Ratnagiri. In the restricted sphere he did magnificent work especially in the cause of the abolition of the crying evil of untouchability. He collected funds for building a temple which is open to all classes of Hindus. By his writings he did much to promote Hindu solidarity. His work in the social sphere has earned the high appreciation of all observers including those who were not able to accept his political philosophy. Undoubtedly the Hindu Mahasabha has gained in strength and vigour through the personality of Mr. Savarkar since he became President six years ago. His name as that of a dauntless fighter in the cause of Hindu solidarity will be remembered by after generations. His resignation at this juncture, due solely to ill health, is nevertheless opportune in the interests of the Mahasabha and Indian nationalism. Endowed abundantly with the fighting spirit, Mr. Savarkar, like most soldiers, lacked the insight and vision of constructive statesmanship. This is also due to the long years in which he was kept out of Indian public life. He was out of touch with the eventful history of a quarter of a century. The distant echoes which filtered through his prison bars, did not help him to get a whole view of Indian nationalistic developments in that period. Brooding over the condition of his own Hindu people, he lost sight to a large extent of the other communities, particularly the Muslims, with whom the fortunes of Hindus have become inextricably intertwined. He did not realise, not at least openly, that India cannot progress towards self-realisation, unless she realised that hers was a composite self, with notable contributions from Islam and British sources. In politics he was prepared to accept small gains at the sacrifice of great principles. He agreed, if report be true, to Hindu Mahasabha men accepting office under the Cripps scheme which was rejected by all other parties, and political leaders. In regard to coalition ministries in the provinces in the present conditions, he advocated a policy varying according to circumstances. This *The Reformer* felt obliged to condemn last week. Dr. Shyam Prasad Mukherji is the obvious and most suitable successor to the Presidentship of the Mahasabha. He has experience, vision and strength of character. He commands the respect of all parties.

Arms and the Toga:—Reuter in his anxiety to find some connection with India in the ceremony of Lord Wavell's taking his seat in the House of Lords, has completely ignored the really significant part. It is where the new Peer in his Field Marshall's uniform overlaid by his patrician robes, knelt before the Lord Chancellor in his judicial wig and gown. The soldier knelt before the lawyer. The ceremony is essentially the assertion of the supremacy of the Law over the might of the Sword. That it has deteriorated into a meaningless pageant, is due to the tendency of institutions founded as expressions of great ideas to degenerate into vapid formalities.

The Ban on Fischer:—The reply given by Government spokesmen in the two Houses of the Indian Legislature to questions on the banning of Louis Fischer's articles and speeches by the Government of India, was hardly satisfactory. Inaccuracy is not a good reason for proscribing writings. The Government of India's pamphlet on the August disturbances had many inaccuracies. Besides, the right way of dealing with inaccuracy is to give publicity to the accurate version. The other two reasons, namely, that the proscribed compositions were likely to have an adverse effect in India and as between the Allied Nations, do not fall in the category of reasons. The point is whether they were true. If they were, they can not be prevented from working out their effects by preventing their publication. Truth may be no defence in a Court of Law in certain cases, but the power of truth is not limited by the law of evidence which sometimes seems more designed to obstruct than to help the elucidation of truth which witnesses are sworn to state.

South African Elections:—The results of the Parliamentary elections in the South African Union have been very favourable to the Smuts Government. The General's own party, the United Party, has increased. The other pro-war parties have likewise been returned without impairment of strength. The anti-war Opposition, on the other hand, has suffered notable reverses and is in a decided minority. The position of the Smuts Government, therefore, is such as to allow full scope for the exercise of a liberal judgment in modifying policies which conflict with the declared objects of the Allied Nations in the War. One such is the racial discrimination of the Pegging Act. General Smuts cannot be under any illusion regarding the strength of feeling in this country as well as in the democratic countries against the Act. If he is, the proceedings in the Indian Legislative Assembly last week demanding the application of the Reciprocity Act passed last year, and the strong demand in the country for retaliatory measures, must disillusion him. The Agent-General to the Government of India in South Africa, Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, has not minced words in expressing his own strong condemnation of the Pegging Act. Fortunately there are signs, though as yet feeble, which show that South African European opinion is itself undergoing a wholesome change. The election

to the City Council of an Indian candidate by a majority including Europeans against his Nationalist rival in Port Elizabeth, is a straw which shows that the wind is beginning to blow in the right direction. General Smuts' position has all along been that racial discrimination is an intolerable evil but that, under the democratic system which he has to work, he has to take account of the prevailing prejudices of the population which enjoys the franchise. Now that the electorates have unmistakably expressed their confidence in him, he has a free hand in dealing with the Indian problem in the light of his considered judgment. We hope he will avail himself of the opportunity in the fullest measure.

Anti-Indian Legislation in South Africa:—Discussions in both Houses of the Central Legislature on the anti-Indian legislation in South Africa show striking unanimity not only among all Indian political parties but also between them and the Government of India. The Secretary of the Overseas Department, Mr. Bozman, replying to the debate in the upper House, expressed the satisfaction of his Government at the views disclosed in the debate. But he indicated clearly that nothing could be done. Even the recall of the High Commissioner he opposed, taking refuge behind the opinion of a section of the House against it. Sir A. P. Patro was evidently the only member—at any rate his is the only speech to that effect reported—who pressed for "negotiation." What negotiation is possible between the Government of India and a Government, like the Union Government, which has evidently sprung a surprise with its pegging legislation? Sir Shafaat Ahmad, the High Commissioner, was either unaware of the contemplated measure or powerless to restrain the Government to which he was accredited. In the circumstances, there is only one remedy. We cannot understand Mr. Bozman's objection to reciprocal action as likely to endanger the High Commissioner's position in South Africa. It is if anything an argument for simultaneous action withdrawing the High Commissioner and enforcing reciprocal action.

Conditions in Bengal:—We referred last week, in connection with Sir Sultan Ahmed's complacent statements in his speech at Patna, to Swami Shambuddanand's urgent appeal for funds for relief of the terrible conditions prevailing in Bengal. Mr. A. V. Thakkar, Vice-President of the Servants of India Society, has issued another appeal which we publish today. Introspection is a good spiritual exercise but it does not feed starving human beings and to tell them that their sufferings are due to the sins and selfishness of their own people, is not a statesman's solution of the food problem. Government in the name of anti-inflation has swept into its coffers or restricted by ordinance the dividends of industry. Private charity is thus dried up at the source. But the necessity of relief is urgent. The papers report that people have died in the streets of a wealthy city like Calcutta of starvation. The Member for Food in the Executive Council of the Governor General, it is understood, will make another comprehensive statement shortly on the food situation.

Pay of Indian Army Officers:—Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru, who paid a visit to Indian troops in the Middle East, was told by Indian officers serving in that theatre of war that they were paid smaller salaries than Sinhalese and the Sudanese of corresponding rank. The Indian officer's expenses, on the other hand, amounted to the same as those of officers of other nationalities. The Pandit recommended in a resolution which he proposed in the Council of State, that Indian officers serving abroad should be

paid on the same scale as British officers in the Indian Army. Sir Claude Archinleck expressed sympathy with the object of the resolution but pleaded that Army pay in every country must be determined by the general economic conditions of that country. Quite true. But that consideration should apply not only to the Indian officer but also to the British officer in the Indian Army. Surely, it is not maintained that the British officer is more concerned about his pay than the Indian officer is expected to be, in risking his life for the great ideals of the Allied Nations. Pandit Kunzru said that the Indian officer's expenses were the same as those of British officers. As a matter of fact, it is more. The Indian family is not confined to wife and children. There are other obligations which the Indian has to meet. In our opinion, the consideration which should govern the remuneration of the Indian officer fighting outside India is the same which applies to the British officer. We had thought that the British Government had undertaken to bear the cost of Indian contingents sent out of India. The additional remuneration would naturally be part of that engagement and would be borne by the British Government. The Pandit had probably this consideration in view. He could not have intended that the already too heavy burden of Army expenditure in India should be increased at the cost of the impoverished Indian taxpayer.

The War in Europe:—Apart from the progress of the war in Russia where the Russian forces are driving back the Axis troops, there has been a lull in Europe. But the radio broadcasts from Rome are growing increasingly anti-Fascist. Immediately on the fall of Mussolini, violent denunciations of his regime were broadcast from Rome, charging the Fascists with incompetence and failure to carry out their policies either in war or in peace. A message in Thursday's newspapers announced that Marshal Badoglio had instituted inquiries into the fortunes amassed by leading Fascists outside Italy and cited Rome Radio as its authority for this. Meanwhile, among leaders in the United Nations there is a feeling that the present regime in Italy is seeking to make a convenience of necessity. American opinion, it is said, regards Marshal Badoglio's policy as delaying tactics, meant to help the Axis. Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia, has issued a warning that the present rulers of Italy are as much involved in the mistakes of the past twenty-five years as any other Italian leader. The confusion in Italy has had repercussions in neutral countries like Switzerland and Turkey. The Swiss authorities have adopted a firm attitude on the subject of the passing of German troops through Swiss territory, in spite of Nazi pressure. As they control the three tunnels connecting Italy with Germany, their protests are likely to be regarded so long as Germany intends to contest the war on Italian soil or so long as Germans require to keep the lines of communication clear for a withdrawal. It is not unlikely that the destruction of the tunnels might in the not distant future prove advantageous to a Germany driven back on her post-Munich frontiers. In Turkey, there is some objection to the Allied representation against giving asylum to war "criminals." The Turkish Government regards any such undertaking as derogatory to Turkish sovereignty and as opposed to the international law of asylum. This has been adopted by all neutral countries, including Switzerland. They have said that while they reserve the right to keep away "undesirable aliens" they cannot accept the Allied position.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, August 7, 1943.

LORD LINLITHGOW'S PARTING ADDRESS.

His Excellency the Viceroy addressed a joint session of the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Council of State for the last time before handing over office to his successor, Lord Wavell, to whom he paid a warm tribute as the ideal man to take up the task at which he has laboured in India. His Excellency spoke in high praise of India's contribution to the war during his regime; expressed his keen disappointment at Indian parties not having come to an agreement notwithstanding his earnest endeavours to promote it; reiterated his faith in Federation as designed in the Government of India Act; referred with satisfaction to the advance made by India in the international sphere; touched lightly on the food situation; declared that experience has proved that provincial autonomy has justified itself; and acknowledged the spirit of co-operation displayed by the Indian Press. To nearly all these matters there is an obverse on which His Excellency naturally preferred to be silent. For one thing the war effort of India against the background of profound political discontent, bears a different significance from that which naturally occurred to the Viceroy. His Excellency's claim that he had done what man can do to promote unity, is not borne out by the marked distinction discernible between his dealings with the Moslem League and his suppression of the Indian National Congress. The failure to effect the Federation was as much due to the coolness of the Government as to the last minute apprehensions of the Princes. Provincial autonomy has been revealed by the squabbles over the distribution of the food resources of the country, to be a dangerous delusion. The Indian Press has been subjected to restraints, open and secret, which have seriously militated against its serving the public as a free and faithful chronicle of events and exponent of opinion. The gain which India has made in international life, is wholly illusory and she has had to pay a heavy price for it. To be dragged behind chariot wheels, is not exactly a highly delectable experience, and that is what India has had to go through in Lord Linlithgow's regime.

The main features of Lord Linlithgow's administration which will strike the historian as they have struck the Indian public, are none of those mentioned by His Excellency. Louis Fischer may be right or wrong in his statement that Lord Linlithgow told him that there was never so much anti-British feeling in India as at present, but it is certainly the fact. Assuming for argument's sake that all Lord Linlithgow's claims for his seven and a half years tenure of the Viceroyalty, are not open to question, they have been achieved at the price of creating among Indians an unprecedented amount of anti-British feeling. Is that a price which wise statesmanship should have consented to pay under any circumstances? Could not all that Lord Linlithgow claims have been achieved without creating such ill-feeling, at any rate, not so much of it? Indian leaders who do not belong to any political party, men who have, if we may say so, an abiding vested interest in the strength and solidarity of the British connection, have deplored the policy of Lord Linlithgow's Government and begged it to adopt measures which would conciliate Indian opinion. To all their suggestions, Lord Linlithgow has turned a deaf ear. The detention of Gandhiji and other Congress leaders for a year without bringing them to trial before a judicial tribunal, is a dark blot on the Linlithgow regime. As Viceroy of India, it was Lord Linlithgow's first

duty to safeguard the interests of the people of India. This he has failed utterly to discharge. He has throughout regarded himself exclusively as the agent of the British Government, which he certainly is, not to protect the interests of the people of India but to exploit them and their resources for the advantage and glorification of Britain. India is in the war primarily to ensure the permanence of the supremacy of Britain over her and other Asiatic and African territories. Lord Linlithgow however, has persuaded himself to believe that the war is primarily India's war and has exacted from her people sacrifices which they have never been called upon to suffer in their long history. India has little reason to be grateful to him. But she bears him and his no ill-will. Although Lord Linlithgow himself may recognise no tie except that of power, India will remember that he has breathed her air, drank her water and eaten her salt for seven and a half years, and that has created a bond which is more exacting because it is more subtle than power. Lord Linlithgow's regime may in the wisdom of Providence be a necessary step towards India's emancipation. But that can not alter the verdict of history on its merits.

TENDULKAR'S RUSSIA.

Books on Russia generally tend to get into the political controversies which have agitated that country—less than people outside the Soviet Union are apt to think. For, whilst the classic dispute between Trotsky and Stalin has created a stir outside Russia, in Russia itself for obvious reasons it is not of very great importance. Mr. D. G. Tendulkar in his "30 Months in Soviet Russia" wisely avoids the beaten track. Everything with a controversial flavour has been excluded. As a result, most readers view a landscape devoid of much of what has grown familiar. The book (Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay, Re. 1/4/-) is therefore not as easy reading as books on current politics might be. But it is valuable as a popular presentation of facts which could be gleaned only from specialist books.

Mr. Tendulkar went to Russia in September 1934. He left in 1936. The long stay he was able to put in, gives his impressions a greater validity than attaches to the tourist. And to those who have been bewildered by the conflicting theories put forth by first-hand authorities on modern Russia, into asking themselves what the truth is and whether it could only be obtained by a personal visit to Russia, we commend the book. Mr. Tendulkar goes behind the politics and economics of the day to the things that have now grown into the pattern of Russian life.

There are three aspects which show the Russian manner of tackling problems common to all peoples. The first of these is the position of women. Mr. Tendulkar makes special mention of the freedom women have in Russia. It was one of the things that impressed him profoundly. After mentioning that the new status was something which affected not one or two leading families but the national life as a whole—"in the U. S. S. R. a woman does not shine by the reflected glory of her husband; she is judged on her own merits; no one has seen the wife of Stalin standing with her husband to receive the salute of the Red Army or the workers demonstrating on May Day"—Mr. Tendulkar discusses the effect on family life. He writes:

No longer beset by the question of marriage as a career, girls give the same thought and preparation in planning their life work as men do.....Undoubtedly the old family system is disintegrating under the effects of the economic independence of women, the decline in religion and the socialization of the functions of

the home. On the other hand, there is the cohesive power of love and children, and the mutual obligations of its members which are certainly not lessened.

Mr. Tendulkar's chapter on children is a thought-provoking, factual contribution to the subject and he deals in the brief space he gives to this second nation-building activity, in a manner which provokes interest for more. And, in a hundred different ways he shows how Russia has tackled the problem of race prejudice. Mr. Tendulkar has given a useful introduction to Russia.

POST-WAR PROBLEMS.

(BY P. RAJESWARA RAO.)

Even in the midst of this war, unprecedented for its intensity and magnitude and with no parallel in the history of the world, the outlines of post-war reconstruction are engaging the active attention of the public everywhere. At the beginning of the war, Mr. H. G. Wells who is noted for his foresight, forethought and prophetic vision, came out with his declaration of rights of man, which gave rise to thought-provoking discussion in the press and on the platform. At the end of war there will no doubt be peace. The only question is, what sort of peace it is going to be. If it is going to be peace with vengeance based on suspicion, mistrust and the spirit of retaliation, naturally there will be serious reaction sooner or latter. If the victors lose their heads and dictate peace on their own terms without the least regard for the feelings and wishes of the vanquished, it will leave a trail of bitterness and sow the seeds for further conflicts. Therefore, the victors should be surcharged with humility and generosity if they are to discharge their onerous responsibility. It is all the more necessary that the method and the manner of concluding the peace and solving the post-war problems should be decided in the midst of the war, so that there may be no delay in tackling these problems when peace comes and thus escape from the avoidable suffering.

It is also necessary to note how the Allies are approaching post-war problems. It is authoritatively announced both in England and America that a United Nations commission would be established for the investigation and punishment of war crimes. It is necessary that the real culprits responsible for the present conflagration should be brought to book and taught the lesson of their lifetime. The proposed punishment should be reformatory and not in any sense vindictive. There should be no wholesale humiliation of nations or races. The harmful ideologies and the false psychology should be destroyed in order to make the world proof against occasional lapses into barbarism. The allied representatives gathered at Hot Springs (U.S.A.) arrived at important decisions regarding the food problems. Freedom from want is a prerequisite for healthy evolution. The currency problems also have come under close scrutiny. The Keynes plan and the White plan represent the British and the American aspirations for economic hegemony. The British 'bancor' and the American 'unitas' with the backing of the yellow metal are out to measure their strength for leadership. It remains to be seen whether the centre of financial gravity will be located in Lombard Street or will be shifted to Wall Street without the risk of a crash. If money is to be a sign of vitality, symbol of co-operation and emblem of happiness, it should cease to be a medium of exploitation and measure of inequality. Sir William Beveridge's social security plan from the cradle to the grave is expected to work miracles if it is given a fair chance.

But its defect is that it is a domestic plan for Great Britain and has nothing to do with the Empire or the outside world. Unless its scope and intent are extended to cover the entire world it cannot arouse enthusiasm. There is also an insistent demand for a Pacific charter to supplement the Atlantic charter. The latest scheme for the rehabilitation of the war victims is a source of great solace to oppressed humanity. It is hoped that humanity, civilization and social justice will play their proper role and hold their own against selfishness and hypocrisy in the post-war world. It is a notorious fact that even in pre-war times the persecuted Jewish community could not find an asylum in any of the free countries. Lip-sympathy and nominal help do not touch even the fringe of the problem. Sir Norman Angell rightly sounded a note of warning about the possibility of the post-war world becoming again a free world of prisons.

In the midst of war when the utmost goodwill and co-operation should prevail among the peoples of the United Nations, some unfortunate acts of indiscretion tend to widen the gulf and strengthen prejudices. While the Indian soldiers were shedding their blood to liberate Africa from the deadly grip of the enemy, the South African Parliament, under the leadership of a distinguished statesman, eminent general and a profound philosopher, like Field Marshal Smuts, thought it fit to rush through the Pegging legislation which is highly harmful and humiliating to the South African born Indians. The demon of racial discrimination and colour prejudice has raised its ugly head once again. The disinclination of British statesmen and the apathy of the allied and the associated powers to solve the Indian political deadlock in spite of its being the most important base of operation in the East tends to deflate their tall talk about democracy and self-determination. Churchill's over-emphasis on Anglo-American strategy, economy and policy makes one think that the English democracies intend to nominate the post-war world. It is important to bear in mind that there are other races besides the Anglo-Saxon who have an equal claim to leadership.

Whether one likes it or not, tremendous changes are coming more quickly than most of us think. The world has learnt to distinguish between profession and performance. No one can be deceived by the diplomatic debuts and distant promises. If peace is to be real and lasting it should be based on equality of status and opportunity. In order successfully to outlaw war, total disarmament should be brought within the range of the free nations of the world with international police to preserve law and order and guarantee perpetual peace. Queer notions about master races and chosen people should disappear. Empires, spheres of influence, protectorates, mandates and the like are veritable volcanoes covered with snow. Mere restoration of *status quo* obviously amounts to sitting on a powder magazine and smoking a pipe of peace. Political philosophers and social psychologists while gazing at the stars in the heaven should keep their feet firmly planted on the ground. The new order should be based on an international outlook, political parity, economic justice, social rhythm and spiritual harmony, where individuality will have free scope to grow to its full stature. Aggressive nationalism, social isolation and spiritual stagnation should be checked at every step. Co-operation and co-ordination should replace competition. There should be sympathy and understanding in the place of hatred and envy. Justice should be upheld without fear or favour, affection or illwill. The world has grown sick of wars and the intermittent periods of uncer-

tain and imperfect peace. Any sign of change for the better is eagerly awaited. In the fitness of things, Mr. Wendell Wilkie's latest book 'One-World' has proved a best seller. It is indeed a significant sign of the times.

CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS MARRIAGES.

I am glad Mr. Gajendragadkar has taken up this question. Its correct solution is of urgent practical importance in the present unsettled state of Hindu social life. That is why I have been harping on the same point in one form or another, with your indulgence, for the last two years; and I have often longed for some criticism which would authoritatively confirm or correct my own conclusions. I am thankful, therefore, to meet with a response at last in your issue of July 17, though it comes in the shape of a flat contradiction of my pet theory that "where the same bridegroom and bride go through two forms of marriage, each valid by itself, the first valid marriage, be it a civil or a religious one, is the only effective marriage in law and the second, a nullity."

My proposition is partly conceded no doubt by allowing that, "if the parties marry under the Special Marriage Act and then go through Vedic rites, the first will be the valid marriage and they will be governed by the Special Marriage Act." But the ground for this concession does not seem to be that it is the first marriage that counts, because the parties acquire a complete married status thereby which must necessarily be subject to the indefeasible governance of the law under which they married and which leaves no further need or scope or freedom for a second marriage between them under a different law. The unexpressed but apparently implied reason for the concession seems to be that there is some special overpowering legal potency attached to the Special Marriage Act which gives its marriages a paramount power to override and nullify Vedic marriages whether they come first or last in sequence of time, for, immediately following the said concession, the correctness of my converse proposition is categorically denied, and we are definitely assured that, "if the parties go through the Vedic marriage first and then register their marriage before a Marriage Registrar under the Special Marriage Act, the first Vedic marriage will not be valid and the second form of the marriage under the Act will not be a nullity."

This may sound like the well-known doctrine of "heads I win, tails you lose." But, even so, the authoritative assurance which it conveys, is most cordially welcome, because such modern couples as take a fancy to the Special Marriage Act for the benefits which it is believed to confer on the bride, do nevertheless satisfy their religious sentiment first with a Vedic marriage and go only then to the Marriage Registrar for "registration" under the Act. But, unfortunately, the legal authority for this assurance has not been disclosed, and the one or two reasons mentioned under it do not touch the real question at issue.

It must not be forgotten that we start with the premise that the Vedic marriage which is performed first is a valid one, satisfying all the essential conditions laid down by Hindu law, and then another marriage is solemnized for the same couple under the Special Marriage Act. It is only after this that we ask ourselves whether the parties will have the same privileges and disabilities as to polygamy, divorce, inheritance, etc., as are prescribed by Hindu law which governed their first marriage or those laid down by the Special

Marriage Act which governed the second. In answer to this, it is said that, in the first place, no Marriage Registrar who understands his duty and knows the previous married condition of the parties, would consent to register a marriage for them under the Act. If so, there are no two marriages to create a legal problem for us. We are next told that under the instructions given by Government in the Bombay Registration Manual it is "not objectionable" for the Marriage Registrar to permit the couple after they solemnly declare, as required by the Act, that they are yet "unmarried," to add a postscriptum (not contemplated by the Act) that their first marriage gone through with Vedic rites was void and was merely a farce, and to register their marriage under the Act on this assurance. Such assurance being presumably one that is true to fact and the Vedic marriage being no marriage at all, there are no two marriages even in this case to confront us with a legal problem. It is, therefore, inexplicable how after these two bare statements about Marriage Registrars and the Registration Manual, the conclusion was immediately drawn in answer to the main question that "thus in both cases the Special Marriage Act will prevail."

There must, therefore, be something more behind this argument than meets the eye. It is perhaps implied, though not expressly stated, that even if the first Vedic marriage was really a valid marriage and not a mere farce as the parties may cleverly declare to achieve their own ends, it nevertheless becomes void all on a sudden, the moment the Marriage Registrar acts upon such declaration and registers a civil marriage for them. If this is really what was meant by the learned writer, an explicit and clearer statement of law and opinion on the subject would be invaluable.

It may be remembered that, towards the end of 1941, Dr. G. V. Deshmukh introduced in the central Legislative Assembly a "Bill to further amend Act III of 1872." Its object was to enable persons who had previously married under Hindu law to get their marriages registered under the Act and it sought to provide that thereby "the previous marriage shall be deemed to have been dissolved and the parties shall be deemed to be married under this Act as from the date of such registration," and that they and their issue shall thenceforth have all the rights and be subject to all the disabilities prescribed under the Act (Vide the *Reformer* of 3rd January 1942). Dr. Deshmukh is of course not a lawyer. But he must have consulted competent lawyers before he convinced himself that, without such legislation as he proposed, no Vedic marriage duly performed would come to an end, nor would Hindu law cease to govern the parties and their progeny, by the simple contrivance of making a Marriage Registrar agreeable to register a civil marriage for them.

The legislators of the original Act III of 1872 also thought it necessary to provide a special enabling section, Section 20, giving time till the 1st of January 1873, to persons already married in whatever form to get their marriages registered under the Act if they so wished. The period of grace having expired, the Section was formally repealed in 1876. If, nevertheless, Marriage Registrars do not scruple in the present time to turn the blind eye to the married condition of the couple that come up for "registration" before them and actually solemnize a marriage under the Act, their mere act of registration does not abrogate or override the mandatory provisions of Sections 2, 15, etc., which make such marriages void. There are rulings which can be cited that the Registrar is only concerned

with the form of the marriage and not with its validity. If he does not observe the prescribed form and procedure, the marriage will be no doubt vitiated. But he cannot by registering in the proper form, make the marriage valid if it is void under the substantive sections of the law. Nor can his registration of a civil marriage render void a Vedic marriage which is not governed by the Act. The Registration Manual of Bombay seems to be unique in permitting him to take liberties with the form of declaration prescribed by the Act, but there was a time even in Bombay when a Marriage Registrar was reprimanded by his official superiors for allowing a couple to add to their declaration of non-profession of the "Hindu religion" a postscript to the effect that they meant thereby the "orthodox" form of it.

There are at least two reported cases which, I think, support my belief that the first valid marriage, whether religious or civil, will always remain valid while the second will be inoperative in law. In the latest case of Dr. Niranjandas Mohan (A. I. R. 1943 Cal. 146 S. B.), the first marriage was under Act III of 1872, and the second was with Arya Samaj rites. Both courts held that the first was the valid marriage but "the subsequent marriage according to Arya Samaj rites also would have been valid if the parties had not already been married." This ruling of course may seem superfluous in the present discussion since it may be said to be quite in consonance also with the "heads-I-win" principle which is already conceded in favour of a first civil marriage. But be it noted that in the above ruling the reason given for the invalidity of the Aryan marriage is "that the parties had been already married" not that the other marriage was under Act III of 1872 and, therefore, of paramount and exclusive validity.

The converse procedure of a Hindu marriage first, followed by a civil marriage, under the Act appears in the case of Surendra Nath Dutt (A. D. R. 1942 Cal. 546 S. B.) He had his marriage with Indubala solemnized in 1919 according to Hindu rites. A year later, however, they went through a further form of marriage under Act III of 1872. The question whether Surendra's first marriage with Indubala with Hindu rites was "the only effective marriage," or the subsequent marriage with her under Act III of 1872 was such, became important at a late stage of Surendra's divorce suit against his second wife Malati. How and why the question arose is too long a story. Suffice it to say here that the learned Advocates of both contending parties agreed that, if there was a valid Hindu marriage first, that would be the only effective marriage. The eminent Advocate who was called in as *amicus curiae* by the Full Bench "in view of the importance of the point of law which has been raised," also maintained that if Surendra and Indubala were lawfully married in 1919 according to Hindu rites, that would be the only effective marriage, and Malati would be at liberty to contend that Surendra's first marriage with Indubala still subsisted. His only difficulty was that the evidence as it stood was not sufficient to come to a clear conclusion that it was validly performed. The Court, thereupon, agreeing with all the Counsel said about the legal position, gave time for production of further evidence on the facts of the first Hindu marriage. But, unfortunately for the public interested in getting an authoritative ruling on this legal point, the Court later discovered a way to avoid the trouble of taking further evidence and managed to dispose of the suit on a point of estoppel against the respondent, Malati. Technically speaking, therefore, I cannot rely on

this case for my contention. But the legal position disclosed by the report is clear as daylight. (Vide *the Reformer* of 15th August 1942).

In conclusion, I respectfully invite fuller discussion and elucidation of the whole question for the guidance of the younger generation.

Aska,
July 25, 1943. }

KOPARGAM RAMA MURTI.

BENGAL FOOD SCARCITY.

I returned on July 30 from Calcutta and the famine affected parts of the Midnapore and Balasore districts of Bengal and Orissa respectively, where I had been to take a rapid survey of the relief measures in progress.

People in Bombay cannot imagine the state of things that exists in the eastern parts of the country, of the starvation among the lower classes of people and of the mortality caused thereby. Bombay city and suburbs are very well rationed in spite of petty complaints. Calcutta is not rationed, and thousands and perhaps lakhs of poor people from the adjoining districts flock to Calcutta in search of food. Members of the Calcutta Corporation have openly declared that a large number of deaths have occurred in the streets of Calcutta from amongst the starving immigrants. Free gruel kitchens were started by the Bengal Government in the district of Chittagong and public spirited people in Calcutta will soon start free and cheap kitchens to feed about half a lakh of poor and middle class people. But the state of people in the districts is still much worse, with rice selling at a seer or a seer and a half at the most per rupee! It is impossible for poor people to subsist for long on very scanty food. The Contai sub-division of Midnapore district, which was very badly affected by the cyclone of October, 1942, and the consequent misery, is suffering very acutely at present. In spite of Government having put 70,000 persons on the free dole list with the very meagre ration of 24 tolas per day per adult, scores of deaths are taking place daily in Contai town and villages. During my 110 mile tramp by riverboat and *palki* in the interior of north Balasore district I witnessed hundreds and thousands of naked children with their ribs exposed. Deaths due to starvation as well as cholera have been very common in those villages.

The food situation is fast deteriorating and unless some drastic and immediate measures are taken to remedy this state of things, the mortality in the country on account of starvation is bound to be very heavy. Merely looking after a few industrial cities will not ease the situation. The Government at the Centre must take the food situation of the whole country in its own hands like the defence of India and as a part thereof. If it merely relies upon the mercies of the surplus provinces, there is bound to be a catastrophe. Bengal legislators are quite justified in crying for the declaration of the whole of Bengal as a famine area. If rice can be sold in some parts of the country at Rs. 8 to 15 per maund but in Bengal at the rate of Rs. 30 to 35 per maund, evidently there is something seriously wrong about the communications as well as the administration in the country.

A. V. THAKKAR.

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times would be obliged to report that, unless the people had enough food, no effort of Government can maintain them in health. The nomination of the Chairman before other personnel of the Committee, is somewhat unusual. We had recently occasion to refer to Sir Joseph Bore's successful Dewanship of Cochin. But surely that is no qualification to guide the investigation of a Health Committee. On the contrary, as a retired member of the Indian Civil Service, Sir Joseph is likely to start with bias in favour of laying the blame for the poor health of the people on the people themselves. Great strides are being made in the study of public health and the proper man to preside over a Health Committee is a specialist in the Science of Public Health. The League of Nations in the pre-war days had men of international distinction available for such investigations. Such men will all be engaged in war work now. The Bore Committee can not produce anything which cannot be gleaned from the files of the Health Department in New Delhi.

More Shuffling of Portfolios :—The debate on the Food situation in the Legislative Assembly began on Monday and ended on Tuesday. We comment on the speech of the Member in Charge of the subject in the Government of India, in the leading article. Many compliments were paid to him in the course of the debate on the clearness and grasp displayed in his presentation of the subject. One of the speakers deprecated transfer of the Food portfolio from Sir Azizul Haque's hands as he had made a thorough study of the question as was evident in his speech. An official communique issued on Tuesday runs thus :

The Governor-General has had under his consideration, with those of his colleagues principally concerned, the distribution of portfolios in the Executive Council. He is clear in the outcome that given the immediate and growing importance of the food problem, the burden at present carried by the Hon. Sir Azizul Haque, as Member in Charge of Food, of Industries and Civil Supplies, and of Commerce, must shortly become heavier than can wisely be imposed upon any one member. In the circumstances, he has invited Sir J. P. Srivastava, who has accepted his invitation, to take over charge of the portfolio of Food. The change will take effect from Wednesday.

The laboured explanation for taking Food out of Sir Azizul's hands, speaks for itself. Sir Azizul himself had not asked the Viceroy to relieve him of responsibility for Food. When he was appointed a few months ago for the Departments enumerated in the communique, the Food problem had already become serious. It is said that Sir J. P. Srivastava, the Member for Civil Defence, has been requested and has agreed to take over Food from Sir Azizul. Had Sir Srivastava any option in the matter? Could he have declined the Viceroy's invitation? The concern shown not to overburden Sir Azizul might have been given effect to by transferring any of the other three portfolios with which he was burdened only a few months ago. Sir Azizul in his speech in the Legislative Assembly indicated definitely certain measures which, in his opinion, were necessary in order to bring about co-ordination between the provinces and the centre. The transfer is to take effect immediately. Why this precipitancy?

War Debts to India :—As the prospect of the end of the war comes within view, concern is beginning to be felt in Britain about the prospect of having to pay the debts contracted to meet its cost, particularly the debt to India. The sterling securities issued in payment are, a large part of them, kept in London. Sir Stanley Reed recently called attention to the generosity of India, in allowing this to remain in

London instead of embarrassing the British Government by insisting on payment in India. Sir Stanley meant well but this is compulsory generosity which India cannot refuse and, therefore, the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not think it necessary to make public acknowledgment of it. The transformation, though as yet only on paper, of India from a debtor to a creditor country disturbs the sleep of British financiers. The *Economist* and the *Manchester Guardian* are journals with a liberal tradition but even they are ill at ease at the mere thought of England having to pay to India instead of receiving from India as has been a century and a half tradition. Both the journals insist that the war is waged for the defence of India as much as of Britain and, therefore, India should bear a greater proportion of the cost than has been agreed to. In fact, the argument amounts to claiming that India should not demand anything for the services and goods she has supplied for the prosecution of the war. In any case, it is urged that India should not be free to use the large sums she is entitled to get from Britain, at her own discretion. It is pointed out that, if India converts the sterling she receives into dollars and buys goods which she need for her reconstruction from the United States instead of from Britain, as she might, British industry would be seriously affected and British exports will diminish. If, on the other hand, Britain repays her debt to India by sending goods, it will help British industry and stimulate her exports. It does not occur to British friends that India might herself wish to develop her industries to supply her needs. It seems to be tacitly assumed that the Government of India will look to this aspect of the question as it has been doing. At the end of the last war, by raising the rate of exchange to two shillings to the rupee, the Secretary of State, the late Mr. Montagu, caused the transfer of several crores to Britain in the short time before the rate was reduced. It may not be contemplated to resort to a similar method on the present occasion and, moreover, the sums involved are far too large to be liquidated by manipulation of the rate of exchange. But the agitation in reputable British journals at this juncture, cannot but lead to doubts and fears in India about the destiny of her sterling balances.

Right of Asylum :—The Allied Governments would not have been surprised at the reply of neutral Governments to their demand that "war criminals" should not be given asylum in their territories. The reply was that such a demand was an infringement of the sovereignty of the neutral countries which would exercise their own discretion in determining who should and who should not be given asylum in their countries. At the end of the last war, the Lloyd George Cabinet which had swept the polls at the khaki election with the slogan "Hang the Kaiser," demanded from the Dutch Government the expulsion of the Kaiser who had escaped into Holland. The Dutch Government refused to surrender their right of asylum and no more was heard of the matter. On the other hand, the same Lloyd George Government refused the request for asylum of the late Tsar Nicholas and his family when the Bolshevik revolution broke out. During the greater part of the last century Britain was famous as the asylum of persecuted politicals. Other times, other manners. Speaking generally, whatever the theory, in practice the right of asylum is determined by the relations between the country in which it is sought and the country from which it is sought. Krishna Varma found asylum in Paris for many years but the French Police handed over to the British Mr. Savarkar who had managed to escape at Marseilles from the ship in which he was being brought to India.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, August 14, 1943.

SIR AZIZUL HAQUE ON THE
FOOD SITUATION.

The statement which the Member of Commerce, Sir Azizul Haque, made in the Indian Legislative Assembly on Monday was the clearest exposition of the circumstances leading to the present food situation, amounting almost to a crisis in some provinces, particularly Bengal and Orissa, so far made by a Member of Government. Incidentally it was in striking contrast to the excursion into the Food field of the Member for Information in a recent speech at Patna. Sir Sultan Ahmed, it may be recalled, asserted that such difficulty as there was in the supply of food was due to the selfishness of the people and not to any action or omission of Government. Sir Azizul who is in charge of the Food Department and is, therefore, in a much better position to know the facts, had a very different story to tell. Sir Azizul explained at some length how the Government of India was thwarted in its efforts to deal with the problem as it affected the country as a whole, by the obstructive attitude of some of the provinces. The Government of India had no machinery, he said, to carry out its directions and depended on the provincial administrations to give effect to them. When the provinces "non-co-operated," the Central Government was helpless. One of the first things to be done, Sir Azizul declared was to create such machinery. As a matter of fact, obstruction was not confined to non-co-operation. It extended to direct defiance of the authority of the Government of India. Sir Azizul summed up the main heads of obstruction thus :

"If free trade (which the Government of India had decreed) had full play, it would have had a permanent effect not only in bringing supplies to the deficit areas but also bringing down price levels of the whole of the eastern region, even though there would have been some temporary rise for a time till the market found its equilibrium. But as soon as free trade was declared in the eastern zone, obstructions of every kind were placed in its way. I have before me a list of over 60 cases reported from time to time, and we have not yet been able to complete the investigation of these cases. But the nature of the allegations is as follows: stock purchased were requisitioned; stock purchased were seized; a percentage of all purchases was ordered to be surrendered, and in some cases at a much lower price than the purchase prices; stockists were ordered to close godowns; traders were warned not to sell; station masters were asked to refuse wagons; carters and carriers were stopped from assisting movements; export was banned by peremptory orders."

A voice: "By whom? By Government?"

Sir Azizul Haque said that until the investigations were finished he was not prepared to say.

Mr. Hussainbhai Laljee in his speech doubted if it was all the fault of Provincial Governments which carried out scrupulously the directions of the Home, Finance and "even the Information" Departments. His suggestion evidently was that the Provincial Governments would not have obstructed the Food Department if they had no reason to think that the Central Government was divided over Food policy. In passing, it may be pointed out that the phrase "Free Trade" as applied to the movement of goods within the country is a misnomer. Before the passing of the Government of India Act of 1935, not the least informed individual would have used it of the unrestricted flow of trade from one part of the

country to another. That Act broke up British India into eleven pieces and then put them together as a federated group, each part being accorded "autonomy" in its internal administration. But restrictions on inter-provincial trade as well as movement of population were expressly prohibited. The section relating to trade runs as follows :

297.—No provincial Legislature or Government shall—

(a) by virtue of the entry in the Provincial Legislative List relating to trade and commerce within the Province, or the entry in that list relating to the production, supply, and distribution of commodities, have power to pass any law or take any executive action prohibiting or restricting the entry into or export from, the Province of goods of any class or description.

Clause (b) prohibits the levy of any tax on goods or discrimination between provinces. In the face of this express prohibition, Sir Azizul Haque's plea that the Central Government had no machinery wherewith to enforce its directions in the Provinces, is not intelligible. The unhindered flow of trade and commerce in British India is not Free Trade. It is part and an organic part of its existence and life. To speak of it as Free Trade is as absurd as to speak of Free Trade in blood between head and heart and the limbs of a living being. That it is spoken of as such by high officials and even responsible publicists shows how deeply provincialism has entered their souls to the detriment of Indianism. With this protest against the misuse of the term "Free Trade," we appreciate Sir Azizul Haque's assurance. He said:

We are just at the time considering the feasibility of gradually restoring free trade throughout India as the only other means of ensuring a steady supply, thereby bringing down the general price level and distributing supplies commensurate with the needs of various parts of India.

It is a pity that Sir Azizul Haque who has shown such a firm grasp of the problem should at this juncture hand over charge of the Food Department to Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava. But this is no unusual thing in the Government of India. Except the three British Councillors who are rooted to their departments, the other members, all Indians, are but pawns on the viceregal chessboard. Perhaps the investigation which Sir Azizul is engaged in, as to the responsibility of the several forms in which obstruction was offered to the Government of India's measures, is not desired to be pushed further.

India and Islam:—That the large customs revenue and enormous profits, ranging from 200 to 2,000 per cent of the Indian trade with Europe, was the mainstay of the Arabs' economic structure during their period of greatest power and prosperity, between the seventh and sixteenth centuries, is the view expressed by G. W. F. Stripling in his "The Ottoman Turks and the Arabs" in the series, "Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences" published by the Illinois University. Egypt and Persia were conquered in the seventh century. Thenceforth, says Stripling, all Indian wares which reached the west passed through Mahomedan (Arab) hands. Right to the end of the fifteenth century, the main source of Arab prosperity and power was the Indo-European trade. It was also the period of their greatest achievements in culture and art. With the discovery of the sea route round the Cape of Good Hope by the Portuguese, the lucrative Indian trade ceased to enrich the Arabs and that, in the opinion of Stripling, was the starting-point of Arab decadence. After a short spell of Mameluke oligarchy, in which the Arabs were reduced to

virtual serfdom, the Turks became masters of the Arab lands. The new masters, unlike the Mamalukes who were former white slaves and unsympathetic to Arabs, learned Arabic and were appreciative of Arabic culture, which they incorporated into their own. Stripling gives a detailed account of how the loss of the India trade affected adversely all classes of the Arab population. Calicut and Diu were the most important Indian ports but there were several others from which ships set out with cargoes for European markets by the overland route which lay almost entirely in Arab territory. They had to pay heavy tolls at several points through which they had to pass. The loss of this trade undermined the economic structure of Arab society. Incomes fell, taxes increased and were levied "even on collectors of cowdung." The currency was debased so much so that eventually a silver coin was worth no more than a copper. Bitter wars between the Portuguese and the Arabs followed. Other European nations joined the fray and the Arabs were ousted from India and the Far East. The industrial revolution in Europe was the direct consequence of the acquisition of the Indian trade. Stripling observes :

The transfer to Portugal, Holland, France, and finally to England, of the benefits of the trade with India, put capital in hands that had much better resources than the Near and Middle East for developing into the present-day capitalistic, manufacturing society.

CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS MARRIAGES.

Apropos of Mr. K. Ramamurthy's lengthy commentary in the last issue of the *Reformer* on Mr. K. B. Gajendragadkar's letter in the issue of the 7th July, both correspondents are labouring under a misapprehension. When a religious marriage is followed by registration under the Special Marriage Act (1872) or registration under the Act is followed by a religious ceremony, the intention of the parties in most cases is to re-inforce and not to invalidate the first by the second. As Mr. Gajendragadkar pointed out, where the parties have been validly married in accordance with Hindu law and custom, the Registrar will, as a matter of course, refuse to register the marriage unless the fact of the Hindu marriage is fraudulently withheld from him. The only case in which he may register a marriage between parties who have previously gone through a religious form of marriage, is where the validity of the religious marriage itself is plainly doubtful. This is evidently what the Bombay Registration Manual contemplates. Thus, if a Vaisya had gone through the Hindu form of marriage with a Brahmin or Kshatriya girl, it would be clearly invalid in nearly all parts of India. If, on the other hand, a Brahmin had married a Sudra girl according to Hindu rites, the marriage will be valid under the late Justice Shah's ruling, in the Bombay Presidency, while it may not be so in other parts of the country. Registration cannot make a valid marriage invalid. It can validate an invalid marriage as in the case of a *pratiloma* marriage between Hindus. Registration here creates a status which did not legally exist. Brahmo Samajists often, not always, marry with their special Theistic rite with the Marriage Registrar, too, in attendance and the registration is simultaneously effected. This is because the Theistic rite has not been accorded statutory recognition. The Arya Samajists for many years were content with a religious ceremony closely approximating to the orthodox Hindu ceremony. They had the *hom* and the *saptapadi* which the Brahmos discarded as idolatrous. Hundreds of marriages were performed according to the Arya rite without any recourse to registration.

But some years ago a noted Arya Samajist was advised that his marriage with a Brahmin girl—he was a Vaisya—according to the Arya Samaj ceremony would not be held valid. After an interval of two or three years during which the parties lived as man and wife and were recognised as such by their world, a marriage between them was registered under the Special Marriage Act as amended by Gour. The *Reformer* called attention to the dangerous implications of this registration to the large number of Arya marriages which had taken place during many years. The Arya Marriage Act—a most unsatisfactory piece of legislation—validating Arya marriages, past, present and future,—was passed a few years ago as an all India measure. The Bombay Registration Manual has evidently reference only to similar cases. But even so it is risky. Evidently the marriages and registration contemplated by it are those which take place simultaneously or within a short interval of a few hours or days. But its terms are wide enough to cover such a case as that of the Arya Samajist couple above referred to. The religious marriage might have taken place and subsisted for a year or more. The Registration Manual's proviso will apply. But if there was a child by the marriage in this period, what would be the status of the child? In criticising the Arya Samajist's marriage, the *Reformer* called attention to this grave contingency. Both Mr. Ramamurthy and Mr. Gajendragadkar ignore it.

The position at present seems to be that the original Special Marriage Act of 1872 can be conscientiously availed of only by people who do not really believe in religion and by the thin residuum of Brahmos who hold that the Brahmo Samaj is distinct from Hinduism. But marriage under that Act will not relieve these of the incidents of Hindu law such as to joint family, succession and so on. Under the same Act as amended by Gour, Hindus, Sikhs, Jains and Buddhists can marry and intermarry without repudiating their respective religions. But such a marriage instantaneously and automatically severs the connection of the couple with their joint family and forcibly imposes on them in the place of their personal Hindu law the Indian Succession Act. What the effects would be of marriage under the Arya Marriage Act, is not clear. The Act in its preamble declares that the Aryas are a class of Hindus. Thus an agnostic marrying under the original Act will remain a Hindu to all intents and purposes: while a Hindu marrying under the Gour Act will cease to be a Hindu in relation to his family and property. The Rau Committee, among other things, has attempted to remove this ridiculous anomaly. If the Bills drafted by it become law, no Hindu need register his marriage in order to divest it from the taint of being polygamous and he can have the benefit of a law of succession in consonance with presentday ideas of the equality of the sexes in the matter of civil rights.

THE ITALIAN COLONIES.

The Muslim League has, it is reported, sent representations to the proper authorities that the colonies in Africa administered by Italy and now lost by her in this war, should not be handed back to Italy. This view has also been accepted by the British Government as Mr. Eden, Foreign Secretary, has said more than once since Mussolini resigned. To some extent the fall of Mussolini has proved an uncomfortable thing for the United Nations, since Italy has not surrendered with his fall. In the first place, the frequent pronouncements made by Allied statesmen that the war was not against the peoples of the Axis countries but solely against the

Nazis and Fascists, recede into the background now that Fascism has collapsed. Only the very naive would have expected the termination of the Allied offensive on the decline of Mussolini but the suddenness of his fall has left no time for a gradual transition in the declarations of the United Nations statesmen. A more serious matter, if anything could be more serious, is their attitude to the Italian colonies. Two policies are possible: The United Nations could declare in continuation of the Atlantic Charter that there would be a general deal on all colonies, which would eradicate all future grievances between nations. Or it might be decided to adopt a policy of depriving enemy countries of their colonial possessions—the worst, or rather only two, sufferers being Italy and Japan. As a method of penalising the offender, this has little to commend it, whether the colonies pass under other masters or are granted self-determination. In both cases, the worst aggressor, Germany, will be the least affected. While in the second case, seeing that France has virtually been assured of colonial restoration, a difference is made, in favour of the Axis colonies, between colonies owned by "free" governments and Axis-ruled colonies. The Japanese problem is discussed in Mr. Walser's article in this issue and he suggests that Formosa and Korea, as well as Manchuria, should be allowed to exercise self-determination. Mr. Walser goes on to apply the principle to British and Dutch and French possessions in Asia. It would be well to bring in Portugal as well, though she has stayed out of the war. For the plan for reconstruction must be seen as a general settlement of world issues rather than as a peace plan. Mr. Walser has been twenty-six years in Asia but his approach is based evidently on a knowledge of the mental workings of Europe and America. He seeks to obtain justice for Asia under threat of trouble from Asia, for only that will strengthen the claims of reason. But Asia has much to do in her own soil before she can challenge Europe on a world theatre. Incidentally, it is interesting to note that Lenin in 1916, according to his biographer Valerie Marcu, prophesied that if his plans for world revolution failed, then one of the two warring coalitions would win the war and twenty years later a war would break out between the United States and Japan. That "will mean for Europe a retrogression for several decades. History often makes gigantic leaps backwards." (*Foreign Affairs*). The only error was that war between Japan and America followed one gigantic leap backwards in Europe, stemmed out of a war in Europe and got tangled with the European war.

In the same issue of *Foreign Affairs*, April 1943, Luigi Sturzo, founder in 1919 of the Christian Democrat Popular Party in Italy, contributes an illuminating article on Italy after Mussolini. Seeing that it was written three months before Mussolini's fall, it is a remarkable study. The first point to be noted is a clear warning—and not for Italy alone. "Let us not toy," he writes, "with the idea that Generals can be useful for civilian government: Italians of my generation recall the governments of General Pelloux and the governorship of General Bava-Beccaris as calamities. As for expert civil servants, they can be useful if they are carefully controlled and excluded from any exercise of political responsibility." These principles, clearly enunciated by a veteran democratic leader, may with benefit be adopted by the United Nations as the guiding star of constitutional rule in all territories that fall to their administration.

Luigi Sturzo protests against Mr. Churchill's statement that Mussolini was the one man respon-

sible for Italy's trouble and for Fascism. However, he took the British Premier far too seriously. It was possibly necessary to say so some four months back because the belief then was general that a set-back to Mussolini's power could only come from the party leadership. A monolithic party, it was almost an axiom, does not submit to attack from without; it cracks from top downwards. Naturally in addressing the Italians, Mr. Churchill's propaganda was directed to get past Mussolini to the next men in authority. Now that, like Oliver Wendell Holmes' "one-horse shay", the Fascist machine has suddenly crumbled to powder, the leaders of the party have fallen in power, actual or potential. Here is practical proof of Britain's policy, that the war has not been called off. Sturzo seems, somewhat naively, to accept the statements of Allied leaders, specially regarding the opposition of the United Nations to the Nazi-Fascist system and not to the Italian people. These subtle distinctions are possible in the thick of an uncertain contest, not when victory is tangible. But writing at a time when Italy's submission did not seem so likely, Sturzo pursues the distinction into many fields. He divides, for instance, the Italian Empire into the Italian colonies and the Fascist conquests. He favours the acceptance of the two cities of Trieste and Trento and the provinces of which they are centres as part of Italy; the establishment of Fiume as an autonomous city; the surrender by Italy to Greece of the Dodecanese; the independence of Albania. Then he comes to the African colonies. There he says that Libya, Eritrea and Somaliland were acquired in the period of the formation of the British and French African Empires. The African problem, says Sturzo, will have to be solved on a basis common to all European colonial powers. And, adding that he agrees with Herbert Morrison that there should be a colonial policy combining progressive policies of education with opportunities for native peoples to take an increasing part in the forms of self-government, Sturzo goes on to observe that the Facta Cabinet in 1922 was working out just such a policy in Libya. But that in this matter, too, Sturzo is over-optimistic, is shown by the British Foreign Secretary's emphatic statement in the House of Commons that Italy will not get back her colonies.

These issues are, however, in the future. Of immediate interest is what Sturzo writes of the war in Italy itself. He says that the Italian people desire to be freed from Fascist control and Nazi domination, just as the United Nations have declared their ideal to be. But it is useless to ask them to revolt. "Not Allied bombings but the appearance of United Nations armies in Italy and Italian popular confidence in the purposes of those armies, are the conditions precedent to revolt." Owing to their long connection with America, Italians, says Sturzo, will look with greater friendliness on American troops than other forces. And he specially mentions Sicily where there are many "American" Italians settled. Then he goes on:—

When the Allies reach Rome (this is not a military plan but a political hypothesis) one of three things will happen: either the King will abandon the capital, to continue the war; or give himself up, while his armies continue the struggle alongside the Germans; or he will give himself up, order the cessation of hostilities and ask for an armistice. In the first case we shall have still further confirmation of the fact that we are dealing with an unyielding enemy. In the second case, the King will become an illustrious prisoner, without authority over either his armies or the people of the occupied territory. In the third case

Hitler will supplant him in the provinces still under German control until he himself is expelled or withdraws.

These various hypotheses help to demonstrate the proposition that the problem of the monarchy was not created by the anti-Fascist Italians living abroad but was inevitably posed on the day the King signed the declaration of war and thereby assumed responsibility for what was to happen as result of that act.

Sturzo's discussion is based on building up a peace in Italy without memories of defeat. Will the United Nations be ready to act on them?

MR. AMERY ON INDIA.

In an inaugural lecture in a teachers' course at York, Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, compared the Empire to the Kingdom of Heaven and said that it was within us. He said it was not something which owned people but something which the people owned, an enlargement and extension of their own national and individual lives. Then he went on to say that imperial unity was inherent and not imposed on the members by a federal constitution. No doubt, Mr. Amery has learnt from Indian experience since 1935 when a federal constitution was imposed on India and served to break up the unity which was British India before. Taking into consideration the audience to which he was speaking, Mr. Amery's remarks on the Empire were singularly apt. Every Empire has had a ruling class of which it could be correctly said that they owned the Empire. One could go further in fact and say that they were the Empire. For an Empire is something more than the mere territories it contains. The break-up of Empires begin not with loss of territory but with loss of strength. After the last war, the Austro-Hungarian Empire was broken up by the Peace Conference. But there is another side to this—the peoples to whom the Empire is not an enlargement and extension of their national and individual lives. These extensions occur not in vacuums; they are at the expense of somebody else. It would have been wise in the circumstances to have kept out India from Mr. Amery's thesis. But this was too much to expect of the Secretary of State for India. Mr. Amery went on to say that the supreme test of the system lay in winning a free India to acceptance of the privileges and responsibilities of the Commonwealth. Responsibilities India has already had to accept. The privileges are the thing in doubt. So far as we can see, while, as Mr. Amery said, the common contribution of the Dominions—he thought fit to omit India here—was best seen in the African continent, their position in regard to privileges is also seen there. The Indian contribution in North Africa has been considerable—so much in fact that Lord Linlithgow saw fit to declare a Victory Day holiday here, whereas no other units celebrated the capture of Tunisia. At almost the same time, South Africa passed the Pegging legislation against Indians in the Union. The meaning is plain. The Empire cannot afford to grant Indians the privileges it allows its White members. Mr. Amery talked eloquently of the unfettered decision of India to stay in the Empire, and of India occupying in the counsels of the Empire as of the world the high place which her political greatness and the gifts of her people entitle her to. These are flattering words which, six thousand miles from the scene, must thrill his hearers. But they can cut little or no ice in India, where political prisoners are aplenty—under Rule 26.

It is noteworthy that Lord Linlithgow's parting address to the Central Legislature contained none of these unctuous platitudes. As one who had unique

opportunities even before coming to India to know Indian conditions, both as Chairman of the Agricultural Commission and the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional Reform, Lord Linlithgow knows how far things have fallen here from any expectations that might be entertained in Britain. Even apart from his reported remark to Mr. Louis Fischer that anti-British feeling had increased in India, there is the food situation and there is the political mix-up and ordinance rule to show how far his expert knowledge both in agriculture and in constitution-making has led him away from first principles. The culmination is seen in starvation in certain areas and a military governor-general all over the country after seven years and a half of his guidance. In the face of these facts, Mr. Amery needs to be a long way off from India to utter his pious hopes.

POST-WAR ASIA.

Theodore D. Walser writes in *Worldover Press*, Connecticut, U. S. A.:—

On all sides (in clubs, business groups, Government circles, churches, etc.) one hears constant talk of "post-war aims." Having returned from Asia only three or four months ago, after a residence there of 26 years, and knowing a little of conditions there, this talk seems all too premature to me to be realistic, since we have a long war ahead of us.

But one of our statesmen has declared that "nothing will be won in the peace that is not won in the war" and, since attention to post-war objectives may tend to keep us sane and might even conceivably bring in upon us the realization that the war method will not secure a "just and durable peace," I'm glad to address myself to the subject of "Post-War Asia."

Though I still hope for a Wilsonian "peace without victory," I do not expect it, unless the bellicose and revengeful attitudes of the United Nations can be changed. Former President Hoover has said: "We can have peace or we can have revenge, but we can not have both." I am optimistic enough to believe that we will eventually get away from the revenge motivation, but just now it seems as though we would be faced with the problem of hewing the structure of a new world out of the chaos which will inevitably follow upon a "dictated peace." And a "dictated peace" will be a "victory without peace," unless a miraculous fair-mindedness should exist at the time that the peace treaty is written.

What conditions must, then, be met, as far as Asia is concerned, if World War II is to be anything but the threshold to a race war (World War III)?

As one surveys the conditions that must be met and the situation that must be created in Asia, if a "just and durable peace" is to prevail, the first thing that gives one pause is the utter disparity existing, among the United Nations, so-called, as to war or peace aims.

Briefly and too sketchily stated, the following three conditions must, I believe, be met in order to allay social unrest in the Far East, cut the nerve of nationalism and militarism there and strengthen the liberal elements, without whom a real peace is impossible:—

(A)—Self-Determinism for all Ethnic Groups (resulting in political autonomy and complete sovereignty, if desired).

It is to be regretted that the "Nine Power Treaty" failed to secure this boon (sovereignty and "territorial integrity") for China. In its breach, the Treaty was a great disappointment to all peace-lovers. The same rights (through self-determinism)

must be secured for Korea, Formosa and Manchuria. But further, since it is indubitably true, as Mr. Sumner Welles has said, that "the age of imperialism is ended. The rights of a people to their freedom must be recognized"—then, why should not this same principle be applied and self-determinism recognized as the inherent right of India, Singapore, Hong Kong, the Philippine Islands, Java, etc., as well? Here one can easily imagine the protests that will arise from the British and Dutch camps. It is true that the United States and Great Britain have but recently abrogated their "extra-territorial rights" (sic!) in China, but it is alarming to believers in freedom to know that Mr. Churchill declared, in his Guildhall speech, that "we mean to hold our own." Does "our own" here mean India and Hong Kong? If so, what will our allies, China and India, have to say? There is also a most disquieting rumour that Great Britain has stated that the Atlantic Charter does not apply to the colonial possessions of the British Commonwealth. If it does not, will a "dictated peace" be anything but "winning the war" and "losing the peace"?

(B)—Economic Stability (on an adequate basis) for all belligerents (vanquished as well as victors).

The apprehension is growing in some quarters that the completely grand slogans, "a struggle for the salvation of civilization" and "freedom for all men" are being obscured in the smoke and grime of battle. "Freedom for all men", obviously includes Koreans, Chinese, Japanese, Germans, Javanese, etc., and a peace leaving any people in economic slavery and in want of the necessities of life, will be nothing but the precursor to another "war for freedom." Former President Hoover has said that there can be no real peace in Europe with a dismembered Germany. Can there be a real peace in Asia with a dismembered Japan, which, whether we like it or not, is a highly integrated, literate, disciplined and dominant people? Japan, too, must have the same "freedom from want" that we, together with hungry China and hungry India, must have. A hungry Asia would, if allowed to remain hungry, wage war upon "the whites."

(C)—International Policing (for a time).

President Roosevelt suggested to Congress that we must disarm our enemies and keep them disarmed. At the 62nd Annual Dinner of the Academy of Political and Social Science, held on November 10th last, it was stated that there must be a "continuation of our armed might." Another prominent statesman declared that "we must police the world."

Happily, however, as a contrast to these utterances, suggesting unilateral police functions for ourselves, many observers are beginning to realize that any such plan would be nothing but a continuation of war, under a disguise of course. Further, many in positions to know the Far East understand that, under such one-sided police control, Asia would become a hot-bed of unrest and potential revolution. Dr. Stanley Jones has pointed out that we may "lose Asia," if a Christian peace does not prevail. Mr. W. B. Rutledge, Jr., appointed to the Supreme Court, has stated that one of the alternatives, for a post-war world is "a Federal Union of the nations of the world which binds everyone capable of disturbing the international peace to observe it. That means Germany, Japan, Italy, the United States, the British Commonwealth, Russia and China at least." In my opinion international policing under the auspices of such a super-national body as that "federal union" would be truly international and impartial and just. Further, by it, the 1,300,000,000 "non-whites" of Asia, assuming a fair share of this policing, would respect it and would abandon the thought of any race war.

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

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NOTES.

Sir Mirza Ismail on University Education :—
The address at the annual Convocation of Nagpur University was delivered by Sir Mirza Ismail. Paradoxical, as it may seem, a sure sign that Indian Universities have struck root in the social soil is that they have been profoundly, sometimes violently, affected by their environment, intellectual and political. All the forces at work to mould society in British India and in the Indian States have their repercussion in the Universities. Of these some are wholesome, some unwholesome. Both are having free play in university life. Communalism which has distorted politics, is distorting university education also. The discussions over the changes proposed in the Annamalai and Delhi universities, amply prove this. On the other hand, the fervour of nationalism finds expression, sometimes inconvenient expression, in the behaviour of undergraduates in all parts of the country. Not the least merit of Sir Mirza's address is that he studiously avoided the commonplace advice often given in Convocation addresses to students to wrap themselves up in cotton wool and remain unaffected by the stress and storm of life of which their own lives are organic elements. For the rest, Sir Mirza could not altogether escape from the necessity of stressing the obvious and of holding up ideals which demand for their realisation, a stern and stubborn struggle with the environment. Compromise which Sir Mirza urged, cannot take us far in this struggle. Universities at any rate should encourage the pursuit of ideals undeterred by the obstacles, spiritual and material, which beset them. *The Reformer* has all along held that the function of universities is to foster character which in the last analysis is the power of resistance to evil in any shape or form in any sphere of life, and to inspire youth with the vision without which a people perish more irretrievably than without food. Whether we like it or not, every one of us is compromising every moment of his life with the world around us. The prophets were nearly all maladjustments in the society in which they flourished. Sir Mirza advised that University students should pay special attention to our national culture. In this field at least, Indian universities can claim that they have played a large part in reviving interest and stimulating research in India's ancient heritage. Almost every day publications bearing on the old Indian classics are issued from printing presses in all parts of the country. The radio and the film reflect this interest, so much so that it is sometimes complained that there is too

much in them of the old and legendary and too little of the current social life.

Gandhiji at the Peace Conference :—Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastry happened to say a few days ago in the course of a speech at a students' gathering at Willingdon College, Sangli, that Gandhiji who has been preaching non-violence in every walk of life and has devoted his life to the preaching of peace, could alone represent India at the Peace Conference. On the face of it, the remark does not seem to be correctly reported. Mr. Sastry surely cannot have meant that Gandhiji should be the sole representative of India at the Peace Conference, that no one else should be associated with him. Gandhiji himself will not approve of the suggestion if Mr. Sastry had intended it. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, however, understood Mr. Sastry to have meant it, and in a letter to the *Times of India* pointed out that Gandhiji would not be accepted as their representative by the Muslim League, by the Depressed Classes, by the Hindu Mahasabha and by the Liberal Party. There is no one, not even Sir Chimanlal, who would be accepted by all these parties as their representative. Even his own party, the Liberals, may not do so.

Mr. Sastry's Reply :—Mr. Sastry has replied in a letter to the *Times of India*, published on Wednesday. It is clear from his letter that he did not intend that Gandhiji should be the sole representative of India at the Peace Conference. He repeatedly speaks of a delegation. A delegation may consist of only one person but usually it consists of more than a single individual. A one man delegation in the circumstances of India is unthinkable and could not have occurred to a statesman of Mr. Sastry's wide and varied experience. With Mr. Sastry's fervent tribute to Gandhiji's spiritual and moral greatness, few will disagree. But many will agree that Mr. Sastry misconceives the character of the Conference and of the leading men who will figure in it. These men are not likely to be moved by the moral principles which Gandhiji has proclaimed all his life. Churchill and Stalin have publicly expressed their contempt for Gandhism. President Roosevelt has not spoken but, whatever he is, the President is by no means a pacifist. There remains the Chinese Generalissimo. He is being persistently cold-shouldered in recent discussions and his weight at the Peace Conference may not be equal to that of the British, American, and Soviet statesmen. Moreover, Madame Chiang Kai-Shek who is her husband's alter ego, has scoffed at metaphysics in politics. The Chinese leaders have more faith in Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru than in Gandhiji. With these people, Gandhiji's love of peace and non-violence will not go far. Gandhiji will in all probability be a worse failure than President Wilson, for whom Lloyd George and Clemenceau at least professed high respect. Gandhiji can be a greater force outside the Peace Conference than in it. In any case, the present controversy is futile. Sir Arcot Ramaswami Mudaliar and Sir Mohamed

Zaffarullah are being dry-nursed for the role of Indian representatives. The Jam Sahab or the Nawab of Rampur or both may be the representative of the Princely Order.

"Conditioned Reflex" among Legislators:—Pavlov built up his theory of "conditioned reflexes" on observing that the physiological processes, such as salivation, induced by tasting food in the tongue and palate of a dog, were set up by the sound of a bell which preceded the feeding of the dog, if it had been accustomed to it. Pavlov, however, did not discover that the food in the dog's mouth would not induce these reactions if the bell was not sounded in a similar case. This is the discovery which is implied in the explanation of the Leader of the Indian Legislative Assembly for the absence of a quorum on Tuesday when a secret session was held to discuss the war situation. The session was held on the day fixed and adjourned for lunch at the usual hour. When the House should have resumed the discussion after lunch, it was found that there was no quorum. Only one official member was on the Government benches. The rest, about twenty-five, were conspicuous by their absence. The matter was brought up the next day on a motion for adjournment by a non-official member who maintained that it was the duty of the Government to have kept a quorum for an official debate. The Leader of the House, Sir Sultan Ahmed, said it was not the fault of Government but the failure to ring a bell that was responsible for the incident. The President of the Assembly who was appealed to—the Deputy President was in the Chair after lunch hour—said that there was no obligation on the part of the Chair to ring the bell but that it was usually done. In all assemblies the general practice is that the members should attend after the interval for lunch or tea at a specified hour without waiting for the ringing of a bell or the knocking of a hammer on the table. The bell and the hammer are merely for calling in stray members and to indicate that the sitting has begun. They were never intended to fill empty benches whether on the official or the opposition side. It appeared from casual remarks during the adjournment discussion that the official members were not within earshot of the bell. If this is correct, no conditioned reflex would have been induced in the minds of the absentees since the bell would not have sounded in their ears. It is hard to believe that the absence of the Government members, including the Commander-in-Chief who was the initiator of the discussion, was purely accidental. In reply to a question, the Leader of the House said that, if there was a general desire to resume the discussion, he would consult the Commander-in-Chief and fix a day which was convenient to His Excellency. This only confirms the long-standing objection that the Commander-in-Chief should not be burdened with the duties of a legislator and that the Army should be represented by a civilian spokesman in the Legislature, whose duty it would be to attend the Legislature whenever it discusses affairs of his department.

Colour Bar in New Delhi:—The New Delhi correspondent of the *Hindu* stated in a message dated 12th August that Indian correspondents were not invited to the first Press Conference held by Sir Arcot Ramaswamy Mudaliar after his return from London to resume his duties as Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council. Only British and American correspondents were invited. As the *Manchester Guardian* is represented in New Delhi by an Indian, that important English journal went without its representative at the

Conference. Some explanation is obviously needed and it may be hoped it will be forthcoming without delay for this apparent exhibition of colour prejudice by an Indian Member of Government in the capital of India. The correspondent says that Sir Arcot was not the first Indian Member who has adopted this segregation policy. That makes the matter only more anomalous. In the absence of special reasons, not readily conceivable, no Indian Member of Government can, consistently with national self-respect, acquiesce in an arrangement so derogatory to his own race and colour.

Member Versus Secretary:—The principal difficulty in effecting political and administrative reforms in this country, is that the dominant consideration of those in power in all matters is that the interests of the Services, especially of the Indian Civil Service and the Police, should be left intact. Only such reforms as conform to this test have a chance of being considered. The situation relating to the Food problem as it was revealed in the recent debates in the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, brought this out in a striking fashion. The Hon. Sir Azizul Haque in his opening speech in the Legislative Assembly showed that the crisis is largely due to the Central Government not having the machinery to carry out its instructions in the provinces. He added, "If the Government of India have to accept the responsibility for the Food problem in India, we must devise adequate machinery to carry out quickly and enforce our decisions." Sir Azizul, when he made this observation, was the Member of Government in charge of Food. He ceased to hold charge of the Department the next day. The Secretary of the Department, Major General Wood—what a Major General has to do in a Department affecting the economic life of the country, is known only to the high priests of the bureaucracy—speaking two days later in the Council of State directly contradicted his late Chief. The Major-General postulated that "whatever the food policy might be in this country, there was but one instrument and one machinery for the execution of that policy—namely, the administrative organisation of the provinces and the States." He added: "I wish to make it clear that not only have the Central Government no executive instrument or machinery for the day-to-day execution of food administration but that it would be improper for the Centre to attempt to build up such instrument and impossible to do so even were it deemed desirable." Unless the Major-General was advocating a unitary government, his observations can only mean that he enjoys the present food situation. Major-General Wood was here laying down policy which it is not the constitutional function of a Secretary, even though a military officer in civil employment, to lay down especially when it conflicts with the opinion expressed by his Chief. No Minister or Member in charge of a Department can give effect to his policy if his chief subordinate, the Secretary, holds a diametrically opposite view and has the right, as he has in India, to go over the head of his Chief to the head of the Government. The new Member for Food, Sir Jwala Srivastava, will have another Secretary, Mr. Hutchings, who was the Government of India's Agent in Burma before the evacuation. Mr. Hutchings is not a General. But we can not help thinking that an Indian, preferably without bureaucratic leanings, would be the most appropriate lieutenant of the Member for Food. The Food question concerns the intimate lives of the people and no one who is not born and brought up in an Indian home, can fully understand and appreciate the question as it affects the mass of people.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, August 21, 1943.

BURMA, JAPAN AND BRITAIN.

On Tuesday morning the *Times of India* published from its special correspondent at New Delhi what apparently was not recognized as a scoop of the first magnitude. It was an interview with a Burma spokesman. The interview revealed that "on August 1, Burma found herself in the company of those States on whom Japan has conferred the dubious benefit of so-called independence. Dr Ba Maw has formed a Privy Council from among his supporters and at a meeting of a newly formed State Assembly announced that his Government had declared war on the United Nations." These are the bare facts and we wish there had been more about the details because they are what it would be interesting to know. The *Times of India* allowed another detail to escape in commenting next day on the interview. The Japanese military administration is to function side by side with the new civil government. This has apparently surprised and disgusted the *Times of India*, and the comment seems as though better had been expected. Presumably this is in answer to Japanese claims to having acted purely in the interests of Burma which the *Times of India* fears will be taken seriously. No one is likely to think that Japan is altruistic because there are other countries besides Burma overrun by the Japanese and no reason is known why Burma alone should be favoured. Moreover, surely no one believes, after the diplomacy of the past four years and more, that any nation is inspired by altruism. If the full facts were made known, we would be able to judge for ourselves why Japan has pursued this policy in Burma—better than the Burma spokesman has been able to do for us. For there could be no greater amount of confused political thinking than that shown by the New Delhi spokesman of the Burmese Government. We quote one sparkling sentence:

It is part of a conciliation offensive by Japan towards her occupied territories done purely for propaganda purposes.

"Conciliation," "offensive," "purely propaganda purposes"—it is hard for anyone to pack these three conflicting thoughts into one sentence. A country cannot both seek to conciliate and offend; and, if it wants to do even one of the two, it is moved by more than propaganda purposes. This wobbling can only mean that the Burma spokesman is himself rattled by the Burmese statement which he refers to but does not reveal. He has bungled matters more when he says:

While the Japanese army of occupation is in Burma, there is no more real freedom of action for her than for Manchuria or Siam or any other satellite State ruled by the Greater East Asia Ministry in the name of co-prosperity.

Does this not mean that, in the opinion of the Burma spokesman, Burma now has acquired the status of a State, even though a satellite State? Can anyone seriously maintain that this is not an improvement, if it is accepted as a correct statement of the position, on the pre-occupation position? When U. Saw tried to negotiate a deal with Mr. Churchill, he merely wanted the promise of Dominion Status. Then the Atlantic Charter according to Mr. Churchill did not apply and nothing was said of the future place of Burma among the nations of the world. Even now the Burma spokesman is able to hold out nothing to "the people of Burma. His concluding words are

an explanation of the attitude of the United Nations. He said:

The United Nations do not look on the Burmese people as enemies because of this declaration of war any more than they regard as enemies the people of other countries overrun by the Axis. The United Nations still look on the Burmese as friends and believe that feeling is reciprocated. The Burmese know that, when the British, with American and Chinese assistance, have driven the Japanese aggressor from their land, the British will help them to repair ravages of the Japanese and to rehabilitate their social, economic and political life. Burmans are looking forward with ever increasing eagerness to that day.

The Burma spokesman expects Britain to play the main role in a military reconquest of Burma and the sole part in reconstruction afterwards. The meaning of that is obvious and even he is unable to show any enthusiasm about it. The hope he holds out is a restoration of the status quo.

This is not good enough. President Roosevelt has issued a statement on the Philippines which offers a precedent to what can be done. It is an assurance that Filipino representatives will be admitted to the Peace Conference on equal terms with representatives of other nations and on the same footing, with a definite promise of independence. The answer to the Japanese so-called independence can only be an offer of the real variety. And in that there must be no delay. Will the United Nations and Britain, as the chief party concerned, make it?

ITALY AND THE ALLIES.

Last week we referred to an article in *Foreign Affairs* for April on Italy. Since then we have received the *Protestant* for February-March, a vigorous number devoted to exposing the undercurrents of Fascism in Europe, which has a special article on Italy by Gaetano Salvemini; and the *New Republic* for May 17, in which Paulo Milano contributes an article on "Italy on the Eve." Professor Salvemini is at Harvard, teaching the history of Italian Civilization. He is one of the men who will come into Italian politics after the war is over. Signior Milano, once dramatic critic, teaches romance languages at a New York College. The striking feature about both articles is that they foresaw the collapse of Italy. Both make the same error of predicting the breakdown of Italy before the fall of Fascism and both fear that the men in Washington and in London will conclude a Darian peace with Mussolini's regime. But there is much detailed information of Italy, before Mussolini's fall, in Milano's article which explains recent events clearly. For, the Badoglio Ministry has entered on a complete reversal of Fascist policies in all spheres of life.

Milano charges the Fascist leaders with trying out appeasement. "They are prepared," he writes, "to give up their country after some fight and to get it back at a price in an arrangement of expediency... there is a new Italian line. It begins with the usual Axis slogans but ends curiously; still prodding the home front, it speaks a different language to foreign listeners." Milano goes on to add that the efforts to inspire the Italians are frantic and may prove belated. Fascist extremists wish to restrict party membership to fanatics. But, says Milano,

Italians are not fools. Should many of them fight, they would do so not under the spell of Fascist oratory but out of a distorted sense of military pride—or sheer despair. Anti-Fascist resistance.....is no longer clandestine. Disobedience, occasional sabotage and even strikes have become chronic, so much so as to deserve a more accurate and inspiring name than "underground" work.

Milano proceeds with a few significant references to the Italian Government and the black market which the Government of India, and especially our crusading Member for Information, should study with the care they deserve. He remarks:—

Meanwhile much of the energy of Fascist propaganda has gone into a new and bitter campaign against the black market. The authorities, however, seem to be rather helpless, for the editor of Ciano's newspaper (*Il Telegrafo*), Giovanni Ansaldo, the only leading Fascist spokesman who was once in anti-Fascist ranks, made it clear that the public was to take the fight into its own hands. At the same time the *Il Telegrafo* for April 7 printed the proposal of one reader that "terror squads" be allowed to search every private home, "with the houses of the Duce and the King the only exceptions."

As regards foreign affairs, the United Nations peace aims are denounced as Anglo-American imperialism, and an Allied victory is represented as a triumph for reaction—so far as Italians are concerned. Propaganda addressed to foreign audiences directly or indirectly, says Milano, sounds a new note. Fascism is dissociated from Nazism and is sought to be identified with Christianity and European civilization, both causes espoused by eminent Allied leaders. Anti-semitism is being dropped and "Europe, in this fateful moment," says *Orilica Fascista*, organ of the Fascist brain-trust, "cannot countenance the racial theory." By the end of March, the peace moves of the Vatican were countenanced, if not encouraged, by the Fascist regime. Milano asks,

Whom are these Fascist propagandists addressing? Is it Europe's small nations, in an effort to persuade them that they are in the same boat with the Italians, if not with the Nazis? Or aren't they rather aiming at the Foreign Offices of the democracies, in an effort once more to appear as the "good Fascists" whom the world knew before 1940?...The plans of the Fascist clique (with or without Mussolini) are not a mystery.....If and when invasion has made successful headway, they want Italians to die by the thousands—so as to enhance their own bargaining power. At such a moment a Darlanian deal for Italy could be happily consummated with the blessing of scores of cardinals and the signature of a mummified King, amid the hossanahs of Washington Machiavellians. The operation should be extremely painless to every one except to the Italian people themselves who would probably then be ready for a desperate civil war. At that time, their political education would presumably be complete. American democracy would have been their last illusion...would then appear identical in their eyes with a self-perpetuating Fascist tyranny.

That danger has now vanished into thin air. Fascism is being liquidated but what of the forces behind Fascism? In view of that, Professor Salvemini's article which gives the reactions of the Allied nations to Italian policies outlined above, has still a wide interest. Salvemini begins with a discussion of the attitude adopted by the Allies to Italian prisoners of war. At first, he says, anti-Fascists were segregated from the Fascists. A thousand privates and ninety-two officers, including a colonel, joined this group. But then at this point they were again all put together, under the control of Fascist officers. Salvemini says that a small army could have been developed so that after contributing to the war of liberation they would have made unnecessary for the new regime the support of foreign armies. He replies to the plea that the Geneva Convention pledges Governments not to carry on political propaganda among war prisoners, by observing that "this worship of the Geneva Convention deserves unbounded admiration at a time when all conventions are disregarded

by everybody." The men in charge of prisoners, he adds, are free to indulge in Fascist propaganda and they have at their disposal Rome Radio. He points out that Yugoslav prisoners taken along with the Italians in Libya, are being reorganized under Yugoslav colours which is apparently not in contravention of the Geneva Convention. Salvemini suggests that the policy is inspired not only by a feeling for the Geneva Convention but to avoid "trouble" in Italy when the war is over. "The Italian war prisoners are to be kept on Fascist ice," he writes, "so that when they return to Italy they will help keep law and order in the face of Bolshevism."

Then Salvemini turns to the propaganda put forth by the British Ministry of Information, which has "chanted, in all possible keys, the anthem of Italian cowardice." He says,

When soldiers have to fight against superior armaments, against the obtuseness of their chiefs, or against both odds, nothing on their part can avoid disaster, whatever their country. Add that the Italians were not fighting a war of self-defence on their own soil. They were to attack Greece, a small and harmless country from which they never had anything to fear, and then they had to fight in the Libyan desert—the most wretched spot in the world, from which no Italian peasant could ever hope to earn one dime by the direct sweat of his brow. On the battlefields of Greece and Libya the Italians found "that right to strike of which Fascist legislation had deprived them in peace time."

Salvemini recites several instances of Italian courage and mentions that the British Ministry of Information should have given due praise for these acts of valour while advising Italians to put their readiness for sacrifice at the service of a better cause. Italy's entry into the war, he says, was an occasion for national mourning in Italy. The British Ministry of Information failed to use the opportunity for driving a wedge in between the Fascist regime and the Italian people. Instead the propaganda about the cowardice of the Italians had created national animosities. Then Salvemini proceeds to indict the U. S. A. State Department for following this lead by the British Ministry. Anti-Fascists are not being used as they should be. "Men like Franco, Petain and 'Otto of Austria' are the pets of the American administration," he writes; "European refugees who want to fight against Nazism and Fascism are only allowed to merge into the American Army like drops of water in an ocean; the only drop of water that is kept in reserve for post-war Europe, bears the name of 'Otto of Austria.'" He concludes:

Knowing that a revolution cannot break out in Italy today, and yet demanding a revolution so as to be able to indict the Italians who do not deliver the required revolution—and then discounting and discouraging any revolution as a result of Nazi and Fascist breakdown—and then clamouring for leaders who either cannot come to the fore now or could only be picked up from among the members of the royal family and Fascist chieftains—and then planning eighteenth century dismemberment—and then opposing any work of military organization and democratic re-education among Italian war prisoners—and then spreading methodical scorn of Italian cowardice—everything hangs together. There is method in this stupidity. Unfortunately, it is not the wise men of London and Washington who pay for it. It is British and American youth.

Salvemini concedes that there are men in England who appreciate this view and expresses the hope that in America too it will be seen. One must, however, bear in mind that some of the bitterness in

Salvemini's writing arises out of the fact that he is an Italian himself. While conceding the general principles he has advanced, one must not lose sight of two elements which brighten the picture of unrelieved gloom depicted by him. In the first place, though the Fascist regime has gone and Badoglio is wiping out its traces busily, yet the continuance of the Allied powers' Italian campaign with undiminished vigour shows that the United Nations leaders are fully alive to possible forces which operated behind the Fascist facade and might still be at work. In the second place, it is no small thing surely, that Professor Salvemini is free to write as he does, indicting Allied policy; and, more, finds support for his view in America.

INDIA AND AMERICA.

Contrary to the repeated assertions of high authority that Americans are either ignorant of or uninterested in Indian affairs, there are signs to show that they do feel much interest. Articles on India are figuring in American newspapers and journals, and the fact that the bulk of them are written by British publicists who have served in India in eminent posts, reveals that the need is felt to counter prevailing opinion in the U. S. A. Several propagandists and neo-propagandists have borne testimony to the difficulty of speaking on India to American audiences in presenting the British case. Some of them have been provoked to score points by asking their questioners how the U. S. A. can talk of race with the negro problem unsolved and mismanaged. Therefore, it is better to appear in cold print. Here the Indian point of view, and we do not mean even the extremist nationalist view when we say Indian, is at a disadvantage. The "authoritative" publications are all British. Books printed in India, apart from the control to which they can be subjected, repel the reader by their unattractive get-up. Those published abroad by writers residing in foreign countries suffer from overstatement and crudities consequent on the writers having lost touch with the Indian mind and not having acclimatised themselves to the American mind. Foreign propaganda has not appealed to the best Indian minds which still look to the Indian problem as one to be settled with Britain. Therefore, a detached presentation of the case for India is still lacking. And for that reason writers in the American press, and even serious students of politics do not succeed in understanding the position here. A case very much in point is a study which *Information Service*, the weekly Bulletin of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, has released on "The Problem of India's Future." Though much research has gone into the issue and Edith A. Trotter is to be congratulated on her work, yet it is to be regretted that the Bulletin for all its efforts fails to maintain the usual detachment that characterises the publications of the Council. The thesis is that Britain had done little in the 19th century to encourage optimism on the part of Indian nationalists. But that a change had set in since 1917. The Indian attitude is described grudgingly in the following paragraph:

The habit of examining with suspicion all British promises, reading into every proviso or guarantee some intent to subvert the whole trend of any concession, was unfortunately confirmed by the phraseology of Prime Minister Winston Churchill's statement anent the Atlantic Charter. His explanation did not register. Distrust spread to circles which had approved the Government's policy of gradual transfer of responsibility. It troubled Indians who wish permanent retention of some British connection.

It would have been graceful to admit frankly that there was justification for both caution and suspicion. Yet the writer adds later, "Accusations of bad faith and broken promises on the part of the British Government appear to have arisen from optimistic interpretation rather than from careful study of the text of British statements." Surely, she should welcome careful study now at least? And in common justice to Indians she might have conceded that the optimistic interpretations were not altogether discouraged by responsible British politicians. The squabble over the meaning of "representative institutions" arose ten years after they were used by Montagu in his 1917 Reforms. When he used the phrase, both sides understood responsible government in the parliamentary sense. Lord Hailey it was who discovered years later that the two were very different and his view found acceptance in a Britain which had forgotten the stress of the last war. It is easy to be negligent when and where one's interests are not affected. But the Americans who gather round the peace table, will do well to profit by India's experience. What Edith Trotter finds strange in India is not peculiar to India. Bruce Bliven in the *New Republic* pointedly draws attention to the care with which Roosevelt is avoiding the mistake of Woodrow Wilson. He writes:

Mr. Roosevelt has refrained from putting the sort of noble interpretation on the present struggle that Woodrow Wilson put upon the First World War. In not doing so, no doubt he has been influenced by the fiasco of Wilsonian idealism. Mr. Roosevelt has let Mr. Churchill set the pace and dictate the tone in regard to the character of the war and the almost complete absence of official discussion of the post-war world.

Very probably the American President feels that by keeping quiet now, he will have a better chance at the Peace Conference. But it is equally probable that the initiative lost in war may never be regained in peace.

There is one point on which the Bulletin is out-of-date—where it refers to British fears that the Indian national debt will be repudiated. This is an issue which will probably be appreciated by the Americans who have suffered more from national debt repudiation than any other people. But it is hopelessly out-of-date as India is no longer a debtor country and what is worrying the British is her position in the post-war world as a creditor country.

There are one or two questions on which delicate but offensive suggestions are thrown out. For instance,

Of the religious emphasis in Congress party attitudes, especially among early extremists, Miss Mitchell says that "the insistence on religion and religious superstitions as the basis of the nationalist movement inevitably weakened and retarded the growth of genuine political consciousness among the Indian people, while the emphasis on Hinduism served to alienate large numbers of the Moslem community from the national movement."

The early Congressmen were the last persons to be guilty of insisting on religion. It was not the emphasis on Hinduism which alienated the Muslims but the efforts of Viceroy's House. Lady Minto in her "India, Minto and Morley" quotes an official as writing in 1906, referring to the deputation of Muslims led by the Aga Khan:

I must send Your Excellency a line to say that a very, very big thing has happened today...It is nothing less than pulling back sixty-two million people from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition.

The Bulletin proceeds:

There is a Hindu emphasis as well in Mr. Gandhi's political and social doctrines, that is, in his advocacy of the spinning wheel and a return to the primitive village community administration, and in his opposition to western forms of science and industry.....The position of the Depressed Classes constitutes another anomaly with respect to the Congress Party's avowal of democratic aims.

Seeing the number of Hindu millionaires and orthodox Hindus at that in big business, there is as much point in calling the spinning wheel Hindu, as there would be in calling the motor car, the tank or the bomber, Christian. The reference to Depressed Classes to discredit the Congress is a piece of political jugglery. The old charge of conservative industrialists backing Gandhiji is repeated. In other words, if the Congress is progressive it is damned, and if it is reactionary it is doomed.

The political situation—the Bulletin relates to the Cripps offer—is discussed with naivete. Those who are prepared to shoulder responsibility, the Liberals and non-Congress leaders, have no popular support; the Congress will not assume responsibility. Then the writer goes on to mention the difficulties caused by non-violence. There seems to be unnecessary fears that India will not shoulder international responsibilities because of her attitude on non-violence. This is carrying dialectics to absurdity. After all, the Congress itself was prepared to accept a war policy. And the Cripps talks broke down on other issues which itself shows that the Congress leaders had accepted defence responsibilities and even the onus of continuing a war which had been taken on by Lord Linlithgow in the name of India.

A Chaotic Situation:—Sir Jwala Srivastava's maiden speech as Food Member struck a democratic note. He made it clear that the policy he would pursue is the policy demanded by the people. He accepted on behalf of the Central Government full responsibility for Food administration and he indicated that Provincial governments will not be allowed to thwart the measures of the Centre. Sir Jwala's own province has been perhaps the most recalcitrant in its attitude towards the Central Government in nearly all subjects. He will, therefore, have a difficult as well as delicate job in overcoming provincial obduracy. Sir Jogendra Singh made a useful contribution to the discussion. He deprecated depending solely on coercion to secure the co-operation of the public. Indian opinion is to a large extent agreed as to the necessity of an All India policy. Non-official English opinion also realises that only by an All-India programme can a solution of the problem be found. But some English officials in the higher ranks are the strongest advocates of provincial autonomy being meticulously respected only in this matter even though the consequences to the people of the country may be stark starvation. This has led to the present situation which Mr. Dixon, a member of the Indian Civil Service, and Dewan of Cochin, described in his Budget Speech to the State Assembly, as "the present chaotic situation in regard to prices, supplies and distribution." And as they are the actual government of the country, their Chiefs have to adopt their policies or be shifted to some other Department. Sir Edward Benthall, the Transport Member, spoke with a detachment which was entirely out of place on the occasion. Transport should be subordinated to the Food administration.

MARRIAGE LEGISLATION IN BARODA.

Sir,

I have read with interest your notes on the Hindu Intestate Succession Bill and an article on monogamy by law in your issue dated 8rd July 1943. It naturally turned my thoughts to Baroda which as you know, has made considerable progress in both these directions. *The Reformer* has also published notes regarding the progress of the Baroda State in this direction in the past and I think that a note on these particular points mentioned above may help a little in the general discussion.

First of all, the codification of the Hindu Law which is not yet done in British India has been done long ago in Baroda. Secondly the provisions for Intestate Succession which are being discussed in the Indian Legislature at present were incorporated in this Hindu law several years ago. These have helped the public considerably which fact must encourage the legislature in British India. You have rightly styled the opposition as "factious."

Adverting now to the article on monogamy I may point out that Baroda has made monogamy compulsory by law. All Hindus have got to observe the law, the breach of which results in punishment. Recently there happened a case in which a Hindu married a second wife while the first was living. The court has fined the man. The Baroda law is applicable to all Hindus, irrespective of the different sects. There is no question of disabilities being imposed upon any sect of Hindus for availing themselves of this law for the law is compulsory to all of them. You will thus find that the Hindu law in Baroda is much in advance of the British law in this respect.

One important aspect of the monogamy legislation in Baroda may also be mentioned here. There was a time when His late Highness Maharaja Sayajirao had to start a campaign, almost a crusade, of social reform. He enacted several Acts. It is one thing for the Government to enact laws and the other for the people to ask for them. As a result of the long campaign of social reform spread over several years the people of Baroda have risen to a particular level in respect of social customs with the result that the demand for monogamy legislation came from the representatives of the people in Dhara Sabha. The Bill for monogamy was passed in Dhara Sabha and H. H. The Maharaja Pratapsinh readily gave his assent to it.—P. M. SHAH.

CHAIRMAN, PUBLIC HEALTH COMMISSION.

Sir,—Every schoolboy knows that higher and even subordinate appointments in Government and quasi-Government services are made not on considerations of merit, of securing the best man for a job, but on the principle of apportioning them on a quota basis among several sects and castes. Even he, however, cannot but have been surprised by the announcement, made with some gusto as if it were a catch, of the nomination of Sir Joseph Bhore to be Chairman of a Public Health Commission yet to be formed. Sir Joseph after a meritorious career in the Indian Civil Service during which he rose to high office, and after serving for a period as Dewan of Cochin, accepted some office, Political Adviser or Reforms Commissioner, in the Bhopal State. Perhaps he is still there. Why this veteran who has earned the right to spend the evening of his life in dignified repose, should be dragged to undertake a task requiring wide research and application in a field which is not his—the myth that the I. C. S. man is equal to any job is obsolete now—can be understood only by assuming that Sir Jogendra Singh had only a slight discretion in the choice. Old age which

was honoured, has fallen into disrepute just because elderly people insist on competing with younger men for jobs which legitimately appertain to the latter. Young people feel that they are denied opportunities of useful service by the tendency of veterans to lag superfluous on the stage.—SCRUTATOR*

Proselytising in Colleges:—The Senate of the Bombay University at its meeting on Wednesday passed two resolutions disfavouring proselytising in Colleges. The opposition to the resolutions urged that this was an interference with freedom of religion. Religious freedom is an ancient tradition in India. People fleeing from religious persecution sought and found asylum in India where they were given every facility for professing and practising their religions. In Europe, on the other hand, religious toleration is not more than two centuries old. When the British became political masters of India they scrupulously respected the religions prevailing in the country so much so that they disallowed the placing of the Christian Scripture in school libraries. Sir Thomas Munro, when Governor of Madras, dismissed an English district officer for distributing religious tracts at a Hindu festival. By and by, proselyting missions were first tolerated, and then subsidised for their educational institutions by Government. Raja Ram Mohan Roy the Father of Modern India and the founder of the Brahmo Samaj, who was a great admirer of Christ's precepts, protested strongly against the proselytising activities of Christian missions. Government were powerless to resist the influence which was brought to bear on them from England in the name of religious freedom. Indian leaders then organised their own religious and social movements and effectually stopped conversion from among the cultured classes. The Missions then turned to the depressed classes but that source is also fast drying up owing to the statutory recognition and special concessions granted to these classes and the ameliorative work of national agencies inspired by leaders like the late Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, the late Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwar and Gandhiji. The Christian Mission Colleges have practically ceased to make proselytes from among their students and the more conscientious missionaries recognise that their work is now an anachronism. The establishment of a Catholic Christian College for women in Bombay was a new development. The *Reformer* protested against the recognition of this institution by the University on the ground that it was a retrograde movement and a deviation from the long-standing tradition of the Bombay University and also because the influence of the environment on impressionable young women at their period of adolescence, was likely to be detrimental. The conversion of one or two young women from the College without the cognisance of their parents and guardians created some sensation and one of the resolutions passed by the Senate related to this incident. If Christian missionaries are wise, they would of their own accord renounce proselytism as derogatory to religion. If Bolshevik propaganda to change the admittedly oppressive economic system of capitalistic countries be regarded as undesirable, the attempt to undermine religious faiths which for centuries prior to the birth of Christ have afforded strength and solace to generations, under cover of education, is scarcely, less so.

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

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NOTES.

The Late Mr. M. C. Rajah:—The death of Mr. M. C. Rajah, leader of the Depressed Classes of South India, at the comparatively early age of sixty is a loss as much to the scheduled castes as to the general body of Hindus. Unlike Dr. Ambedkar, who saw no hope for the scheduled castes except by separating themselves from Hindus, Mr. Rajah favoured a policy of co-operation with Hindu reformers who have been long working to elevate the condition of these castes. Dr. Ambedkar's separatist programme was supported by the Muslim League, some Christian missionaries and a class of officials, who for their own reasons were disposed to view the disruption of Hindu society with sympathy. As often happens to moderate men, Mr. Rajah was left out of the race for preferment. For a short while he acted as a Minister in the interim Government of Madras before the Congress took office. The Congress party did not include him in the Rajagopalacharya Cabinet, perhaps because he did not subscribe to some of its fancy items. He never seemed to throw himself wholeheartedly into any cause, whether that of the scheduled castes or that of national freedom.

Bombay Convocation Address:—The newspapers published only a summary of the address which Sir John Colville, the Governor of Bombay, delivered in his capacity of ex-officio Chancellor of the University at the annual Convocation last week. As a newcomer His Excellency wisely avoided any reference to the actual problems which Universities, along with other institutions in the country, have to solve. For Universities are part of the national life and must, as outstanding features of the national landscape, bear the brunt of the conflicts which are set up by the collision of the pacific ideals which have been India's heritage for at least three millenia, and the aggressive, competitive ways of modern, western civilisation. Therefore, Sir John can say as he did that the function of a University is to qualify young men and women for the places which they aspire to fill in the system in which they find themselves. Those, on the other hand, who are in the thick of this conflict, which, in fact, rages more fiercely within them than without, do not know what exactly the system is to which the youth of India has to be adapted by the Universities. Even in countries where the social and political heritage has grown together unaffected by influences imposed from outside, universities would fall far short of their duties if they did no more than fit men to fill places in the existing order. The

law of supply and demand which has proved inadequate even in the industrial sphere for which it was specially deduced, has no relation to the tasks which universities have to discharge. The scholar and the scientist have to create a new and not to supply an existing demand. If the war has proved anything it is that the profit motive can only work peaceably when all nations are content to live and die in the conditions in which they were evolved. At a crisis like war, it has to be ruthlessly cast aside and a course relentlessly pursued which brings not profits but colossal losses. To expect India which, by the way, has a university tradition extending much beyond the thirteenth century, and which is probably the source of the medieval western tradition itself, to pursue the path of profit while all the rest of the world is relinquishing it as the prime cause of social catastrophe, is hardly apposite. Western industrialism and the civilization based on it have collapsed. This is largely due to the failure of Western Universities through becoming subservient to the economic in place of the ethical motive of progress. When the last war broke out, brilliant University men were at the head of the three chief Allies. Asquith and Haldane in Britain, Poincare in France carrying on his duties as Professor of Sorbonne in the midst of his arduous political preoccupations; Wilson at the White House in Washington—they were all brushed aside to make room for self-made men like Lloyd George, Clemenceau and Warren Harding. The present war is but a continuation of the last, because the Peace Treaty was framed by men who had no vision, no forethought, no humanity.

Future of the British Commonwealth:—The decisive victory of the Labour (Government) Party at the Australian General Elections has a significance transcending the internal affairs of the Commonwealth. Mr. Curtin, the Prime Minister, came to power by attacking the policy of his predecessor who thought more of the interests of the British Empire than of the Australian Commonwealth. Recently, Mr. Curtin issued a statement suggesting that the affairs of the British Empire should be managed by a composite Commonwealth Cabinet. A British Ministry from London, he said, could not manage the affairs of the whole Empire. He will perhaps press his proposal with greater vigour now when there is a suggestion that efforts must be made to increase the European population by increasing existing facilities for colonists to settle in the British Dominions, as the United States has practically closed its doors to immigration. Australia has for years stood out against increase of immigrants even from Europe as that would lower the standard of life prevailing in the country. In view of the needs of military service, however, Mr. Curtin may agree to admit more immigrants from Europe. But this will not end the matter. Any scheme which implies the continuance of the All White policy of the Dominions will necessarily strengthen the cry of Asia for Asiatics.

Home Publicity Board :—In the course of his address at the meeting of the Standing Committee of the All India Editors' Conference last month, Sir Sultan Ahmad mentioned incidentally that the reorganisation of the Departments under him, will be to relieve senior officers whose business should be planning and co-ordination, of most of the routine business of administration, finance, staff and so on. Early this week a Press Agency message gave some particulars of the reorganisation. A Home Publicity Board consisting of Mr. P. J. Griffiths, at present organiser of the Central National War Front, and an Indian member will be formed shortly. The task of the Home Publicity Board, the message added, will be to co-ordinate the work of the Departments like All India Radio, National War Front and the Counter-propaganda Directorate. It is further understood, it went on, that Dr. K. T. Behnan, at present Deputy Director, Central National War Front, will succeed Mr. Griffiths. Ever since the introduction of the Hoare scheme dividing up British India into autonomous provinces, co-ordination has been very much in the air but, as the squabbles over food distribution have proved, with very little result. Lord Linlithgow in his address to the Legislature expressed satisfaction at the working of provincial autonomy, but few who are not capable of his serene detachment from the world of facts, are likely to share His Excellency's satisfaction. It is not clear what co-ordination means in Sir Sultan's scheme. Attention of the public has been recently called to the condition on the licence for radio reception that the news supplied by the radio is not to be published. Nature has provided the mechanism for co-ordinating impressions gathered through eyes and ears, and it is often difficult to remember through which particular sense a particular piece of information was recorded in one's brain. The Home Publicity Board is not likely to prove as efficient as the human brain as a co-ordinating instrument, and unless co-ordination is perfect, it may easily become confusion. How this Board of two, one member sitting seven thousand feet above in Simla, the other at a corresponding depth below in New Delhi, will relieve superior officers of routine finance and administration, requires elucidation. Further comments should await the publication of more detailed information of the scheme. But Mr. Griffiths' translation from the direction of the National War Front is itself, even if it proves to be the only result, an incident which will be widely appreciated.

Two Nations but One State :—Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, was reported to have told a Press Conference in Nagpur that he recognised Hindus and Muslims as two nations but India was a single State. Subsequently however he seems to have modified his statement and ascribed the first statement to misunderstanding and misreporting by the journalists who attended the Conference. This has provoked the angry retort by the journalists that Mr. Savarkar was seeking to escape from a difficult predicament by laying the blame on them. The controversy seems to be misdirected. Mr. Savarkar's first statement was perfectly sound. He had himself referred to the case of Britain which consisted of three nations—the Welsh, the Scotch and the English. The Scotch themselves are divided into Highland and Lowland. The Jews form another nation though unlike the Scotch and the Welsh they are not defined by territorial boundaries. Then, there are the British and French in Canada, the Dutch and the English in South Africa. In a wider sense, Disraeli wrote of the two nations in England itself—the haves and the have-nots.

Lord Acton, the historian of Freedom, held that a State which was one single Nation, the Nation-State, was a menace to its neighbours (like the Nazi State). He extolled the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and the British Empire as model states because they embraced many nations. Sir Michael Sadler, speaking at the Bombay University, spoke appreciatively of the composite character of its students. He said that that made for stability even as the mixture of metals of varying rates of expansion and contraction in response to changes in temperature, made the "compensating pendulum" constant in chronometers. We have this immense advantage ready made in India. We agree with Mr. Savarkar's idea that the existence of two nations is no barrier to the maintenance of a single State. In fact, if Jews and Parsis prefer to call themselves nations, we would not object. India can be a single State though there may be five nations inhabiting it. If the recognition of Muslims as a nation satisfies the advocates of Pakistan, there should be no difficulty whatever in conceding it provided they concede the principle of a single State. Critics of Mr. Savarkar by insisting on every community in this country agreeing to form a single nation with others, are imposing a meaningless barrier in the way of good understanding.

Rationing in India and in Britain :—Sir Arcot Ramaswami Mudaliar, just returned from London where he served as India's representative on the War Cabinet, told press representatives that the differences between the conditions in Britain and in India as regards the food supply were so great that it was impossible to apply the methods found successful in the former country to India. Sir Arcot is now Supply Member and is only indirectly concerned if at all with the distribution of food grains. When he was Member for Commerce, before going to London, he had himself conceived the brilliant idea of manufacturing Standard Cloth as a means of averting a cloth famine. There is no essential difference between rationing cloth and rationing food. As a matter of fact, while the standard cloth scheme has virtually failed, food rationing has met with unexpected success in the few places in which it has been so far tried, so much so that it is now proposed to extend it to all urban areas in the country. That despite the different conditions the rationing plan holds promise of success in towns in this country, is largely due to the habit of deferring to authority which is inherent in the Indian character. At the same time, it cannot be denied that, while Britain has to import most of her food which can, therefore, be easily controlled at the ports, India grows her own food to a very large extent and control, therefore, has to be widely diffused and consequently not too stringent. Still, experts are brought down from Britain for every conceivable development which may show itself in the course of the official bungling. There is no end to these importations. It would be both cheaper and more permanently useful to the country to send a dozen men to learn the technique and pass it on to the requisite number of Indian officials and non-officials. But this would not create the impression, which is of much current value, that India is helpless without Britishers at the top. As a matter of fact, Sir Arcot's stressing the differences between Britain and India, rather suggests that there might be more use studying conditions elsewhere where there is a greater similarity of conditions, as, for instance, the U.S.A., as regards imports and so on.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, August 28, 1943.

A HOUSE DIVIDED.

While in the Legislative Assembly the Government of India strenuously opposed the amendments proposed by the Muslim League members to have places in the governing bodies reserved for Muslims in the Delhi University Bill, in another Department at the same time they issued a resolution fixing eight and one-third per cent as the proportion of offices in the Central Government which should be recruited from among the scheduled castes. Sir Jogendra Singh who is in charge of Education and determines educational policy, does not evidently believe in making University education subservient to communal clamour. Dr. Ambedkar who is in charge of Labour but is mainly interested in advocating the interests of the scheduled castes of whom he was chosen as representative in the Viceroy's Executive Council, is, on the other hand, a staunch believer in appointments in the Government service as a means of social uplift. This is to say, while in the case of Muslims, Government are inclined to circumscribe the sphere of communal claims, in the case of the scheduled castes they are extending them to new spheres. This is fresh evidence of what has been amply apparent in these days, that the Government of India has no coherent policy and is a house divided within itself. The responsibility for this unhappy state of things is pre-eminently that of the Viceroy. Lord Linlithgow might not have consciously encouraged differences but he has not actively promoted concordant thinking and action among his colleagues.

Dr. Ambedkar's belief that the scheduled castes can rise in the social scale by securing Government jobs, always illusory, is particularly so now when there is not the same high regard for holders of Government offices as there used to be even twenty years ago. On the contrary, officials are often ill at ease in their social environment and it is not unusual for them to express in private ultra-extremist views. We do not think that friends of Dr. Ambedkar regard him differently since he became a member of the Government of India from when he was his own master at his Dadar mansion among his books. In any case, since it is impossible for many members of the scheduled or unscheduled castes to get jobs in the Government service, this means of raising themselves in the society cannot be of considerable efficacy. While nobody felt aggrieved when Dr. Ambedkar was elevated to the Executive Council, henceforth there will be discontent if a single job over and above the allotted quota goes to a scheduled caste man, although on his merits he may be the best man for the job. The present step is, in our view, distinctly disadvantageous to the scheduled castes. It is, of course, no advantage to the public services, since all such quotas involve preference being given to men of inferior qualifications over men of higher qualifications who do not belong to a particular community. In practice, minority rights of this character impose a double share of work on officials drawn from communities for whom no proportions are fixed. Eventually in all walks of life the man who does more than his share of work, comes to exercise more influence than one who does less than his share. The quotas in public offices are really a handicap rather than a help. The man who gets a job on communal considerations, has no inducement to improve his qualifications. He tends to regard it more or less as a sinecure.

When he is found to be unequal to his duties, he believes himself and tries to make others believe that it is the prejudice of his superiors which is in the way of his advancement.

Food or Transport Shortage:—The controversy over the food crisis has brought into relief the contrarious features of the system of government in India. Sir Azizul Haque in his speech in the Legislative Assembly analysing the causes of the present acute Food situation, catalogued the obstructions offered to carrying out an All India policy which had been accepted by all provinces. When asked for the names of the obstructing agencies, he said that he could not say until his investigation into the matter was completed. As on the very next day, Food was taken from his charge and handed over to one of his colleagues, the investigation will probably be never completed. Meanwhile different provinces have come forward to defend themselves and trying to repel the charge of obstruction. The first in the field, was Mr. Fazlul Huq, ex-Premier of Bengal, who indignantly flung the charge back at the Centre. His statements were far from convincing. In the impulsive mood which seems to be chronic with him, he had in December declared that Bengal did not want any help from the Centre and could shift for herself. He now asserts that this would have been the case but for the intervention of other authorities who were bent on upsetting his apple-cart. Sir Azizul had no difficulty in exposing the inaccuracy of Mr. Huq's contentions. A more formidable adversary, however, is Sir Chhoturam the Punjab Revenue Minister, who has warmly repudiated the charge of selfishness on behalf of his province. The most telling point in his statement is that though the Central Government had purchased by July over 18,500 tons of wheat in the Punjab it had been able to move only a third of that quantity to the deficit areas since. Sir Edward Benthall, the Transport Member, told the Assembly that this was true but it was not the fault of his Department which would have spared a sufficient number of wagons but that the deficit provinces were not ready to receive the wheat. What he meant is not clear. There were hungry human beings to receive any amount of food that could be made available. No Government worth the name would have preferred to see its people starve, to spare itself the trouble of unloading the food brought to it from outside. While Sir Edward's statement must stand, there is a sidelight from another source which throws doubt on his belief that he had enough wagons to cope with the traffic in food grains. In a pamphlet issued on the authority of the All-India Manufacturing Organisation on the Iron and Steel Industry in India, the writer maintains that Steel manufacture is retarded by Government policy. He writes:

As an instance, I should like to draw attention to the serious deterioration in the production of railway wagons and cars. The transport of the country has been seriously affected and at a time like this, when more wagons and locomotives should be put on the roads, the number is being curtailed for various reasons, chiefly due to poor maintenance or transfer to war zones.

This, he suggests, is the outcome of policy. He demands that Government should take an early opportunity to contradict or confirm the belief in Indian industrial circles that, as a result of the meetings of the Eastern Group Conference and the visit of the Roger Mission from England, the Government of India decided that the expansion of steel and the establishment of heavy industries required for war material should be kept out of India.

THE ABORIGINALS OF INDIA.

This recent addition to the Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs, is interesting in many respects. It is interesting too as marking a notable change in the attitude of Mr. Verrier Elwin towards the Hindu influence on the forest tribes. In earlier writings he seemed to maintain that the tribes were distinct from Hindus and that such influence as Hindus had on the tribes was altogether pernicious. He has modified that attitude in the present pamphlet. He writes:

The religion of the aborigines, at least of peninsular India, should be regarded as a religion of the Hindu family, with a special relation to the existing, dangerous, catastrophic Shivaite type but as having a distinct existence of its own. For purposes of the Census, all aboriginals should be classed as Hindus by religion, but separate returns of their numbers by race should be provided.

Nevertheless, Mr. Elwin still regards that Hindu influence has been not very elevating. "To the tribesman Hinduism often means little more than the adoption of those very social evils that the best Hindus are today trying to abolish." Yet he records as "a triumph of culture-control" that the Bhil and Naga chieftans while retaining the old tribal names, generally adopt the full Hindu faith. The Gond Rajah of Sarangarh has a palace equipped with every modern convenience with a well-stocked library which includes the works of Aldous Huxley, Bernard Shaw and Malinowski; is a brilliant cricketer and tennis player. Yet he insists he is a true Gond. Herein lies the difference between Hindu permeation and Christian proselytism; Hinduism does not destroy pride in the tribal heritage. It rather strengthens it. Christian proselytism, on the contrary, involves the destruction of the foundations of tribal culture. Mr. Elwin includes Christian missionary proselytism among the causes of decay of the forest tribes. He specially mentions the activities of the Baptist Mission among the Nagas and in the Andaman Islands as having demoralised the people and destroyed their culture. He adds:

Christianity has made little headway among the real aboriginals. It is a curious fact that it is 'Hinduization' that has generally proved a preparation for the Gospel, for it is mainly those tribes that have lost their tribal solidarity in face of Hindu infiltration that have become Christian in any large numbers.

This requires clarification. Hinduism as a rule never destroys. It preserves always tribal solidarity and culture. No canon of Hindu jurisprudence is more emphatic than that where custom and written law conflict, custom should invariably prevail. Thus among high castes many practices have survived from the tribal stage. Many of the evils from which the tribes are suffering are not peculiar to them though, of course, they are aggravated by their poverty and isolation. The "loss of nerve" which Mr. Elwin notes among the tribes for instance, is shared by the Indian population as a whole. Loss of nerve is the direct result of loss of initiative and loss of initiative is the universal result of alien domination. Mr. Elwin has no cut and dried plan for ameliorating the condition of the aboriginals. He writes: "The essential thing is not to 'uplift' them into a social and economic sphere to which they cannot adapt themselves, but to restore to them the liberties of their own countryside." This is a policy of leaving them to stew in their own juice and what is more, it is impracticable in these days of aeroplanes, the radio and the cinema. The method of gradual assimilation which has produced Mr. Elwin's fourth and enlightened class

which, without losing its pride in its past, has risen to rank among the most progressive Indian social elements, is obviously the most reliable.

Incidentally, the word "aboriginals" as applied to these tribes has lost much of its significance since the discoveries at Mohenjodaro and other places. The Red Indians of the United States are "aboriginals" in relation to the present dominantly white population. But our forest tribes are not so to the main body of the people. Mr. Elwin says that members of the tribes who have raised themselves in the social scale, are merged in the depressed classes. We do not know any instance of this merger. The traditional way is they form a caste by themselves.

POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION IN AMERICA.

We publish elsewhere this week an article on the relations between the different countries in America by a South American leader of international repute, Senor Ramirez. The writer gives an account of recent developments and shows how the one-sided Monroe Doctrine of the U. S. A. has been changed into a general agreement. *Worldover Press* some weeks ago had a brief news item on a movement to bring Universities on the American continent closer together. These are significant developments pointing at the recognition in America of the need for greater coordination if that continent is to have an important voice in the peace-making. President Roosevelt's least spectacular but most valuable achievement during his years of office has been the building up of good relations with the states in South and Central America and the removal of the long-standing distrust which those nations had of "yankee imperialism." Senor Ramirez's article comments on the possibilities of winning a predominant voice at the peace conference if the Americas get together. There is much greater chance of the United States winning the lead against the more experienced diplomats of Europe, if her representatives work with the representatives of other American States and stand out at the Peace Conference as a solid block. There are certain circumstances now which might help in affecting this American unity. Spain has not any more that influence in South American Republics that it has had for generations. Neither has the Vatican the same strength as before. If the United States can remove the fear of the South Americans in regard to U. S. policies and ideals, she will gain the ascendancy in America. And that in turn will mean the final voice in world affairs. If it means the giving up of indirect intervention in South American affairs or any economic domination, the United States will find the immediate sacrifice worth making. Besides Congress is more likely to sanction policies which have the moral authority of other neighbouring States than schemes sponsored solely by the existing Government. The inter-American developments are indication of the abandonment of isolationism—in favour of a vigorous realistic programme of collaboration, radiating from America outwards. For the first time in her history, the United States has the opportunity of cutting loose from European politics and, more, of influencing them.

If these are the continental changes, there are developments within the United States of America which are equally important. The President submitted in March to the Congress the report of the National Resources Planning Board. It has been called the American Charter by some and the American Beveridge Plan by others. The Report deals with Security, Work and Relief policies. The most acute controversy is bound to rise out of the Report

just as the Beveridge Plan has aroused controversy in Britain. The United States of America, however, is better placed than Britain because it has vast resources and, now that it is linking up with its Central and South America neighbours, it will find more facilities (and more difficulties) for carrying out its plans. The *New Republic* has a special section devoted to a study of the various aspects of the Report. Of its general background it writes:

The report was not spun out overnight from the innards of any man or group of men. It is the culmination of a considerable history of economic thinking, research and investigation in this country and in England. The basic idea of that thinking is the idea of the maximum use and development of the resources of the nation, and of achieving full employment and security. This idea comes partly from the socialist tradition. But in America and England it has had a native and on the whole non-socialist development.

The considerations that have inspired the report, are the need for providing the men who are now fighting with "something beyond themselves to fight for;" the desire to prevent a repetition of the last post-war economy in which the demobilised soldier was sent back to find his way in a social jungle; and also a wish to strengthen American national life. Unlike the Beveridge Plan, the report is concerned with the formulation of general principles rather than working out a detailed scheme. It is significant that, in the words of the *New Republic*, while "the report is not dogmatic about the relationship between the federal government and the states, it emphasizes the role of the federal government, for solid concrete reasons and not because of any moral judgment, rather than that of the states or smaller subdivisions." The reason for this is that economic activity in the United States pays no attention to state borders but flows freely throughout the whole area. In short, the United States Administration cherishes the unity of that country and has no desire to sacrifice it to any false notions of states autonomy.

The details of the plan outlined in the report may be dealt with later. The first basic idea is as regards education. Education, it postulates, belongs to the people. "The tasks of education," says the *New Republic*, "are briefly two: to continue the best elements in the social heritage; to obtain the benefits of innovation." There is provision for giving education to every boy and girl to whatever degree he or she is intellectually capable of absorbing it, irrespective of the financial capacity of their parents. It rightly regards this as the most revolutionary part of the report. The main objective of the report is to provide for full employment. The need for protecting the unfortunate is reduced to a minimum. Then, against this, fall into place the various security provisions of the report.

There is predicted opposition to the report, firstly on the ground of its bringing in bureaucratic evils. The remedy is suggested of securing the full co-operation of the public by keeping it well-informed and associating it in all the schemes by a system of advisory councils. This is a very salutary suggestion. In India the press has found the advisory system, in spite of the many limitations under which it functions, a very useful check on bureaucratic excess. If that has been our experience under the existing system, how much more will it prove the case in a democratic order? The second objection that the scheme will cost untold wealth and where is the money to come from, is not answered by the report which does not consider finance. But as Gladstone once said to a group advocating radical changes, the question is not

primarily that of finance. It is the duty of the Administration to find the money once national sentiment has expressed itself in favour of reform.

AMERICA AND THE NEW WORLD ORDER.

MANUEL CASTRO RAMIREZ* writes in *Worldover Press*:

The war is universal, and at the bottom of the tragedy is a conflict of civilizations and ideas. The coming liquidation will not be of armies, but of institutions and systems. There will come forth, therefore, a *new order* caused by the great modifications of a political-international character which will be produced after the struggle.

In the social order there will also be a gigantic evolution. The people, satiated with combat, wounds and inexpressible pain, will not be satisfied by theoretical declarations, but will demand the advent of a *social policy* which will level the present tremendous inequalities.

All exaggeration of victory for itself alone may precipitate humanity into an abyss of hatred which may banish the hope of a definitive peace. Let us subject to rigorous administration the territories of those nations which have suffered the rule of cruel dictatorship and have been fed on the ideal of imperialism, believing themselves placed on the human stage as privileged races, called to impose culture and domination upon the rest. But let us treat with justice the people themselves, and let them feel the benefits of a regime which shall not strangle in them, amid tears and anguish, the attributes of civilized beings.

For America, what shall be the axioms of the new world order, and what will be its future destiny? All statesmen—those of North, Central and South America—should persist in a serene and lofty study which may avoid the rash haste and downfalls of Versailles. This continent has been called the Continent of Hope, and it is necessary that it respond with concrete facts to this baptism of light.

In territorial matters, America should no longer consent to the existence of *colonies* on the continent which should constitute itself the refuge of liberty. Either such colonies should obtain their independence, or they should fall under a mandate of the American nations until enough time has elapsed for them to acquire political capacity.

If the nations now under a permanent dictatorship seek in this war to satisfy their appetite for territorial expansion at the cost of weak and small countries, America, on the contrary, should proclaim that it seeks nothing for itself and aspires only to create and strengthen the liberty of individuals and peoples.

The platform of future peace should signify for America the affirmation of its international personality, which is not characterized by tendencies towards exclusive domination, but rather toward co-operating with the other continents on a basis of perfect equality. All irritating inequality has sunk back into the night of time.

The Monroe Doctrine, a species of political guardianship which so retarded the advent of Pan

*A world figure in international jurisprudence, Dr. Manuel Castro Ramirez is Attorney General of the Republic of El Salvador, Member of the Hague Tribunal, former President of the Central American Court of Justice, former Minister of Foreign Relations, Honorary Member of the College of Lawyers of Costa Rica, former Professor of International Law of the Faculty of Jurisprudence and Social Sciences of El Salvador, Member of the American Institute of International Law, and Chief Delegate of El Salvador to the Peace Conference of Buenos Aires.

Americanism, has disappeared forever in order to assume a continental character which gives it exaltation and prestige. It is just to recognize that the illustrious Chilean internationalist, Dr. Alejandro Alvarez, in 1917, presented to the Directors of the American Institute of International Law, at the meeting of the Council in Havana, the project which tended to remove from the Monroe Doctrine its unilateral character. It was not, however, until the Conference for the Consolidation of Peace, gathered at Buenos Aires in 1933, that the Central American delegations obtained a signal victory with the proclamation, by the nations of America, of the following principle:

That all acts susceptible of disturbing the peace of America affect all and each one of the American nations and justify the initiation of the consultations foreseen in the Convention for the maintenance, support and re-establishment of the peace agreed to by this Conference.

Pan-Americanism was then really born, displaying its greatest brilliance and splendour, as the moral union of all the republics of America, with defined continental interests and accepting the obligation of their common defence. Since that time, Roosevelt, Cordell Hull and Sumner Welles have placed the cornerstone on which continental solidarity rests.

In the writer's official report to the government of El Salvador, this important step was described as heralding

a democratic solidarity in America. When in other parts of the world the creation of contrary forms is being attempted, the nations of America declare themselves faithful to their republican institutions and announce the existence of a democratic unity. Solidarity gives life to an interdependence which does not imply a sacrifice of sovereignty, but a moral obligation to be true to democratic ideals and to maintain and strengthen them by common action.

The existence is proclaimed of an *international American community*, whose rule of life is the outlawry of territorial conquest, in such a manner that no such acquisition made by force shall be recognized... America may pride itself on having given to the world an edifying spectacle; and Central America may feel proud of having supported and defended those ideals.

In these conditions and under this juridical-political method, we must present ourselves at the Peace Conferences.

The nations of America must organize their internal life so that it corresponds to the structure of their institutions, the experiences of their national existence, and the ideals of the democratic doctrine they are today embracing with such fervour. It would hardly be rational, if we have raised the standard of Democracy to combat Nazism and Fascism as autocratic regimes, to tolerate those systems on American soil, constituting a survival of the past. There will be, therefore, an imperative obligation for peoples and governments to direct their internal life within constitutional canons.

The Atlantic Charter should not only constitute a hope, but a statute of American public law. In it are proclaimed the ideals which we pursue in this war, and they formulate, clearly and precisely like granite columns, the freedoms which peoples and individuals must enjoy.

The individualist regime, which has existed in all the American countries, should give way before a wise and disinterested *social policy*. The peoples will no longer be content with pompous declarations which are difficult to translate into reality, but will wish to improve their standard of living, obtain the

products of the soil, and secure opportunities for cultural development.

These problems will have a still greater gravity in Europe, where governments will have to see that after this bloody world war there shall not follow a *Social War* which may destroy the foundations of what is still left standing. In America, happily, the field is freer from thorns, and a better distribution of public wealth may be effected, calmly, even nobly, without disturbances or commotions.

"American democracy," says Alejandro Alvarez "should be revised so it may have an expansive force it does not at present possess. It may be summed up in quadruple form: harmony between the individual and the state; progress of the country; the welfare of the individual; and social well-being. There are still other elements which form constituent parts of democracy for the Americas, and which are of great importance; questions of popular suffrage, of the representative regime, of relations between capital and labour, and of the intellectual workers' conditions,—for the intellectuals, together with the labourers, are the life force of the nations, but whose livelihood is not yet assured."

There exists in America a juridical conscience that gives birth to principles of public rights peculiarly continental. To such an extent is this true that now would be the proper time to confirm them in what we might call the Charter of America.

Perhaps we may not be able to create an American Society of Nations, but no insurmountable obstacles can be seen to the establishment of an Inter-American Court of Justice and an organism which, with political functions, might regulate the system of *consultations* provided by the respective treaties.

The economic life of America will have to be radically changed after the war, and this problem requires a well-thought-out inquiry lest the pressure of unfair competition spoil the benefits of solidarity.

Let us make war on economic pressure and extreme nationalism!

We should not forget that, whereas the United States is relatively unaffected by international action in its own economic reconstruction, on the other hand, the Latin American countries are subject to that influence.

Varied and extensive are all the matters of an international, social, political, economic, and commercial character which are included in the future panorama of the peace so ardently desired by humanity. All of the American countries—even those which have not broken off relations with the Axis—must be heard and consulted, in order that their views may be presented. Thus we can prove our common origin and destiny, and the firm will to maintain the co-operation and solidarity to which we have agreed.

When that happy day arrives, we must exert every effort, as Dr. Alvarez, with his wise international outlook, contends, "to see that the new order to be created is a true recognition of western civilization, and bears the stamp of American genius."

CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS MARRIAGES.

Sir,—A joint Judge in one of our premier Provinces whose name I am not authorised to disclose, has kindly favoured me with the following communication on this subject in response to my general appeal published in the *Reformer* of the 7th instant:—

"The question whether a couple validly married under Vedic rites can, by having their marriage later

on registered under Act III of 1872, get the privileges of the later act can have only one answer, and that in the negative. The question would be like asking whether such a couple by getting their marriage registered in the civil marriage form in England get any special rights under that Act. If once there has been a valid marriage under or in any form, that would always be binding till it is dissolved by a court of law. And Act III of 1872 specifically in section 2 (1) lays down that neither party to the marriage under it must have a wife or husband living. This clearly means that if a couple was validly married under Vedic rites, then that couple can not get their marriage again "solemnized" as stated in section 11 of this Act. This is in accordance with the general law.

"So far as the Registrar's position is concerned, he is, as you say, not in the least concerned with the validity of the marriage solemnized under Section 11. He can hold back his hands only if an objection under section 6 is filed and even then, as laid down in section 8, he has to wait for 14 days after the 14 days mentioned in section 6 pass and, if in the meanwhile a suit is filed, till the decision of the suit. If the decision is that the marriage contravenes any of the provisions mentioned in clauses 1 to 4 of section 2, only then he shall not have the marriage solemnized. This clearly shows that the Registrar has not even to consider or inquire into the correctness of the "condition" (unmarried or widowed) mentioned in the second column of the form of notice given in the First Schedule of this Act.

"Couples sometimes get their marriages solemnized under this Act after they had passed previously through a "Vedic marriage." This is specifically allowed by Act III of 1872 as it stands today, that is, even after section 20 of the Act was repealed. You will find this from the wording of the Preamble. The Preamble still retains the expression "and to legalise certain marriages the validity of which is doubtful." This means that even now, where parties feel the validity of the "vedic marriage" in their case is doubtful, they can have their marriages 'solemnized' under this Act. It is, I think, to make this point clear that instructions were given in the Bombay Registration Manual. I have not seen that Manual and so I cannot say anything definite about it. I, however, agree that the Registrar has no business to add anything by way of postscript to the declaration made by the parties before him.

"I need not state here that the Hindu law of marriage is not quite clear on the question as to marriages between different castes and sub-castes. Recently the Madras High Court has held 'Anuloma' marriages invalid, while the Bombay High Court held that they are valid. Again the question whether a particular sub-caste is one of the Dwija or twice-born castes or it is a sudra caste, is not easy to answer, and has been differently answered by different High Courts and by the same High Court differently on different occasions. It is such marriages of doubtful validity that are generally 'registered' under the Act. And you would agree with me that they are properly and validly so registered.

I may just remind you that in about 1921, I had occasion to write you on this subject."

—Kopargam Ramamurti

To this lucid statement of the law, we need only add that a person who is married according to his personal law, will be liable to be prosecuted for bigamy if he declares that he was a bachelor or a widower if the wife was living.—Ed. I. S. B.

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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 War in India:—The fiction, for it was never anything else, that by sending Indian troops to Egypt and Iraq in the North and to Malaya in the South, War would be prevented from coming to India, has been exposed not by enemy action but by the decision of the British Prime Minister and the President of the United States at the Quebec Conference that India and Ceylon should be the base for the war with Japan. Madame Chiang Kai-Shek has been urging that China should be the base for operations against Japan. The difficulties in the way of getting the American expedition to China have apparently proved greater than the difficulties in the way of getting it by way of the Suez Canal and the Red Sea, now that Italy is on the verge of collapse leaving the Mediterranean free to the Allies. That it is this development which has led to the Quebec decision is clear from the fact that, in announcing the appointment of Sir Claude Auchinleck as Commander-in-Chief in India, it was stated that he would be relieved of the responsibility for the war with Japan. The position now is that, while the Commander-in-Chief in India will have no responsibility for the War in the Pacific, Lord Louis Mountbatten will have his Headquarters in India as Commander-in-Chief of the Allied forces of which Americans and the Chinese will constitute the major part. What would be the relation of the Indian Army and its head to this composite command? If India as one of the Allied nations is also to contribute men to fight the Japanese, will the Commander-in-Chief in India be relieved of responsibility for the war? As an afterthought, apparently, it is stated that Lord Mountbatten will visit Chungking to discuss with the Chinese Generalissimo the details of the campaign against Japan. This leaves room for a change of venue if General Chiang Kai-Shek insists that there is a better way which would be immediately advantageous in Chinese interests. Curiously, the Ceylon Administration has issued a communique announcing that the restrictions on entry into Ceylon of persons from the Dominions and the Colonies would be relaxed, owing to the improvement in the war situation so far as Ceylon is concerned. It is difficult to reconcile this with the announcement that Ceylon will be with India the principal basis of the war with Japan.

India and the War:—In his able survey of the "Financial Burden of the War on India," Professor C. N. Vakil, head of the Department of Economics in

the University of Bombay, develops a line of thought which has been neglected in discussions in India on the question of war finance. The British press, including such "Liberal" newspapers as the *Manchester Guardian*, have been sorely troubled by the sterling balances to the credit of India. And their contention has been that the war was one fought for India's defence as much as for the defence of other parts of India and, therefore, the expenses incurred in its waging had to be borne as much by India as any other part of the Empire. It has, moreover, been argued with considerable zeal by officials from the Viceroy downwards that the war in the Middle East and in North Africa, and the campaigns in the East in Malaya and Burma, are really to keep the war from coming to India; and, therefore, really these encounters are in the interests of this country. It would have been argued from this that India should cheerfully bear these expenses, if asked to do so, even in full. There is no Empire unit today, except Australia and New Zealand, to bear the Eastern war charges. All that will fall on India since neither Australia nor New Zealand can be persuaded to pay more than they desire to. Similarly in Africa, Egypt is neutral and South Africa has to be humoured, there is no balm in Iraq or Iran or the Arab States; and so, as the defence of these areas is indirectly keeping the war off India, the charges might have been laid on Indians. At any rate these arguments provide the basis for wiping out any balance to India's credit if not to create an adverse balance. We have shown in an earlier note that the Viceroy's recent admission at Poona that the war was coming, after all, to India, removes the ground under the plea that the various measures in which the Government of India was involved to assist the war outside our territories, were really defence measures. Mr. Vakil goes a step further. He says, that as the defence of India is incidental and the defence of the Empire primary, the expenses incurred even on Indian soil should be chargeable to Empire resources. He has since expressed surprise that the Indian press has not taken up the point either before or after he made it. The fact is, the Indian press, which is an old hand at the game of bandying words, has long since realised the futility of argument when the other side controls the purse.

Indian Trade Commissioner for South Africa?— While the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State at New Delhi have been discussing the question of retaliating against the South African Union Government's anti-Indian legislation by economic and other sanctions, the Indian representative in South Africa, Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan, has gone out of his way to indicate that an Indian Trade Commissioner is to be shortly appointed in South Africa to promote commerce between the two countries. This in itself is the most damning indictment of the very presence of an accredited representative from the Government of India in South Africa. Dr.

N. B. Khare, the Government Member in charge of Overseas, continues to fulminate against the Union Government's policy towards Indians. In the debates, Government officials were no less strong in condemning the South African Pegging Laws than non-officials—at least on the theoretical side. On the question of applying sanctions, they were, we concede, timid. The Governor-General-in-Council has made strong representations to the Union Government. It is bad enough just to let off steam in a national cause when for once Government and all sections of the people are united, and to remain inactive. In the result we see the practical effect of that unity which, we are so often told, will bring in the millennium in India. But it is something positively sinister when behind the facade of sympathy for the Indian cause in South Africa, the Government of India works silently to undermine the position. "The dogs bark," said Sir Samuel Hoare, "but the caravan moves on." In the particular instance to which he applied it, it was inappropriate. But, as a caravan is usually associated with merchants, it is very fitting now when applied to the impending appointment of a trade commissioner in South Africa. We cannot understand how Dr. Khare can associate himself with this twin policy of the Government of India.

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Food and Future Status:—Sir Arcot Ramaswami Mudaliar, Supply Member in the Government of India, in a speech in Madras covered wide ground. Beginning with the future status of India he ended on the need to keep up the war effort. Sir Arcot expressed great confidence in the people and statesmen of Britain and he did not take a gloomy view of the political and communal differences in the country. Unfortunately he did not specify any reasons for feeling optimistic and, while there is no accounting for feelings and everyone is entitled to his own emotions, optimism cannot be communicated to others without the basis for it being disclosed. On the food situation Sir Arcot thought that food should be imported from America and Australia. What about the transport problem? If the Government of India cannot manage the free circulation of food from province to province, it is idle to think that it can achieve better success by getting food from outside. Sir Arcot was equally confident of British commercial interests abdicating in the interests of India after the war. When they have not done so under the stress of war, are they likely to do so afterwards in a period of what Mr. Churchill has called "relaxation"? There is far too great a tendency on the part of Sir Arcot to take Mr. Amery's various statements at their face value and it is significant that he has done, what other members of the Viceroy's Executive Council studiously refrain from doing, quoted the Secretary of State's words, to assure an Indian audience. The attitude taken up by the British press on the subject of the sterling balances does not give one any reason to accept these assurances. A noteworthy point in the report published in the Bombay press is that the summary carefully hides the nature of the audience that Sir Arcot addressed. Evidently this is a part of the new propaganda initiated by the Information Member.

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completely ignored by the Central and Provincial Governments or, what is more likely, the Governor-General has used his inexhaustible Ordinance-making powers to suspend the Section of the Act of Parliament. It is being debated in the Federal Courts, whether the Governor-General can abrogate a section of an Act of the Indian Legislature. There can be no question of his having power, unless it has been expressly granted in one of the recent amendments to the Government of India Act, to pass an Ordinance over-riding the provisions of an Act of Parliament. We would suggest that Sir Jwala should get any such Ordinance if there be one immediately withdrawn so as to leave the prohibition of inter-provincial trade restrictions in the Statute to operate. He will then have his hands free to enforce a comprehensive policy covering the whole country. No didactic exhortations to the Provinces not to profiteer will be of the least avail now when the provincial Governments have developed a bloated sense of their own importance, ever the sure sign in Indian history of the decay and downfall of Empires.

DELHI UNIVERSITY.

The debate in the Legislative Assembly on the Delhi University Act Amendment Bill which, with a few minor changes passed the two Houses last week, was unsatisfactory as it did not at any stage present the full picture of the scheme of educational reform of which it is or should be the keystone. This is largely due to the piloting of the measure in the Legislative Assembly having been left to Mr. J. D. Tyson, Secretary of the Department of Education, Health, and Lands. Questions connected with the position of Indians in British Colonies and Dominions were also until recently dealt with by this composite Department and Mr. Tyson, before he became Secretary of the Department, was deputed to South Africa and elsewhere to study the problem of Indians on the spot. His versatility has made him one of the few Members of the Indian Civil Service whose name is known throughout India. But he has never been known to take more than an official interest in Indian Education. As the children of English officials are not educated in Indian Universities, they have no interest other than an administrative one in the conduct and curriculum of Indian academic institutions. Their outlook on education in India is that of the magistrate and the policeman, not that of a parent and teacher. Mr. Tyson introduced the Bill in March as a Government measure in a couple of formal sentences. His speech on the motion to refer the Bill to Select Committee showed that he had just managed to pick up one or two features of the Bill without their background. The lead thus given was followed by other speakers. The newspaper reports added to the confusion. The "three year degree" was stressed in such a way that readers generally formed the impression that the Delhi University was trying to draw away students from other Universities by offering a shorter course and a cheaper degree. Not only newspaper readers. During the debate for referring the Bill to Select Committee in the Legislative Assembly, a member interrupted Mr. Tyson to ask whether he called the change of term a "reduction." Mr. Tyson replied, "No, I call it increase really." A generation has passed since the Sadler Commission suggested that the first two of the four years' course in Arts Colleges was really a continuation of the High School and would best be left to secondary institutions. The Commission did not recommend that the two years should be added to the High School course. It recommended the

creation of Intermediate Colleges specially for the two years. The idea did not find favour with most of the older Universities but the late Sir C. Y. Chintamani during his brief Ministership under diarchy adopted it along with the creation of two new Universities in the United Provinces. The Intermediate College was to serve as a "bottle-neck" to prevent students from passing from the High School to the full College in strict relation to supply and demand. Mr. Tyson did not allude to this point at all but it appears from the speeches of other speakers that the Government propose to add the first of the present two years of the College course to High Schools, and make the degree course one of three years. Mr. Tyson expected that this was an improvement which would be copied by other Universities in due course. He is mistaken. The Bombay University has a Previous course of one year before the Intermediate course. There used to be a University examination at the end of the first year but this has now been abolished and a College certificate has been substituted. The question of transferring the Previous year to High Schools and entrusting Headmasters with the responsibility of certifying for admission to colleges was long debated but it was decided that the responsibility was one which, in the present constitution of High Schools, it would be inexpedient to entrust to Headmasters. Many headmasters themselves begged to be spared this privilege as it would entail their being subjected to overwhelming pressure from parents and friends. We do not know if New Delhi High Schools are more competent to undertake this responsibility than corresponding institutions in Bombay. We fear, not. The addition of one year to the Matriculation moreover, would not obviate the difficulty.

Mr. Tyson in the Legislative Assembly and Sir Jogendra Singh in the Council of State spoke of making Delhi the academic capital of India as she is the Imperial capital. But she is an Imperial capital only in name. The swelling tide of life and thought which is transforming Indian life and outlook, leaves New Delhi high and dry. *The Reformer* supported the transfer of the Imperial capital to Delhi because it hoped, and Lord Hardinge's dispatch countenanced the hope, that the transfer was a step towards establishing continuity between the British and pre-British periods of India's history. But this hope, this dream, was shattered when the foundation-stone of New Delhi was laid. Apart from its architectural appropriateness, New Delhi must ever remain at a serious disadvantage side by side with the historic Delhi.

There is a power

And magic in the ruin'd battlement,
For which the palace of the present hour
Must yield its pomp, and wait till ages are its dower.

The Delhi University is an artificial creation like New Delhi itself. It was intended as a decoration to the Imperial capital like so many other things which have been and are being created every year. There is no intellectual life in Delhi to sustain a great university. Whatever little there was of it has been smothered and suffocated by the snobbishness which New Delhi exudes at every pore. Contrary to our hope, the Government of India has become completely isolated and sterilised in New Delhi as it never was in the years when it had its capital in Calcutta. There was some mention of a federal University as the pattern of the Delhi University in the debates. So far as we could gather, the term meant no more than what was meant by an affiliating University. In the Imperial capital there can be room only for a post-graduate University drawing the pick of graduates from universities all over the country for research and original work. That

the Delhi University can never be, owing to its conditions cultural and climatic. A true national Government of India would scrap New Delhi as ruthlessly as Akbar abandoned Fatehpur Sikri on which he had lavished untold wealth, and fix its capital nearer the heart of India.

INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE OF UNIVERSITIES.

World-over Press, the news bulletin of the Devere Allens, gives in one of its May releases an item relating to educational collaboration now developing in the Americas which will be read with great interest as indicative of closer union between the nations in that continent. Even more significant than the move is the fact that the initiative has come from South America. The message reads as follows:—

The historic University of Cauca, founded in Popayan, Colombia, in 1827, is launching a programme of reconstructive search in which it seeks the support and participation of other universities of the Americas. Shortly to arrive in the United States is Dr. Caballero Escovar, Rector of the University of Cauca, for a two months' tour of institutions of learning. He will propose an inter-American conference of universities as a preliminary step to the working out of a joint programme of research into the causes and cures for war and into practical measures of reconstruction.

The University of Cauca has dedicated a new series of its *Review* to the discussion of three important questions: (1) the underlying causes of the present war; (2) the problems which have already arisen as a result of this war; and (3) the plans which are being formulated for world reconstruction.

Dr. Caballero Escovar believes that the Americas are called upon to receive and guard the heritage of the European civilization and culture now so gravely menaced in the Old World. He points out that thus far inter-American conferences and congresses have been held or have been proposed in the fields of diplomacy, politics, military affairs, social and economic affairs, and so on, and conferences have studied general questions of education, but no one has as yet come forward with a plan for working out the mission of the universities in the face of the war and the peace.

"In both the North and the South of the continent," he affirms, "there are a large number of universities, many of them with several centuries of history behind them. From their halls have come forth men who have figured prominently among those who won American independence and built American democracy. From these same halls will come other men who will be counted among the builders of the new world. What is needed from this moment on is for us to engross ourselves in the task of utilizing the high spiritual values of the Americas."

Dr. Caballero Escovar believes further that to the chaotic situation which results from armed conflicts must be opposed the ordered, far-sighted, and serene action of moral values and of intelligence, which, in the last analysis, must continue to govern the world. It is for this reason that, in the name of the University of Cauca, he proposes the calling of an inter-American conference of authorized delegates from the many universities of the continent.

RECENT JUDGMENTS IN INDIA.

The judicial deadlock which had developed within the political deadlock when the Federal Court delivered its judgment in the Talpade Case which was an appeal by Talpade, a detenu under Rule 26 of

the Defence of India Rules, against the rejection by the Bombay High Court of his application for a writ of Habeas corpus, has been settled, as we suggested, by the Government of Bombay releasing Talpade on a review of the circumstances in which he came to be detained along with certain others. The Federal Court, it may be recalled, had declared that the Section under which Talpade was detained was invalid as the Governor-General, in promulgating it, exceeded his emergency powers, and directed the High Court of Bombay to deal with Talpade's application in the light of their finding. The Bombay High Court sent back the case to the Federal Court asking for specific directions as to what it (the High Court) was expected to do. The Federal Court returned the case to the Bombay High Court holding that it was the function of the High Court and not of the Federal Court to issue specific orders. Talpade remained in detention while the two high tribunals debated the extent of their respective functions. *The Reformer* in commenting on the impasse suggested that the best way of ending it was for the Bombay Government to release Talpade. After some weeks during which the detenu must have suffered acute suspense, Talpade was released by order of the Government. The judgment of the Federal Court, declaring Rule 26 invalid, affected some hundreds of detenues and the Governor-General avoided the inconvenience and the unsettlement which would have resulted from their sudden release by promulgating another Ordinance validating retrospectively the action taken under Rule 26 which was re-enacted with a few modifications to cover the flaws pointed out by the Federal Court. This Validating Ordinance was itself declared invalid by a Bench of the Calcutta High Court and Government appealed against that decision to the Federal Court. After a week's proceedings during which all the provinces were represented by their Advocate-Generals and about a score of detenues by their own eminent counsel, the Federal Court has upheld the validity of the validating ordinance. A striking feature of the trial, if it may be so called, was the appearance on behalf of one of the detenues of a blind counsel who ably argued the case for his client from notes taken in Braille. The Calcutta High Court had declared the Special Courts Ordinance, under which persons accused of offences connected with the August disturbances were tried, invalid and the Federal Court had upheld that decision. The Government of India accepted the finding and by a fresh ordinance directed that persons convicted by special courts should be deemed to have been tried in the ordinary courts and should have the right of appeal which they would have enjoyed under the ordinary law.

These several judgments dealing with the validity of ordinances and some important judgments in recent Contempt of Court cases, have been collected and published in a book by the *Hindustan Times*, New Delhi with a foreword by Dr. Kailasnath Katju with the title "Recent Judgments in India" Vol I. (Price Rs. two). The volume bears a dedication to the late Mr. Mahadev Desai who died a few days after the arrest of Gandhiji and other Congress leaders on August 9th last year. Dr. Katju contrasts in his Foreword the consequences which would have followed the finding that certain persons were detained under invalid Rules and what had followed in this country, in a few vivid sentences. Volume two which is to follow, will no doubt contain the Federal Court's judgment declaring the validity of the validating Ordinance.

RELIGION AND SOCIAL SERVICE.

When the number of followers of Christ grew and there was complaint that the Greeks were not so well looked after as the Hebrews, the apostles called the disciples together and asked them to select seven among themselves to look after their social needs, for, said the apostles, "It is not reason that we should leave the word of God to serve tables." The seven men elected from among the disciples should attend to the affairs of the community "but we will give ourselves continually to prayer, and to the ministry of the word." I was reminded of this story on reading Mr. R. R. Keithan's article in the current *Aryan Path* headed, "Social Service, A Ministry of the Spirit." Mr. Keithan points out certain defects in institutions for social service, which tend to become an end in themselves. The preservation of these institutions bulks more largely in the eyes of the workers than the maintenance of the objects for which they were started. He mentions the instance of Jane Addams of Hull House fame who was admonished by the Directors to give up her "outside activities" as they would stop people from "giving to the work." She, of course, refused and one of the Directors who appreciated her attitude offered himself to bear the whole cost of maintaining Hull House. The other Directors refused the offer which showed that their fear of a falling off in contributions was groundless. It is not in every case that the managers of a social institution are discomfited in this fashion. Very often their fears are well-grounded. Many contributors to good causes subscribe also to the view that "he who pays the piper, has the right to call the tune." One can recall several instances in India where even the founders of social service institutions compromised on their original, fundamental objects. Mr. Keithan himself refers to the educational and other institutions of Christian missions. The Principal of an important educational institution in Bombay declared somewhat pompously on a recent occasion that Christian missionaries do not take part in politics. A curious declaration, seeing that many of the world's ills are the outcome of authority, casting all moral principles to the winds. At no time and in no country in the world was there need for people who believe in religion and morality to intervene to arrest the excesses of authority. Why should politics be forbidden ground to a man of God? The answer sometimes is that it is the condition on which the missions can carry on their work. But why should missions carry on at all if they cannot do so without having blinkers put upon their eyes? As a matter of fact, abstention from politics actually means interfering in politics against the people and for authority. What is true of Christian missions is equally true of non-Christian social service institutions with a difference. The difference is, non-Christian institutions are as a rule suspect in the eyes of authority and, whatever assistance they derive from Government, comes from the pockets of the Indian taxpayer.

"Social workers," writes Mr. Keithan, "always put the spiritual above the material." As a matter of fact, the workers who do so are the exception. Some well-known social workers do not believe in the spiritual and openly scoff at it. To them what is good is that which is good to eat. They do not believe that man does not live by bread alone. On the contrary; they firmly hold that the spiritual, since it does not yield bread, is utterly superfluous for men. Indeed, the man or woman who works either for a salary or without remuneration in social service institutions very soon ceases to feel the hardships they serve to relieve. This in fact is inevitable. Much

of the time of the workers is spent in making collections to keep the institution going. The people who can give most, are themselves the least afflicted. To a man who has spare cash, the easiest way of warding the pricks of his social conscience is to give a cash contribution. The poor who feel for the poor, have no cash to spare. This aspect of the question has become so conspicuous nowadays that an increasing number of thoughtful people have ceased to believe in private philanthropy as any solution to social problems. Social Service implies the existence of social depression. The new generation asks why should there be social depression? Abolish social depression. Let all people share equally in the good things of life, and be done with philanthropists and philanthropy. They point to the absurd anomaly of a man who makes a large fortune from Drink, for instance, doling out a part of it for temperance work. Large fortunes are seldom earned by the sweat of one's brow. They are mostly acquired by the sweat of the brows of men who work with their hands or brains. The socialists and communists propose that the State should take over the means of production and distribute the proceeds equitably to all individuals. The Beveridge report and other schemes for post-war economy aim at the same end though within the capitalist system. And here again we encounter the same difficulty as in private social service organisations. The vast structure of bureaucracy which would be needed to administer such schemes, will have even less feeling for the suffering and the afflicted than social workers who are not State employees. The great Soviet experiment has visibly receded from some of its most strident slogans. In the admiration not altogether disinterested, created by the Soviet resistance to Nazi aggression, few people care to remember the evolution of the Russian State since the 1917 revolution. Neither private philanthropy nor State regimentation is the true remedy for social and economic problems. The true solution must be found in the renovation of the hearts of men. The contrast between the Buddha's method, which is the Indian method, and the method of Jesus Christ, shows this. Buddha never raised the dead nor cured the blind or the leperous. He always aimed at rousing the spiritual consciousness of the sufferer, to derive from his suffering the strength to bear it with serenity. This is a large question to be discussed at the end of these rather causal observations.

RECLUSE.

MR. CHURCHILL'S PROGRESS.

Mr. Winston Churchill in a special broadcast from Quebec set at rest, for the time being at any rate, the perplexing point as to whether the Russians had been invited to the Quebec Conference and had chosen not to come, as British publicists hinted, or whether, as they themselves said, they had not been called. Mr. Churchill repeated, what he had said before, that Stalin was far too busy on the many Russian fronts to be able to come to the discussions. But he also added that Russia being a neutral in the war against Japan it would have been an embarrassing invitation to have called Stalin to a conference to discuss plans for the anti-Japanese campaign. Then, he added somewhat wistfully that he and President Roosevelt were very anxious to have a threefold conference with Stalin. And he wound up this part of the speech with a hope that the three great nations that oppose Hitlerism would work together, even though it was not just yet wise to open a second front as the Russians wanted, in the peace that was to come. This was a slight advance on the old hope of the

Anglo-American nations marching in triumph to victory. But when he closed his broadcast, Mr. Churchill went the full hog with all the United Nations, saying,

It is not given to the cleverest and most calculating of mortals to know with certainty what is their interest. Yet it is given to quite a lot of simple folks to know every day what is their duty. That is the path along which the British Empire and Commonwealth, the great Republic of the United States, the vast Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the indomitable and innumerable people of China and all the United Nations shall march till our work is done and we may rest from our labours.

Though somewhere in one's simple mind there lurks a doubt whether wars are won by knowing what is one's duty for the day, it is reassuring that Mr. Churchill looks to all to do it, not only to the Anglo-American nations. To those who might be inclined to carp at this and object that, while the glories are reserved to the two nations represented by the indomitable Roosevelt and Churchill, the duties are broadbased on the peoples of the United Nations, we would point out the case of India and her Dominion Status "Dominion Status," we have been told time and again, "is already there. Only the function of a Dominion is wanting."

There was an unusual vein of mysticism in Mr. Churchill's references to the unfortunate fallen leaders of the Axis nations. "The fate of King Boris may serve other miscreants with a reminder that the wages of sin is death." "See how those who stray from the true path are deceived and punished. Look at the wretched Mussolini and his son-in-law and accomplice Ciano on whom the curse of Garibaldi has veritably fallen." Mr. Churchill shows an extraordinary and unusual preoccupation with matters of right and wrong in the midst too of a terrible war. There is an old Chinese story of a venerable and peace-loving gentleman who, finding a burglar hiding in the rafters, assembled his numerous family, asked them to study the woeful plight of the visitor, and besought them to learn from his example. Mr. Churchill has adapted it to our times. But what will the materialistic Stalin, in between his busy work in Russia, think of this new trait in his ally?

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at my story that their scientific discovery began with Cambridge experiments in 1912, and that in the last 24 months they have been isolated.

The same number of *Nature* has an article on Vitamins. But the most sensational recent discovery is that of the particle with the mass of the electron, and the charge of the proton. That discovery is also made in Cambridge and the particle has been called the Positive Electron. Its wonder is that it was anticipated by Dirac in 1930, in a communication to the British Association which has been amplified in the last chapter of Dirac's book. A mathematical possibility has now become a fact of observation.

APRIL 10, 1933.

Miss (Eleanor) Wilson came for a last talk on Atoms, Radiation, Cosmic Rays, the radio-activity of Beryllium, the new particle, positive electron, discovered, Mr. Gandhi's position as a leader, the eligibility of India to work the new constitution, then a straight question on the difference of my outlooks on life now and at 25. My reply was that at 25 and much later, my outlook would be represented by "What should I be at 50, if Nature kept me alive, if the world is now so bitter when I am twenty-five?"

And now, she pressed. I now feel that the bitterness then was unreal, cultivated, a pose adopted from poetry for ornament; that it is generally so; that, when the bitterness is more than surface-deep, the bitter one forfeits the right to encumber the race. All our judgments are but affects of the mind; the insistence on bitterness is evidence of unfitness; the persistence in it confuses the judgment of the better-adapted.

Mrs. Starr says the interest felt in me by fellow-passengers leave few opportunities to her to discuss vital matters. She was glad to feel that I had gone into Spiritualism and decided against it; she would have liked to know what should be [done] with Indian girls who come for medical education at her college and then fall down for want of means, and become a burden to Americans with scanty means. Chinese girls do the same though in a less degree; the Japanese never. Hitler's policy has brought Jews under discussion on the ship. There are more of them than one believed.

APRIL 12, 1933.

We arrived at New York yesterday before noon. They said there was a crowd to receive Mr. Shaw who was to lecture at the Political Science Club last night, as he did. At my request the ship arranged to have the lecture broadcast in the Mayfair Lounge. Five thousand hearers' acclamation resounded throughout room; and that was about all I heard; also Miss Pearson's bursts of laughs echoed from behind me by Dr. B——. At the finish Dr. B—— said Shaw is a first-rate speaker, as fresh at the end of two hours as at the beginning, holding the audience all the time, though, no doubt, when examined in cold print, Dr. B—— expects the allocation would fall to pieces.

[recent news from India] had greatly interested Mrs. Starr, particularly the part about Mr. Gandhi's decline of popularity... She had not believed the decline of popularity was coming so soon. Mr. McLames was surprised when I expressed the view that electoral machinery as expression of democracy has failed in Europe and America and that it is no boon to be granted a constitution on the electoral model. He was surprised because this is his opinion too.

CHINA AND HER WAR WITH JAPAN. II.

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