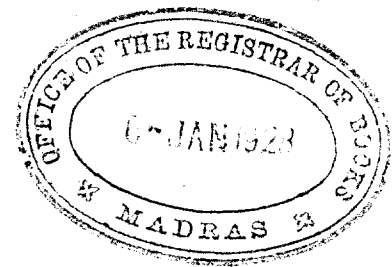


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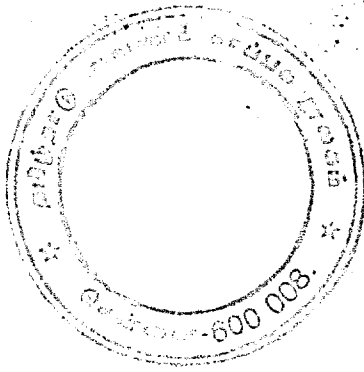
THE MIRROR OF THE YEAR



The Mirror of the Year

22

Being a Collection
of the Leading Articles in Justice
1927



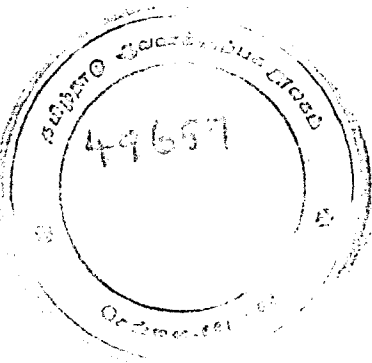
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PREFACE

This book is a collection of articles that appeared in the Editorial columns of *Justice* from time to time during the course of the year. It is unusual to attempt to give any sort of permanency to what is obviously written in haste and in the heat of the passions and emotions of the hour. But the writer thinks that through the transient phases of these writings a deeper purpose may still be seen and that there is a common thread running through it all. Even so the present publication would not have been ventured upon, if the desirability of such a publication had not been urged on him by several of his indulgent readers. If these articles will give a faithful picture of the events of the year and if they will enable the readers to understand something of the social and political movements of the Presidency, the book would have served its purpose. It is in this hope that it is presented to the public.

24-12-27.

A. R. M.



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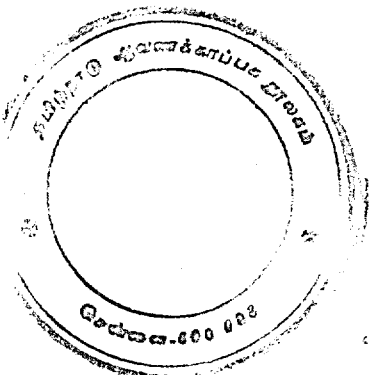
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OURSELVES

The Moving Finger writes; and having, writ,
 Moves on: nor all thy piety nor wit
 Shall lure it back to cancel half a line,
 Nor all thy Tears wash out a word of it

Omar Kayyam

It is almost ten years to-day, since the first issue of *Justice* was published and during this period, it has passed through many vicissitudes and faced many a storm. When it was first started under the able editorship of the late Dr. Nair and Mr. Raman Pillai, kindly critics were not wanting who prophesied an early fatality and the impression was fostered that such a paper as ours would never survive even for a few months and would wither away as an exotic plant should, in the uncongenial atmosphere of Southern India. And in more recent times, the prophesy was reiterated that the fate of the elections would seal the fate of *Justice* as well, and that henceforth there would be no ripple to stir the still waters of self-satisfied contentment and turgid peace in South India. It is therefore not without a feeling of gratitude and thankfulness to the giver of all good, that we once more express the hope that our feeble voice is not yet hushed into silence, and we are sanguine that, despite all the upheavals of passing unimportance, the one democratic daily of this presidency, will still keep aloft the banner that was hoisted ten years ago by the late Dr. Nair and Sir Theagaroya, the banner of liberty, equality and fraternity.

We are entering on a new phase of our life and as befits a growing lad of ten summers, we hope our paper will show increased signs of vitality as years go by and that through it

will be found the expression of the burning life and vigour of the vast millions of the country.

The Directors have kindly undertaken to improve the paper, in so far as the supply of news to the public is concerned. We are therefore in a position to-day to supply, what has been a long felt want, messages through Reuter and the Associated Press, and as time goes on we hope to supply the news of special agencies as well. We are also arranging through several generous and public spirited gentlemen, the regular supply of news from different mofussal centres and we hope our appeal will not be in vain and that our readers would help us by promptly sending communications regarding matters of local and topical interest.

So far as the policy of the paper is concerned, we may at once state that there will be no change and that we sincerely hope to follow the noble policy enunciated by our great leaders the late Dr. Nair and Sir P. Theagaraya Chettiar. That policy stands to-day completely vindicated, and as years have rolled on, people have realised more and more, although they may not be as willing to confess, that that policy was a landmark in statesmanship and that, through it alone, could we hope for the attainment of that national solidarity and greatness which is said to be the goal of all India. To-day we see fresh evidence of a growing consciousness, among the politicians in India, that the policy that has been followed by them in the past was barren and ill-conceived and that the best thing under the circumstances is, to retrace and to retrieve. Imitation is the sincerest form of flattery and when we see around us provinces which had temporarily lost their political moorings, once more entering into safe waters by copying our example, our pleasure is genuine enough to ignore carping criticism.

We shall continue to advocate, as in the past, those eternal principles which are behind all human progress. "Man is

born free and everywhere he is in chains" wrote Jean Jacques Rousseau in his "Social Contract"—winged words which stirred the hearts of the French to the depths and brought about that social and political revolution which culminated in Napoleonic glory. This bondage is the basic factor in all great reformatory movements and the genuineness of any movement depends, on the extent to which that bondage is sought to be removed. Ten years have rolled by since the organisers of this journal took upon themselves, the onerous task of breaking through that bondage, of severing the fetters which confine the mass of our countrymen—Ten years of hard and unrelenting toil and labour, of hopes and aspirations, of disappointments and difficulties. What a panorama rises before the human eye, of events and of men and matters, and through it all, the eternal purpose of the cause has continued to extend the area of individual liberty, to broaden the institutions of the land on the solid and invulnerable foundations of social justice and fairplay, to educate the toiling millions to a sense of their worth, of their importance in public life and of the priceless contribution which they make to the welfare of the country. This journal has during these ten years done its share, in stirring the 'peaceful pathetic contentment of the masses' and in organising them so as to enable their sharing the great heritage that is in prospect. To the same task will the journal hereafter continue to address itself and we crave the indulgence of our readers if we fall short of expectations in any manner. It shall be our endeavour to stand for justice and fairplay as between individuals and communities, to preach for equality and fraternity, to oppose all those forces which overtly or covertly aim at the creation of monopolies or vested interests.

We shall to the best of our ability continue to tread along the same lines as heretofore and while we shall be only too willing to lend our feeble support, to all genuine

advance based on the principles of democracy, we shall not be wanting in vigour or plain speaking in criticising, high and low, in any endeavour to secure privileged treatment to favoured individuals or sections. Equal opportunities for all, and equal facilities for all, is our watchword and whatever may be the misrepresentation and ridicule to which we may be subjected, we shall continue to discharge our duty, unabashed by such criticism and undismayed by such frowns. With that hope we enter on our new life in a spirit of humility and we pray that we may be vouchsafed, through divine grace, the strength and wisdom to carry on this noble work and to do our little bit for the land we love so well, and for the dumb millions whose voice is so little heard and so little cared for! (17-1-27)

CHAPTER I

THE MADRAS SWARAJISTS

What call ye *justice*? Is there one who ne'er
 In secret thought has wished another's ill?—
 Are ye all pure? Let those stand forth who hear,
 And tremble not. Shall they insult and kill,
 If such they be? their mild eyes can they fill
 With the false anger of the hypocrite?
 Alas, such were not pure,—the chastened will
 Of virtue sees that *justice* is the light
 Of love, and not revenge, and terror and despite.

Shelley

STYLES OF ORATORY.

I will roar you as gently as any sucking dove ;
I will roar you an 't were any nightingale.

W. Shakespeare

The Deputy Leader of the Swarajist Party has a convincing reply to give to every question put to him. Asked at the European Association meeting as to how it was that the impression conveyed by him to student audiences at beach meetings was entirely different from the impression conveyed by that evening's speech, Mr. Satymurthi pointed out that the drawing room style of speech was unsuited to and different from the beach style of oratory. We have been for some time past keenly conscious of the varied styles of oratory that Mr. Satymurthi commands. We know that he has a style of his own for every occasion, and we are glad to find that he has confirmed our theory, that it is the different styles of oratory that are really responsible for the different impressions created by his speeches. On the sea sands facing a vast audience, Mr. Satyamurthi is the raging lion, denouncing and declaiming, with no pity for his opponents and no consideration of any kind for the object of his criticism. That is 'Beach oratory' with which we have been so well familiarised.

In an enclosed space like Gokhale Hall, the tone is just a little mellowed, but the denunciations are still there, the cheap sneers very much in evidence ; the misrepresentations are all too numerous and the decrying of individuals is the favourite pastime. That is the 'Billingsgate oratory' with which the Deputy Leader has so often regaled us at Gokhale

Hall or Soundarya Mahal. When he is referring to the 'communal party living on jobs and offices, fawning at the feet of authority, waiting on bended knees before the officials'. Mr. Satyamurthi's Billingsgate style of oratory can best be understood.

There is again the 'Political oratory' of the demagogue when from his place in the Legislative Council he speaks of the nation refusing to take the insult lying down, calls upon the 'nominated members' for once to forget that they are the 'creatures of the Government' and asks 'the House to vindicate its self-respect'. And in Select Committees or other bodies, away from the stimulating influence of the gaze of an admiring crowd or the provocation of the press reporter, when Mr. Satyamurthi speaks across the table and 'confesses to the correctness of many of the propositions of his esteemed friend which, he may not admit in public' you have an illustration of the 'Drawing room style of oratory' to which Mr. Satyamurthi referred at the meeting.

When again the Deputy Leader appeals for the co-operation of the Europeans in solving the problems of India, when he points out that he and his party are the real moderates and that Justicites are extremists in disguise, when he begs of them to enter the Congress organisation, when with tears in his eyes he implores them 'not to have any alliance with any communal party', we have one of the finest styles of oratory which this master of styles possesses—the 'Boudoir style of oratory'—so graceful, so silken and sinuous, so full of langour and languishing, that the hearts of those assembled must have palpitated fast and furiously.

To crown it all, there is that style of oratory which is unmatched and unrivalled and which few have ever been privileged to hear—the style reserved for interviews with Governors of Provinces and Viceroy of the Indian Empire

and such other dignitaries—oratory which conquers all before it and gives no room even for second thoughts—oratory which can only be styled as the 'Bed-room oratory.' We confess we have not exhausted the variegated and marvellously different styles of oratory which the Deputy Leader commands. Our purpose in referring to them is not to give an exhaustive list of them but just to illustrate the different kinds and to ask the public to realise the essential differences between each. We trust that hereafter at least the public will do justice to Mr. Sayamurthi. If they find any supposed inconsistencies in his speeches, if at the Beach they hear him say that nothing short of complete Swaraj will be accepted by his party and at a European gathering they find him ready to accept the Ministry if he can have a majority, if in the Legislative Council he thunders forth on the inequities of the 'Independent Ministry' and at private interviews with exalted individuals he declares that the House should not be understood as desiring a change, if at the open Corporation meeting or in Gokhale Hall the declaims against that unwanted commodity—the Corporation Commissioner—and at Committee meetings he pays his meed of praise to his thoroughness and indefatigable work, let the public not rush to the conclusion that great inconsistencies have been discovered by them. Let them realise that these differences and so called inconsistencies are merely due to differences in the styles of oratory adopted on the several occasions. Let them not confuse 'Beach oratory' with 'Drawing-room' oratory. Let them not mix up the 'Political' oratory of the Council Hall with the 'Boudoir oratory' of Hotel Bosotto and let them not make confusion worse confounded by identifying any one of these with the 'Bed-room' oratory reserved for select personages. It is not Mr. Satyamurthi who must be careful as to what he speaks but it is his hearers.

who must have the right sense of the style of oratory he has adopted, to understand the effect of what he states. We are thankful to the Deputy Leader for having elucidated this point. (31-10-27)

SWARAJIST TACTICS

His honour rooted in dishonour stood,
And faith unfaithful kept him falsely true.

Tennyson

The methods adopted by the Swarajists to strengthen their position and solidify their ranks are novel and striking and one would be tempted to follow them, were it not for the fact that they are devoid of a high purpose, a noble motive or clean ways. The country is aware of their electioneering tactics and no more scathing indictment has been presented against the worst Tammany Hall practices than that which Lala Lajpat Rai thought fit to pass on them. The Party, so far from reforming its ways and adopting such means to achieve its purpose as will not disgust the country, appears to grow more reckless everyday.

The public meeting convened on Sunday last to discuss the question of supporting the present Independent Ministry affords the latest instance of such devious methods and immoral practices. It was widely advertised that a prominent member of the party in the Legislative Council would preside over the meeting and the general expectation was that the Swarajist Councillors would explain their position in the Council and get the sanction of the meeting for the programme that they would adopt. Curiously enough the advertised President absented himself—perhaps disappeared into one of those Oubliettes which the Swarajists have constructed in such abundance—and no member of the Legislative Council

took part in the discussion. The least important and consequential of the members of the party were put forward to spout out their hatred of the Justice Party and its ways. As a piece of tactics this served the party's interests best. It was a feeler intended to find how the wind blows and the statements made at the meeting could either be adopted or disowned according to the exigencies of the occasion. If the country can be sufficiently hood-winked by irresponsible and absurd suggestions, the Swarajist can follow their present policy; but if there are signs of restiveness, if the wild statements are not adopted or are refuted the big men behind can always disown them.

We realise that the Swarajist Party is in a quandry. The Gauhati resolutions are a night-mare to them and the straight forward if perhaps tactless attitude of some of the Andhra Swarajists, have given sleepless nights and restless days to the Leader and Deputy Leaders of the Swarajist Party. It is so pleasant to possess power without responsibility, so easy and tempting to strengthen one's hold on the country by frantic cries of obstruction, while all the time they are covertly helping some of the members of the Government. Who would think of the weighted care of a ministerial office, if one's purpose could be achieved much more substantially through those whom one holds at one's mercy? The sword of Democles hanging over the slaves, the uplifted Scimitar poised over the victim can accomplish more for the master than his own personal exertion could achieve. The Swarajist Party believe that they can always dictate terms to a Ministry whose position they think is no more happy than that of the slave who toils on, at the point of the bayonet. But the trouble comes through an unsophisticated public and an unimaginative following, which uncharitably expects straight conduct from people who thrive on crooked ways and devious methods.

They want the Swarajist Party to give clear and unambiguous support to the resolutions of the Congress, to follow its mandate and to decline to support any Ministry.

We are not concerned with the attitude that the party adopts and we confess to a feeling of absolute indifference to the part that they are likely to play in the coming budget. Their past conduct, their unswerving support of some of the most bureaucratic actions of the Government, their vehement attack of some members of the Government and their indecent support of others, have accustomed us to expect anything but consistency from the Swarajists. It was only the other day that they got their reward in the handsome compliment which the honorable the Law Member paid to the help and support that he received at their hands. But when they wish to cloak this support, when they are so ashamed of it that they will not openly avow it and when further they try to draw a red herring across the scent and tell the public that any lack of the fire-eating element amongst them is due to the sins of the Justice Party, we believe it is time for us to intervene. The unofficial spokesman at last Sunday's meeting conjured up the vision of a future Justice Ministry, of the party lying in ambush ready to pounce upon the seats on the treasury bench vacated by the 'baby politicians'—to use his own phrase—and told the audience to beware of throwing out the present Ministry. We should not have taken notice of the vapourings of one who before the cock crew has thrice denied his master, whose chameleon like changes are the envy and despair of all political changelings and who, like most newly formed converts, is anxious to out-Herod Herod. But we believe the same argument is repeated at solemn conclaves of the party, in private confabulations and at esoteric gatherings of the leaders. We wish to assure the public that nothing can be further from truth than this wanton base and ignoble suggestion.

The Justice Party is not anxious to assume office. We say it with a sense of full responsibility and with all the authority that we can command, that with its present strength in the council, it does not desire nor does it even contemplate the possibility of its forming a Ministry. And the reason is obvious. The Justice Party has had six long years of office—enough to satiate any Party for the time being—and its prestige is so high to-day, as a party which has never suffered a single defeat in the Legislative Council during all that long period, that it cannot contemplate risking its reputation with an insufficient strength behind it. The work that it was able to do, the measures that it carried through, whatever criticisms they may meet with, the dignified position which the Ministry held—form an imperishable record which not all the cavils of disappointed individuals and disgruntled persons, of scheming cliques and plotting cabals, can ever alter. To charge such a party with a desire to pounce upon the treasury bench, to suggest that it is only the fear of their regaining office that makes the Swarajists hesitate to carry out their promises—is to be guilty of terminological inexactitudes.

We invite the Swarajist Party to be a little more honest—if it is possible for them to be so—to tell the country that though the Independents may be in office the Swarajists are virtually in power, to confess that their requests for power and place and pelf may be more easily granted by a Ministry at their mercy than even by a Ministry of their own choosing and to admit that they are being advised to follow this particular course by persons in high place and authority. Let not the farce be any longer played, let not the public be any more hoodwinked into the belief, that the Swarajist lion could roar loud and long but for the Justice Party.

We trust we have made the position perfectly clear, that the Justice Party is not desirous of accepting office in the

present Legislative Council with its present strength. So far as the Independent Ministry is concerned, our attitude towards them will depend on themselves. We are constitutionalists, pledged to a policy of reforming the administration through constitutional means and refusing to adopt mere obstructive tactics. But our support of the Ministry can last only so long as we feel that their policy is correct and that they are not doing anything to jeopardise the interests of the people of the Province. If and when we are convinced that they are adopting a policy detrimental to public good, if it is found that they are not asserting their own independence, if it is felt that they are submitting to the dictations of the Swarajist opposition and carrying out their mandates against the wishes of the public, if the Independent Ministry indulges in cheap sneers and ribald jests at the late Ministry merely to get a nod of approbation from their erstwhile colleagues on the Swarajist bench, if they by any act of theirs try to undo what their predecessors have done—then the time will come for the Justice Party to consider whether such a Ministry should be supported in office. And when that time comes, let us assure the public that not even their desire to work the reform scheme and to continue the dyarchic system till the next revision, will prevent them from giving expression to their sense of disappointment and their want of confidence in the present Ministry. (9-3-27)

NAKED AND UNABASHED

We'll have a swashing and a martial outside.
As many other mannish cowards have.

W. Shakespeare

The Swarajists in the local Legislative Council have after all been exposed in all their naked hideousness. The talk of

their superior patriotism, their indomitable courage, their resistance to the bureaucracy, their fighting the treasury bench—has all been proved to be a camouflage to get the paltry advantage of a seat in the Council. The lions that roared at Beach meetings, the fire-eating orators who galvanised the youth of the land with their thunderous diatribes against dyarchy, the noble band of 'manly' patriots who will follow a straight policy of overthrowing administrations, of showing up the hollowness of the reformed Government,—all of them have been unmasked and the sight is too hideous for any lover of honest and decent politics in the country.

On the motion that the Ministers' salaries should be rejected the Swarajists at their party conclave came to the conclusion by a narrow majority, that they should adopt an attitude of neutrality, and accordingly when the motion was pressed to a division, sixteen Swarajists—the most 'manly' of them all—remained benevolently neutral. The rest of the members obviously too deeply ashamed of their own *volte-face* sneaked out of the Council Chamber hiding their bended heads in shame. What a commentary on the honesty of Swarajist politics in this presidency! The *Indian Daily Telegraph* commenting on their attitude with reference to the Registration demand says:—

"The Madras Swarajists seem to have awakened to the need of being honest to the Gauhati resolution. They were hitherto actually enamoured of working the reforms and maintaining a Ministry as their tool, their rank and file actually fighting for leadership, until the joke was too palpable and got talked about. To the question why they did not throw out the Ministry, they had the only answer; 'hush Panagal might get in.' In other words they were willing to work the reforms—it was all personal politics not national politics. The exposure when it came, was too relentless to be entirely

ignored, and hence this new move to desist from voting the Ministers' salaries."

But who will be deceived by this new move? The declarations of the leaders of the Justice Party at public meetings and on the floor of the House, that they would under no circumstances accept office in the present Legislative Council deprived the Swarajists of the last plea that they could advance, for their attitude of neutrality. The leader of the Swarajya Party in his explanation of the conduct of the party—talked big about 'resisting every measure that the bureaucracy took to consolidate its power.' Those who have seen the Swarajist leaders lick the hand held out to them by the bureaucrats both inside the Council and outside like the faithful pups that they are, will scorn this bombastic untruth of the Honourable Member. What are the acts which they have objected to since the formation of the new Council? Has the bureaucracy suddenly become a better body and refrained from consolidating its power? And Mr. Sami Venkatachellam speaks of the irremovable executive consolidating its power through the transferred half in the Justice Ministry days and of that party impeding the progress to Swaraj. For sheer brazenness this is hard to beat. Does this immaculate gentleman believe, do any of his followers believe, that the present Ministry is more independent, that it does not help to consolidate the power of the bureaucracy, that it is more for national progress than the Justicites? Let the debates during the past few days answer the Swarajist leader. In the demand on the Secretariat, member after member from the Swarajist party expressed his conviction, in spite of gloomy shakings of the head by the Ministers, that the Secretaries were ruling the Ministers and that they were the slaves of the departments. The exposure of 'Ministerial independence' is still fresh in the minds of the readers. Neither has the voting

on essential questions shown up the Ministers as paragons of independence. The leader of the Swarajists also referred to the mandate of the Congress and it reminded us very much of the gentleman who quoted scripture. The Gauhati resolution declared that "Congressmen in the Legislatures shall refuse to accept Ministerships or other offices in the gift of the Government and oppose the formation of a Ministry by other parties until in the opinion of the Congress or the All-India Congress Committee a satisfactory response is made by the Government to the National Demand." And in the face of this clear injunction which ordinary mortals with any sense of honesty would accept as implying the necessity to vote against any Ministry, the party led by Mr. Chetty has by its conduct helped to consolidate the position of the Ministry. Before even the cock crew, the Madras Swarajists have thrice denied their Master.

We are not anxious that the present Ministry should go. Our only purpose was to expose the immoral political party in the country whose 'honor rooted in dishonor stands and whom faith unfaithful keeps falsely true'. We are glad that the Justice Party has succeeded in this exposure. We notice that the Swarajist leader was put out at Mr. Ramachandra Reddy's description of them as having been 'bought over' and wanted the phrase to be withdrawn. The description seems to have touched the mark for what else is the explanation of the strange freaks of the local Swarajists. A party need not be bought over by money. There are a hundred other methods equally effective of winning over a party and, we should like to emphasise this, methods not less immoral. It may be the promise of a nomination; it may be an assurance that some advantage will be given to them in some connection or other; it may be the postponing of the bifurcation of a Taluk Board here or the hastening of another elsewhere. Who are the *Sikandies* to day—the

violaters of pledges—the betrayers of promises? In every other province the Swarajists kept their electoral pledges. It has been left to the Madras Swarajists to give us an object lesson of cold and calculated hypocrisy. We congratulate the Justice Party in the Council on the success that has attended their efforts in unmasking the real 'traitors'.

THE WAGES OF SIN

Indeed, indeed, Repentance oft before
I swore—but was I sober when I swore?
And then and then came Spring, and Rose-in-hand
My thread-bare Penitence apieces tore.

Omar Khayyam

The Swarajists have discovered that the mandate of the electorate is to put down communalism. The members of the Legislative Council belonging to the Swarajist Party have a sacred and solemn task to perform. They must see that the Justice Party is not revived and that Panagalism is killed, True and selfless patriots as they are, with no thought of reward with no idea of any advantage to themselves, they are carrying on a trying and difficult task under very anxious circumstances. It is therefore most unreasonable that any genuine Swarajist should misunderstand their attitude or ascribe motives to them.

Who dares to suggest that they are animated by any but the noblest considerations for the good of the country? Have they not shown their mettle, their supreme sense of self-sacrifice, their steadfast adherence to principles, by declining to form a Ministry when their leader was called upon by Lord Goschen to form one? After that exhibition of patriotism, the voice

of malignant criticism will not sway the people who know the Swarajists and their methods.

Do you suggest that it was a capital stroke of policy on the part of the Swarajists to run a Benami Ministry? Do you suggest that they know that more gain could be had out of an incompetent and powerless Ministry who could be used as tools by a powerful opposition? Do you state that the first fruit of the new policy was to capture the Presidentship of the Legislative Council and that it was an unheard of thing in parliamentary history for two of the Ministers to propose the very leader of the opposition to the chair? These are not the considerations which have weighed with our patriots, whose policy has taken a new orientation and who now openly state that they must kill communalism before they kill dyarchy.

That the most vocal politicians of the day have sold their very souls to the dark powers, that they are wading through sin and receiving the profits of their treacherous actions, is becoming increasingly clear to every thoughtful individual. Their past protestations, the high principles they once dictated their magniloquent promises, have all been cast aside and the very angels cannot assist them in hiding their hideous acts of betrayal and treachery. We shall take but one of the dark chapters of Swarajist intrigue and shameless abandonment of principles and show to the world that there have never been a brood of philistines more hypocritical than the Swarajists of this Presidency.

Readers of newspapers in Madras need not be reminded of the criticism of the Swarajists at the nominations of the last Ministry. Nationalist journals vied with each other in decrying the system. Eloquent purists of public life spoke of

Tammany Hall methods and coined a new phrase—Panagalism—for the act of nominating a man to a Local Board or Municipality. They spoke of Ministers prostituting their position to strengthen their party by nominating Justice men to such boards. They suggested that no Government should exercise the power of nomination at all. The debates of the last Legislative Council are full of this subject of nomination. From the no-confidence motion in November 1923 to the last session of the last Council, this power of nomination was the subject of fierce and severe attack and there were not people wanting in the Justice Party who thought that the pure and Independent Swarajists were in the right.

Let us compare what took place during six years of the Justice regime to what has happened during less than six months of Independent Ministerial regime and see how the power of nomination has been utilised. Who are the men who are being nominated to-day and to what party do they belong? Take the latest issue of the *Fort St. George Gazette* and go through the nominations to the Taluq Boards and District Boards of the Kistna and West Godavari Districts and see what facts are revealed by the notifications issued by an 'Honest Ministry.'

The constitution of the District Board of West Godavari affords interesting reading. Seventeen gentlemen are nominated to the Board by the Governor acting with his Ministers. In the old Kistna Board there were twenty elected members who were returned from the area which now forms the West Godavari District. A thoughtful Ministry has seen to it that not one of the twenty elected members have been nominated to the newly constituted District Board. What better illustration is required to prove that neither the Ministers nor the Swarajists wish to perpetuate the system of nomination!

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The Minister of Local Self-Government in reply to the

general discussion on the budget said on the 5th March 1927: "With regard to the question of nominations I do feel as earnestly as my Honourable friends opposite (the Swarajists) that this question of nominations has not been dealt with as adequately as it ought to be (*hear, hear*), and this question cannot be tackled in a day. We shall soon have an amendment of the Local Boards Act and I hope it will be possible to make it impossible for such patronage to be exercised." (*Voices: hear, hear and 'quite right'.*) Noble sentiments, breathing the most virtuous principles of democracy and rightly cheered to the echo by the democratic friends opposite! No more will the question of nominations be dealt with as in the past! A new Daniel has come and a new chapter is opened in the history of 'honest politics.'

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That noble soul, the Development Minister whose spotless white garb is but an outward presentment of innate purity, told an awed audience at Trichinopoly that 'the present Ministers were at any rate honest'. Whatever their other failings and drawbacks they are 'at any rate' honest. The question for the public to decide is 'at what rate' they are honest. The first Minister who spoke so eloquently against patronage nominates all the members of the new District Board from among those who were not in the last District Board. What was the esoteric knowledge which the Minister had in making these nominations? From what supernatural agency did he get the names, for we have the most undisputed evidence that neither the President of the District Board nor the Collector of the District nor any other official suggested these names.

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The twenty elected members of the District Board whose names have been so ruthlessly censored were gentlemen who had been elected only a few months back and their election was Gazetted under the auspices of the present Ministry on

the 15th of February, 1927. What is the justification for the Government to have cut them all out and nominated members according to their own pleasure? Even the Presidents of the Taluq Boards who are ex-officio members of the Board have been removed. All the seventeen members of the Board therefore are nominated by a Minister who hates the task of nomination and the exercise of patronage, according to his will and pleasure as an illustration of the 'unexampled honesty' of the Independent Ministry.

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The next step was to get a President of the District Board and at this stage at least with the members nominated according to the will of the Minister or rather according to the dictates of the Swarajists, one would have thought that the Presidential seat would have been thrown open for election. But evidently they thought it was still risky, specially in view of the candidate they had chosen as President. Mr. Peddiraju had no more to do with the District Board than the man in the moon. He was not even a member of the Board at the time of the bifurcation. But the hard task masters at Bezwada and Ellore have willed it and the faithful slave at Stonehouse dare not disobey the mandate. Mr. Peddiraju is a member of the Swarajya Party. He was a member of the United Nationalist Party of which the Minister was a flickering light, hidden very much under a bushel. He was one of those fiercely patriotic individuals who walked out of the Council at the last budget session and refused to partake in the proceedings, till an adequate reply was given to the National demand. His onslaughts on the exercise of the privilege of nomination are familiar to all who have perused the proceedings of the Council. That he should now bend on his knees, crave for a nominated post and accept a nominated Presidentship is essentially in keeping with Swarajist honesty and Swarajist mentality. Mr. Peddiraju is neither a Mahomedan nor a

Christian nor a member of the depressed classes—at any rate he was not when we knew him. Since June 1924 the Panagal Ministry has not nominated a single President of a District Board except a Moslem and whenever vacancies occurred, the right of election was given to the Board. It has been left to the Independent Ministry to take away the right of election which the District was enjoying and to thrust on them a nominated President. And a member of the party, the highest-caste Hindu, for Mr. Raju claims to be a Kshatriya and above even brahmins, a Swarajist who scorns at nominations, a gentleman who walks out as a protest against the authorities ignoring the National demand, is nominated as the President of the District Board by a Minister who scorns to exercise patronage, as an illustration again of the 'unexampled honesty' of the Independent Ministry. Shameless jobbery, unabashed nepotism, the worst methods of Tammany Hall pale into insignificance before this monstrously dishonest procedure of a servile 'Independent Ministry.'

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And the Swarajists, the most organised and disciplined of parties the most selfless and noble of patriots, have had the wages of their sin, their acts of barefaced treachery and unequalled betrayal. Their support of the Independent Ministry will be explained in many ways at the A. I. C. C. meeting but the truth is slowly getting out. Let us remember however that the real wages of sin is death—always a true and indisputable law of nature and of providence and the Swarajist will find it ere long. We shall examine the record of the Swarajists and the Ministry in greater detail later. Meanwhile we should like to refer to only one minor matter.

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The Secretariat is the most efficient of all institutions where the canker of communalism is not introduced. Recently a Moslem Assistant-Secretary of the Local Self-Govern-

ment Department was removed and a monopolist was substituted, so that the wheels of the Secretariat may run smoothly and efficiently. Smoothly do they run but how far efficiently can be judged by one example. The Local Boards Act prescribes that the number of members of the District Board shall not be less than twenty-four. The notification in the *Gazette* mentions only seventeen names and even adding the six Presidents of Taluq Boards the number comes to only Twenty-three. The President of the District Board again becomes an *ex officio* member thus reducing the strength to twenty-two so that the notification is not valid. We congratulate the Secretary of the L. S. G. Department on the remarkably efficient Assistant-Secretary he possesses. We vote for pure merit and efficiency. Meanwhile we would advise him to correct the error in the next *Gazette*. (10-5-27)

II

In the last article, the position of the West Godavari District Board was examined and it was shown how all the twenty elected members of the District Board were deprived of their seats and the power of patronage so anxiously clutched at and so fully exercised, that the seventeen nominated members were chosen by the Minister himself without any reference to the wishes of the electorate. It was also shown how the district was enjoying the privilege of having an elected District Board President and how, thanks to the machinations of the Swarajists, that privilege has been taken away and a nominated President has been thrust on the district. It will be an equally interesting study to learn how with reference to the District Board of Kistna every artifice, subterfuge and low chicanery has been resorted to for the purpose of getting the Swarajists into power.

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The *Gazette* shows that twenty-seven members have been

nominated to the District Board of Kistna and with the ex-officio Presidents of the six Taluk Boards the strength of the Board will be thirty-three. The Minister who was so chary in nominating members as to commit an illegality in the case of West Godavari is so generous with Kistna as to nominate nine more members than the minimum of twenty-four fixed by the act. The purpose of these nominations either to the District Board or to the Taluq Boards in excess of the minimum strength, is of course to give a certain definite and indisputable strength to the Swarajist Party. We shall further examine this question in connection with the Taluq Board nominations.

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In the old Kistna District Board there were seventeen elected members who came from the area now comprised by the District Board of Kistna, just as there were twenty members from the area comprised by the West Godavari District Board. They were all returned by the several Taluq Boards only last year. They had a right to be members of the District Board for three years and thought that their seats would be safe whatever transmutations the Board itself may undergo. It was an established rule of conduct even in the case of the reactionary Panagalite Ministry that the elected members of the Board should be nominated in case of a reconstitution. Several Taluq Boards had been so reconstituted during the six years' administration of the Justice Ministry and there were few instances indeed where an elected member was not nominated. The members therefore were under the fond delusion that an Independent Ministry which abjured so thoroughly the principle of nomination, which hated so ardently the power of patronage, would certainly not be behind the much-criticised Panagal Ministry.

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But the bolt came from the blue and the *Gazette* shows

that only four out of the seventeen elected representatives of the Board were nominated and the remaining thirteen members—a fatal number but to whom remains to be seen—were ostracised. The President of the Bundar Taluq Board an elected member of the Taluq Board and an elected President and ex-officio member of the District Board—does not satisfy the super-sensitive tests of the Stonehouse Dictator and the order is given—‘off with his head.’ The Swarajist leader does not like the shape of the nose of Mr. Ramaswami Naidu, or the straightforwardness of Mr. Veeraswami Naidu or the bluntness of Mr. Venkata Doss and though all of them are elected members of the Taluq Board and District Board, they are doomed and their names are obliterated from Secretariat files.

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So do a host of other gentlemen who went through the throes of a severe election campaign who spent money, time and health in convincing the electorate of their worth and character, find themselves in the ostracised list. They are either members of the Justice Party or gentlemen who are not sufficiently docile to the intrigues and wire-pullings of the Swarajists. They must suffer the utmost penalty for daring to oppose the wishes of the real rulers of the province, the Swarajist clique. What does it matter if Mr. Sitharama Rao is the elected President of the Nuzvid Taluq Board? He is a supporter of the Zamindar of Mirzapur who has the temerity to lay his unholy finger on that Swarajist hero, Mr. Kaleswara Rao, the patron saint of the Independent Ministry. So does every member of the Nuzvid Taluq Board support the Zamindar of Mirzapur. They must be taught a severe lesson, says the Swarajist clique and ‘Jo Hukum’ murmurs the Slave at Stonehouse Hill. Nuzvid Taluq is disenfranchised and not one of the three elected District Board members is nominated.

The Swarajists are of course honest, sincere, straight forward, godfearing individuals. They are not for these nominated posts. They will not accept even a select committee membership in the Council. They are of the stuff that heroes are made of but what can they do when a Minister forces offices and posts down their unwilling throats and reminds them that the electorate has asked them to see that the Justice Party is kept at any cost both from the Legislative Council and even the District and Taluq Boards. It is only in the larger interests of the country that they have shouldered these responsibilities. And that selfless Ministry—the Independents who are ‘at any rate’ honest, who will say ‘Jai Seetharam’ the moment they feel they are not wanted, who will put down Nepotism, who revolt against all patronage, nominate twenty-two new members to the District Board of Kistna and remove thirteen elected members of the old Board as a further illustration of the ‘unexampled honesty’ of their administration.

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The members of the Swarajist Party have been particularly critical of the nomination of members of the Legislative Council to the local bodies. They felt indignant that the purity of public life should be prostituted by such open methods of buying support. It did not matter if the gentlemen nominated were already staunch party men. The Rajah of Panagal was desecrating the sacredness of democratic institutions by nominating party men. The present Minister of Local Self-Government was one of the most violent of critics of such matters and his statement at the time of the Budget discussion protesting against such nominations was cheered to the echo. And yet how far from these protestations are the actual performances. How many members of that small group—the Ministerial Party have been nominated to various Boards! Mr. Schamnad, M. L. C., puts forward his demand for nomination to the District Board of S. Kanara, and he gets nomi-

nated by the Independent Ministry. Mr. Tajuddin threatens disaster to the Ministry and an anxious and trembling Independent Ministry gives him a seat on the Tanjore Board on the eve of the Budget debate. The Zamindar of Gollapalli has forsworn his old party and friends and must be rewarded by a seat on the newly constituted District Board. And the gentlemen who are nominated at the instance of the Swarajist M. L. C's. are a legion indeed—an illustration again of the 'unexampled honesty' of the Independent Ministry.

The Nuzvid Taluq Board must be taught a severe lesson. What right has it to show any consideration to the views or wishes of the Zamindar of Mirzapur? The Swarajists must be given a prominence here in the very centre of influence of the last President. That is the demand which is made to their Slave at Ootacamund and the humble galley-slave must carry out the mandate. There are sixteen members of the Taluq Board of Nuzvid of whom four are nominated. The heads of the nominated members are chopped off first. But if all the twelve elected members are retained there will be trouble. The more important of them must be weeded out especially if the Zamindar of Gollapalli should be rewarded by a Presidentship for his political tergiversation and support of the Ministry. Of the twelve elected members of the Taluq Board five are brutally despatched without any compunction and the remaining seven are reduced to impotence by packing the Board with nine new members including the Zamindar M. L. C. What does it matter if the five ostracised members were elected only last year after a severe contest to the Board? Mr. Kaleswara Rao and his party will be seriously displeased if they are nominated and so a 'conscientious Ministry' rejects them as an illustration again of the 'unexampled honesty' of the Independent Ministry.

And who can question the soundness of the decision? The Secretary of the Department has been so impressed with its

fairness that he does not protest. The Governor of the Province has such abiding faith in his pet Minister that he cannot see anything wrong in what he does. Look at the case of Mr. Ankusarao Tirupathirao. He is an elected member of the Board, a Kapu by caste—a community which is not predominant in the Board. True! quite true! But is he not the individual who has filed the election petition against Mr. Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao Garu, M. L. C., the Swarajist leader of the district questioning his election to the local Council? What temerity! What foolhardiness! Heaven and earth! Is such treason to be tolerated? To question Mr. Kaleswara Rao's election indeed! And to go scot free! You can abuse the Governor of the Province! You can pass resolutions boycotting his visit! You can put up black flags! You can preach to the public to avoid Lord Goschen like a veritable plague! There is some merit in such conduct. Perhaps you would have earned a nominated seat for such sterling patriotism. Why! Did not Mr. Kakumani Lakshmayya Garu resign from the Municipal Council as a protest against the pro-bureaucratic ways of that body? Did he not organise a boycott of the Governor's visit? Did he not preach against giving receptions to officials? What does it matter if he has not been a member of the Taluq or District Board even for a single day? It is a sturdy patriot like that who should be invited on bended knees by the Ministry to accept a seat on the Board. And the Independent Ministry have done the right thing by nominating Mr. Kakumani Lakshmayya to the District Board of Kistna as a splendid illustration of the 'unexampled honesty' of the Independent Ministry.

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But to attack Mr. Kaleswara Rao, to dare file a petition against his election, to make vile allegations against a saintly soul like Mr. Ayyadevara—why! Flesh and blood cannot bear

it. The man must be taught a lesson, such a lesson indeed as General Dyer taught to the mob at Amritsar. Off with his head—twice if necessary, so that none dare do what he has done, none dare come forward to give evidence against Mr. Kaleswara Rao, none imperil his future by supporting the petitioner who has been twice beheaded. Beware all ye that revolt against our real rulers, the Ayyadevaras, that the severe displeasure of the Independent Ministers will be visited on you and stern justice will overtake you. And so Mr. Tirupathi Rao an elected member of the Taluq Board who had the temerity to file a suit against a Swarajist saint, is removed from the Board as an illustration again of the 'unexampled honesty' of the Independent Ministry. We shall take our readers through further chapters of the Benami Ministerial regime in succeeding issues of the journal.

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Meanwhile we should like to refer again to that model of efficiency the Secretariat of the Government of Madras and to that foremost of efficient departments therein, the L. S. G. which thanks to the changes since January is in the very pink of perfection. You have no inefficient officers there. Mr. Rama Sastri has been made an Assistant Secretary and communal inefficiency has been rigorously excluded. Mr. Sastri's capabilities are so high that he was requisitioned to Ooty for the very purpose of seeing that the Bezwada nominations are correctly and properly made. We would like to ask the Secretary of the L. S. G. Department only a couple of questions. "Sir, you have nominated to the Kaikalur Taluk Board Mr. K. Lakshminarayana Garu of Peddaginuru; you have also nominated to the same Board Mr. Kaza Lakshminarayana Chowdari Garu. May we know as a humble incompetent non-brahmin who these two gentlemen are? Is it a case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde—two avatars of the same individual?" And that is what is called. efficiency—

spelt with a capital E—by the *Madras Mail* and the Government of Lord Goschen. May we ask again who Mr. Maganti Balineyudu is who has been nominated to the Kistna District Board? Surely the Independent Ministry can have independence enough to humbly request their masters to hand over typed lists of their nominees and not manuscript lists which are not quite legible. Then the Secretariat, efficient as it is undoubtedly, could make out the name as Maganti Bapinedu. More about this nomination in the next article. Meanwhile hats off for efficiency and merit! (11-5-27)

III

The nominations to the Local Boards of Kistna are proving a Chinese puzzle to those disinterested on-lookers who do not understand the subtle and devious methods, pursued by the Independent Ministry and the Swarajist clique. The rapid changes in the fortunes of individuals brought about by the ceaseless stream of nominations has begun to affect the equanimity of the few honest Swarajists who are outside the lespicable ring. Our readers are aware of the boast of the Honourable Mr. Ramadas that the Swarajists were justified in their scramble for nominations and that they should support a Ministry which satisfied their cravings. The very leader of the Andhra Desa has exposed the hollow sham of Swarajist pretensions and shown to the public the meanderings of the turgid stream of Swarajist patriotism.

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A Swarajist correspondent writing to our contemporary *Swarajya* gives the authentic history of these nominations. It is not the jaundiced vision of the Justicite but the pure crystal gaze of the hyper-patriot that has discerned the circumstances attending the nominations. The correspondent writes:—

"The Minister for Local Self-Government whose tenure

of office is entirely dependent on the will of the Majority (namely the Congress Party) could not find it safe to renominate the Zamindar of Mirzapur for the Presidentship of the Kistna District Board under the recent bifurcation scheme. It is now an open secret that the Congressmen have fully co-operated—to use an unoffensive word—with the Minister and succeeded in a way to get their own men nominated for the several Boards.”

And yet the Ayyadevara assures us that no compact of any kind was formed with the Minister at the ‘Breakfast Party’ of the Deputy Leader!

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Let the correspondent proceed with his story:—

“The so-called Congressmen succeeded in convincing the the Ministers that they should be given the majority in the Local Boards. The Congressmen, assuring themselves that their nominee Dr. D. S. Ramachandra Rao has been actually nominated the President of the District Board, seemed to have been besides themselves with joy and in an unwary moment did not care to give themselves a full majority in the various boards, in spite of the fact that the Minister, had given them practically a blank cheque with regard to these nominations. Now that they have been disappointed with regard to the nomination of Dr. Ramachandra Rao as the District Board’s President the Congressmen now feel a little embarrassed at the present situation.”

But the Congressmen are not without resource and with a pliable Ministry are trying their level best to get their nominee elected at all costs.

The strength of the District Board has been fixed at thirty-three members of whom twenty seven were nominated by the Minister and six are to be the elected Presidents of the various Taluq Boards. The Swarajist Party is anxious that

the six Presidents should be its own nominees and is therefore doing its best to add to the nominated strength of these Boards various creatures of the party so as to secure the Presidential seat to its party men. Let us take the Bezvada Taluq Board which was constituted by the Minister with seventeen members on the 3rd May, 1927. We have already shown how most of the old elected members were ostracised by the Minister and nominees of the Swarajya Party were added without the slightest reference to any public authority. But the Ayyadevara finds that the election of a President of his choice is doubtful and the mandate goes for weighting the balance on the side of the Ayyadevara by a few more nominations. It has been the practice of the previous Ministry to nominate only twelve members, the minimum fixed in the act. But the Independent Ministry which ‘does not wish to exercise patronage’ not merely nominates seventeen members but in the *Gazette* of the seventeenth instant adds five more nominees to the Bezvada Taluq Board bringing the total to twenty-two members, as an illustration of the ‘unexampled honesty’ of the Independent Ministry.

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It may be thought by some readers that consequent on the criticisms in the press the Ministry has nominated some of the elected members. Let us assure them however that none of the five now nominees were ever members of the Board and not one of them is ever likely to be returned by election to any of these Boards. Mr. Kakkineni Venkata Rama Rao is a Swarajist of the bluest blood who was sentenced to and underwent an imprisonment of a year for an offence against the State. It is undoubtedly a matter for congratulation that the Independent Ministry has boldly nominated such an individual and has converted Lord Goschen into believing in the statesmanship of allying itself with those who were once regarded as the worst opponents of the Government. That is

the policy that is wanted to-day, of a large hearted and generous attitude towards political opponents. It is equally a matter of congratulation that a non-co-operator and one who has undergone imprisonment should have been so coerced and tamed by severe discipline as to accept a nomination for a year at the hapd of the Ministry.

Let us take the name of another of the Pancha Pandavas whose entry into the Taluq Board of Bezwada is likely in the opinion of the Ministry to revolutionise the Local Board administration. Mr. Peta Bapayya is the illustrious individual whose services the Ministry have anxiously tried to secure for the Taluq Board. He is a disciple of Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao and a gentleman who was a guest of His Majesty for a period of six months for the innocent act of mistaking the ownership of a gramophone. And he is nominated to the Taluq Board as an illustration of the 'unexampled honesty' of the Independent Ministry.

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Let us take the Gudiyada Taluq Board which was constituted by the Minister on 3rd May with eighteen members, sufficient care being taken to exercise as wide a patronage as possible. But some hitch has occurred and at a hint from the Masters in Bezwada, a boneless Minister has the effrontery to add two more members by the latest *Gazette* notification so as to secure the return of a Swarajist President. Mrs. M. Varodanamma is a safe person whose vote can be counted in favour of a Swarajist candidate. She is the sister of the wife of Mr. J. Immanuel the newly nominated member of the District Board of Kistna. As regards the other nominee, he is the depressed class representative in the Legislative Council whose vote can be directed by the Minister himself. And so things are made safe for the return of a Swarajist President from the Gudiyada Taluq Board and thereby safe also for the election of Dr. D. S. Ramachandra Rao, as an

illustration again of the 'unexampled honesty' of the Independent Ministry.

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The Kaikalur Taluq Board had twelve members nominated by the Minister but there is trouble even there with reference to the Presidential election. And a thoughtful Ministry makes a further nomination on the 10th May so as to weigh the scale in favour of the Swarajists. Mr. Namburi Venkata-raju is a safe man in the eyes of Mr. Kaleswara Rao and the 'Jo hokum' Independent passes his nomination as another illustration of the 'unexampled honesty' of the Independent Ministry.

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But even these manoeuvres are not enough to make the position of Dr. D. S. Ramachandra Rao the Swarajist nominee secure beyond all reasonable doubt, in the Presidential election. Every effort is therefore made to get direct to the District Board as many staunch supporters of his, as possible. We have already shown that only five of the twenty-seven nominated members of the District Board were elected members. But in the triangular contests that seem inevitable even this wholesale nomination has not been sufficient assurance for a Swarajist victory. And so Mrs. A. Catherine Subbarayudu is nominated as a member of the District Board of Kistna. Our readers may ask why we suggest that she, a lady, will vote for a Swarajist and not exercise her independent judgment. We plead that we may be mistaken. We should like however to point out in humble extenuation that Mrs. A. Catherine Subbarayudu is the sister of the mother of the Swarajist candidate for the Presidentship Dr. D. S. Ramachandra Rao.

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If the correspondent of the *Swarajya* is correct in his surmises, the Ministry will be ordered to make more nomina-

tions to the Kaikalur and Nandigama Taluq Boards. The strength of the Kaikalur Board has been increased by the addition of a member on the 10th May but the Swarajist position being still insecure, fast couriers have been despatched to Ootacamund to represent to the paid ambassadors of the Swarajya Party there, the need for interviewing the Minister and making him nominate some more members to these two Boards. And next week's *Gazette* may see these further nominations as a further illustration of the 'unexampled honesty' of the Independent Ministry.

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The notification regarding the various Taluk Boards omitted to mention the fact that the strength of the board was fixed at a particular number. It has therefore been easy for the Minister to manipulate the numbers, to add to it at his pleasure or rather at the pleasure of his masters. But in the case of the District Board fortunately or unfortunately the Government order has fixed the strength at twenty-seven members exclusive of the six ex-officio Taluk Board Presidents. The lady now nominated to give further support to Dr. Ramachandra Rao the chosen candidate of the Swarajists, found a place on the Board, as a seat was rendered vacant by the Zamindar of Gollapalli becoming an ex-officio member on his election to the Presidentship of the Nazvid Taluq Board. Normally speaking there can be no further additions made to this Board at least. But the correspondent of the *Swarajya* states that mighty efforts are being made to increase the number and if such a patently monstrous thing happens it will only be another illustration of the 'unexampled honesty' of the Independent Ministry.

The whole province is sick of and disgusted with these manoeuvres. The worst forms of Tammany Hall practices pale into insignificance before this jobbery. Where are those who

talked of Panagalism if a single defeated candidate, an ex-president of the Corporation was nominated to the Council, particular care being taken that the nomination is made after the election of the President was over? Where are the paragons of public virtue, the spokesmen of purity of administration to-day, when the Independent Ministry is the tool and instrument of every passer-by? What are those persons doing whose duty it is to see that the fair name of the province is not spoilt and that the administration is not dragged into contempt, ridicule and obloquy? Are we under a civilised, rational and sane administration, is the question which people unaccustomed to the tortuous ways of Independent Ministries are asking themselves. We wonder if those high in authority are realising the damage that is being done to the prestige and character of the government by these orders. (27-5-27)

THE TANGLED SKEIN

For Brutus is an honourable man,
So are they all, all honourable men.

W. Shakespeare

The Political Situation in the Presidency is getting 'curiouser and curiouser' as Alice said in her wanderings through Wonderland. Those that stood by the 'most organised and disciplined' of parties, who believed that the advent of the 'heavy brigade,' the Swarajist stalwarts would strike the death-knell of the bureaucracy and of Dyarchy, those who were deluded into the belief at the time of the election, that a virile policy of resistance to the bureaucracy would be offered by the Swarajists, are realising to-day how woefully they have been misled. One has only to read the presidential addresses, the special interviews, the carefully prepared feelers

and the characteristically vague letters to the press of some of the Swarajist leaders to see that there is something very wrong with the domestic happiness of that party. Gone is that hectoring tone which it commanded; gone the dictatorial bearing which it put on; gone beyond all chances of recovery that proud patriotism which it affected. Where are the eloquent, the over-exuberant speakers who spoke of the Justicites as the only cogs to the wheel of progress, who told the country that immediately the Justicites were routed at the polls, the clouds will lift and the radiant sky of liberty will shine on the land dispelling for ever the hated alien domination? For over four months the Swarajists have been forced to be on the defensive and to-day they stand on the eve of the verdict and one can see quite clearly the noose that is getting fixed round the neck of the party. If there were ever a party which put before the world the highest principles and preached the most noble tenets of patriotism and showed itself in practice to be such a dismal failure, it surely is the Swarajist Party in Madras. It is not the Justicites who on account of petty reverses have been buried five fathoms deep to-day but the very honor and plighted word of the Swarajist is buried several thousands of fathoms deep.

The great Leader of the Swarajya Party, the President of the Indian National Congress spoke truculently soon after the elections when the fear of a Justice Ministry was not far off that his party had set new conventions of repeating and carrying through to the very letter the pledges which they held out to the electorate. What a fall has there been from those high and beautiful heights? Who does not realise the utter debasement of its leaders, the sordid motives which are prompting them to prove traitors to all honor and decency and the melodramatic methods which are adopted to cover their brutal treachery? The Deputy Leader of the Party—the purest Roman of them all—is to-day the foremost

renegade in the camp and talks unblushingly of his hating the Justicites even more than dyarchy. By a process of reasoning which is not difficult to follow he will easily arrive at the conclusion and will not be ashamed to express it in public that he will rather be ruled by an irresponsible Executive than by a responsible Justice Ministry. The veneer of patriotism is so easily dropped and the pure naked and unashamed monopolist comes out still hurling maledictions at a party whose unforgiveable sin is that it kept men of his ilk at a safe distance. But though we can understand the *volte face* of the great Swarajist orator, we confess we are frankly amazed by the reasons alleged by those who cannot be their opponents for the change of the angel of vision of some of the Swarajist leaders. We have been told by Mr. S. Muthiah Mudaliar a member of that party that while the Independents are in office the Swarajists are in the enjoyment of the prestige and the emoluments of office. The statement is most damaging in whatever sense it may be understood.

But we have now a remarkable corroboration of that statement from one of the Independent Ministers themselves. Speaking at Coimbatore before a mixed and partially hostile audience the Minister for Development the Hon. Mr. A. Ranganatha Mudaliar said: "The latest speech and statements of the Deputy Leader of the Swaraj Party in the Council would show that Dyarchy is not after all such a barren tree as it was once thought to be by his party." We do not know whether the 'Party' thinks to-day that it is less barren, but we are entitled to ask the Deputy Leader how Dyarchy has proved a less barren tree and what is the interesting yield that it has now given to the members of the Swaraj Party under Independent Ministerial nurturing. What are those fruits that the members of the Swaraj Party have gathered from the 'tree' which they at one time considered 'barren'? What are the plums that the tree has dropped

into their watering mouths to make them realise the mistake they had made? The statement of the Minister is the most shameful or rather shameless confession of the manner in which the Ministry has bought the support of some of the members of the Swaraj Party. They have gone about trying to prove to them that the tree is not barren and that it yields rich luscious fruits. What those fruits can be, we ask our readers to ponder over. Has the Independent Ministry after eight months of office signalised its administration by a single progressive act? What is its record in any of the nation-building departments which has proved to the Deputy Leader of the Swarajist Party that the Dyarchic tree is not so barren now as he once supposed it to be? Has the Minister of Education revolutionised the educational progress of the Presidency except it be by the report of his Special Officer? Has the problem of the drink evil been solved? Has the Minister for Development promoted cottage industries or started the scheme of rural reconstruction except it be that by his splendid contribution of eight hundred rupees a month so long as he is a Minister, for the task of rural regeneration, he believes that the millennium will dawn on us? What have the Ministers done which has helped the country forward? What measures have they inaugurated which will make the ryot more prosperous? Where has their distinctive contribution to National progress been in evidence? And yet the tree has suddenly begun to yield.

We agree that it is no longer barren to some of the members of the Swarajist Party. The gates of monopoly have been widely opened. The hangers-on of the coat-tails of the Deputy Leader have a happy time getting nominations to this or that District Board. Nepotism and jobbery are thriving to-day as it has never had a chance of thriving before. Local Self-Government is reduced to a farce. The responsible Heads of

Districts are ignored and have been reduced to impotency. A few members of the Swarajist Party, a small coterie who either sing praises of the Ministers or promise them support, are the dictators of the situation. Principles of justice and fairplay are blown to the winds. Every issue of the *Fort St. George Gazette* contains instances of the shameful methods by which a tottering Ministry desires to strengthen itself and it is no wonder that the Development Minister points out that under Independent cultivation the Dyarchic tree will not be barren as has been discovered by the Deputy Leader of the Party. What then is the situation that presents itself to every honest politician in the country? Shall this immoral situation be allowed to continue, this vendetta permitted to be pursued, this nefarious traffic continued to be practised? The wobbling that has become evident among the Leaders of the Swaraj Party is eloquent proof of the demoralisation that has set in. The theses on constitutional practices which we are daily flooded with, would have disgusted our readers. Let us consider the situation that has arisen and make our position clear. We shall examine in the next article the tangled skein of provincial politics and see whither the country and the Swaraj Party is being led by leaders who have realised that Dyarchy is not barren. (10-8-27)

II

The nervousness with which Swarajists are contemplating the proposed 'no-confidence' motion is a highly edifying commentary on the moral of the 'most organised political party' and of its real aims and objectives at least as some of the leaders visualise them. We referred in our last article to the discovery that the dyarchic tree has now been found by the Deputy Leader not to be 'barren'. Mr. Satyamurthi who has apparently understood the implications of the suggestion of the Development Minister

has promptly contradicted the statement. Of course the Honourable Minister has not understood him aright and what he meant was that the tree would not be 'barren' if there was a large party behind the Ministers. While Mr. Satyamurthi is challenging the statement, another Swarajist leader the Honourable Mr. Ramadas, gives again corroborative proof of the statement that 'Dyarchy is not barren' in a remarkable speech which he has thought fit to make to the voters of West Godavari at Palacole. Mr. Ramadas states: "Many leading men in several districts, including prominent Congressmen, both inside and outside the Council, availed themselves, in public interests of the benefit of the change in the Ministry. They pressed into service the wider and progressive outlook of the new Ministers to reform some institutions which became rotten to the core under Justice regime. The District Boards of Kistna and West Godavari are instances within your personal knowledge." We confess we have hardly come across a more candid confession of what the Swarajists really stand for. Mr. Ramadas has clearly stated that it is Government nominations that his party is really after and his statement is the best proof of the unholy pact between the Ministers and the Congressmen which he denies at an earlier stage. We shall deal with Mr. Ramadas' speech and its psychology on another occasion but we wish to draw the attention of our readers to the fruits which according to Mr. Ramadas the Dyarchic tree has already yielded. The antics of the Deputy Leader have not surprised those who knew him. His speeches which breathed the most patriotic fervour are pitched in a low key to-day and are hardly audible beyond the anti-chambers of Governors and Viceroys. He speaks of working Dyarchy with a large elected majority as if in this province such an experiment was not carried out by the Justice Party at least in the first Council. Our contemporary the

Bengalee writing under the caption 'Brainless politics' says: "No one expected Mr. S. Satyamurthi, the fire-eating patriot of Madras, to be sensible or consistent in his political thinking; but the three cornered tussle in Madras between the Congressmen, the Justicites and the Independents has so upset his mental balance that he has lapsed into incoherent talk about Dyarchy, the Royal Commission, and a Round Table Conference. One or two samples from an interview which the *Associated Press* has taken the trouble to circulate will suffice. He said:— 'My feeling is that Dyarchy is a unique experiment and cannot succeed. That is the opinion of almost every Minister that has worked Dyarchy. But there is one experiment which has not been so far tried in India. There has not so far been any Ministry with a clear majority in the Legislative Council consisting solely of elected members.' This is a stale truism. The very constitution of the Legislative Councils is such that this is almost inevitable?" But we should like to compare this tame and supine ending of the interview with the heroics that were displayed at Gauhati. Mr. Satyamurthi in supporting the resolution on 'Work in the Councils' said:—

"The crux of the whole position is this—we go to the Councils to hurl defiance at the bureaucracy, and we say we will not allow them to work this monstrous experiment or expedient called Dyarchy. We tell them we shall reject the Finance Bill whenever we can do so consistently with our programme. We have faith in ourselves and in our country. But they (our opponents) have no faith in themselves or in their country. They believe that Swaraj will dawn one bright morning in the East of India from Downing Street, and therefore we must work the reforms for all they are worth and convince Lord Birkenhead and his friends that we are going to move resolutions, make speeches in the Assembly and in the Councils and we are going to

call ourselves Parliamentarians. That is the fundamental difference between us. Therefore this programme of so-called Responsive co-operation is a programme of surrender and of waning faith in the country, and they believe that if they want Swaraj they must wait in the ante-chambers of the foreign bureaucracy to get what they want."

Who waits in the ante-chambers of the bureaucracy to-day to get what he wants? Let our readers answer but to continue with the peroration:—

"It seems to me that the amendment (to delete the words 'oppose the formation of a Ministry by other parties') will take away the object and purpose of the whole scheme of the Congress with regard to the non-acceptance of offices. This non-acceptance of offices has got two meanings. It is not only intended to keep the Congressmen free from the shackles of office and free to work for Swaraj both inside the Assembly and Councils and outside, but there is another important aspect of the doctrine *viz.*, not only must we refuse to accept office ourselves but we must make all the exertions of which we are capable to make Dyarchy impossible. That is what Deshabandu did in Bengal. The amendment means that we refuse to accept office ourselves but permit Congressmen to support a Ministry formed by other parties. Can anything be more grotesque, inconsistent or humiliating? If I believed that Dyarchy could be worked to any purpose whatever I would prefer Congressmen to accept office rather than sit behind and support others to accept Ministerships. Because we believe that there is no office to accept and that the Ministers are just Slavish Daffadars to the Executive Council and that they have no power, initiative or responsibility, that I feel that Congressmen should not

accept office. In these circumstances why should we allow other people to come there and help the bureaucracy, help that system of Dyarchy which has proved to be unworkable."

We make no apologies for extracting this long excerpt from the speech of the Deputy Leader. Just compare this undiluted patriotism with the statements, wobbling, inconsistent and incoherent, which are being made to-day? Is the change due to the discovery that the tree of Dyarchy is not barren? Are "we making all the exertions of which we are capable to make Dyarchy impossible"? Is Dyarchy going to be killed by stating that the 'no-confidence motion even if carried is only a condemnation of the system and does not involve a censure on the individual Ministers' thus necessitating their resignation? Does Mr. Satyamurthi think to-day that the 'Ministers are just Slavish Daffadars to the Executive Council' or has the scales fallen from his eyes and does he see in them 'Masters' to whom he is a willing Daffadar himself? What can account for this great change that has come over the 'Rienzi' of the Swarajya Party? Does Mr. Satyamurthi think that with an elected majority an unworkable system will become more workable? Verily it is a tangled skein that presents itself to us at every stage. (11-8-27)

THE NO-CONFIDENCE MOTION

"The applause of listening senates to command,
The threats of pain and ruin to despise,
To scatter plenty o'er a smiling land,
And read their history in a nation's eyes—"

T. Gray

(Owing to the enterprise of our reporter, we have been able to get a complete transcript of the speech proposed to be delivered by Mr. Satyamurthi on the "No-Confidence in Dyarchy")

motion. The vivid and fertile imagination of the reporter has easily enabled him to realise how it would be received by the House.—Ed. J.)

Mr. President,

I rise to move the proposition that stands in my name : "That a humble and dutiful address be presented to His Excellency the Governor that in view of the experience of the country that Dyarchy is a failure and in view of the decision of the two organised political parties in the province that the office of Ministers under Dyarchy should neither be accepted nor retained, this House expresses its want of confidence in the Ministry."

Sir, in moving this address, my mind naturally goes back to the year 1923 when in the last Council, a motion of no-confidence was similarly moved by those sitting on this side of the House. I regretted on that occasion that it was my melancholy privilege to make my maiden speech on so controversial a subject. (*A Voice :—There was nothing maidenly about it*) Sir, it does not require many words from me to show how completely things have changed since those days. The Swaraj Party which was only a dozen strong at that time commands more than thrice that strength to-day. The Justice Party in the plenitude of its power then, now lies so low and none to do it reverence. Nor is that the only circumstance that shows the distinction between the present motion and the last. I wish to draw the prominent attention of the House to the nature of the two motions and particularly to their wording. I believe, Sir, I speak subject to correction, that there was on the last occasion, no element of condemnation of the system of Government under which the Ministry was working. We condemned the personnel of the Ministry ; we denounced the party which aided and abetted that Ministry in its many nefarious acts. We denounced the methods of spoliation which the party and its Ministers

adopted. The country was disgusted with the 'spoils system' that was carried to perfection by that party. It abhorred the manner in which local self-governing bodies were insulted. It was enraged at the open flouting of public opinion by the Reserved Half, ably assisted and encouraged as it was by an effete and pusillanimous Ministry. We condemned the party of communalists and job-hunters whose hymn of hate was found intolerable even to my non-brahmin brethren. We stood out against that communalism which like a cancer was eating into the very vitals of the body politic, which was sapping the very foundations of national life and which was fouling the political atmosphere of the province by its poisonous exhalations. To-day I stand confirmed and fortified in every criticism that I then offered. Three years of further continuance in power only served to show the Justicites in their true colours to the country at large. Their naked and unabashed advocacy of inefficiency ; their pandering to low communal tastes and instincts, their yeilding to the gross desires of half-educated communities to find preferments in public service, have brought about the nemesis of the party. The persecution of the brahmins had become so open and so daring, the hatred of the members of my poor community had become so manifest, that even the Governor of the province was disgusted with his own proteges. On the eve of the elections, proroguing the last Council, Lord Goschen with the natural caution and conservatism of the head of the province, gave a distinct hint to the electorates that in the larger interests of democratic advancement they should give short shift to a party so fundamentally opposed in its doctrines to all progressive thought. Mr. President, I am not usually given to praise any of the bureaucratic race and you know me too well, Sir, not to realise that if occasionally I offer my congratulations to any of them, it can be for no earthly gain. But, Sir, I must confess that it was a happy day indeed when

Lord Goschen replaced Lord Willingdon. The good star of the province must truly have been in the ascendent when so happy a choice was made. I am a Hindu, a deeply devout Hindu and my life's guide is my Lord Sri Krishna and I have no higher solace than the sacred *Gita*, the most profound of religious and philosophical works. My Lord says in that exquisite book "whenever virtue subsides and vice triumphs, then I am reborn to punish the wicked and to lead the good to salvation." Who can deny Mr. President that virtue had subsided in Lord Willingdon's days and that the wicked had begun to rule?

Sir A. P. Patro:—Is it Parliamentary Mr. President to describe the Ministers as the wicked?

Mr. Satyamurthy:—My Honourable friend may wear the cap if it fits him, but, I was only using the term in an allegorical sense. Sir, into this presidency where vice was triumphing, Lord Krishna ushered in a Governor whose nobility of mind, gentlemanliness of disposition and above all, political sagacity, and an instinctive understanding of men and matters, have been the wonder and admiration of all classes. There are few men, indeed, I speak without fear of contradiction, who are better and shrewder judges of character than my Lord Goschen and none who is more imbued with a sincere desire to help this province to move ahead. I have known Lord Goschen for sometime and have had opportunities of coming into contact with him and no one who has done so can fail to note the extraordinary grasp which the Governor of the province has over the problems of Government and over the most meticulous details of administration.

Mr. B. Ramachandra Reddi:—Mr. President, are we discussing a no-confidence motion on the Ministers or on His Excellency the Governor?

Mr. S. Satyamurthy:—I can understand the anxiety of my friend and those sitting with him to gag my mouth on so

important a question. I am not coward enough to pass, as they have done, a no-confidence motion at Coimbatore on a Governor, at whose hands they had received a thousand favours and whom they have condemned for the alleged acts of his colleagues—acts which I shall seek to show were in each case thoroughly justified. Mr. President, this province has had an inestimable boon from the Governor. He has rooted out with an iron hand the demon of communalism and he will be ever remembered with gratitude by every well-wisher of the province.

A Justiceite:—On a point of order, Mr. President, I have no objection to the Deputy Leader of the Swarajists establishing his claim for a seat with the Mighty, by judicious praise but may I suggest that he might seek another opportunity and a different venue to do so.

The President:—That is a matter of taste. It is not a point of order. (*Cheers*)

Mr. S. Satyamurthy:—I am glad, Sir, that you have given a proper snub to the irrepressible member.

The President:—Order! Order I have done nothing of the kind. (*Laughter*)

Mr. S. Satyamurthy:—Whatever that might be, Sir, I was dealing with the changed position of the country. To-day, as I foretold with a prescience and foresight that cannot be a matter of surprise in a person of my community, the Justice Party is buried five fathoms deep. I take some little pride in the fulfilment of my prophecy. The blood of four hundred generations of prophets flows in these veins and I wish there was present here, he who so scorned me when I made the prophecy and who has been rightly swept away in the great deluge. The province has had just breathing time to retrieve itself from the unhappy position in which it had been placed by the Justiceites. You can see contentment and happiness everywhere. The Independent Ministry who came on

a non-communal ticket and who have accepted office on that basis have been trying their best to do what they can to retrieve the province from the evils of communalism. The Local Self-Government institutions are slowly lifting their heads, secure that they are under the control of one who is genuinely interested in their healthy growth and who will not prostitute his position for party purposes. District Boards are fortunately coming into their own inheritance and the hold of the octopus—the Justice is getting loose after all. Look at the tremendous impulse to nationalism and to the forces gathering for liberty, freedom and the welfare of the people, that has been given by the replacement of the reactionary caucus in Kistna and Godavari by enlightened patriotic and self-sacrificing nationalists. Kistna was groaning under the tyranny of one whose wealth and position was used to crush the people. It required a man of high culture, of large understanding of thorough sympathy with the real needs of the people of the district to take the courageous move that was taken to root out the evil elements in the District Board. By that one act of his Dr. Subbaroyan had shown himself a firm and resolute Minister, to use the happy language of my friend Mr. Chambers, but what is far more important than firmness or resolution to me, he has proved that he has placed himself at the head of that great democratic wave which through capturing the local bodies will ultimately usher in Swaraj. (*Cheers from Mr. Kaleswara Rao and tremendous cries of hear, hear, from the same gentleman*)

The Kumara Raja of Venkatagiri:—Mr. President. Is the Honourable Member for the University moving a vote of confidence in the Ministry? (*Hear, hear from the Justices*)

The President:—The speech of the Honourable Member is clear and Honourable Members will draw their own inferences. (*Cheers and laughter*)

Mr. S. Satyamurthi:—I am not surprised Sir, at these unseemly interruptions. The Justice Party has carried a vendetta against the Minister and has systematically villified him through the columns of a journal which I shall not dignify by naming it in the House. (*Hear hear from the Hon. Mr. Arogyaswami Mudaliar*) I repeat the Minister has earned the gratitude of my countrymen for the firm stand that he has taken with reference to Kistna and Godavari. But whether due to lack of imagination or due to being jerry-mandered by criticism he has not been equally consistent with reference to some other Boards. His *volte face* with reference to the Salem District Board, his halting indecision with regard to the Guntur District Board, his lack of firmness in dealing with the S. Arcot District have raised occasional doubts in the minds of some of my colleagues regarding the 'national spirit' of the Ministers. I can however say Sir, with a knowledge of them that there is no reason to doubt their bona-fides. They are determined to root out communalism as I said before and whoever does it, is bound to be a patriot and nationalist. They have made it impossible for the Reserved half to strengthen its hold on the country, to force through its reactionary proposals, to make an unwilling people accept its unpopular measures and to make a farce of responsible Government. To-day, it is our experience that in several branches of the administration of the Reserved subjects the province is enjoying the benefits of progressive Government and it is hard to find that they are administered by those who are not amenable to the will of the people. I am aware, Sir, that there are subjects like Land Revenue, Finance, Forests and Moplah Andaman Colonisation Scheme where the hated bureaucrat still rules and where the people's will cannot sway the decisions of the Government.

The Hon. Mr. Marjoribanks:—I may be a hated bureaucrat Sir, but I submit my friend, the Member-in-charge of Forests, cannot come under that description. (*Cheers*)

Mr. S. Satyamurthi:—Sir, they are birds of a feather as the House will readily perceive. (*Laughter*) I was referring, Sir, to subjects like Irrigation where the province has been revolutionised, to Hydro-Electric Schemes where the basis for an Industrial era has been well and truly laid, to ports and harbours where the construction of protected harbours will naturally lead to that National Indian Marine which we are all so eager to have. There will be other occasions when I may have an opportunity to speak of these matters but my desire to-day is to point out that it is due to the existence of a virile, self-respecting and aggressive Ministry that the Reserved half is making so ready a response to popular will. If the old Justices had continued, if the 'jo-hokums' had been in power, if the tools of the bureaucracy, the slaves who had sold their birthright for a mess of pottage, who struck like leeches to the Treasury Bench when they were not wanted, who depended on the official and nominated votes for their continuance in office, had been there, would you have dreamt of these glorious results? Let me quote one last instance—the latest illustration of the anxiety of even the Reserved half, under the happy inspiration and guidance of the Ministers to satisfy public opinion. I am a strong advocate of tenants right though my feelings are always with the under-dog whether it be the much-maligned brahmin of S. India or the equally slandered jenmy of Malabar. (*Hear, hear from Mr. Krishnan Nair*) My friend need not attempt to be so funny. He knows that the tenants of Malabar consider me a better friend, a truer representative of their interests than he can be. With a kindness and consideration that is unusual the Government have appointed a Committee to enquire into the whole question and His Excellency has shown his genuine interest in the solution of the problem by sanctioning the expenditure for the Committee on his own initiative. It is only the perverse, Mr. President,

that can read a different meaning into this gracious act. Can it be denied for a moment that these actions of an ordinarily irresponsible and arrogant bureaucracy could have been performed, without the persistent efforts of a popular Ministry, to make the Reserved half listen to the voice of reason, and carry out the will of the people? (*Hear, hear from Mr. K. R. Venkataramier*) Sir, I wish to give the Ministers their due. Merit must have its reward and though the three Ministers are non-brahmins I am too good a nationalist, to withhold my appreciation on that ground. Nor am I actuated by any improper motives in paying my meed of praise. I crave no earthly reward for the tribute I am paying them. I am a true *Nishkama Karmi*. I am a performer of work without desire. I believe in the Lord's saying: "To work you have the right but not to the fruits thereof." I am a man of action. All my life I have been one. I can afford to be neither like a brute nor inert nor heartless. I am not a *Tamasika* but I am a pure *Satva*. My heart is full of love and sympathy which can embrace the whole world. I have consoled myself in making this motion with what my Lord Krishna said on the great field of battle at *Kurukshetra*. It is one of the most beautiful passages in a noble dialogue. I shall not be justified in using the sacred language in a mixed House such as this, with its heterogeneous composition but I shall give a free English version of it. Sanjaya says speaking of Arjuna: "To him who was thus over-whelmed with pity and sorrowing, and whose eyes were dimmed with tears Madhusudana spoke these words."

The blessed Lord said: "In such a strait, whence comes upon thee, O. Arjuna, this dejection, un-Arya-like, disgraceful and contrary to the attainment of Heaven? Yield not to unmanliness, O! Son of Pritha! Ill doth it become thee. Cast off this mean faint-heartedness and arise, O! Scorcher of thine enemies." (*Loud and continuous cheers from Messrs A.*

Kaleswara Rao, G. Harisarvothama Rao, K. R. Venkataramier T. C. Srinivasa Iyengar and C. R. Parthasarathy Iyengar)

It is in the spirit of Arjuna who did not flinch even from a fratricidal war in vindication of the cause of Dharma, that I have ventured to table this motion. The Ministers now occupying the Treasury Bench are my brethren, old and tried comrades of mine who have proved their mettle on a thousand fields of battle. They and we have stood shoulder to shoulder offering resistance to the bureaucracy, exposing the vagaries of the Justice Party, fighting for freedom, for the emancipation of those in political bondage and boldly challenging the demon of communalism. My friends in the present Council who have entered it for the first time, can hardly realise the forces that we had to combat and the evils that we had to overcome. It would take me far from the theme of my discourse to-night, if I were to enter into a detailed account of our fights with the reactionary and communal Ministry. We have saved the province from the throes of that communalism which very nearly killed all political life in the country, but that is neither here nor there, Mr. President. *(A voice : Then where is it ?)*

Mr. S. Satyamurthi :—Sir, I refuse to take note of these jejune interruptions. I want this House to be serious for a minute and to gravely consider the momentous step which it has been asked to take. It is because we appreciate the position and responsibility of the Ministry, it is because we do not wish to ignore the national service which they have rendered in the past, it is because we are convinced of the great national work that they are doing to-day, that the motion is intentionally worded as it is. Sir, we have the amplest faith that the Ministry as it is constituted at present possesses the entire confidence of the country. No Ministry with the possible exception of a Swarajist Ministry, and even that only if it is properly constituted on non-communal lines

without any attempt at eliminating the most intellectual of its members, could do more than what the present Ministry has done. And Sir, what is far more important, there are many Ministries (here the Speaker turned to Sir A. P. Patro) who would do much worse. I repeat therefore, Sir, that it is not because we have no-confidence in the Ministers that we are moving this vote of no-confidence in the Dyarchic system. My Party, Sir, has come to the Council to hurl defiance at the bureaucracy, and we say we will not allow any Communal Party to work this monstrous experiment or expedient called Dyarchy. We tell the country that we shall reject the Finance Bill whenever we can do so consistently with our safety and convenience. *(Hear, hear, from a Justicite)* We have faith in ourselves and trust in our noble, pure and honest intentions. I attribute no motives but the Justicites have no faith in themselves. Sir I have been criticised by my opponents and by 'candid' friends for not attempting to overthrow the Independent Ministry and thereby help the Justice Party to come back into power either before or after a General Election. I stand entirely unrepentant to-day and I shall justify every word that I have said so far, on this question. I have no hesitation in stating that while I hate Dyarchy, I hate one thing more than Dyarchy and that is communalism and the possibility of the Justicites coming back into power. That is the reason, Mr. President, why my resolution is worded *Ex Abundi Cautili*, as a matter of excess of caution if possible, so that the Independent Ministry's existence may not be jeopardised and the Justicites come back into power.

Mr. K. V. R. Swami :—May I point out to my friend that the Justicites have passed a resolution at Coimbatore against acceptance of office.

Mr. S. Satyamurthi :—If my friend knew the Justicites as long as I have known them, he surely would not have

made such a statement. I know that even now while this discussion is going on the Leader of the Party is in consultation with the Private Secretary to the Governor regarding the formation of an alternate Ministry.

The Rajah of Panagal :—The statement is absolutely untrue.

Mr. S. Satyamurthi :—Sir I did not mean that the Private Secretary has given room for such consultation. (*Loud cries of withdraw, withdraw, shame, lie*)

Mr. President :—Order ! Order ! I should deprecate all unparliamentary expressions whatever the provocation may be. The Honourable Member has been long enough a member of this Council and has been sufficiently in public life to be known to all people. I would therefore suggest that there should be no interruptions of the kind I had to check.

Mr. S. Satyamurthi :—Sir, I am glad that you have thrown the weight of your experience of me, in the scale to justify my statements and I am deeply thankful to you.

Mr. President :—Order ! Order ! The Honourable Member, I may assure him, will not improve his case by interpreting my remarks. (*Laughter*)

Mr. S. Satyamurthi :—Sir, I was referring to the possibility of another Justice Ministry. It sits as a nightmare on me and on the country. The Province is just getting over it, thanks to the happy regime of the non-communal Ministry. The crime of having this happy time changed, shall not lie on my head and I trust there are no progressive elements in the House that will make themselves responsible for such a calamity. If there are any such, I ask them to lay their hand on their hearts and say with fear of God and with a consciousness of the favours which they have received at the hands of the Ministers, that the present Ministry is not a thousand times better than the past. (*Hear, hear, from Mr. A. Kaleswara Rao and ironical cheers from the Justi-*

ites) Sir, I fail to understand the manifestations of my friends below the gangway. We are proud and we certainly are not ashamed of the favours that we have received from the Ministers. Why should we be? (*Hear, hear*) It was no personal benefit to us. We got no earthly gain from such favours. We have ventured to suggest to the Ministers that certain acts should be done in the highest interests of the motherland and if they have carried out our wishes, surely the very Gods must bless both the donors and the recipients who, alike serve the cause of the Mother. (*Hear, hear*) Sir, I was dwelling on the possibilities of a Justice Ministry before I was interrupted. One has only to look at my friends the ex-Ministers to feel that it is not as remote a danger as my friends believe. They remind me of one of those marine landscapes not very unusual on the coast of South America. You behold a range of exhausted volcanoes. Not a flame flickers on a single pallid crest. But the situation is still dangerous. There are occasional earthquakes and ever and anon the dark rumbling of the sea.

Sir A. P. Patro :—Sir, the learned member for the University spoke of us as the wicked, some time back, and now he is making us exhausted volcanoes. We are accustomed to the vituperative tongue of the Honourable Member. But I would suggest that he might at least be consistent in his figures of speech. (*Laughter*)

Mr. S. Satyamurthi :—Sir, I am not going to take lessons in figures of speech from my Honourable friend, the ex-Minister of Education. It seems to me there is no mixing of metaphors at all. Does Sir Patro deny that a volcano whether in eruption or exhausted, is a very wicked thing. (*Renewed Laughter*) It is true Sir, that one of these volcanoes is totally extinct and will trouble us no more. But the others are still dangerous and at any time they may pour out the lava of communal hatred which has so consumed the fairest flower of the land

in the past few years. Therefore it is, Sir, that I again and again have to reiterate with emphasis on the language of the resolution that I had the honor to move. I wish to draw the attention of the House, if I may, to the *ipsissima verba* of that motion. I speak in all humility and subject to correction, but I consider the motion is not a censure of the present Ministry but merely a condemnation of the Government under which they are functioning. I have always held, Sir, that Dyarchy is unworkable, that it is a gift unworthy of England to offer and unworthy of India to accept. It has not profited my country and it has proved absolutely ruinous to the growth and prosperity of this province by installing in office for six long years a communal Ministry. There is only one condition under which possibly that system may be worked to the satisfaction of the people. If there is an absolute elected majority behind the Ministry able to withstand all possible combinations it may be worth attempting to work the system.

Mr. Munuswami Naidu:—I am glad my friend is becoming a Responsive Co-operator.

Mr. S. Satyamurthi:—Sir, you know that thrice a kingly crown was offered to me and my Party and thrice did we reject it. My honoured leader Mr. C. R. Das scorned to accept a Ministership. I have equal scorn for the post but I have merely suggested the conditions under which it may be worth accepting.

Mr. Munuswami Naidu:—Does the Leader of the Party accept the view?

Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetty:—No, Sir!

The President:—I must ask Honourable Members not to interrupt the speaker who has a difficult task to perform. (Laughter)

Mr. S. Satyamurthi:—I thank you Sir, for allowing me to proceed. I can see clearly the result of this motion. I have

tried to explain the object with which it was tabled and I trust those in authority will take note of the motive underlying those who vote for it. I am told, Sir, that the elected votes may be cast in large numbers in favour of my motion and that the Ministers may not command an elected majority. That is, I submit Sir, as it should be. Through the votes of the elected members the country will declare that it is in favour of Swaraj and tired of the present position. But Sir, if beyond this, it is sought to be made out by those who are antagonistic to the Ministers that the verdict of the country is against the Ministers, I must enter a caveat against such a proposition. (*Hear, hear from the Justice block*) Sir, I feel there ought to be no question of elected and nominated members, not even a question of officials and non-officials where a Ministry like the present non-communal Ministry is concerned. Such considerations are justifiable where a reactionary Justice Ministry is concerned. (*Hear, hear from Mr. P. T. Rajan and broad smiles from the Justices*) Sir, I want the serious attention of the house to the matter and I shall explain my reasons for the statement. The nominated members come into the Council representing different communities and therefore on a communal ticket. It is clear and obvious that without doing violence to the very basis of their existence they cannot help supporting a communal Ministry. Such support *a fortiori*, does not mean a support of either the men in office or their actions but it is only a vote of confidence in their own communal claims. But when such nominated members support a non-communal Ministry it must be taken that they find the men so estimable and their actions so commendable that in spite of the Ministers being opposed to the very fundamentals of their existence, the nominated members feel constrained to support them. Sir, I have too great a regard for my nominated brethren under such circumstances, to suggest that they do not

represent the country. I repeat with emphasis that the distinction of elected and nominated members under such circumstances is anomalous and meaningless. Nor am I convinced that the official votes are valueless and need not be counted, when they are cast in favour of a national and progressive Ministry like the present. You may recollect, Sir, how I protested against official votes weighing down the scales when the Justice Ministry was in office. But that was because you and I felt that the Justices were a reactionary party and officials were interested in supporting them.

The President;—Order! The Honourable Member should not refer to any supposed attitude of mine in the past and ought in any case to remember the place I am now occupying.

Mr. S. Satyamurthi:—I humbly apologise Sir, but I was referring to the fact that the officials were interested in the Ministry as they were the tools of the bureaucracy; even as the evidence of interested parties is discredited, so the votes of officials were of no concern. But Sir, to-day we have a national Ministry which the official block is certainly not interested in supporting, whose bold actions have already struck terror into the hearts of the bureaucrats. The votes of the officials under such circumstances is valuable doubly and is the best indication of the worth of the Ministers.

Mr. Ethirajulu Naidu:—Is all this paeon of praise of the Ministry relevant, Sir?

The President:—I am afraid if I had excluded such statements, the Honourable Member could hardly have made any speech. (Laughter)

Mr. S. Satyamurthi:—Sir, one word more and I have done. The country is tired of communalism. It is anxious to obtain Swaraj. No nation can be in bondage for long. No nation will be justified in holding sway over another for all time. The wheels of time are moving fast. I see the signs of a radiant day in the distant horizon. The great national forces

which fortunately have been let loose are working for a glorious future when my country shall take its proper place among the family of nations, when Swaraj will be our birthright. The resolution I had the honor of moving to-day marks one more milestone in our laborious struggle towards freedom and Swaraj. (Cheers) If my countrymen will only bear in mind the lessons of our glorious sages, if they will be true followers of Lord Krishna, if they will only cultivate *Mumukshavam*, that intense desire to be free, there is no doubt that my unfortunate country will be free ere long. To the many doubting Thomases whom I see before me, to my friends of the Justice Party whose change of heart I doubt very much, I should like to address the very first sermon that Lord Buddha preached to his disciples. Edwin Arnold has given a beautiful translation of it in his 'Light of Asia' which I commend to my friends.

"Ye suffer from yourselves. None else compels.

None other holds you that ye live and die,

And whirl upon the wheel, and hug and kiss,
Its spokes of agony.

Its tire of tears, its nave of nothingness."

I have done. (*Tremendous and continued Cheers amidst which Mr. Ethirajulu Naidu got up and said "Om! Shanti! Shanti!! Shanti!!!"* Laughter) (23-8-27)

THE FEAST OF PASS OVER

But yesterday the word of Caesar might

Have stood against the world; now lies he there,
And none so poor to do him reverence.

W. Shakespeare

The Province of Madras has furnished many wonders to the foreign visitor and the chronicles of foreign writers from Abbe Dubois to Katherine Mayo contain a few of the strange,

almost incredible, phenomena that are visible in the Southern Presidency. But the most surpassing of these wonders are hardly paralleled by that which the local citizens occasionally have an experience of, whether in social or in political matters. The play of communal feelings produce results which are queer in the extreme and which confuse and confound all honest men. We are led to these reflections by the amazing story which has come to our notice regarding the electoral possibilities of the next President of the Corporation of Madras. The position of the parties in the Municipal Corporation is such that no single party can put forward its own candidate for the Presidentship with any chance of success if it is not assured of the support of one or other of the other parties. The members who form part of or are generally expected to work with, the Justice Party, number twenty. The Swarajists are seventeen in number. There are four members who call themselves Independent but who in most matters work with the Swarajists in the Corporation. There are nine European and Anglo-Indian members returned by various institutions who are unattached to any parties.

At an early stage in the process of canvassing, so the story goes, it was realised that the neutral bloc composed of the European and Anglo-Indian members would not support barring rare exceptions among its members, a member of either the Justice or the Swarajist Party. They were inclined to support an independent, a course which the Justicites did not approve of as much on personal grounds as on grounds of policy. It need only be mentioned that opinion was strong that under the present circumstances of the Corporation it was necessary that a person should be chosen who would have a sufficient following in the Council to enable him to get through the business of that body. The Justicites appear also to have felt that as their own candidate could not be returned unaided by the support of other parties, it

was inadvisable to contest the seat through one of their members. Under such peculiar circumstances they decided upon a bold and novel step—to support a member of the rival party, one who possessed a certain following in the Council and one who had already had experience as President of the Corporation. They expressed their opinion therefore that as a party they were prepared to support the candidature of Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetty, the leader of the Swarajist opposition in the Legislative Council and the leader of the Swarajya party both in that body and in the Corporation.

This decision appears to have caused consternation to a certain section of the Swarajists and as is not unnatural, they had the unsolicited services of the usual scribes to villify the Justicites and to abuse Mr. Chetty. Eloquence was wasted in contrasting 'Panagalism and patriotism' and in extending sympathy to the gentleman who was supposed to have fallen a prey to the devices of the Communalists. The reason for all this high sounding philosophy and moralisation is obvious. The Justicites appear to have made a clean and sporting offer to their rival. There were no conditions attached to it; no stipulations required of any individual or party. There was no suggestion of any compromise either with an individual or with a party. It was, we repeat, an offer such as is rarely made in political circles, an offer which might have been readily accepted by the most puritan amongst the Swarajists, for it did not require even an expression of thanks in return. What then is the reason, why the offer was advised to be turned down and has in fact been declined by a majority of the Swarajist Party? An understanding of this problem will help anyone to understand the real situation in this province. Appeals have been made by the score for unity, for closing up the ranks, for a better understanding between the different parties. The Justice Party by its magnificent offer had more than responded to the appeal.

What, we ask again, is the reason for rejecting a well-meant offer so curtly and so peremptorily? The reason is not far to seek. The neutral block has decided to support an individual who—we are sorry to go into his caste qualifications—is a brahmin. It is a sufficient inducement to the monopolists in the Swarajya Party to make them support him though he is not a member of their party and to throw over-board their very leader. It will not surprise any one in Madras to learn that the Swarajya Party has by a majority decided to support a brahmin though he is an independent in the Corporation and a liberal in general politics, rather than a member of the Swarajya Party and its very leader. And yet they talk of 'communalism having been killed' assure high officials that the province is rid of communalism and proclaim to the world that an era of peace and good will has dawned on this presidency. Mr. Sami Venkatachallam Chetty has been 'passed over' in favour of Mr. G. A. Natesa Iyer and the 'feast of pass-over' appears to have been celebrated last night. The anxiety to get a monopolist elected President this year has been so great that some of the highest officials are reported to have taken an active part in bringing about the consummation. We ask in all seriousness who are the communalists in the province. We were accused of having intended to support a non-brahmin merely because he was a non-brahmin. But we ask those who have decided to support Mr. Natesa Aiyar on what basis they have come to that decision. Is it merit? Is it efficiency? Is it a comprehensive wisdom of Municipal politics? These questions have only to be put to show the absurdity of the position taken up by some of the Swarajist supporters.

We are aware that a new argument based on length of service as Commissioner has recently found favour in some quarters. It may be a sop to the troubled conscience but it can be nothing more. One crowded hour of glorious life is

worth an age without a name. The position is clear that whatever assurance may have been given to high officialdom regarding the death of communalism, that monster is more in evidence to-day than ever. What shall be the attitude of those, who, irrespective of parties desire to see monopoly and communalism destroyed? Will they not now at least join in a determined effort to root out this abomination from the province? Let them remember the occasion when this exhibition of narrow intolerant communalism has manifested itself. The personnel of the Royal Commission, the reason for such personnel, the ante-dating of it, have all caused the bitterest disappointment. Frantic appeals are made for joining forces, for forgetting past differences, for putting country before all and for a united front. It is in such a crisis that the most shameful example of caste exclusiveness and monopoly is given to the world. We learn further that the very Commission has been used by the advocate of the unmentionable gentleman to dissuade a Swarajist from standing. Such sacrifice was, it was suggested, another indication of resentment, of a refusal to co-operate with the authorities and paying duty calls on exalted individuals. Does this *Advocatus Diaboli* believe that the position will be improved by the election of a non-descript politician? We have only received the millionth instance of communalism and monopoly. We ask those of our friends who did not wish to believe that human nature could be so gross to re-examine their position and act in the best interests of the country. Will they not co-operate with us in breaking this monopoly, in killing this monster of communalism? (11-11-27)

THE CURSE OF MADRAS

Thou wear a lion's head ! Doff it for shame,
And hang a calf's-skin on those recreant limbs.

W. Shakespeare

Hollow and insincere political leaders are the curse of the Southern Province and form the greatest obstacle to the unity of parties and to any political progress. Recent events have unmasked some of them who are so lost in self-admiration or self-seeking that they have thrown overboard even that vestige of discretion which may help to camouflage their deeds and intentions and have openly flaunted their real purposes.

The Deputy Leader of the Swarajya Party in the local Council has been much before the public eye during the past few days. His antecedents, his speeches and activities, his trips to Ootacamund, his interviews with those in power during the last eight months, his mental gyrations in the Legislative Council, his equally facile physical movements in that house, his walk-ins and walk-outs, his poses of neutrality and his heroic opposition, the florid style of oratory which he commands at the Beach, the equally elegant drawing-room style which he reveals at Hotel Rosotto—all these have disclosed by now to the public of Madras something of the personality, the character and culture, the patriotism and love of country of the great Swarajist hero. Mr. Satyamurthi has by a thousand speeches immortalised himself as the Parasurama of the present age specially incarnated to kill that demon 'communalism' which has polluted the atmosphere of India. So thorough is his hatred of the monster that in addition to killing it he has taken the trouble of digging a grave five fathoms deep and burying it. What else is buried in that deep grave, how many of those excellent principles which are glibly given expression to on public platforms have found a

premature grave, are matters which the public are learning day after day.

The heroic part that the Deputy Leader played during the budget session of the Council, the trouble that he took to guide aright the deliberations of the A. I. C. C., the explanations that he has given for throwing overboard his own Leader in the contest for Municipal Presidentship, the reasons he has advanced for discountenancing the idea of a Swarajist President for the coming year, the truly statesmanlike views that he has taken on the question of the duty of his party when it is faced with an inevitable rise in taxation, have all shown how well qualified he is to be the leader of the Swarajist Party. If ever 'political sincerity' is required, if conduct should conflict with creed, if the spoken word should be belied by the performed act, if a structure based on empty phrases, meaningless formulae and inane threats should be wanted, the Deputy Leader may be approached for guidance in so difficult a task. To roar in Gokhale Hall against the bureaucracy and to go on bended knees before the authorities is a task not beyond his capacity.

It is stated that quite recently in an interview with a very high Statesman he gave expression to his 'profound gratitude and the profound gratitude of the whole Province for the Statesman's most glorious act, the scotching of communalism in this province'. It is no wonder that with such ideas of communalism Mr. Satyamurthi has taken every opportunity to malign and villify his opponents. We are indebted to the special correspondent of the *Forward* for the following beautiful description of the interview which the great politician had with His Excellency the Viceroy at Delhi. A shorter report of it was unfortunately telegraphed to the local press by a News agency not sufficiently discerning and patriotic. The special correspondent of the *Forward* says :—

"The Viceroy must have had a very strenuous time to-day (November 24) in the few hours between his arrival from Rajkot and departure for Kapurthala, because several matters relating to administration should in normal course have obtained his formal approval. But he managed to squeeze in one full hour to grant an interview to a prominent politician, Mr. S. Satyamurthi, who came here from Madras on a visit. Since the series of interviews granted to leading politicians in Delhi preceding the announcement of the Statutory Commission, there has been a long period of time during which much water has flown down the bridge. The stage at which Mr. Satyamurthi had an opportunity of speaking to Lord Irwin is therefore significant as well as important. It would not, therefore, be surprising to be told that where ordinarily in such a crowded day as Lord Irwin was faced with, the interview would have concluded in a few minutes, to-day Mr. Satyamurthi was kept engaged for a little over an hour. What then could have been the subjects discussed?"

After this introduction by the special correspondent whose identity may not be impossible of revelation to our readers, we are certain that they are as anxious as ourselves to know the subjects of talk at the interview.

Look at the dramatic situation so graphically visualised by the correspondent. Lord Irwin has just arrived from Rajkot after a prolonged journey. In a few hours he leaves for Kapurthala. The affairs of State have accumulated. Gold decked choubdars in red and yellow are waiting with boxes on their heads to carry them to the Viceregal office room. Private Secretaries with anxious and worried looks, Military Secretaries in their stiff and starched uniforms are twisting their thumbs and waiting in the ante-chambers with unceasing impatience. Letters by the hundred, telegrams by the

score, files from the Foreign and Political department, which brook no delay are all held up. In hushed tones the word flies from mouth to mouth. Mr. Satyamurthi of Madras is discussing matters of State with Lord Irwin. They say that news flies faster than on the wires in India. The whole of Delhi is on the tiptoe of expectation; the Secretariat in the new Amphitheatre in White City ceases to hum and buzz. Chandni Chowk observes silence; the Jumma Masjid is for once deserted. News agencies are waiting at the folded doors ready to catch the first news of the most important political talk that there has been in recent times. The Director-General of Telegraphs Sir Gagen Roy, has cautioned the telegraph offices to keep the lines clear for the messages and the inevitable rush for transmitting news of such transcendental importance. All the world is left wondering what matters have formed the subject of the interview. Let the special correspondent satisfy the curiosity of our readers. He can only guess but since our readers know his identity they can place their own value on his news. The affairs of Pudukottah of which Mr. Satyamurthi is so glorious a citizen naturally formed the subject of the interview. "And as along with this there is the analogous case in respect of Sandur, it is probable, reference was made to this State as well." What a wide range indeed! And how good of Mr. Satyamurthy to interest himself in the affairs of Sandur.

But the real object of that interview was much more important. Let the special correspondent give it in his own words:—

"We are, however, concerned for the present, more with British India than with the Indian States. Of course the communal problem always stares us in the face and we all know the genuine desire which Lord Irwin has evinced in the solution of this canker ever since he came to India. Mr. Satyamurthi comes from South India where communalism is of a particular kind and not of that character which corroded

political life in Northern India. His views on this question would presumably have been on lines every true Nationalist thinks and argues, namely, so long as separate electorates form a feature of Indian politics there will be no salvation for India in any direction. This view must have been forcibly brought home to His Excellency by one who is a forceful exponent of whatever view he holds and it is even permissible to imagine that Mr. Satyamurthi might have told the Viceroy that no Indian Nationalist would touch with a pair of tongs any reforms scheme which extends or perpetuates communalism in regard to franchise which is the basis of all democratic Governments."

What a service the Deputy Leader of the party has done to the country! The whole of India is convulsed with thoughts of the Statutory Commission. The cry of boycott is very much in the air. For once Congressmen and Liberals, Extremists and Moderates appear as if they have united in condemning the Commission and urging on a common course of action. Hindus and Moslems, Brahmins and Non-brahmins are reported to be nearing a common standpoint to a greater degree than was ever possible. Chintamani and Sapru Jinnah and Mahomedabad among Hindus and Moslems respectively have been able to look at the problem from a common point of view. And this is the occasion when Mr. Satyamurthi who is 'a politician first and foremost' thinks it fit to go to the Viceroy and declaim against communal electorates.

Can our readers realise the true implications of this brazen-faced and shameless treachery to the cause of unity? At a time when every conciliatory method ought to be adopted to bring all parties on a common platform, when Congress Leaders are denouncing the insult to India appealing for concerted action, the Deputy Leader seeks a craven interview and blackmails his political opponents behind their back. Is such a man to-day the leader of a respectable party? With

what face can any honest man accuse the Muslims or the Non-brahmins if they refuse to believe in the pretensions of the Swarajist Party and feel diffident to follow their lead? Can it honestly be suggested that they are misguided when they say that to safeguard their own interests they must appear before the Commission? Why, the task of ruining them has already begun! The stiletto is ready in the hands of men like the Deputy Leader. What is the meaning of his statement to the Viceroy that "Indian Nationalists would not touch with a pair of tongs any reforms scheme which extends or perpetuates communalism in regard to franchise, which is the basis of all democratic Governments?" And why is the Viceroy dragged into this question specially by one who believes in Round Table Conferences and in the right of India to determine for herself her own constitution?

Are not such leaders the real traitors to their country's cause? Do they not form the curse of this province? We have tried our best to create a better and a healthier political atmosphere in this province. We must confess that we have been driven to the conclusion that it is almost hopeless. Our last hope lies in the manner in which Mr. Satyamurthi's recent performances will be received by his party and by his caste. Will the Swarajya Party take note of this conduct? Will they still allow themselves to be led by one who has been guilty of such behaviour? If there is one single beat of their heart which sounds to the tune of the country, if there are even a few honest and sincere politicians among them, their course is clear. Till a danger to the public life like the Deputy Leader is removed there can be no progress. To his community we have a word to address. They have been described and often accused as being communalists. They have often protested against such a description and if those protestations are not all in vain, here is a chance when every honest man

among them can and ought to dissociate himself from such activities. (28-11-27)

THE SWARAJIST MILLENNIUM

"Life which the very stars reprove
As on their silent tasks they move."

W. Wordsworth

The elections have been fought and won, The Swarajists claim they have come in strong numbers in many of the Provincial Councils. Their voice is heard resonantly at the Council meetings. Their fine programme is reported to be generally acceptable to the country; in Madras they are the largest party in the Council; in Bengal they have the most patriotic of their number ranged against the bureaucracy. The Assembly thrills with the presence of the most fiery of the Swarajist leaders. The very President of the Indian National Congress, to-day graces the Chamber with His Majestic presence, a fact, the full significance of which will be realised, when it is remembered, that since 1916, when the Home Rule agitation was started, no President of the Congress has ever been a member of any of the Councils or the Assembly. The henchmen and lieutenants of the Swarajist' leaders have found a place either in the Assembly or in the Councils. The country has been transformed, the Councils revolutionised, the whole political atmosphere has been altered and made more patriotic. Those who are prepared to 'resist the bureaucracy' 'to give battle to the Government,' have now full scope to marshal their hordes in battle array to bombard the treasury bench 'with shot and shell.' No more, the regime, when weak-kneed politicians will bend to the decrees of an autocratic Government; no more, the time, when the real voice of the people will not assert itself, when

the Civilian will not learn his proper place in public life. The transformation is complete; the age of peace and prosperity has dawned on the land; the millennium has arrived; India stands to-day, thanks to the efforts of the brave Swarajists, a proud nation among other proud, liberated and equal nations of the world.

Is there any one to doubt the accuracy of the picture that we have drawn, to point defects here and there, to suggest that to-day conditions are worse than at any time previously? Away with such a sacrilegious wretch, the blasphemer, the helot, the unbeliever. Look at the tremendous task that has already been accomplished in the Assembly. They moved the adjournment of the House over the question of the despatch of Indian troops to China. True, the Viceroy disallowed it; but that was not their fault. They had done their duty, boldly flung the challenge and meekly accepted the slap on the cheek. The President humbly communicated the Viceregal message. Pundit Motilal Nehru, the great leader from the Andhradesa and the greater leader from Tamil Nadu, reverently stood up, bowed their heads and listened to the message. It was a historic sight; the President of the Congress, with his white cap, bent at an acute angle to the ground, the Andhra Leader staring fixedly at the floor, the great Pundit adjusting his Roman toga and looking sweetly graceful, heard the message and sat down like dutiful school-boys. They did not even organise that inevitable walk-out. They could do so, without being challenged for their pussillanimity. They could not be criticised for their effeminate conduct. They had proved their mettle on a thousand platforms where to sympathetic audiences, they had poured forth in unpremeditated lay, their patriotic and soul-stirring sentiments. If any other party had done the same thing, if Mr. Jinnah had moved the same amendment and had not followed it up by any extraordinary conduct—

what a terrible crusade would there have been! If such a thing had happened in the provinces, how the Ministers would have been pilloried and asked to resign their place, and told they were sticking to office for filthy lucre! That is the Swarajist mentality and India must be satisfied that a great fight had been organised, that the moral victory was with the Congress, though the forces fled away from the field of battle. If there is any further doubt as regards the change that has been wrought, there is the other adjournment motion, made by the Congress President regarding the Ratio Bill, which clinches the matter and sets the party high above all others as the really genuine patriotic party in the country. What does it matter if there are two opinions on the Bill, if the great Pundit himself remains unconvinced, if opinion is slowly veering round in favour of the 18d ratio, if there are still economists in the country bold enough to think that the higher ratio the coin of the country commands, the better it is for that land. These are not considerations which ought to weigh with such smart politicians. They have resisted the bureaucracy; they have said some very smart things which, *albeit inane*, have been faithfully flashed across the wires by a pliant news agency. Our readers will realise how boldly the Swarajists are conducting themselves in the Assembly. Have you heard of more severe retorts. The Treasury Bench is simply annihilated by it all. "Your damnable administration", "the bureaucracy ought to be in gaol", "Martial Law and no damned nonsense", "a set of plunderers," "A conscience-less administration"—why multiply such instances. If it is not thus, that the self respect of the nation is to be asserted, what other method is there? An irreverent reader may wonder whether the laughter from official benches, which greet such remarks, is an indication of the value attached to them, whether the irresponsible manner in which

they are made, and the obvious insincerity behind them have not made the cause worse. He may ask himself how a man who says that British administration is damnable, could associate with any British official, have social intercourse, attend tea parties and dinner parties in his honor; but that is the great Swarajist mentality. To be a good politician, one must have something of the Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde temperament. He should tell the populace that Short is the villain and not Codlin and he should tell the bureaucracy that Codlin is a really reasonable being and that Short preaches stale Sedition to keep the partnership going.

When will the country wake up to a realisation of the hollowness of these pretensions, to the farce that is being enacted and to the utterly inane proceedings that are now being conducted by the Swarajists? A press message tells us that the Congress has asked all branches in the country to 'demand' that the Indian troops should be recalled from China. The result will be, innumerable beach meetings, where fiery speeches which hurt no one, will be discharged. The country will demand the release of the detainees; it will ask for a policy of non-intervention in foreign matters; it will demand further reforms; it will ask for an Indian Army and Navy and Air Force. And the Swarajists, will cry halt, draw a long breath, turn majestically round and utter to an amazed and dumb-founded audience "Look at what we have achieved." But what have they? Where is the sanction behind these demands? Where is that compelling force which will make for the carrying out of these demands? And the Swarajists in their peculiar blindness have forgotten, or ignored, the one salient consideration.

That sanction, that compelling force, that driving power, that over-mastering influence, can only be found in a united people. The history of every country is an eloquent proof of the power and the need for unity. Unless organised opinion

in the country is unanimous, nothing can be achieved by way of acquiring freedom and liberty. The two great communities in Northern India are poles apart from each other separated by every consideration that can part men, intolerant, suspicious and antagonistic. The Saraswathi puja melas, at Barisal and elsewhere, the playing of music before mosques, the Moslem-Ministry making by Hindus, the utterly short-sighted crusade against communal representation and a host of other measures have alienated the sympathies of most people of either community. Not a thought is given to the task of reconciliation.

We hear of attempts by Mr. Jinnah to bring together all Moslems on a common platform, so that negotiations can be more easily carried on with the Hindus. We can conceive of no more patriotic task. If Hindus were also to bring about a similar union among themselves, if the warring elements in the Hindu fold could be reconciled, if brahmin and non-brahmin, high caste and low could be assembled on a common platform, what an enormous advance would be made in the political future of the country. But the great Swarajists with their heads nearer the skies and their feet in the deepest puddles, are unable to realise this elementary fact. They have already started accusing Mr. Jinnah : he is unpatriotic ; he has fallen a victim to the communal cause. He is being wire-pulled by official influences. Mr. Jinnah, who refused the honor of filling the highest office in the state cannot obviously bear comparison to some of the ragamuffins of the Swarajist caucus. It was with the same brush that the non-brahmins in this presidency were tarred. They were under the influence, even in the pay of the bureaucracy, said the immaculate Swarajists, whose worship of power and authority stands in bold relief at least in this province.

The future is gloomy in all conscience. The voice of public opinion could hardly be distinguished, owing to the babel that is heard of conflicting claims and rival view points. The

Royal Commission may soon be out and the feelings that are now being provoked, the emotions at present surging, will find expression in a Pandemonium, which will give no option for the Commission, but to send the most unfavourable report. Is the danger realised by the leaders ? Have they taken note of the trend of the times, the stiffening of communal opinion, the hardening of party antagonisms, the encasement of personal bitterness, the solidifying of caste prejudices ? If they have, they can take no rest till the situation is improved. "Let us leave the bureaucracy out of the reckoning ; turn the searchlight inwards ; examine the internal situation ; find remedies for the pestering sores and the end will inevitably arrive." But if petty-mindedness were to succeed, if personal triumphs were the dominating consideration, if vindictiveness against individuals and communities is the prevailing passion, then let all honest souls leave the task of ploughing the sands of the political desert aside and attend to humbler tasks. Will the country wake up to a realisation of the difference between the genuine stuff and the Brummagem ware. And let us pray for light and yet more light, especially to the Swarajists, who like colossus of old, believe they have encompassed the country.

O'wad some power the giftie give them.

To see themselves as others see them. (15-2-27)

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE MEMBERS OF THE A. I. C. C.

What plea so tainted and corrupt
But, being seasoned with a gracious voice,
Obscures the show of evil ?

W. Shakespeare

Mr. President and members of the A. I. C. C. :—

Pardon me for the liberty I take in addressing you on a

matter which is likely to engage your earnest attention at your next meeting, for some of you may feel indignant that one who so unabashedly calls himself a *Justicite* should have the impudence and hardihood to address you, the cream of patriotism and intellectual honesty. In fact one of your prominent members, the, Deputy Leader of the Swarajya Party and the *De facto* if not *De jure* Leader of the Ministerialists in the local Council, was so aghast at such an idea that he remarked "the Justice Party had no right to take the name of the Congress and criticise the action of the Congress Party". Persons unaccustomed to the political life of this country and especially those who are not conversant with conditions in the Madras Presidency would find it a puzzle to understand such a proposition and would wonder what public opinion would say if a Conservative were to lay down the law that the Radicals had no right to criticise the actions of the Conservative Party or expose the hypocrisy of its pretensions and the wide divergence between preaching and practice. But I am prepared to admit that "in the peculiar conditions which exist in Southern India," the *Justicite* has no right to criticise the Congress Party, for after all, does not history, tradition and the very tenets of religion demand that certain classes should implicitly obey, worship and willingly submit to the abuse of the monopolists and never dare, for fear of eternal damnation here and hereafter, to question or criticise the twice born. Mr. Satyamurthi, the political Manu of to-day, was after all laying down the rules of conduct in accordance with ancient usage and custom.

On other grounds and for other reasons however, I should not have cared to address this letter, for frankly speaking the activities of the National organisation have been so bewildering of late, the schisms and parties within it so many and so divergent, the abuse heaped on each other so generous, that I should have preferred the congenial task of playing the part of

a disinterested spectator viewing with indifference the moves of the different members on the political chess board. You have changed your principles with greater frequency and ease than even the chameleon and it would not interest one very much whether the A. I. C. C., decides for provincial autonomy within the Congress or a Congress Ministry in Office, or a Swarajist Ministry in Opposition. From the Lucknow Pact to the Calcutta Congress resolutions, from Non-co-operation to Civil Disobedience, from Civil Disobedience to Boycott of Councils, from Boycott of Councils to Boycott from within the Councils, to Co-operation wherever necessary in the interests of the public, are easy transitions which the A. I. C. C. has paved with consideration in the interests of the country. Your superb patriotism may at one time demand the total rejection of the budget as a protest against the bureaucracy's attitude of 'no response' and at another time easily force you to support the Treasury Bench, when a Birkenhead lashes you without mercy and twits you to do your worst. Equally audable is your honourable intention which makes you work Dyarchy in the province, when even the little amount of freedom and control was taken away from you by the latest rules of the Government of India and your unquestioned patriotism prompts some of you at any rate to support dyarchy and to go to the rescue of even the reserved half as a protest, we take it, against the Government of India. We who must confess our inability to soar to such giddy heights of patriotism, naturally feel overwhelmed with confusion and frankly acknowledge that we could never aspire to such celestial heights. Ordinarily therefore, we would have left it to you and your conscience, such as you may possess to satisfy yourselves about your activities and congratulate yourselves on your splendid achievements.

But, Sirs, in the foremost question that is expected to come up for discussion before you, the question of the part played

by the Madras Swarajists in the Local Council in killing dyarchy, your friends have thought it fit to drag in the Justicites and have taken considerable pains to show them up as "the villain of the piece," in order to wring from you admiration and approbation for the high ideals which prompted them in their difficult task and for the noble motives which forced them to prove true to their solemn pledges. It has been suggested that the Madras Presidency is an exception. It is the political Ulster of India. The leader of the Swarajists in the Local Council and his Deputy have both averred, that "in this province we are faced with a very peculiar situation. The present Ministry by its continuing to function as a Ministry is perpetuating Dyarchy and therefore impeding the attainment of Swaraj; yet its overthrow will not improve matters. The result of any such hasty step would have been that we would have enthroned the Justice Ministry much more strongly than ever." The Deputy Leader, Mr. Satyamurthi, maintained that the Congressmen in the Council had played the right game and had kept the enemies of the country outside the doors. It has also been suggested that in doing so the Congressmen in the Council were carrying out the mandate of the electorate and proving faithful to the virgin electorate they wooed in the name of the Congress for the first time. The terrors of the Justice Party coming into power have been so vividly described, the havoc that would be caused thereby have been so graphically depicted, and the Justicites themselves have been so generously painted in the blackest colours that it would not be a matter of surprise, if the outside world were in doubt whether these persons were human beings at all. No abuse was too vulgar, no slander too indecent, no curse too profane and no epithet was too vituperative when it was applied to a Justicite and the inevitable result of all this cleverly manipulated campaign has been that people from other parts of India

would not be shocked if the worst specimen of the animal kingdom were pointed out as belonging to this party. It has served as a convenient bogey to frighten all and sundry and our Swarajists have only to whisper 'Hark, the Justicite is at our gates,'

In fact the campaign has been so successful that there is scarcely a single Indian paper which has not commented on this aspect of the matter, and thanks to the presence on the Editorial Staff of a "South Indian Patriot" of the monopolist clan in almost everyone of these upcountry journals, the Justice Party has become a night-mare and has been thrice cursed beyond all redemption. Thus the "Bombay Chronicle" writes: "The Congress resolution on the destruction of Ministries was indeed unqualified. But who in the whole of India except some over zealous and misguided persons inspired by ambitious men, would have advised the Swarajists of the Madras Council deliberately to play into the hands of office hunting Justicites, whom the electorate had definitely condemned at the last elections by joining them in rejecting the salaries of the present Ministers?" We shall later name the persons whom the leading Nationalist organ of Bombay condemns so unhesitatingly, as misguided and ambitious, but let us see what another great Nationalist organ, the *Hindu*, has got to say on the subject. Writing on the 22nd March, 1927, after the no-confidence motion in the local Council, the *Hindu* states: "If the mandate of the electorate was against Dyarchy it was also against the continuance of the Justice Ministry, and the Swarajya Party had, in the peculiar circumstances of the case decided that public interests required that it should not do anything which would go against the wishes of the electorate. That is a view for which a good deal can be said, but there is no escaping the fact that the action of the party is not in consonance with the Gauhati decision. The Gauhati programme has precipitated difficulties in working. When it was

framed the Congress had not before it the particular situation that has arisen in Madras."

It will be our privilege in the course of these letters to examine this plea, to see how far the Congress members of the local Council are faithful to their election pledges, to probe into the motives underlying their support of the Ministry, to review the speeches of their Leaders, before and soon after the elections and after the Gauhati Congress and in general to enquire into the bona fides of their plea. It is because the local Swarajists are blackening the Justice Party in a manner unworthy of all political honest persons in their mad desire to whitewash their own sins of omission, and commission, it is because these unscrupulous office hunting, place hunting, power hunting Junta are masquerading in the name of a patriotic National organisation, are prostituting their intellectual and legal subtlety to put themselves right before the general public, by vulgarly and most dishonestly attacking a party which has nothing to do with their, 'great betrayal,' that a 'Justicite' is forced to pen these few lines for the consideration of the members of the A. I. C. C. Let them go through the records that will be placed at their disposal. Let them patiently peruse the questions and ruminate over the extra ordinary feats of their colleagues in the local Council and then come to any conclusion they like. It does not interest me what the decision of the A.I.C.C. is, but in the name of justice, fair play and equity, in the name of political honesty and decency, in the name of all that we hold as sacred in our national cause, let us expose the hypocrisy, the duplicity, the low cunning and the melancholy meanness of those who in the name of a great National institution are exploiting for their unworthy ends the gullible public and strutting about in false plumage. The Justicites have no reason to burke an open enquiry by any impartial tribunal and challenge the A. I. C. C. to hold one.

II

In my last letter, I made it quite clear what were the reasons which impelled me, a Justicite, to pen this communication to you. At the recent Kerala Provincial Congress, Mr. B. G. Horniman explained the position of the Swarajists and their relation to the Madras Ministry in clear and unambiguous terms. He stated:

"In the Madras Legislative Council where the hopes of the country had been so highly raised by their wonderful success at the elections we find there again the mandate of the Congress being defied and betrayed by actions which, whether directly or indirectly, at any rate, resulted in the support of the Ministry, a thing which they were definitely instructed by the Congress that they must not do. I have been reading in some papers this morning reasons put forward for us on behalf of the Congress Party in the Madras Legislative Council for the action that they pursued, and I am told that they were faced with the prospect of either the Justice Party being put into office or of a dissolution, and they thought that it was not fair to run the risk of either. My friends, it does not matter what they were faced with, it does not matter what danger they thought was before them, what would be the results of the consequences of their action. If they have had any misgiving at all about it, there is the way open to them and to all of us when we cannot carry out a mandate, and that is to resign their seats and to say that they are unable to carry out the mandate that has been confided to them."

This rather outspoken statement of a once—lionised hero was too much for our Swarajist contemporary The *Hindu*, which commenting upon the speech said:

"Mr. Horniman has apparently nothing but ridicule for

the attitude of the Congress Party in the local Legislative Council. He charges members of the party of having betrayed the cause of the country, a singularly unjust and unkind remark which shows that he is not fully conversant with the mandate of the electorate and the political situation in this province."

Undismayed however by the taunts of such a powerful organ of the press, Mr. Horniman reiterated his view at a public meeting in Madras on the 19th April, 1927, and said: "In the English language there are somethings which are described by one word. If you are given a mandate by your electorate to perform a particular thing and you do not perform that, whatever your motives may be, I only know of one word to describe your failure to do so and that is that you have betrayed the mandate." On this occasion, the great Sriman himself, the foremost patriot of the day and your worthy President, had to come to the rescue. He stated that the Madras Swarajists' contention was that the Gauhati resolution was strictly fulfilled. It at any rate wanted no other party Ministry to be formed, and it was not therefore their purpose, of defeating one Ministry in order to put another Ministry in power."

It is unnecessary for me to quote further, but the whole point of the argument of your Swarajist friends in Madras seems to be that though Congress might have given them a definite mandate, the verdict of the electorate in this Presidency was that the Swarajists could do anything they pleased and certainly work dyarchy with a vengeance, so long as they prevented the formation of a Justice Ministry. The Swarajists further maintain that this is the election pledge they gave, when they went to the polls and that therefore they could not be criticised. The question of the formation of a Justice Ministry, we shall consider later, but let us for the

present examine the pledges given by the Swarajists at the time of the elections.

From the bold assertions made by these men to-day, one would infer that in their election manifestoes and during their electioneering campaign, they made it clear to the electorate that their object was, first and foremost, to take such steps as may be necessary to prevent the formation of a Justice Ministry, even though it may lead to their supporting a non-Congress Party in the Council, and only secondarily to carry out the Congress mandate and that in the peculiar circumstances of this Presidency, they would have to support dyarchy, if only to keep the accursed Justicites out. This can be the only inference possible from their latter day utterances. But is it in conformity with the grandiose promises made in the halcyon days before the election? Let us examine the position for a moment.

The General Secretary Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, is as pure a Nationalist as any in this world and speaking at Tanjore on the 2nd October, 1926 he said in the course of his election address: "There was no use in saying that in the existing scheme of dyarchy, the people's representatives could acquire any real power, initiative or responsibility. It was impossible for Ministers to get on otherwise than as the tools of the bureaucracy dependent on their goodwill for such little favours as they might concede from time to time as the price of providing them with that false popular support by which they could pretend they were running democratic institutions in India as an experiment. Ministers could only have the satisfaction of drawing their salaries and going on tours, of providing odd jobs or honorary offices, titles and the rest to a few among the host of their dependents. The Congress stood not only for carrying on the fight for Swaraj by the well known and recognised constitutional methods of obstruction and refusal of supplies, but it also stood for guarding and

promoting the interests and welfare of the people in general." Surely this statement is unequivocal and can lead only to one inference. But let us proceed.

On the 20th October, 1926, the General Secretary of the Indian National Congress issued the election manifesto of the Congress, which was published in all the South Indian Nationalistic organs like the *Hindu*. In the course of the manifesto, it is stated: "The general policy of Congressmen in the Assembly and the various Councils shall be one of determined resistance and obstruction to every activity Governmental or other, that may impede the nation's progress towards Swaraj; and in particular, Congressmen in the Legislatures shall:—(a) refuse to accept offices in the gift of the Government until, in the opinion of the Congress, a satisfactory response is made by the Government, (b) refuse supplies and throw out budgets, (unless otherwise directed by the A. I. C. C.) until such response is made by Government." The manifesto further adds, and this is the portion we would specially ask your members to note: "In the provinces, Congressmen will oppose to the best of their ability, the present mischievous system of Dyarchy, and resolutely refuse to accept office, until a response to the National demand acceptable to the Congress is made by the Government; while the other parties will support dyarchy as it is, and accept office without any such response if only their susceptibilities (more apparent than real) are met in some way by the Government." The issue before the electorate was clear, and there was no sentimental twaddle about the unspeakable horrors of a Justice Ministry coming to power. And yet with an unscrupulousness as bewildering as it is reprehensible, the cry is raised that election pledges required the Swarajists to work Dyarchy.

Let us however examine the pledges of the candidates themselves. The great Srinivasa Iyengar himself, your ultra-patriotic President, speaking at an election meeting in

Madras four days before the election said: "It was idle to think that any fight could be given from within the Government. The Ministers could only perpetuate the Government by the bureaucracy and could not stand against it as activities and achievements of the Ministers has shown. The Government and the Ministers were one; nay the Ministers were the Kanganees of the Government in this country. The position of the Ministers under the British constitution was absolutely different from that given to them under the dyarchic Government in this country. Hence it was important that all lovers of freedom and all those who were anxious that the pace of Swaraj for this country should be accelerated, should not vote for a party whose main object was to obtain offices and to stand by the side of the Government, but should give their votes to Congress candidates, who were pledged to non-acceptance of office and to carrying on the fight for Swaraj from inside and outside the Legislature."

In the face of this clear, terse and uncompromising pledge, any fair critic must admit that it is a dishonest plea now to say that the Swarajists in supporting the present Ministry are carrying out the mandate of the electorate and following the verdict of the country? Are not the Government and the Ministers one to-day? And what should be the term applied to those who are content to be the balauquin-bearers of the "Kanganees of Government?" Yet the Swarajists have the brazenness to plead that it is just to keep out the Justice Ministry, they are working dyarchy with a vengeance. Can hypocrisy go further? But let me quote further, and then, even you, political turn-coats as most of you are, will realise the hollowness of the pretensions of a narrow, communal clique of opportunists exploiting the ignorance of the general public!

III

It has been pointed out in the previous letter that in none of the electioneering manifestoes or speeches did the leaders of your organisation ever even hint that they would prefer dyarchy to a Justice Ministry. On the other hand at every one of their meetings while they poured forth the choicest Billingsgate on the Justice Party and severely criticised the activities of the Justice Ministry, they did not leave the voter in any doubt as to what would be their attitude if they were returned to the Legislative Council. The elections in Madras were held on the 8th November, 1926. Two days before the date of polling a grand appeal was made to the electorate by most of your self-constituted leaders. Let us examine for a moment what it is they promised to do, if returned by the voters.

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, your President, who was the Chief Organiser of the elections, issued an appeal on the eve of the general election in this province fervently appealing to the voters in the city and in the moffussil to vote for the Congress candidates of the Indian National Congress for the respective seats in the Madras Council and in the Assembly. In the course of the appeal, he said, "No party which seeks to fill the ministerial benches or support the official benches can ever achieve either Swaraj or anything like it. Nay, the last six year's experience has shown that it can neither effect administrative improvements nor promote material prosperity of the people. I would therefore request the voters in this province alike in the city and in the moffussil to vote for the Congress candidates in the full belief that the pledged word of the Congress will be kept." On this occasion the Madras Swarajists requested their friends from other provinces to send messages of exhortation and all these appeals were published in the Nationalist organs on the 7th instant, with a view to

influence the election. In the course of such an appeal Mr. Jinnah says "Let Madras give Lord Birkenhead the unequivocal answer that India rejects the insulting demand to work an unworkable scheme of the so-called reforms in order to qualify for a further trifling concession. There is only one way to freedom, the uncompromising rejection of all inducements to compromise with domination."

Moulana Shaikat Ali says in his message, "All those who stand under the banner of Congress are disciplined and will obey the Nation's mandate, whatever the nature may be. The Madras Congress and the Indian Nation with an overwhelming majority authorise the Swaraj Party to choose those Congress candidates who would go into the Councils with a view to formulate the Nation's demands in clear and definite language and in the case of the demands being refused by the Government, the Congress representatives would leave the Councils and start civil disobedience outside and prepare the country to refuse the payment of taxes forced on them against their will. This is what the great Indian National Congress has decided in no unambiguous language." Surely these messages from prominent Congress leaders outside the province, would have left no doubt in the minds of the electorate as to what was to be expected of the Congress candidates and if the local leaders had other views it was immoral of them to have published these messages and traded on them.

But let us see what the local leaders themselves said on the eve of the elections. Dr. B. S. Mallaya, one of the Congress candidates for the city in a letter to the electorate on the 6th November writes "The division of authority into two halves is in direct contravention of sound principle and the fundamental idea underlying sovereignty. This division has sought to perpetuate the time honoured distinction which British rule has sought to introduce that the interests of the rulers and the ruled are divergent and not identical. The Congress now

intends to put an end once for all to this double Government and grant the masses an orderly peaceful and prosperous regime by the immediate substitution of the rule of democracy instead of the bureaucratic regime." In a joint manifesto issued to West Coast voters, Messrs. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, S. Satyamurthi and the Hon'ble Mr. U. Rama Rao state, "We therefore earnestly appeal to the voters to say whether the Congress programme is not the only political programme before the country. We request all the voters to vote wholeheartedly for the Congress candidates and thus ensure their return and the success of the Congress in the struggle for Swaraj." In all these appeals there is no namby-pamby nonsense about the Congress Party in the local Council wrecking dyarchy, impossible as they boasted it was before the electorate, if only the Justice Ministry were to be in office.

That great Nationalist organ the *Hindu* issued an appeal to the voters on the eve of the elections, as befits the most influential organ of the local Swarajists. In the course of the appeal it says, "On Monday India expects every voter to do his duty by the Congress party. We publish elsewhere messages from prominent leaders setting out what the Congress has done in the past and will do in the future and telling the electorate in words of weighty wisdom, why it should vote for the accredited representatives of the Congress and for them alone. Mr. Horniman puts the matter in a nutshell when he says, 'There is only one way to freedom—the uncompromising rejection of all inducements to compromise with domination'. Such weak succumbing to the fatal lure can only lead to the fetters being rivetted more strongly than ever. For six years the Moderates, the Liberals and the Communalists have vied with one another in co-operating with the bureaucracy and 'working the reforms for what they are worth.' The Swarajist policy in the Councils has never had a fair trial either so far, except in one province.

the essential conditions of a Swarajist majority has been lacking. It therefore becomes the primary duty of the electorate to return them in such thumping majorities in every province and in the Legislative Assembly that the Government will have no opportunity to play off one party against another and will be forced to choose between the graceful fulfilment of the National demand and a universal uncompromising resistance about the ultimate issue of which there can be no doubt." We have repeated at some length the messages, exhortations and appeals that were issued on the eve of the elections to prove the contention that the electorate were deliberately made to believe that the one and only question was the Congress mandate of opposition and resistance to the evils of dyarchy and whatever the unpardonable sin of the Justice Party and they may be unpardonable from the monopolists point of view—it did not form the main plank, except incidentally, to show the necessity to defeat those who allied themselves with the bureaucracy.

In this connection it would be interesting to recall a significant incident that took place in Bombay, a few days before the general elections in the Madras Presidency. The most notable and insistent speaker of your caucus, Mr. S. Satyamurthi, started on his triumphal march to Northern India, soon after his unopposed return to the Local Council, and his admirers in Bombay availed themselves of the opportunity to congratulate him. The Bombay Swarajists were all admiration to the great Hero who was returned unopposed by the most enlightened constituency, the University and little wonder our Hero's head was turned. People of the other provinces little realise that the University Constituency is an *agraharam* of monopolists. The return of Mr. S. Satyamurthi did not however please one of your South Indian brahmin domiciles, Mr. Natarajan and he took to task the Liberals and Responsivists of Southern India for not

putting up any candidate and suggested that Sir Sivaswami Iyer might have been asked to stand. To this impudent suggestion, the retort was swift and crushing. Mr. S. Satyamurthi threw out the challenge and said that he would resign then and there and stand again against Sir Sivaswami Iyer and he promised to see that the former forfeited his deposit. And Mr. S. Satyamurthi added that it was no personal triumph but a triumph of the Congress and of the principles for which he stood. Surely this does not appear as if the mandate of the electorate was to keep the Justicites out of office. If that were so, why should poor Sir Sivaswami Iyer forfeit his deposit. He is not enamoured of the Justice Party and I venture to add there are few people who cherish such inveterate hatred of the party as the ex-Executive Councillor. If the mandate was as the time-serving Congress Party in the Local Council claims, surely Sir Sivaswami Iyer would have been the most powerful ally, who could more effectively achieve by his silent and steady underwork, what Mr. S. Satyamurthi is incapable of achieving by his bluff and bluster. The burial of the Justicities five fathoms deep is as dear to the generous heart of Sir Sivaswami Iyer as to any other monopolist and if he should forfeit his deposit it can only be for other reasons and in view of other pledges! In my next letter, I shall take you through the great promises which were made immediately after the elections. Yes, the chain is getting tighter and tighter and it will not be long before the dishonesty, duplicity and contemptible deceit of your patriotic colleagues in the local council is finally exposed.

IV

So far we have been examining the election manifestoes, pledges and speeches delivered by your Congress candidates before the date of the election. Let me next invite your

attention to the speeches of your patriotic leaders after the results were announced, when in fact the fate of the Justice Party was known, and when all the possibilities of the situation in this Presidency were fully known. There were no surprises then, no more occasion to plead the excuse of "the peculiar conditions present in this Presidency." Under such circumstances would it not be profitable for us, and would it not help to show off the robust nationalism of your great heroes, if we were to examine their speeches and writings in the light of the first flush of an undeserved success?

Your President, Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, who is the dictator of the Swarajist caucus in this Presidency, speaking on the 13th November 1926, after the election results were announced said, "Many people are under the impression it is simply the hatred of the Justice Party on the part of the people that has been responsible for the significant and magnificent victory of the Congress. It is the love for the Congress and the country that has been responsible for the victory. If there are any 'Independents' in the country who think they can form a party, I warn them to desist from that move, for no Independents can form a party. I appeal to them to join the Congress Party forthwith. You don't know why people call themselves Independents. If they call themselves Justice Party men, they will be defeated at the polls. Therefore they got this new nomenclature—Independents. But if they imagine that by calling themselves Independents, they are going to get popular support they will be very much mistaken." Later events have however shown that it was not the Independents who were mistaken! The Sriman added in words of bravado, "On behalf of the Congress I repeat everyone of the election pledges. It is after the success that such pledges have to be reiterated. That is the new tradition which we are building up in the Congress. We are not persons who after getting

votes from them turn round and betray the interests of the people."

Let me, next, quote from your Nationalist organ, the *Hindu*, which is the custodian of the conscience of your Swarajist leaders in this Presidency. I quote from the *Hindu*, because its leaders are generally inspired and because it is the accredited organ of the Srinan and his satellites. I am aware that the *Swarajya* is supposed to echo Congress views, but every one knows that the leaders of "Tamil Nadu" have no regard for it and that they just tolerate it as a journalistic rag. The *Hindu*, in an editorial of the 17th November, headed, "Duty of Congressmen" writes as follows: "The duty of all who style themselves representatives of the people no matter what their political label is, is clear; it is not to fish for office which, under the dyarchical system is not worth a day's purchase reckoned by lasting values, but to throw in their lot with the people by joining and accepting the lead of what is pre-eminently the people's organisation, the National Congress. If they hesitate to take this step Congressmen could not have any part or lot with them; for they are not there to be the pawns in the game of men, who oblivious of the larger interests of the country stoop themselves to play "Responsible Government" to the convenience if not to the merriment of a Government which, in a constitutional as well as a real sense is an undiluted autocracy. What new event has happened to make dyarchy, universally pronounced to be unworkable, more acceptable now than it was before? If anything, the position has worsened. For, not only has there not been a single gesture on the part of the Government out of which the most optimistic among us can draw some comfort, but the bureaucracy has promulgated fresh rules which unmistakably show us which way the wind blows. For another, the policy of non-acceptance of office is a policy which has been laid down by the combined

wisdom of the nation; and the responsibility for altering it cannot be shouldered by any but the same authority. If here be any politicians who dispute the wisdom of this policy, their proper course is not to attack it obliquely by seeking to influence individual Congressmen to act as they please, but to join the Congress and convince it that either in Madras, owing to its peculiar position or in the whole of India, a different policy should be followed. In any event, it is too much to expect the Congress to allow the Independents to exploit for their own purposes a majority which has been built up by the Congress by strenuous labour and often in the teeth of the most virulent opposition of the Independents themselves. If perchance they (the Independents) surrender to the blandishments of the bureaucracy and the spacious arguments of their supporters, the course which, at any rate, Congressmen should follow is plain. Nor need they await what the Governor does; for whether he plumps in for the discredited rump or cast in his net for a Ministry of All Talents, Congressmen have only one course to follow. *It is laid down for them as clearly as daylight in their election manifesto.* They are in the Councils, not as effective lubricants to let the creaking dyarchic machine function, but as the guardians of the interests of the people at large. Theirs will be an attitude of unbending independence. Untrammelled by any allegiance save that to the Congress and country, they will shape their course as suits, not this party or that, but as leads to the general welfare of the public. In a word the Congressmen would constitute a powerful opposition, a standing terror to all the reactionary forces in the Council—whether these forces stand naked in their easily recognised shape or trust in the masquerade of novel labels." Compare these fine phrases with the grotesque apologies of the 'Nationalist' organ at a latter date. On the 18th April, 1927, the same *Hindu* writes "Mr. Horniman has apparently nothing but

ridicule for the attitude of the Congress Party in the local Council. He charges members of the party of having betrayed the cause of the country, a singularly unjust and unkind remark which shows that he is not fully conversant with the mandate of the electorate and the political situation in the province."

But why is it, what was considered the mandate of the electorate in November 1926, is no longer supposed to be the mandate in 1927? Can it be that to you, the great patriots that you are, the mandate of the electorate changes with your requirements and wishes, or is it that by those supernatural powers which your leaders possess, you can find out the mandate of the electorate from time to time without an appeal to the ballot box? And how has the political situation changed in this presidency since November 1926. The only significant event is the well administered kick of my Lord Birkenhead which you of the Congress, at any rate, seem to have felt as a Laputan flap on the back. Would any journal with an iota of honesty change its tune so flagrantly? Would any set of honest politicians tolerate such a disgraceful *volte face*, the worst and most flagrant in the political history of any country? And yet you wonder that honest and self-respecting people fight shy of joining your Congress? Is there any room so far as this Presidency at least is concerned? Can you expect any man with an iota of self-respect to join hands with your Srinivasa Iyengar, your Satyamurthi and Rangaswami Iyengar? Yet these are your tin-gods! The one is your President, the other your General Secretary and the third is your champion mudslinger and foul-mouthed orator! If these be thy Gods, woe unto the Congress for ever and ever!

V

The extracts form the leading article of the *Hindu* published in my last letter, should convince every honest

member of your committee that the electorate was made to believe that the Congressmen stood for and by the Cawnpore resolutions. It is a sad commentary on the honesty of these men that to-day they wish to make it appear that their foremost duty is to kill the Justicites, the embodiment of all vice and anti-nationalism. The Justicites would not care a brass farthing for the opinions of these persons, who are the limit in unscrupulousness, selfishness and low cunning, but when people in other parts of India are hoodwinked into believing that these men are the patriots speaking for the country's cause and that their estimate of the Justicites must necessarily be correct, I think it is my duty to expose their hollow pretensions. Let me quote a few more extracts from your national heroes.

Your President, Mr. Iyengar, replying to a congratulatory address at Conjeevaram on the 27th November 1926, said, "He was glad to inform them that only a few hours back he, in consultation with other leaders of the party, had declared to His Excellency that they were not for it. His Excellency was made to understand that even if the Justicites were to be awarded the Ministry they did not care much and that they would carry on their duty by the country uninterrupted and make short work of the regime." This surely is not what is to be expected from the leader of the Swarajya Party a week before the formation of the Ministry if the mandate was as it is pretended to be to-day. Another nationalist contemporary, the *Forward* of Calcutta writing about the Madras elections on the 23rd November '26, stated, "The Justicites stood for co-operation with the bureaucracy, while the Congress made no secret of its determination not to accept any office in the gift of the Government and not to co-operate with it until satisfactory response to the national demand was made by the Government. By returning the Congress nominees by an over-

whelming majority the electors in Madras have unmistakably given their seal of approval to the Cawnpore resolution. The electors in other provinces, we are certain, will also give the verdict on the Congress policy in no uncertain voice. It is idle however to hope as our candid friends seem to do that the Swarajists will sit down to work the Reforms. There has arisen no occasion for the elected representatives of the people to go back upon the solemn pledge by which they sought the suffrage of the electors. The siren call of Lord Birkenhead is bound to fall on the people, until there is clear response to the national demand."

Among the many leaders, self-constituted and otherwise who rushed in with their advice to the Swarajists on the eve of the formation of the Ministry was the well-known Congressman, Mr. George Joseph. Mr. Joseph never worries himself whether his advice is solicited or not, and whether it would even be considered or not. It is enough he feels the call. A time there was when he would figure in the editorial page, but those days are gone. This ardent Congressman has been very busy since November last offering his unsolicited advice to the Swarajists, defending them and criticising their opponents. The series of letters he has written form an interesting study in the psychology of a Congress politician, and I must crave your pardon for postponing touching on so pleasant and instructive a subject to a later date. Mr. George Joseph has evidently got a very pliable conscience which can almost with feline ease, adopt itself to the needs of the situation.

Writing to the *Hindu* on the 20th November, 1926, on the question of the Ministry, Mr. George Joseph said, "The proposal made by Mr. Chandrasekara Iyer and others that the Congress Party while not taking office should maintain in power the Independents on non-communal basis seems altogether unintelligible. Assumption of office is one alternative;

determined opposition to any possible Ministry is another, and both are honourable. But refusal to take up responsibility combined with wire-pulling to keep somebody else in office is constitutionally improper and ill accords with the dignity of great national organisation. Power divorced from responsibility will harm both parties. It will give rise to intrigues and demoralisations."

Wise words these and never was prophecy more true than in this particular case. I would have taken my hat off to Mr. George Joseph for having had the courage of his convictions and given the most honest advice. But compare this with a letter of a later date. Commenting on Mr. Horniman's criticism of the Madras Swarajists, Mr. George Joseph writes in the *Hindu* of 27 April, 1927, as follows: "When Dr. Subbaroyan moved for his salary the Madras Swarajists were in the grip of two conflicting mandates—the one of Gaubati which said practically that they must overthrow the Independents and restore the Rajah of Panagal and the other that of their electorate, to keep the Justices out of office, even at the cost of maintaining the Independents in power. Mr. Venkatachalam Chetti and the majority of Madras Swarajists likewise politicians chose to abide by the decision of their electorate. I think they were quite right in what they did, whatever Mr. Horniman might say." Mr. Joseph may of course be quite right, but may not one ask how a thing that was immoral and improper and inconsistent with the dignity of the great organisation in November last, after the elections, becomes quite the most meticulously correct and patriotic thing to do in April? We confess we are too unpatriotic, job-hunters that we are, to prove into the minds of your patriots. But it seems to me that if so astute a politician as Mr. George Joseph can be hoodwinked and misled into the belief of a so-called mandate, by the all too clever propaganda of a subtle press, is there any hope for the lesser fry to survive these attacks?

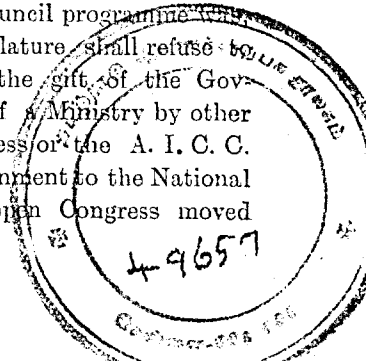
The whole bogey of a people's verdict and the mandate is an afterthought and is absolute arrant nonsense as I attempted to show by specific quotations from the speeches and writings of your own political avatars. Nobody raised this cry either during the elections or after. At the time of the formation of the Ministry, it was your Swarajist friends who were most active. It is well-known that Mr. Sreenivasa Iyengar and Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar were the most active in those days and it was their advice and help that the "Independent" Ministry sought. And yet to day, people come forward and have the meanness to state that it is the verdict of the country that forces them to keep the Justice Ministry out. That is an unmitigated, unvarnished lie of the most abominable kind which only your Congress is capable of. But there is another subject I would touch on in my last letter. When the Swarajists were giving out that the Justicites would step in if the Independent Ministry were thrown out, the Justice Party gave a categorical denial in all constitutional ways. Their leaders at a public meeting gave the assurance that they would not accept the responsibility of office during the life time of this Council; their spokesman in the Council reaffirmed it in open Council and their party organ, *Justice* reiterated it more than once, so that no one, least of all the Swarajists, could pretend ignorance of these elementary facts. In spite of all these categorical assurances, if your honest colleagues are spreading the lie that the Justicites are merely waiting for an opportunity to swoop on the Ministerial benches, it can only be because they judge everyone by their own high standards. In my next and last article, I shall examine this a little further, seek some enlightenment into the motives of those who spread such mendacious falsehoods.

VI

In the previous letters that I addressed you, I have

attempted to prove by chapter and verse, the hollowness of your leaders, that in supporting a 'Benami' Ministry, they were obeying the verdict of the electorate. A more dishonest plea was never raised. Every single speech or appeal made by your spokesmen and public organs emphasised the fact that you were the inheritors of great traditions, members of the most disciplined party in the country, people who would respect the mandate of the Congress and the usual shibboleths at which you are past masters. In any case the elections were over on November 8th and the Ministry was ushered in not by my Lord Goshen but by your president Mr. Sreenivasa Iyengar. Considerable pains were taken to make this fact known to the outside public and that great and good patriot Mr. Rangachari whose patriotism always begins at home and who hates jobs so thoroughly and job-hunters even more that he got four of his relations into sinecure appointments in the six years of his Assembly career, even he said at the time "The New Ministry I know, has the moral support of Mr. Sreenivasa Iyengar and his party".

If as the *Hindu* and the Swarajists pretend, the verdict of the country was to work dyarchy in this presidency if only to keep the Justicites out, would not any honest politician expect them to have utilised the Gaubati Congress to make their position clear? The Ministry was formed on the 4th December, your Congress met on the 26th and what do your Madras leaders do? The resolution passed at Gaubati with reference to the Council programme was "In particular congressmen in the Legislature shall refuse to accept Ministerships or other offices in the gift of the Government and oppose the formation of a Ministry by other parties until in the opinion of the Congress or the A. I. C. C. a satisfactory response is made by Government to the National demand." Mr. Balakrishna Sarma in open Congress moved



an amendment for deleting the clause, 'and oppose the formation of a Ministry by other parties.' Now this was an excellent opportunity for your Madras leaders to have explained the position in Madras and to have supported the amendment, 'in the peculiar circumstances prevalent in Madras.' Whatever the situation in Madras, it was there at the time of the Congress. The personnel of the council was known, the relative strengths of the different parties were well realised and the Benami Ministry had already assumed office. Any honest man would have known how to act. But the political humbugs that your leaders are, dare not speak out there and they were the most vociferous in opposing the amendment. Your General Secretary Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar said, "The Cawnpore resolution insisted on non-acceptance of offices and it logically followed that the Congress must oppose the formation of Ministries by others. The omission of the words 'oppose, the formation of a Ministry by other parties' signified that the Congressmen need not form the Ministry but could form a Benami Ministry. That was the deception that the Congressmen should not practice." Again Mr. Sen Gupta is reported to have stated in the Subjects committee, "There was no change of programme of Mr. Das. It had not been made easy or watery. On the other hand the provision that the formation of Ministries must be opposed showed that even loop holes were remedied and no doubt was left." Mr. S. Satyamurthi in the open Congress said: "That is why I am opposed to the deletion of the provision stating that we must oppose the formation of Ministries. If there were offices worth accepting Congress men would not put forward benami leaders who would accept them."

And remember these were the patriots who were loudest in their abuse of the Responsivists, of men like Pandit Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai! If your President had any sense of

fairness or common honesty would he not have availed himself of the opportunity to explain the position in Madras. On the other hand you want to pretend that you were great patriots and all the time you are conspiring how best to get out of these pledges. Your President, the subtle lawyer that he is, pretends that the mandate is only to prevent the formation of the Ministry and that once the Ministry has been formed nothing can be done. How dishonest is this plea will be evident to every student of the reformed constitution. The formation of the Ministry does not lie with the council and even your Congress can never prevent the formation of the Ministry, but what any one would expect you to do, if you were honest in your pretensions, is to put your resolution to a practical test by voting for a no-confidence motion and thus defeating the Ministry. Far from any such step, it is your party that saved the ministry and is now keeping it in power. It no doubt is a great advantage to your hypocrites here, to pretend to be in opposition while in reality they are running the administration with a vengeance.

Let me tell you that nobody was deluded by your friends not accepting office. They would have jumped at it but unfortunately there would have been a revolution in the camp. You got the only plum you wanted the Presidentship of the council, and two of your creatures, the Chief Minister and Development Minister proposed your nominee. But so far as the ministry was concerned, you could not divide the three loaves amongst the dozen sharks, hence the generous refusal. But in so doing your leaders were as usual more calculating. To support a puppet Ministry in office was the best way of compelling them to obey your mandate, to get from them all your creature comforts attended to. It may be a Presidentship here or there, a bifurcation of a local board, nominations galore, appointments to your kith and kin,—all these you can get more easily and with greater authority from a Benami

Ministry than from even a Congress Ministry. What your great Congress leaders are busy with, has been well depicted by one of your great patriots Mr. Ramadas. Says The Hon'ble Mr. Ramadas "The fear of Justicite influence being revived in the districts induced even orthodox Congressmen in Andhra Desa to throw away their mask of non-co-operation and wait for days together at the Ministers' doors to secure nomination for their party men to memberships and presidentships of local boards. When leading Congressmen stooped to canvass or accept nominations at the hands of the present Ministers, an attempt on the part of the Andhra Congress Committee to censure Congress Councillors for not dethroning the very Ministers cannot but be characterised as farcical and ridiculous." I make a present of this classic quotation to the A. I. C. C. and ask them to read, mark and inwardly digest the real significance of this passage.

Let me not be misunderstood in writing these letters. I have already stated that your decision is a matter of indifference to us. We know what stuff your Congress leaders here are made of and we have nothing but contempt for them. But for their dragging the Justicites in and out of season and abusing them with the object of screening their own perfidy, I should not have cared to write this letter to you. They are trading on the word communalism and with recent experiences in Northern India, they hope to coerce you by drawing a picture in red about the dangers of communalism. But let me assure you that in Southern India the problems of communalism are quite different from that in Northern India. Here is no forcible abduction of women, no conversion of the infidel no breaking of heads, no violence to existing customs. The fight is between communities predominantly Hindu. It is in a large measure social and economic not religious, the prevention of the usurpation of all power and position in a narrow, selfish and unpatriotic monopolist community. It is this we

are fighting and we are prepared to fight to the finish and if the Congress wants to fight us for doing so we are prepared to fight the Congress as well. Your leaders are walking as Mr. Ramdas pointed out with masks. We are here to unmask them and I give you this final advice, that if you are not prepared to purify your organisation, to expose all hypocrisy, cant and low cunning whether it be in your President or in your members, if you still allow these time-serving toadies to revile us to cover their own sins, the Congress will realise the egregious blunder it has committed when it meets in Madras. May the lord help you to mend your ways!

CHAPTER II

THE LAW MEMBER

The Boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave
Await alike the inevitable hour.

Thomas Gray

LAW MEMBER RUNS AMOK

The time is out of joint : O Cursed spite,
That ever I was born to set it right ;

W. Shakespear

During the short intervals that he could snatch, in the pleasant time, that he had at Bombay, the Hon. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Law Member to the Government of Madras, appears to have unbosomed himself in an interview given to a representative of the *Herald*. We do not know, what matters of transcendental importance necessitated the trip of the Law Member to Bombay ; but, accustomed as we are, to the frequent flights, to different parts of India in search of important personages, which the Law Member is compelled to undertake, we did not think it worthwhile to investigate the matter further. It may be, that if there were a more honest public opinion asserting itself, the question would not be allowed to be shrouded in mystery, not would such frequent visits be tolerated at public expense without the most complete justification. Apart from the fact, that the visit was paid by a member of the Government, to one who came avowedly on an unofficial visit and was only concerned with social activities—apart from this fact, the visit has resulted in an interview, as stated above, which deserves the careful consideration of all public-spirited citizens. To a representative of the *Herald* the Law member expressed his inability to forecast its (the Ministry's) future in the uncertain conditions of the different parties. The Independent Ministry he said, though a non-brahmin one in its composition, came to office on a non-communal ticket and the general expectation was that it would be supported by all the progressive elements in the House. The Swarajists who,

numbered forty, formed the strongest group in the Madras Council, were bound, under the Gauhati resolution, to oppose the formation of any ministry. But it was doubtful if they would be able to bring about the downfall of the present ministry especially as they themselves were not prepared to take office.

"If, however, the present ministry could be ousted, it would certainly result in the re-establishment of the old Justice Ministry. The general expectation was that the ministry would be stable. But nothing could be definitely stated till after the budget discussion when the attitude of the Swarajists would be crystallised."

We must confess to a feeling of profound astonishment that even the Law Member, known for his audacity, should have ventured to make such a statement. We are not concerned with his remarks on the present Ministry and his knowledge of the ticket on which it came into existence. The Law Member is reputed to be the fond parent of the present Ministry or at any rate to have worked for its formation in unseen ways and by unknown methods, and it is but natural that he should interest himself in its stability. But when he goes further and talks of the general expectation that it would be supported by the 'progressive elements in the house', the Law Member gives himself airs, which it were well to tell him he has no right to put on. Is the Law Member a Judge of what constitutes the progressive element in politics? His own past history, his political opinions, his radicalism in the 'Home Rule' days, his non-possomus attitude later, mark him as one of those vacillating individuals to whom opportunism is the breath of life. The Law Member may one day breathe fire and sword, talk of the vindication of the country's rights, eulogise the work of the most extreme politicians, attend tea-parties given to ex-detenués, join the executive to carry on a violent propaganda for the Home Rule

Bill and by his moral support, intellectual help and physical presence, assist an unhealthy agitation for political progress. The next day will see him the most reactionary politician coolly signing away the rights of the country, agreeing with the bureaucracy in the country's unfitness for further reforms and voting away the taxes of the country for unfair preferments to a few. It is this policy of political tergiversation of running with the hare and hunting with the hounds, which has paid him so far. But when he talks glibly of the progressive elements in the Council and their duty, every patriotic citizen must ask him to turn the searchlight inwards and to make himself a little more fit to pass an opinion on such matters. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer does not however content himself with this and it would be obviously surprising if he did not utilise the opportunity of having a fling at the Justice Ministry which is his pet aversion. The Law Member is reported to have stated that "if the present Ministry could be ousted, it would certainly result in the re-establishment of the old Justice Ministry." What a flood of light this statement throws on the mentality of the Law Member—jealousy, hatred, envy, despair—all the pent up feelings of that noble soul during the last four years, have found an opportunity of expressing themselves in however guarded a manner. Mark the very language—"it would certainly result"—why certainly? Is the Honourable the Law Member so miserably sanguine about the alternative Ministry? What nightmares must he be having! What agonising thoughts of the future—of a possible Justice Ministry! What an unhappy anxiety over the fate of the present Ministry! One wrong step—one vote misgiven, one false note struck by the Swarajists—and the disaster may overtake him. He does not care how often he himself is defeated—he must guard against the greater—far greater calamity which constant nightmares have made him certain of. And then gentle

reader—ponder over that 'old Justice Ministry'—Aye! there is the rub! for who knows what further revelations may be made by that 'old' Justice Ministry. There is the thought that makes a coward of the Law Member and drives him to frequent consultations with those whom he would normally not expect to meet, much less to consult.

We are not concerned with the fulminations of an inane mind so engrossed by evil thoughts and hateful ideas, that it has lost all sense of proportion, but as those interested in constitutionalism, we should like to know how the constitutional Pandits of South India view the statement. We are aware that an insidious propaganda has been afoot to exalt the Law Member, to make it appear that he has the sole and commanding voice in the Governance of the Presidency, that his colleagues on the Executive Council are as nothing in the administration and that the Ministers count for much less. We are aware that it is even rumoured that the Governor of the province is often obliged to accommodate his views to those of the Law Member. We do not believe for a moment this to be the case but the harm done to the morality and purity of public life, by such rumours and propaganda is incalculable and it behoves those who care for the good name of the Madras Government to wake up to a sense of their duty. The consolidation of all power and patronage in the hands of one individual is apt to create a spirit of hauteur and egoism which militates against good Government and outbursts like the present are the inevitable result. It was given out by an unscrupulous press just on the eve of the elections that the Governor was going on leave and that Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer would succeed. A communique had to be issued contradicting the rumour, so that public feeling and apprehension may be quelled. The statement of the Law Member has again brought to the fore-front the question how far and how long His Excellency is to be compromised by the indiscretions of a

juvenile Member of his cabinet. We understood that His Excellency was the person to form Ministries. Has he abdicated in favour of the Law Member? We know the Law Member was good enough to assure several individuals that he had the power of nominating Members to the Council in his hands. Has the power of nominating Ministries also been entrusted to his tender care? Whether a Justice Ministry or the 'old' Justice Ministry would succeed the present one, or whether there would be no Ministry at all, or whether the Swarajists would recant and accept office, are questions which no wise man would dare to solve at present and yet where angels fear to tread, the Law Member rushes in. But there is a method in his madness, and there is a deep purpose in trying to make out that the result will 'certainly' be the reinstatement of the 'old' Justice Ministry.

We are afraid we have too long practised the virtue of patience. It is an open secret by now that Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer has been the most hostile element in the Cabinet towards the non-brahmin interests and the Justice Ministry in particular. We do not propose to unravel the mysteries connected with the general elections and the part played therein by the Law Member. It is well-known that the most interested person during those stirring times and the one most active was Sir Ramaswami Iyer and since the change in the Ministry he perhaps feels bolder and freer. It does not matter to him what the result of the administration is. The Pykara Scheme may turn out to be a huge farce, the Metur project may be a repetition of the Back Bay imbroglio, the much advertised Irrigation Bill for which an Executive Councillor resigned office, may be a vision of the future, the separation of the Executive and judicial functions may be consigned to the Greek calends, the laws delays may assume monumental greatness, but yet our Law Member smiles sweetly, sings softly, and walks with the dignity of an Atalanta

and the cheerfulness of Charlie Chaplin. He is not disturbed by censure motions in the council, he does not worry about cuts in the budget, he never gets nonplussed, if adjournment motions are carried and so the game goes on merrily, day by day, till even the surcharged atmosphere of South India can bear the smell no more. But then what does all this matter, so long as the Law Member is assured, of the continued support of our monopolist contemporaries who, safe in the consciousness, that in him they have a Goliath to fight against the non-brahmin cause, are neither inclined nor prepared to throw the search light of their pertinent criticism into the multifarious activities of the Law Member.

We have only one question to put to His Excellency. Is the Governor of the province going to assert himself, his dignity and position and the fair character of his administration or is he going to allow things to drift till the Government becomes a by-word to all, till political chicanery takes the place of statesmanship, till petty motives influence actions great and small? The province awaits a reply from His Excellency and on that reply will the future of this province depend. (9-2-27)

"MY GOVERNMENT"

"Better a witty fool than foolish wit."

W. Shakespeare

There are none so deaf as those who will not hear and none so blind as those who will not see. There are none, so ill-mannered as those who will not learn good manners. It is extremely regrettable that with the utmost resolve on our part not to comment on the acts and speeches of one of the members of the Government of Madras, we should be compelled to do so, within such a short time after the gentleman's

return to the province. The Law Member of the Government of his Excellency Lord Goschen is in a fighting mood. His participation in the pacific 'League of Nations' gatherings at Geneva, his presence during the debates on disarmament has made him more militant than ever. At a convivial gathering on the very day of his arrival in Madras he spoke of "comradeship and brotherhood in the Cabinet being as much the rule as the exception." The public of Madras are only too painfully aware of this essential fact concerning the Government of Lord Goschen during the past three years. But the 'Bon Mot' that he was preparing during his three months of comparative leisure was reserved by the Honourable Law Member to the Local Legislative Council.

The first question addressed to Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer in the Council was by Mr. S. N. Dorai Raju who asked the following question: "Will the Hon. Law Member be pleased to lay on the table the letter received in this connection from the High Court?" A more harmless interpellation can hardly be imagined and yet it roused the ire of the Law Member. In tones of Majesty which left the House speechless, the Law Member of the Government of Madras replied with a dignity all unparalleled: "My Government of which H. E. Lord Goschen is the head do not propose to do so". We wonder if it has been the misfortune of any member of the Legislative Council to have come across a more vulgar display of childish petulance. Our readers are aware that the phrase 'My Government of which Lord Goschen is the chief' was used by the Law Member, and as we thought unfortunately, at a meeting of the Tanjore Mirasidars. We considered then that it was not proper and criticised the use of such language, though it be by so exalted an individual as the Law Member. We should like to know whether there are any among the numerous admirers of the Law Member who can justify such language. Does the Law Member

consider that he will justify his statement by repeating it in the Council? Does he really believe that by placing it on record in the published proceedings of the Legislative Council, he can give a sanctity to it and make it current among any section of the public? And what a revelation of the dignity attached to the office of Law Member is made to us by such exhibitions?

We would respectfully invite the attention of His Excellency the Governor to an aspect of the case which may not have struck Lord Goschen. Apart from the fact that such conduct is most irritating to the members of Council—proof of which His Excellency must have found from the unexpectedly large support which the motion to adjourn the grants received yesterday—apart from this, we should like to point out how seriously the dignity of the House is impaired by such levity as was displayed by a member occupying the treasury bench. The Honourable Gentleman is the first member of the Government of Madras, the Vice-President of the Executive Council and adventitious circumstances have thrust him into the place of the Leader of the House. Formally it will be his duty to uphold the dignity of the House, to conduct the debates with decorum, to elevate the tone of the proceedings and to so manage official affairs that there might be the least amount of avoidable friction. But the proceedings of yesterday show that all dignity and decorum is being sacrificed for personal vanity. His Excellency is after all responsible for the good name of this province and we would respectfully suggest that it is not a task beyond his province or capacity to pull up an erring colleague of his and so see that the reputation of Government for sobriety in deed and word is not lost. We would also suggest to the President of the Legislative Council that he can do much to safeguard the dignity of the House. It is a wonder to us that the President did not sharply pull up the Law Member when he used such language. The standing

orders specifically prohibit the introduction of the name of the Governor into any debate and it will be conceded that the same rule must be observed. He is aware how on more than one occasion Sir Rajagopalachari advised and admonished no less an individual than Sir Lionel Davidson, the very pink of courtesy and the then Leader of the House. We are certain that the present President is not wanting in courage or in his determination to vindicate the dignity of the House. We trust that such scenes will not be allowed to be repeated hereafter.

THE 'SERIOUS' LAW MEMBER

It may be my lord is weary, that his brain is over wrought:
Soothe him with thy finer fancies, touch him with thy
lighter thought,
Tennyson.

We have refrained during the past week from commenting on the extraordinarily virulent and malignant interviews which Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, the first Member of the Government of Madras has thought fit to give to various press agencies regarding the Coimbatore decisions and the Justice Party. We were anxious not to impose our opinions on the public by a premature comment on the surprising feats of the Law Member. But the series of letters which have been received during the last few days from prominent leaders of the party and the correspondence we have been deluged with from all parts of the province show the extent of public indignation at the antics of one, who is bringing the administration, into ridicule. That it should be possible for a member of the Executive Council to indulge in such violent language, to make the most malignant statements about a political party, to openly canvass support for a Ministry, to threaten high displeasure

on those who may differ from the Government—that such a thing should be possible is a sufficient justification for the series of resolutions that have been passed by the Coimbatore Confederation.

We note that the High and Mighty Sir Ramaswamy Iyer who stated that he will not dignify this journal by naming it has condescended graciously to speak of the “wilder outbursts in *Justice*”. The ‘wildest outburst’ in *Justice* pales into insignificance before the outbursts of the Law Member, so lacking in taste, so wanton in its malice and so mendacious in its facts. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer states with that pontifical air which he often tries to put on: “I am afraid I do not take either the newspaper or the resolutions seriously.” We shall leave the newspaper aside for the time being as it can take care of itself but that a member of the Government should openly and publicly state that he does not take the resolutions seriously of a Confederation at which his administration was severely censured, only shows the mentality behind the public servant.

Justice which the Law Member does not take seriously knows when to take the Law Member seriously and when to ignore him and his activities. We confess quite candidly that there are occasions when even the actions of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, cannot and will not be taken by us seriously. It is his official acts, his public utterances and doings that we are bound to take serious note of. If the Law Member should deport himself on Elliot Beach, for example at any hour of the day or night, *Justice* will not think of taking him seriously. If he were to criticise the actions of a party or scandalize individuals or even if he were to give lessons in political conduct on the sands of Mylapore to a coterie of admiring individuals, *Justice* will not take him seriously! If he should to-morrow entertain poets and poetesses on a lavish scale and thereby produce consternation

Justice will not trouble itself with a ‘serious’ notice of such a possible event. If on his next trip to Geneva he were to alight at Port Said and on his joy-rides through the streets of Port Said were to be pestered by the Egyptian hawkers, *Justice* would not devote its columns to criticism of the subject or take him ‘seriously’. If the Indian delegate at Geneva were to promenade on the lovely shores of Lake Lemman in the company of fellow-guests from the Hotel Beau-Rivage or the Hotel d’Angleterre *Justice* would not take him ‘seriously.’ If on his way to see the Secretary of State for India, the erstwhile first member of the Government of Madras were to tramp through the Grand Boulevards of Paris or take a drive through the pleasant Bois du Boulogne *Justice* would not take the Law Member ‘seriously’ if to test his equestrian skill the Law Member were to ride in ‘Rotten Row’ in Hyde Park to the admiration of groups of fair Amarillas, *Justice* will certainly not take him ‘seriously.’ But there ends the series of possible acts of any public servant which are beyond the pale of public criticism and ‘serious’ notice.

When the Law Member dabbles in public affairs, when he makes himself responsible for the expenditure of crores of rupees of the taxpayers’ money, when he sanctions schemes and projects and gets them carried out with indecent haste and without giving a fair opportunity for the representatives of the public to examine, discuss or criticise them, when he carries on a policy of brazen jobbery and to crown all abuses dispolitical opponents, then surely, even if the Law Member deads that he is not serious, we cannot afford to treat him in the same irresponsible manner.

The Law Member speaks of the resolutions of the Confederation ‘amusing or thrilling, those who are easily amused or thrilled.’ This supercilious arrogance on the part of one who is after all a paid public servant is hard to beat and the consciousness that he is supported in his antics by a close

clique of his own clansmen both journalists and public men could alone explain this attitude. We are glad and thankful to see the *Swarajya* expostulating against this conduct on the part of one who ought to take himself seriously, whatever others may think of him. The impudent tone adopted throughout the interview, the cheap sneer that this 'elegantly brought-up' individual indulges in, the snarl that come out where he is hit, the lack of any attempt to defend his policy shows what a faithful colleague Lord Goschen possesses in his first member of Council. We have always held that the 'brown bureaucrat' is several times worse than the much maligned European bureaucrat and the statements of the Law Member only confirm that view. It may suit the dignity, position and status of the present Independent Ministers that the Law Member should speak of 'their administration being perfectly straight-forward.' When the gentleman who gives this certificate is hard put to justifying his own administration which has been attacked as being neither perfect nor straight nor forward, when his explanations serve only to expose further the serious defects of that administration, what value will be attached to this unsolicited testimonial by the public, it is not difficult to imagine. We may assure the public that we have not done with either Metur, Pykara or Tuticorin. The Law Member disposes of the objections with a non-chalance which is highly artistic and which even we, who know the histrionic talents of the Honourable Member so well, must envy. Those who watched a circus troupe and the antics of the clown know that when the clown is really hit or wounded in one of his performances, he puts on a more clownish face than ever and laughs out the serious injury he has received. The Law Member's justification of the Pykara project which can never materialise, of the Tuticorin Harbour which will be a white elephant and of the Metur Dam which will effectively

dam the Tax payers' resources, reminds us of the clown whose performances we once witnessed at the Circus Busch in Berlin.

The Law Member speaks of the day dreams of half instructed people but it seems to us that such day dreams are far more justifiable than the night dreams of fully instructed people. We were never under any delusion as to when Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer took charge of the marine portfolio but if he believes that the public will swallow without criticism his naive and simple statement that the only new factor in the situation, after he assumed charge was the increase of the estimates from 40 to 57 lakhs he must indeed be badly indulging in day dreams and night dreams alike. The whole gravamen of the charge is that when it was with the greatest hesitation that the estimate of 40 lakhs was agreed to, a 'fully educated' member who feels he is 'thoroughly fit' for the job should have sanctioned an increase of the estimate to 57 lakhs. We shall examine these and other defences in another article and will only conclude with the belief that the time is not far off when we need not take Sir Ramaswami Iyer 'seriously'. (20-7-27)

THEATRICALS IN COUNCIL

"All the world's a stage,
And all the men and women are mere players;
They have their exits and entrance;
And one man in his time plays many parts"
His arts being in seven stages.

W. Shakespeare.

We are accustomed to the varied moods and temper of the Law Member of the Government of Madras, from grave to gay from lively to severe, which his undoubted histrionic talents

enable him to exhibit to an astonished house. But in replying to the budget criticism on Saturday last, the gentleman excelled himself and nothing more was wanting than a timely dropping of a curtain to complete the illusion that it was not a serious business like Council which he was addressing but a vastly amused gathering of theatregoers. The Piece-De-Resistance of the whole show was our humble self and on our devoted head was poured the accumulated vials of wrath of the Law Member. Being the sole protagonist on the stage, like the strophe and antistrophe of the ancient Greek tragedy, the honourable gentleman alternated between singing a chorus of praise to the 'healthy and instructive criticism of the Swarajist opposition and chanting a hymn of hate against the 'unhealthy destructive and malignant criticism' of the Justice Party. The climax was reached when in thundering tones the Law Member, referring to this paper, told a hushed house that leader after "leader had appeared in a journal which he would not dignify by mentioning the name in the house." The leader of the house, the first member of the Government of Madras, the Vice President of the Executive Council has given his opinion of us and what more remains for us but to feel annihilated and hide our diminished head in shame. But we confess to a feeling of perversity in the matter and regard it as a fortunate circumstance that we have incurred the displeasure of the Law Member. The retort courteous to the remark of the gentleman is so obvious that we shall not sully our page by giving expression to it. Our dignity our position in the journalistic world, our usefulness to the public life of this Presidency does not happily depend on the intemperate remarks of wilful occupants of the treasury bench. We look to appreciation and reward elsewhere, to our large clientele, to our distinguished contributors, to the thousands who read our journal and to the scores of thousands who honor us by accepting our views and

adopting our policy. We are sure our readers will recognise that we shall best maintain our dignity by ignoring these cheap sneers and shallow criticisms.

The gravamen of the charge against us is that we have not sung the glories of the Metur project or of the Pykara hydro-electric scheme, that we have ventured to compare them to the Back bay reclamation scheme of Bombay and to suggest that they will be as great muddles as the last. It is our deliberate opinion and we repeat it with all the emphasis that we can command that the Metur project if completed, will form a huge scandal and that the Pykara scheme will be but a mirage. Our criticism of these schemes is based on their essential unsoundness and if we might carry the memory of our readers back, we should like to remind them, that these schemes were subjected to criticism by those who could not be described either as 'mischievous' or 'destructive' critics. The late Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer, in August 1924, on the eve of the Metur project being placed before the Council for its approval, criticised it in no uncertain terms and doubts have been thrown on it ever since.

We are under the peculiar handicap that so long as the present member happens to be in charge of these departments of Hydroelectricity and Irrigation, our criticism of the measures adumbrated by him, will be ascribed to our 'notorious communalism.' But we are certain that this trump card, of 'communalism,'—of the sin of the Law Member's birth pursuing him through the columns of the *Justice*—which was played by the honorable member on more than one occasion in the house—will not avail him any further. The merits of the question are bound to be examined by the public at some time or other. It will be our painful duty to unfold the tale of these projects in our columns. The Law Member asserts that he has launched these schemes in the best interests of the country, that an era of prosperity awaits us through these projects and

that those who criticise them are actuated by 'malignant motives'. The Law Member has thrown the gauntlet, and challenged us to justify our remarks. We shall pick it up with alacrity, and strongly convinced as we are of the fairness of our criticism, and the utter absence of any motive malignant or otherwise except the sole motive of vindicating the good name of the Presidency and safe-guarding the interests of the tax payer, we shall present our indictment of these two schemes frankly and squarely. We shall show how time after time doubts have been expressed by individuals and association as to the wisdom of the scheme. We shall elucidate the peculiar methods pursued by the member to silence criticism and hush the voice of protest. We shall give to the public an idea of the prevarications indulged in by a member of the Government, when rival and conflicting interests were placed before him. We shall show how support was purchased from different sections of the house by lavish promises of enquiring into and attempting to satisfy the irrigational needs of the adjacent districts. We shall prove how by alternate threats and cajolery to the house the honourable member tried to carry through his bills and resolutions.

We shall give but one instance to-day of this plan of action which has been steadily pursued by the Law Member during the last few years. In introducing the Irrigation Bill, the Law Member stated that huge projects were being held up because there was no Irrigation Law and that the Government of India refused to sanction a loan for such works unless the Madras Government placed on the statute book such an Act. Among the larger irrigation projects that cannot be worked without an irrigation Law, the Law Member gave the first place to the Metur project. In the course of his speech introducing the Irrigation Bill he stated that without a satisfactory Irrigation Law, the Metur project could not be taken up by the Government. He quoted the opinion

of the Government of India that 'they would be reluctant to authorise the commencement of construction of the Cauvery Reservoir project until the Irrigation Law has been placed in a satisfactory state.' He pleaded the same reason for not taking up the Tungabhadra Project and the Kistna reservoir scheme. What has happened, we ask, in the meantime which enables not merely the commencement but the brisk carrying out of this pet scheme without the safeguard of a proper Irrigation Law. The importance of it will be realised when we discuss the project and its implications on the revenue side. We are only surprised that the colleagues of the Law Member specially on the reserved side are permitting statements to be made which cannot be accurate and hopes held out which are bound to turn to ashes.

The Law Member still repeats that he will consider the possibilities of benefit accruing to Coimbatore and Salem from the Metur Dam. Does he wish anyone except a few glib representatives of the districts concerned, to take him seriously? Has he a single engineering expert behind him when he holds out hopes of a satisfactory settlement of the claims of these districts? Does the Revenue Board support his view that a way may yet be found by which Salem and Coimbatore may get at reasonable rates water from the Metur reservoir? If not it is their duty to protest against being made parties to such statements and not even the desirability of canvassing support from the members of the council, can justify the holding out of such hopes or their being tacitly acquiesced in.

The career of the Law Member is coming to a close and it is time that an estimate be made of his work as a member of the Executive Council. It should have been the duty of our 'Nationalist contemporaries' to undertake the task but owing to a mysterious soporific acting on them, they have so far not done it and it has

devolved on us to tell the world what we think of the gentleman's achievements. It was said of Goldsmith that there was nothing which he touched that he did not adorn. It might be said with equal truth of the honourable the Law Member that there is nothing which he has undertaken that he has not disfigured and left in a state of muddle. From Civil Justice to Electricity, from Foreigners and Fortnightly reports to Irrigation and Tenancy reform, from Marine to Magistracy, from Police and Criminal investigation departments to State-prisoners and Translators to Government, the administration of every subject has been either complicated or muddled and it is a rich *damnosa hereditas* that his successor will enter into. Our impeachment of the Law Member will embrace practically every important administration which he has been in charge of we feel sure that the general public will not be influenced by irrelevant explanations which seek to side-track them by ascribing such criticism to "communalism", but will form its opinion on the merits of the question dealt with. We shall commence our impeachment of the administration of the present Law Member of the Government of Madras, and Vice-President of the Executive Council in our next issue. (7-3-27)

II

In our last issue we stated that we shall give a review of the administration of the Hon'ble the Law Member of the Government of Madras and show to our readers how it has not conducted either to efficiency or to the public weal of the province. We are anxious to assure our readers that in the remarks that we may feel compelled to make, we shall try to scrupulously avoid any reference to matters personal. We are not concerned, nor are our readers, with the personal life, habits or friendships of any member of the Government. It is their official acts of omission and commission, their enun-

ciations of policy with reference to the administration in their charge that we propose to examine. The Law Member came into office under the best of auspices, as the friend and not the opponent of a great political party, with the best of wishes from all quarters for a successful tenure of office and with the expectation that he will promote the political, social and material welfare of the province, to the extent that an individual member of Government can do so. It is necessary to remember this, when the charge is often hurled at those who dare to differ from him that caste bias and personal animosity is the real cause for such differences. No member of the Government received a larger share of generous support from the Justice Party and from that organ which now he will not dignify by naming in the house' than the Law Member. If the proceedings of the Legislative Council are scanned from February 1923 to March 1924 for the period of nearly one year, it will be observed that the Law Member had the solid support of those whom he now characterises as 'destructive and malignant critics'. What happened subsequent to that period which brought about this great change, which forced the Justice Party to criticise the policy and condemn the methods of the Law Member? Was it a sudden fit of caste hatred, an unaccountable accession of personal animosity, a strange and inexplicable perversity of temperament of a whole party? Or is it possible that the honorable member has conducted himself in such a manner that no honest or self respecting party can extend its support to him?

The honourable Law Member has inaugurated what are considered in some quarters epoch making schemes. Fortunately they are still in the initial stages when criticism will be helpful, if not to the Law Member, at any rate to those who are associated with him in the administration. We shall therefore first deal with these schemes and show to our readers how they are not in the larger interests of the country

and the general tax payer. The Metur project and the Hydro-electric scheme—two larger and expensive enterprises embarked upon in haste, schemes too for which the blessings of His Excellency the Governor have been invoked—will be shown to be either unproductive or unworkable. We shall then examine the part which the Law Member has played in connection with the Madras Irrigation Bill; we shall throw the search-light of public criticism on the conduct of the Law Member in connection with the Malabar Tenancy Bill; we shall subject to scrutiny the judicial administration of the province in the hands of one of the 'foremost practitioners of the Presidency' and try to show how the dignity of the bar and the bench has suffered during his regime. Finally in examining minor subjects of which he is in charge, we shall prove that he has consistently worked against the political progress of the country, allied himself with the forces of reaction, and has done more than anyone to put back the hands of the clock of progress in the province. We shall contrast in public utterances with his official acts and establish the fact that while he was talking glibly of occupying the position of a member of Government merely to forward the interests of his country and countrymen, while he was loudly proclaiming that he would not stay an hour in office if he did not believe that he was thereby helping the progress of the province, he was really working against the political development of the nation. Lastly we shall allege—though we are not sure how far we shall prove it to the satisfaction of the general public—that the Law Member more than any other individual has promoted communalism in this province, has tried to petrify social differences, to make rapprochement among communities impossible and by his opinions and actions made the social and political harmony of the province extremely difficult for the time being.

We impeach the Honorable the Law Member of the Govern-

ment of Madras with the high crime of having betrayed the best interests of the province. We impeach him for risking the revenues of the province on schemes of doubtful utility and productivity. We impeach him for ignoring the claims of the most backward tracts of the Presidency and pressing through with vigour, schemes which are intended to benefit those who are already well off. We impeach him for having helped the cause of the prosperous Jenmies of Malabar and refusing to ameliorate the condition of the tenants, for having sided with the rich as against the poor, the strong as against the weak. We impeach him for having time after time postponed the consideration of beneficial schemes of reform in connection with the administration of civil and criminal justice. We impeach him for his conduct with reference to the bills which he has attempted to pilot through the house. And lastly we impeach him for having interfered unduly with the political life of the province and made it possible for the elements of unconstitutionality to gain the upper hand.

FOR THIS RELIEF-MANY THANKS

I can but trust that good shall fall
At last—far off—at last, to all,
And every winter change to spring.

Tennyson

The long expected announcement regarding the personnel of the Indian delegation to the next meeting of the League of Nations at Geneva, has come. Reuter flashed the glad things to this country that India's honor, prestige and national spirit will be represented by the three members who compose the delegation, Lord Lytton, the Maharajah of Kapurthala and Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer. South India will be expected to go into transports and ecstasies of joy that a citizen of this province has once more been chosen to be the spokesman of the nation in that august world-convention. We believe this is

the eighth year that the league is meeting at Geneva and India has the proud privilege of sending its representatives to the meetings of the Assembly. On four of these eight occasions the honor of sending a representative has fallen to Madras and on one other occasion she had the privilege of sending a substitute delegate. The Rt. Honorable Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri represented the nation twice; Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer discharged the onerous responsibilities of the office on one occasion and Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, the immaculate Law Member of the Government of Madras, has been raised from the comparatively insignificant position of substitute delegate to the full blown dignity of a real delegate of India at Geneva. It is only a bitterly communal mentality like that of ourselves that can refuse to see the great honor done to Madras by the series of representatives who have been chosen from Madras. Our 'nationalist contemporaries' have realised the glory that has dawned on this province and appreciate it in the true spirit. Their only regret is that the cup of happiness is not full, that there is still something wanting to make it complete. 'It is humiliating' says the *Hindu* that the Indian delegation to the annual assemblage of the representatives of the various countries of the world gathered to discuss momentous questions, should be under the leadership of a non-Indian". That is the only bee in the Hindu's bonnet. If Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer had been allowed to lead the delegation, what glory to Mylapore! How the Pymys of Triplicane and the Hampdens of Mylapore would have rejoiced! What fine addresses written in classical language would have been presented to the hero of the day! The *Hindu* did its best to secure the consummation so devoutly wished for by itself and its clientele. It wrote inspired articles about the need for an Indian to lead the delegation. It quoted the discussions of the Council of State and the Government's assurances. But while the *Hindu* proposes, the Government of India or Lord Birkenhead disposes. And

so there is a cloud in the otherwise radiant sky, and the "Hindu's" jubilation is marred by the recollection of the great honor which has just been missed. We may wonder what good the League has done for India. We may be sceptical of India's position being in any way enhanced by the fact that it is allowed to play second fiddle to England at Geneva. But Nationalist *Hindu* thinks otherwise and who are we to doubt its wisdom? Our contemporary talks of the 'momentous questions' which are coming up for discussion at Geneva. May we ask what esoteric knowledge it has of the agenda of the next Session of the League? We remember that Earl Winterton recently stated that whereas the League rules required five delegates from India, he did not think that the expenditure involved would be justified on more than the deputing of three delegates. He explained that there was little of interest to India in the agenda of the forthcoming session, and that therefore there was no necessity for more delegates. But the *Hindu* speaks of 'momentous questions', and surely the *Hindu* is a better authority on the subject than Earl Winterton. The *Hindu* speaks of the 'irony of the situation'. Does it not realise that the irony lies not so much in a European leading the deputation as in an official being a member of it? Has the '*Hindu's*' memory betrayed it, and does it forget the debates in the Legislative Assembly which required that that body should select such representatives? Does it realise that the Government of India though it could not accept that recommendation, was so amenable to public opinion as to send non-official Indians to the League? And now when the reactionary Government completes the farce of representation at Geneva by deputing an official, our nationalistic contemporary can find no criticism to offer. It is ready to strain at the gnat of the leadership and swallow the camel of an Indian official delegate. We shall no doubt be told that we are confirmed communalists and that our

criticism is due to the fact that Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer comes from that down-trodden, long-suffering, oppressed and depressed community, that small minority which deserves protection from all chivalrous individuals and the under-dogs to-day. Our contemporary will point out in just indignation that it was not thinking of the Law Member at all but was anxious to offer the coronet of leadership to the Maharajah of Kapurthala. We are not unmindful of the extremely generous motives of the *Hindu*. We wish to assure our contemporary, though it may find it hard to believe, that we are unfeignedly glad at the selection. The *Hindu* speaks of 'India spending an unconscionably large amount to the expense of the League' and yet it has not a word of criticism to offer against the policy of selecting a highly-paid official and paying him his salary in addition to other expenses, when a non-official would have done equally well and cost 'Mother India' much less. The unconscionable nature of this transaction has not attracted the attention of our esteemed contemporary. But we repeat we are unreservedly glad at the selection. We congratulate the Law Member on his well deserved honor. The certificate of merit which he earned from Sir William Vincent and which no doubt Lord Irwin has had occasion to see, befits him excellently for the place. The Law Member, moreover, needs a holiday. The public are aware of the strenuous official life that he has led. The encumbrances have been growing of late and he needs a respite. Metur and Pykara, Tuticorin Harbour and the High Court have all been worrying him and in the interests of himself and the province, a holiday to Geneva will help him and enable these problems to solve by themselves. The province needed a rest even more than the Law Member. We repeat, therefore, that we are thankful to Lord Irwin for the selection. We shall have a few weeks of breathing time, when we can survey the situation and appreciate the great contribution of the Law Member to

the glory of the province. Madras will be united in welcoming the appointment. The *Hindu* in spite of its little disappointment, is pleased. Anglo-India will feel secure and satisfied. Communalists like ourselves are thoroughly pleased. And so god-speed to the Indian delegate to Geneva!

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL PROBLEMS

It is a lie—their Priests, their Pope,
Their Saints, their—all they fear or hope
Are lies, and lies—there! through my door
And ceiling, there! and walls and floor,
There, lies, they lie—shall still be hurled
Till spite of them I reach the world!

R. Browning

THE ANTI-PRIESTHOOD MOVEMENT

You think Priests just and holy men !
Before they put me in this den
• I was a human creature too,
With flesh and blood like one of you,
A girl that laughed in beauty's pride
Like lilies in your world outside.

R. Browning

Revolt against priestly domination, is not the characteristic of any particular nation or age. Ever since religion came to be a vital factor in the lives of the people of a country, there have been movements, to minimise the influence of the priesthood, to educate the people to a sense of their own worth and to hearten them into believing that they are not all sinners, whose sins can be redeemed through the intervention of any individual. European history is particularly replete with such instances and in every nation there have been noble individuals who have stood out boldly against the insidious propaganda of a resourceful priesthood. The name of Martin Luther, the great Protestant reformer has gone down into history and will be ever remembered by all, who love freedom and liberty in religious observances. When Luther nailed on the church door at Wurtemberg, his repudiation of papacy, he struck at the root of that domination, which blighted the life of mediaeval Europe. In England, the strong action taken by the Government of the day, to prevent the Catholic Church from assuming titles similar to those possessed by the Church of England, was also an indication of a desire to curtail the influence of priests. Later in Italy, when the freedom which she was longing for, was obtained through the noble efforts of Garibaldi and Mazzini, one of the first acts of the Italian people was, to liberate themselves from priestly domination.

The double rule of the King and the Pope acted as a heavy drag on the progress of the nation and Papal influence was therefore curtailed. The result was that the Pope went into voluntary retirement inside his palace and during the last fifty years, successive Popes, when once they are installed into the Papal chair, do not, for the remainder of their lives, leave the Vatican, but immure themselves within those walls. In more recent times, the fate of the Kaliphate in Turkey, is an indication of how the pulsations of a broader and freer life, have necessitated the abandonment of old fetishes and anti-deluvian notions.

The movement which we see in Southern India to-day, for the uplift of the nonbrahmins and for their freedom from priestly influences, is only a portion of that world movement, which is aimed at giving the largest freedom not merely to the body but even more to the soul. Who can deny that the freedom of the soul is even more necessary and vital than the freedom of the body? And who can further deny that the result of centuries of priestcraft in this country, has resulted in stunting the religious development of man, and has made him in many cases a terrorised individual, anxious to earn salvation through priestly intervention. That the priesthood in this country is confined to a particular caste, has merely aggravated the evil. A healthy development of religious and moral conceptions, is retarded by the notion, that the satisfying of priestly desires is a sure method of earning salvation. It is a good sign of the times that there is an awakening everywhere, and men are realising the inherent worth of every individual and are no longer deluded into the belief, that they are an inferior set of people, whose duty is to look up to others for all knowledge of the great God. Repeatedly among the Hindus themselves, there have been protestant reformers, who have preached against the rituals of a selfish priestly class and showed the real way to a higher life. The

offshoots of the Hindu faith, which are many in Upper India, have been the result of a desire to escape from the thrall of the priest. The Arya Samajists, the Brahmo Samajists and several other classes, led the way to a reformed faith, more on account of those excrescences that have crept into the Hindu religion through the priestly classes, than on account of any inherent defect in pure Hinduism. Swami Vivekananda, the great exponent of Vedanta, was equally candid and emphatic in his condemnation of priestly intervention. And it is the task of these great reformers that is sought to be continued by the movement which was inaugurated a decade back. The social aspect of the movement was its most important part, but owing to the peculiar circumstances of the day and also because the cause of social regeneration could be accelerated by political advance, there has till recently been, a more pronounced bias towards political, than towards social questions.

To attempt to bring man into direct contact with his creator, to make him realise that one lisping prayer by himself, however crude and inartistic it may be, is worth far more than a score of priests repeating unintelligent words, is one of the tasks which the last Madura Confederation has placed before the country. "Man is born free and everywhere he is in chains" wrote Rousseau on the eve of the French Revolution. But the most terrible and the least felt, are those chains which curb his soul and spirit. The breaking of those chains is the noblest service that anyone can undertake. To worship God in one's own way, to offer incense at the shrine of the deity without being told that the offering must necessarily be communicated through an intermediary, is an elemental right which ought to be recognised in all civilized countries. But unfortunately in this country even such questions have a tendency of becoming acutely controversial, owing to the existence of vested interests. From reports which have reached us, from all parts of the presidency, we see a desire on the part of the

people, to stand up for their rights and to reject the intervention of any individual in matters spiritual. It is a reform with which all genuine patriotism must sympathise. Priesthood must have a limited scope, for the good of the country, even in countries where the craft is generally distributed among all classes of people. Its sphere must be doubly curtailed in a country like India where it is the peculiar prerogative of one class.

We may be accused again of communalism but we venture to think that those who are engaged in the task of removing a concentrated and highly developed priesthood, are shattering the citadel of communalism and are ushering in the era of nationalism. We are glad to note the patriotic endeavours of gentlemen who are engaged in this task, in several parts of the presidency and we hope that their example will be largely followed. We have only one appeal to make to the members of the priestly class. We wish to assure them that the reformation is bound to come sooner or later. The trend of the times, the spirit of the age, is a happy augury of what will follow. It may be given to them, to help a good cause, to assist in that larger and nobler rejuvenation of the land when 'a man is a man for a that,' to reduce to a minimum, the spirit of ill will and hatred, that will inevitably be created by unreasoning obstruction and impious obstinacy, and to shape a great catholic cause. It may also be open to them, to harrass the pioneers of a new movement to misinterpret their motives, to accuse them of creating dissensions, to charge them with impiety and even to invoke the forms of law for perpetuating unfair rights. The choice is before the community. Will they take the nobler, if narrower, path and work for Union and Harmony, or will they pursue the broad and downward path leading to hopeless dissensions? Of one thing we are certain; the Car of Juggernaut rolls on and naught can hinder its progress. So it is with Nations and with great and Divine movements.

They encompass their ends inspite of all difficulties; Obstacles spur them on faster. Progress is never arrested altogether. And the end of the movement will be, when its heaven-ordained purpose is fulfilled.

To those also who are engaged in this noble task, we wish to make an appeal. Let them realise, as we are sure they do, the greatness of the cause, the sanctity attached to their efforts and the divine purpose which is sought to be fulfilled. There ought to be nothing sordid in motive, nothing objectionable in manner where so great a task is undertaken. The pure and the chastened spirit, is what will be required in such a work. Obstacles and dangers, there will be, but suffering must be the badge of all that tribe who work for a great reformation. "To him that smites you on the right cheek, turn the left" is the sage advice of a holy seer, and to no cause is it more appropriate than to the one on which they are now engaged. And may he who is the dispenser of all good, in whose eyes temporal power is as nothing, who knows no distinctions of caste and class and who is ready to welcome all honest souls and perfect beings, give strength, courage and wisdom to those who are carrying out his mission.

GANDHI AND VARNASHRAMA

"I will buy with you, sell with you, talk with you,
Walk with you and so following, but I will
Not eat with you, drink with you, nor pray with you."

W. Shakespeare.

Mahatma Gandhi is in our midst and receives universal love, respect and adoration for his purity of mind, the clean life that he leads, his transparent sincerity and his great self-sacrifice. He has dedicated himself to a life of poverty thrown his lot amongst the poor and down-trodden and has

earned the love and esteem of his countrymen. Mahatma Gandhi is to-day not an individual but an institution and therein lies his strength and his weakness. His sayings are listened to with rapt attention uncontradicted by the thousands that gather to hear him. But his preachings are rarely put into practice by the most devoted of his disciples. That is the calamity that overtakes all those preachers who are canonised in their life time. The common public have the utmost veneration for them but readily excuse their own conduct wherever it differs from the principles to which they give their wholehearted assent, by the explanation that after all they are not Mahatma Gandhis to carry them out in their daily conduct.

Even so, a great personality, who has obtained a dominating influence over the public mind, has to be extremely cautious as regards the statements that he makes and the ideals that he holds up for public veneration. We are led to these observations by the series of letters which we have received expressing acute disappointment and even agony at the attitude adopted by the Mahatma on certain highly controversial questions which have been lately raised in this province. We are told that Mahatma Gandhi held up as a lofty institution the Varnashrama Dharma and extolled brahminism. We see that addressing the students of the Pachaiyappah's College he made the same remarks. No doubt he referred to a few incidents like untouchability and child marriage and the spoliation of young children of 12 years of age and stated that they were a parody of brahminism. But if these did not exist he 'adored' Brahminism and the Varnashrama Dharma'.

We must confess to considerable mystification at the attitude of the Mahatma. Is it suggested that untouchability is removed by merely treating the depressed classes as touchables and giving them the same privileges—if they can be

called such—which the touchable classes enjoy at the hands of the Brahmins? Does the Mahatma think that if the Adi Dravida is made to have the rights of a Vellala, Vannia or an Agambadia, or to use a more compendious term which the Mahatma may understand though it is objected to as connoting a vulgar meaning—a Sudra—he could adore Varnashrama Dharma? Has Mahatma Gandhi realised that the only great defect of Brahminism is child marriages? We have no direct and accurate knowledge of the state of Hindu society in upper India, but we venture to think that child marriage is abhorred and not practised by more than eighty per cent of the Hindu population of this province. We can mention caste after caste which abhors the idea of such marriage. It has been left to the highest caste, the brahmins whom Mahatma Gandhi adores and a few small castes who seek to imitate their supposed superiority, to adopt this vicious practice. And when Mahatma Gandhi tells us that if the depressed classes are treated as the fifth caste with the incident of untouchability removed and if child marriage is abolished, there is nothing to spoil his adoration of Brahminism and Varnashrama Dharma, we ask ourselves whether Mr. Gandhi also has been lured into the coils of the monopolists.

We had hoped, and we still believe, that he has a higher mission to fulfil than bless institutions which whatever their early purpose are to-day the curse of the land. We are sure he has a divine message to deliver to us—a message which will heal and not probe further the lacerated wounds of the Hindu society. The system of Varnashrama Dharma is based on the desire for privilege. Two forces have been constantly at work in Hindu Society through all the centuries, the one making for caste, the other breaking caste, the one making for privilege the other breaking down privilege. The progress of the race has always been in proportion to this breaking down of privilege. Every great social and religious teacher in the east

has preached against this privilege. Mahatma Gandhi is aware of the message of the great Lord Buddha and some of the most beautiful epithets addressed to Lord Buddha are, "Thou the breaker of castes, destroyer of privileges, preacher of equality to all beings." Buddha's one constant preaching has been the idea of equality. It is this idea of privilege, of superiority, that has led to the troubles of the modern world. Race privilege, colour privilege, and caste privilege have torn the bonds of union, have made men animals, have turned into seething cauldrons of hate, what ought to be the blisful state of love and amity. And Varnashrama Dharma, as in practice Mahatma Gandhi ought to have found out, is the quintessence of the idea of privilege, of superiority and snobbishness. Is this really the institution that he gives his assent to? We trust that he will place a higher ideal before our countrymen.

Swami Vivekananda of revered memory, whose message has been a great solace to many an afflicted soul, had a different idea. We make no apologies for quoting the following passage from one of the lectures of the Swamijee:—

"The absolute sameness of conditions," says the Swami, "if that be the aim of ethics, appears to be impossible. That all men should be same, could never be, however we might try. Men will be born differentiated; some will have more power than others; some will have natural capacities, others not; some will have perfect bodies, others not. We can never stop that. The sameness as regards external forms and position can never be attained. But what can be attained is the elimination of privilege. That is really the work before the whole world. In all social lives, there has been that one fight in every race and every country. The difficulty is not, that not one body of men are naturally more intelligent than another, but whether this body of men, because they have the advantage of intelligence, should take away even physical

enjoyment from those who do not possess that advantage. They fight to destroy that privilege. That some will be stronger physically than others, and will thus naturally be able to subdue or defeat the weak, is a self-evident fact, but that because of this strength they should gather unto themselves all the attainable happiness of this life, is not according to law, and the fight has been against it. That some people, through natural aptitude, should be able to accumulate more wealth than others is natural; but that on account of this power to acquire wealth they should tyrannise and ride roughshod over those who cannot acquire so much wealth, is not a part of the law, and the fight has been against that. The enjoyment of advantage over another is privilege, and throughout the ages, the aim of morality has been its destruction. This is the work which tends towards sameness towards unity, without destroying variety."

Noble and soul-stirring words these, spoken from the heart of a Jivanmuktha of the sublimest kind and we reverently draw the attention of the Mahatma to this healing message. The Swami clinches the matter further when he boldly declares:

"Let all these variations remain eternally: It is the very essence of life. We shall all play in this way eternally. You will be wealthy, and I shall be weak; you will be learned and I ignorant; you will be spiritual, and I less so. But what of that? Let us remain so, but because you are physically or intellectually stronger, you must not have more privilege than I, and that you have more wealth is no reason why you should be considered greater than I, for the sameness is here, in spite of the different conditions."

We are sure these noble sentiments will find a ready echo

in Mahatma Gandhi's heart. He is really out to fight privilege wherever it exists. His doctrine of non-violent reform has its basis on this essential—the destruction of privilege. Violence merely substitutes one set of privileges in the place of another and victor and victim alike lose something in such violent conflicts. That is where *ahimsa* triumphs over force. The doctrine of the survival of the fittest is not the doctrine of the cultured much less of the moral and spiritual individuals. It is the last resort of the brute and the brutish in men. And this pernicious doctrine is as harmful in intellectual as in physical and material spheres of activity. The institution of Varnashrama, and of a priesthood drawn from a single class is based on this principle of privilege. From the days of the earliest reformers 'the Buddhas and Christs and all other great preachers of religion, down to our present day, in the new political aspirations, and in the claims of the oppressed and the down-trodden,' comes out this one idea of the breaking down of privileges, the destruction of monopolies. But human nature in its grosser forms is so constituted that those who have an advantage want to keep it, and if they find an argument, however one-sided and crude, they must cling to it.

Shall we be hoping too much if we think that Mahatma Gandhi, may carry on the mission of those great souls and instead of encouraging and fostering institutions which have demoralised the country and eaten into the very vitals of society, boldly champion the divine cause of equality and destroy privilege and monopoly. He may lose a few of his over enthusiastic followers thereby, but he will be enshrined in the hearts of millions, and what is more, will have the consolation which all savants and sages have, of doing something for the progress of humanity. (8-9-27).

II

The tour of Mahatma Gandhi is obviously bringing him face to face with problems in Southern India which were kept away from him and which, according to his candid confession, he has had neither the time nor the opportunity to understand. It is obvious that while those who are managing his entourage, desired his programme to follow a particular course, the vast complexity of insoluble problems have thrust themselves on the attention of the Mahatma. We shall not suggest that it is disconcerting to the managers of the tour that such questions present themselves at every turn to the Mahatma, but we should like to dwell on the lesson that it teaches to all those who are cynical towards them. There has been a tendency to close one's eyes towards the obvious clash of interests between the brahmin and the non-brahmin classes, a desire to ignore what is so apparent to all earnest students of politics and sociology. During the last thirty years, this problem is growing in intensity and instead of trying to solve it, the leaders of public opinion have steadily declined to take cognisance of it and have even refused to believe in its existence.

Our mind naturally goes back to this period thirty years back when another great Indian politician, reformer and sage, the great Swami Vivekananda toured the province and was confronted with the same problems which are to-day dogging the footsteps of Mahatma Gandhi. The passage of time has only intensified the problem, widened the class of people who feel strongly on such questions and made their solution more difficult than ever. But what a vast difference there is between the way in which Swami Vivekananda tried to tackle the brahmin non-brahmin problem and the manner in which Mahatma Gandhi is dealing with it? A sturdy patriot, a divine soul, a clear thinker, an honest outspoken critic, with a burning zeal for advancing the interests of the country, the

Swami did not care if in his remarks he offended the sentiments and susceptibilities of any section of the people. He poured out his heart to them, told his audience in burning words of eloquence and true faith where they were lacking, showed them their weak points, refused to palliate the crimes against society committed by any section, and gave them lessons which must have gone home to their inmost hearts. Yet there was no vulgar abuse, no ringing denunciations, no violent language. The grace of the savant, the sharpness of the zealot, and the sincerity of one of the noblest souls in India combined to add to the divinity of his message. Let our readers hear the blessed words of the great Vivekananda.

"What am I to think" says the Swamijee "of your doctrine of heredity! Aye, Brahmins, if the Brahmin has more aptitude for learning on the ground of heredity than the Pariah, spend no more money on the Brahmin's education, but spend all on the Pariah. Give to the weak, for there all the gift is needed. If the Brahmin is born clever he can educate himself without help. If the others are not born clever, let them have all the teaching and the teachers they want. This is justice and reason as I understand it. Our poor people, these down-trodden masses of India, therefore require to hear and to know what they really are. Aye, let every man and woman and child, without respect of caste or birth, weakness or strength, hear and learn that behind the strong and the weak, behind the high and low, behind everyone, there is that infinite soul, assuring the infinite possibility, and the infinite capacity of all to become great and good. Let us proclaim to every soul, arise, awake! Awake from this hypnotism of weakness. None is really weak: the soul is infinite, omnipotent and omniscient. Stand up, assert yourself, proclaim the God within you, do not deny him! Wherever there is evil and wherever there is ignorance

and want of knowledge, I have found out by experience all evil comes, as our scriptures say, relying upon differences, and all good comes from faith in equality, in the underlying sameness and oneness of things."

That is how the sage, the purely religious reformer, the noble soul who could not from the very nature of his mission have direct relationship with material problems, tried to teach the lessons of equality to the people. Mahatma Gandhi says he is an intensely practical reformer; he has found not the abstruse ethereal solace of life but the practical solution of national ailments. And what is his remedy? "In your anger against the Brahmins", says the Mahatma to the non-brahmins, "do not be guilty of creating a new class of untouchables." Is this a fair statement of the case? Is anger the real underlying principle of the non-brahmin movement? Does the Mahatma suggest that a movement which has revolutionised the public life of the province, which has tried to teach the low and the humble, the down-trodden and the oppressed, the inestimable lessons of the Vedanta—the essential divinity of the soul, the equality and brotherhood of man—and taught them further the practical application of the philosophy of Bhagawan Sri Krishna—does Mahatma Gandhi really believe that such a movement is based on hatred? And what a travesty of facts is it to suggest that by this movement a new class of untouchables will be created—the "persecuted brahmins." "Being dissatisfied with Hinduism, you are in danger of fast losing life itself", says the Mahatma. We hasten to assure the Mahatma that he need not spend sleepless nights over so calamitous a prospect. It is only an abysmal ignorance of conditions in South India that can give rise to such sentiments and fears.

Through all the centuries, through the changing dynasties, the warring conflicts of races and kingdoms, through the more serious menace of the impact of new ideas and novel

beliefs from the West, the non-brahmins have clung fast to their ancestral faiths. The simple pathetic belief in an immanent God, the single devotion to ancient culture and religion, the true worship of the omnipotent God, is one of the most touching traits of non-brahmins in South India. They have been the real preservers of the faith in God and not the casuistic commentators who discoursed learnedly on Monism and Dualism, on Dwaitism and Advaitism and whose preaching was hopelessly divorced from practice. It is their libations to God, their outpouring *bhakti*, their sincere self-sacrifice that have made the religion of the Hindus what it is to-day.

The Mahatma is going on a tour to the 'Punyabhumi'—the holy south studded with monuments to the glory of the most High, the pagodas and minarets that raise their proud heads in mute worship to the great creator. Let the Mahatma learn something of the history of these institutions, the humble toil that made such constructions possible. Let him learn something of the devotion that built up the great temple-cars of South India. Let him find out who the people were who had endowed the temples with countless acres of lands, with myriads of sparkling jewels and invaluable precious stones. Let him then talk of the 'sacrifice of the brahmins' and 'the danger of the non-brahmins losing itself by dissatisfaction with Hinduism'.

We speak with all the respect that we can command for a world celebrity, but we are afraid that Mahatma Gandhi knows no more of South India than General Hertzog, if he can come to believe that the non-brahmins are in danger of losing faith in Hinduism. What is it that they have ceased to believe in Hinduism? Is it its fundamental verities or those exerescences and accretions which Mahatma Gandhi must admit is killing national life and disgracing the name of Hindu religion? We shall examine the question in our next article. (13-9-27).

III

In our last article we regretted the fact that so well-informed an individual as Mahatma Gandhi should be ignorant of the brahmin—non-brahmin problem in Southern India and of the evils resulting from the growing tension between the two communities. We showed how the same problem struck another great Indian when he visited this Presidency, not in triumphal procession, all his movements dictated by a couple of brahmin enthusiasts and allowed to see only such as are permitted darshan by the Dvarapalakas, but as a humble sanyasin whose progress was unimpeded and who had therefore exceptional means of finding out the truth. More than thirty years back, Swami Vivekananda wrote:

"The super-arrogated excellence of birth of any caste in India is only pure myth, and in no part of India has it, we are sorry to say, found congenial soil owing to linguistic differences, as in the South. We purposely refrain from going into the details of this social tyranny in the South, just as we have stopped ourselves from scrutinising the genesis of the various modern brahmin and other castes. Sufficient for us to note the extreme tension of feeling, that is evident between the brahmins and non-brahmins of the Madras Presidency".

Three decades have only accentuated that tension and made social life more irksome than ever. Education and a growing social consciousness have helped the non-brahmins to realise more poignantly than ever the inequities of the social system. And yet Mahatma Gandhi after his third tour in this province tells us that he "does not know the differences between brahmins and the non-brahmins." The Mahatma in his speech at Cuddalore appears to suggest that it was the fault of the non-brahmins that he was not approached for a solution of the problem and refers to a talk with some non-brahmin friends in

Nandhi Hills which he had sometime back. We must protest against this implication. If the Mahatma feels isolated, and we know he is isolated, it is his own fault. He has placed himself so entirely at the disposal of a few individuals who rule with an iron hand and have their own ideas of what the Mahatma is permitted to do and what not. Is the Mahatma unaware of the fact that in his tour, people find it much harder to gain access to him than to the Czar or the Kaiser in their halcyon days? We have received repeated complaints, which we have not published, from Conjeevaram, Tindivanam and Cuddalore, of the impossibility of approaching the Mahatma. The excuse of his poor health is an unfailing resource for the managers of his tour, to turn out visitors who are considered unwelcome by them. And is not the Mahatma aware that the forerunner of his visit—Mr. Rajagopalachariar—emphasised the fact that the Mahatma would have nothing to do with political or social problems, that the tour was only on Khadi propaganda and that no other subject would be permitted to be discussed? How can any non-brahmin under such circumstances approach the Mahatma? And what wonder if he feels isolated? Has the Mahatma given anyone an indication that he desires to examine the brahmin-non-brahmin problem? He has a very efficient publicity bureau. Has he utilised it to any extent to tell the public that he was anxious to obtain information on the point? We must express our keen disappointment at the attitude of injured innocence which the Mahatma has taken on this question. Apart from the fact that a public leader of his type ought to investigate such vexed questions without a formal application from any quarter, we regret to find that he has chosen to throw the blame on wrong shoulders for his not tackling the problem, which perhaps would have considerably hampered him. If he had desired the slightest assistance, we know that non-brahmin leaders would have helped him to

understand their point of view; but having said that, may we also add that with his assistance or in spite of it, we are determined to solve the difficulties that confront the non-brahmins in our own way.

And the psychology of the Mahatma's mind, as revealed in his speeches, does not appear very helpful for such solution. Speaking at Chidambaram, Mahatma Gandhi is reported to have stated: "In your impatience, you seem to think that there is nothing sound in Varnashrama Dharma. To those who have not taken the trouble to understand what I mean by Varnasharama Dharma, I want to say that it is the universal law stated in so many terms." We regret to note that so keen and analytical a thinker as Mahatma Gandhi should put forward such fallacious reasoning before the public. The non-brahmins realise that at the inception of the idea, there might have been some justification for Varnashrama Dharma, that it may be an economic law carried out with scientific precision in a state of society which divided duties without discouraging any of them. But the question with which they are faced to-day, is not an anthropological examination of the system of Varnashrama, but an investigation of its present working and its bearing on social progress.

Mahatma Gandhi again talks of those who have not understood his peculiar type of Varnashrama Dharma. May we point out in all humility that life is too short to understand the unique and queer meanings, which each individual may attach to words and phrases in ordinary parlance, even when the individual is as great as the Mahatma? It is not Mahatma Gandhi's Varnashrama that the world is concerned with and that the non-brahmins are fighting against, but the Varnashrama Dharma which exists to-day in Southern India and which forces them to accept unnumbered degradations. Says the Mahatma:—

"My Varnashrama Dharma has nothing to do with

superiority or inferiority. Differences in eating, drinking and marrying do not constitute the integral parts of the Varnashrama Dharma. What the non-brahmins should set about doing is not to destroy the foundations on which they are standing. My Varnashrama Dharma enables me to dine with anybody, who will give me clean food. He might be of any caste. My Varnashrama Dharma accommodates a Pariah girl under my own roof. My Varnashrama Dharma accommodates many Panchama families with whom I have dined with great pleasure. My Varnashrama Dharma compels me to bow down before any person, who has a pure heart and bears good character."

We regret to have to state that this is pure quibbling, unworthy of a great thinker. The system which the speaker is adumbrating, which does not recognize caste, makes no distinction in eating, drinking or marrying may be Gandhi-Ashrama Dharma, but it certainly is not Varnashrama Dharma, as millions of people understand it. It is unfortunate that the Mahatma should have given such a futile explanation to his statement that he believes in and admires Varnashrama Dharma. The explanation will be ignored in course of time and interested people will add the weight of the Mahatma to the statement that Varnashrama Dharma is a great and worthy institution.

We wonder what the foundations are which Mahatma Gandhi is referring to, when he warns non-brahmins not to destroy the 'foundations on which they are standing.' May we ask what those foundations are? We had imagined that the non-brahmins formed the foundations on which the highest castes are standing to-day. We trust that before the Mahatma has finished his tour, he will realise what Varnashrama Dharma really means, if he does not know it already. The Varnashramites have got clear ideas on the subject and have

not tried to conceal them. They believe in the eternal perpetuation of the caste system. They believe in the divine superiority and inferiority of castes owing to Karmic conduct. They believe in segregation in matters of eating and drinking. They are horrified at the idea of intermarriage and cry out against the sacrilege. They believe in the seclusion of the Panchamas. And the crux of the problem lies in the fact that they feel that all their beliefs are based on religious injunctions and are not purely matters of social conduct, capable of adjustment from time to time. We want the Mahatma to tell us what he thinks of this 'Varnashrama Dharma' and not to expound his imaginary Varnashrama Dharma. We do not make any apology for again referring to Swami Vivekananda who was confronted with the same problem, which we present to the Mahatma. The Swami says:

"The Soul has neither sex, nor caste, nor imperfection. We believe that nowhere throughout the Vedas, Darsanas, or Puranas, or Tantras, it is ever said that the soul has any sex, creed, or caste. Therefore we agree with those who say, 'what has religion to do with social reforms?' But they must also agree with us when we tell them that religion has no business to formulate social laws and insist on the difference between-beings. Because its aim and end is to obliterate all such fictions and monstrosities. If it be pleaded that through this difference we would reach the final equality and unity, we answer that the same religion has said over and over again, that mud cannot be washed with mud. As if a man can be moral by being immoral! Social laws were created by economic conditions under the sanction of religion. The terrible mistake of religion was to interfere in social matters. But how hypocritically it says 'and thereby contradicts itself, 'Social reform is not the business of religion.' True, what we want is, that religion should not be a social

reformer, but we insist at the same time that religion has no right to become a social law-giver. Hands off! Keep yourself to your own bounds and everything would come right. You must bear in mind that religion has to do only with the soul, and has no business to interfere in social matters—you must also bear in mind that this applies completely to the mischief which has already been done. It is as if a man after forcibly taking possession of another's property cries through the nose when that man tries to regain it—and preaches the doctrine of the sanctity of human right! What business had the priests to interfere, to the misery of millions of human beings, in every social matter?"

Swami Vivekananda's lofty ideas and touching message will find a ready echo in every heart which feels chilled by the cold and unsympathetic words of the Mahatma. "Preach the new doctrine, the new life" says the Swami "preach against nobody, against no custom. Preach neither for nor against caste or any other social evil. Preach to let 'Hands off,' and everything will come right." That is the great message of the Swami which the non-brahmins shall treasure and try to carry out, however imperfectly, in their daily lives, in spite of the opposition of vested interests and awe-inspiring Mahatmas. Let those who are comforted by the Mahatma's admiration for his brahmin friends "who are the repositories of all knowledge and the embodiment of sacrifice" and his praise of 'Varnashrama Dharma' follow the Mahatma's lead. We shall agree to differ. (14-9-27).

CHATER IV THE SERVICES

Put a tongue
In every wound of Caesar that should move
The stones of Rome to rise and mutiny.

W. Shakespeare

THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION

Who would bear the whips and scorns of time
The oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely,
The insolence of office, and the spurns
That patient merit of the unworthy takes ?

W. Shakespeare.

Madras has latterly had more than her fair share of the feast of lectures on constitutional law. It was only a few months back that the Right Honourable Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri delivered his Kamala lectures and gave a dissertation on the constitutions of different countries and on the special needs of India. To-day we are having an 'equally illustrious son of India' discoursing on the Indian constitution and giving valuable hints to the administrators and politicians as to what should be their future course of conduct. We do not propose to examine now the many constitutional fallacies, ill-digested reproductions of parallel institutions and wrong deductions which abound the learned and eloquent 'V. Krishnaswami Iyer lectures' which Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer is delivering under the auspices of the University of Madras. The Liberal leaders in Madras believe that they have a mission to fulfil. They do not care whether Swarajist politics is in the ascendant or non-co-operation holds away. Their idea and real objective is to see that the evils of communalism are put down and it is with this high and noble aim that they emerge from comparative obscurity and thrill the world with their divine and healing message. The occasion which they choose, the platform they adopt is one worthy of their shrewdness if not of their sense of fairness. At ordinary public meetings the Liberals cannot get as good a hearing and in any case there is the

danger of their being contradicted. But delivering a series of lectures under the auspices of an academic body, assures them at once of a hearing uncontradicted and uncontroverted by the vulgar non-academician. What is even more valuable, it lifts the lecturer above the vulgar charge of being partisan or imbued with political motives, places him in the amiable light of a dispassionate student pursuing the scientific investigation of a subject undeflected by the petty motives of the uncultured and adds to the weight and dignity of his statements. That individuals placed in such a unique position, should misuse their opportunity and carry on their nefarious task of trying to aggrandise the position of their community may appear pathetic to the unprejudiced observer but only illustrates the depth to which certain persons in Madras can descend.

That the University of Madras at the instance of some ubiquitous member of the Senate or Syndicate and mesmerised by the titled name or artificial reputation of individuals should permit its name to be polluted by unworthy propaganda carried on under its auspices is also a matter of regret though not of surprise. It is time the University seriously considers the question whether it should allow its name to be utilised in connection with any lectures on Indian constitution and whether there are any individuals amidst us who will not utilise the occasion for party purposes and thus degrade the institution.

We are led to these unpleasant reflections by a perusal of the lectures of Sir Sivaswami Iyer on "Indian Constitution." Sir Sivaswami Iyer, is a firm believer in the preservation of law and order and feels that the administration of that subject should be kept up at its present high level. There are only two methods according to Sir Sivaswami Iyer by which there may be a deterioration of the present standard of administration, either by bad laws or from the unsuitability of the

personnel employed in the administration. The former objection is easily overcome by the consideration that so long as there is a provision that the previous sanction of the Central Government should be obtained before any of these laws can be amended there is no danger of bad laws. It is with the latter possibility, the deterioration of the administration due to the personnel employed in the administration that Sir Sivaswami is most concerned. Let him expound his views in his own inimitable language. "The other factor which may contribute to a deterioration of the standards of administration with regard to law and order is improper selection of the personnel which may be employed in the services connected with the maintenance of law and order. This is not an imaginary danger but a real one against which it is necessary to provide safeguards. Experience of the working of democracy in other countries shows that the vicious system of spoils too often finds a favourable lodgment in democratic countries. The existence and growth of communalism in this country, the demand for communal representation in the public service and the methods which have been resorted to by the champions of communalism for carrying out their views offer a warning and dictate the necessity for the timely adoption of suitable safeguards. If recruitment and control of at least the higher services are regulated by statute and if the recruitment is effected through the machinery of a Public Service Commission, the members of which are appointed by the Governor instead of the Ministry, there is every reason for the expectation that the standards of efficiency and integrity of the service can without difficulty, be maintained at the present level. The responsibility of seeing that the requirements of the statute are observed and of preventing any injury to public interests should be specially laid upon the Governor of the province in the instrument of instructions."

There have been many English critics who have expressed

their genuine fear that law and order should not be transferred, that it is the most difficult to manage and that it ought to be under the control not of Ministers amenable to the will of an elected House but of members of the Reserved half preferably Europeans. The objection from the most experienced of administrators has been that non-official Indians untrained in the ways of preserving peace, may when placed in positions of supreme authority understand too little of the difficulties of of the man on the spot, the dangers likely to arise from not controlling at an early stage an undisciplined mob and may in their careful regard for theoretical principles ignore or underestimate practical difficulties. They felt that men like Sir Sivaswami Iyer were congenitally incapable of exercising authority on grave occasions and constitutionally unfit to shoulder the heavy responsibilities of an administrator who can administer the subject of law and order without fear or favour. We challenge Sir Sivaswami Iyer to produce a single English authority who has suggested that the only danger of deterioration of the administration of law and order lies in the recruitment to the ranks of Sub-Inspectors of Police and Sub-Magistrates or even Deputy Superintendents and District Munsiffs. It has been left to the unique genius of Sir Sivaswami to discover this great danger and to give it to a startled world under the auspices of the University of Madras. One wonders whether to admire the naivete or the daring of the suggestion put forward or the cleverness with which the attack is made against what is termed 'communalism.' We have for some time realised that Brahminism in Madras is straining every nerve to attack the principles for which the non-Brahmin movement stands and to promote monopoly by a single caste. The Australian garland specialist, the Trichinopoly Knight, the Army expert who cannot distinguish between the muzzel and the cock of a gun have all been requisitioned into service and each in his own way is trying to carry out the campaign

It is time that we expose the sham and the hypocrisy of their conduct irrespective of the personalities involved.

We shall in succeeding articles examine the question of the Public Service Commission, trace the history of the reform in England, the reasons which led to it and the evil it was sought to remedy. Meanwhile we should like to remind our readers that the one thing which those who were against transferring the administration of law and order, were afraid of was not the personnel of the subordinate staff but the administrative capacity of the man at the top, the gentleman responsible for the administration of law and order, the Law Member of the Government of Madras. And who that has followed the unhappy history of this province for the last four years can for a moment suggest that they were not in the right. (5-9-27).

II

The anxiety which Sir Sivaswami Iyer has shown to prevent "the system of spoils which finds a favourable lodgment in democracies" must immediately elevate him in the eyes of all 'non-communalists' who are for 'a clean healthy public life.' The gentleman's implied commendation of the bureaucratic system—as a system which is antagonistic to the system of spoils—will naturally make him a persona grata with the bureaucrats. It is the subtlest form of flattery which one can address to the rulers, to suggest that we are at present living in an age of purity and efficiency or rather were living in such an age till the scheme of responsible Government was introduced and that the moment the old order changes yielding place to new, the moment democratic rule is established, the evils of patronage and corruption will creep in. Sir Sivaswami Iyer will be quoted as a fit authority to pronounce such an opinion both on account of his 'long and meritorious public record' and on account of the fact that he has been a member of the Executive Council for

five long years. But we should like to ask Sir Sivaswami whether in his term of office it could be said without fear of contradiction either by himself or by his friends and admirers that there were no cases of jobbery, of nepotism and of the use of the spoils system. Will Sir Sivaswami Iyer tell us that he was never influenced by 'high recommendations' in making any appointments, that he lived like a hermit during the five years unapproached by and unapproachable to the host of friends from Triplicane and Mylapore, Tirukkattupalle and Srirangam who applied for favours at his hands. No doubt so keen an advocate of efficiency as Sir Sivaswami was always influenced by considerations of merit but we ask again whether there were no cases during his official career when the merit of the candidate was sought to be revealed to him through influential friends. Is Sir Sivaswami in a position to state that influence has had no part in the selection of applicants to the several posts that have been made during the last half a century by a soul-less bureaucracy. Does Sir Sivaswami wish us to give instances of jobbery perpetrated under the present system of bureaucratic administration?

He must indeed be a super-man absolutely unconcerned with worldly ways if he states that he is ignorant of the meanderings of official patronage. If Sir Sivaswami wishes to know whether efficiency has been the sole test or whether jobbery has not been practised, we shall only ask him to refer to any 'leading political figure' in this province, to the Right Honourable Mr. V. S. Sastri, to Sir B. N. Sarma, to Dewan Bahadur T. Rangachariar and to a host of other 'distinguished sons' too numerous to mention, for a detailed answer.

We are sick and tired of these hypocrisies, the pharisaic attitude which is assumed by some of the publicists who go about the streets of Madras crying "Lord (Irwin)! We thank thee that we are not communalists; We thank thee

that we are above jobbery and nepotism; We thank thee that we are above the spoils system". Let them purify their own hearts. Let them be in a position to state that they use no influence and in their turn succumb to no influence before they try to preach to others. Let them remove the beam in their own eyes before they try to point at the mote in the eyes of others.

Is Sir Sivaswami who is so staunch an advocate of efficiency and so firm a believer in University tests, satisfied that the examinations of the University are properly conducted? Is he in a position to assure himself that there is not a single University examiner who uses a differential system of valuation for candidates? Does Sir Sivaswami Iyer vouch for the fact that no parent, guardian or friend of any examinee approaches any of the University Examiners to influence him to value favourably his protegee's answer-papers. Will Sir Sivaswami Iyer deny that several of the Law students know exactly who are the Examiners and even who value the answer papers of the candidates? We have written not in any light-hearted fashion but with a full sense of responsibility as we are anxious to expose the hollow pretensions of pharisaic advocates of efficiency.

Sir Sivaswami Iyer talks of a Public Service Commission, desires that its members should be selected by the Governor and not by the Ministry, and suggests that the act regulating their functions should be passed not by the Local Legislature (with its communal outlook) but by the Legislative Assembly. We are willing to grant that all these steps may be taken. What then? Has Sir Sivaswami shut out all jobbery, nepotism and corruption? Can he state that none of the Commissioners will be influenced by any but the highest considerations of efficiency in selecting the candidates. Perhaps Sir Sivaswami is a whole-hogger in the matter of the theory of compe-

titive examinations. Will he suggest that no Commissioner will try to influence one or other of the Examiners who are appointed by the Commission and none of the examiners will be influenced by any member of the Public Service Commission, to 'consider favourably' the case of a particular student?

Sir Sivaswami Iyer may pose as one of those innocents who are abysmally ignorant of the workings of some of the human natures which exist in this country. But we find it impossible to take the same exalted view of things and are oppressed by the realities of the situation and the knowledge of existing surrounding facts. The cat shuts its eyes tight while stealthily lapping the milk and believes the whole world is blind. Let us leave Sir Sivaswami for a moment in the fond delusion that no one realises that the present official patronage is only too full of instances of jobbery and nepotism.

The Advocates of the Public Service Commission and of competitive examinations base their case on what obtains in England and point out triumphantly that what is good for England must equally be good for India. And Englishmen who are naturally pleased at the desire shown to copy the methods of England—for imitation is the sincerest form of flattery—naturally welcome the idea. They have not even the leisure to see the inconsistency of their own position, for in the field of political liberty and democratic form of Government they are never tired of pointing out that what is good for England is absolutely unsuitable for India. But what was the real position in England when the scheme of a Civil Service Commission was introduced and what was the evil which it attempted to put down? Was it merely to put down jobbery? Was it only because efficiency was suffering on account of patronage? A bare study of the literature of the time will convince anyone that such was not the case. Witness after witness appeared before the commission set up to investigate

the question and informed the Commissioners Sir Stafford Northcote and Mr. George Trevelyn that there was no question of lack of efficiency in the existing system. But the point of view that was pressed then was the very point has been emphasised by what are called communal movements, that there ought to be no governing caste, that administration should not be in the hands of a single caste and that there ought to be no monopoly in Public Service. The grievance in England in the sixties of the last century was that all official preferments went to the scions of a few aristocratic families that the large body of middle class men had no avenues of public employment and that it tended to the suppression of the growing democracy. This was the primary evil which it was intended to combat and the system of competitive examinations and Selection of Civil Service Commissioners was only a means by which the governing caste was sought to be abolished and the system of monopoly broken. The objections raised to the idea of such a Commission are equally instructive. They refer to the need for utilising the administrative talents of those who had hereditary aptitude for governance and deprecated the introduction of the bourgeois element in the administration.

The genius of Gladstone carried the reform through and gave equal opportunities to all classes for the service of the State.

We ask the advocates of unlimited competitive examinations and Public Service Commission what they hope or expect to attain by these methods. Can they deny that only some particular castes will find entry into service thereby, that so far from breaking the monopoly it will serve to strengthen it, that on the eve of the introduction of a democratic form of Government the hold of a governing caste will become more firm than ever, that like an octopus it will clutch at all phases of activity and crush and smother them? It must be admitted, and it is in fact not open to controversy, that the

result of these reforms will be the introduction of a few castes from the upper layers of Hindu Society into the Government. Perhaps under a foreign domination with the Englishman holding all power, the danger of a monopoly in the lower ranks of the service was not great. But with a rapid process of Indianisation and with the highest ranks filled with a particular section of the community, there will be the elements making for a diastrous social and political revolt which we cannot contemplate with equanimity. We would ask the Englishman who talks superficially about the theory of efficiency and the monopolist who in his mad craving for power does not stop to foresee the consequences, to consider calmly the implications of the reforms they are so anxious to carry through. (6-9-27).

III

We have shown in our last article the genesis of the agitation in England for a system of competitive examinations and the establishment of a public service commission and explained how the root idea behind the reform was the desire to prevent the growth of a governing caste. The sons of a few aristocratic families who got in through the door of patronage kept the civil service as a close preserve and it is amusing to note the arguments put forward for the perpetuation of that system. The theory of efficiency, of hereditary aptitude, of the blood of generations of civil servants and administrators running in their veins, were the arguments whose pale imitation is the defence put forward by the monopolists to-day. But Gladstone with his liberal instincts, his determination to destroy privilege and to overthrow a ruling caste brought about the reform. The competitive system was not an end in itself but merely a means to an end, the end being the broadbasing of administrative power. But what would be the effect of the introduction of the same reform in this country?

We need not go into the history of education in this country nor assess the blame on any particular community for the educational advancement of some and the backwardness of others. We are rather concerned with the results of such a system. It is obvious that if a scheme like that were introduced at the present stage in this country in the name of efficiency, it will aggravate the present position, consolidate the existing monopolies and deprive large communities of any decent share in the governance of the country. The Moslems would be nowhere under such a system and the Hindus will almost entirely dominate the services. Among the Hindus themselves a few high castes would alone occupy all places of vantage to the exclusion of the rest, thus creating a governing caste and bringing about in an aggravated form the very evil which it was sought to abolish in England. Sir Sivaswami Iyer is naturally charmed at such a possibility and says "our object should be to assimilate the methods of recruitment of the services to the methods in force in England and to eliminate completely the intrusion of any political or Ministerial influence in the making of appointments to the services!" Quite so! How beautifully lofty the idea! We are only assimilating what England has found best for itself. Who can gainsay the wisdom of the suggestion? And that horror of the intrusion of Ministerial influence—how it lifts the individual above the atmosphere of petty intrigue, of jobbery and nepotism, of Tammany Hall methods and all the crooked ways of getting into service.

But in the next few sentences Sir Sivaswami discloses the cloven hoof. Let the reader judge for himself the real idea behind this high political wisdom and sagacity. "I am unable to agree" says the great Sir Sivaswami "with the view of the Lee Commission that the necessary legislation for the regulation of the provincial services should be undertaken by the Local Legislatures. The Public Service Commission has

been rightly included among the all-India subjects and, in the interests of efficiency of administration, it is desirable that the subject should be dealt with by the central legislature rather than by the local legislatures and that the principles laid down should not be capable of alteration by the local Legislatures except with the previous sanction of the Government of India." One is aghast at reading this brilliant piece of logic. Sir Sivaswami raises the whites of his eyes in holy horror at the idea of Ministerial intrusion and is a formidable champion of efficiency.

We shall not stop to consider where he would have been if this test of efficiency had been strictly enforced nor compare Sir Sivaswami Iyer's glorious and forgotten quinquennial regime of Executive Councillorship with the administration of men like Sir George Forbes or Sir John Atkinson. But how does Sir Sivaswami justify his statement that legislation by the Legislative Assembly is more desirable than by the local Council, in the interests of efficiency? Will the members of the Central Legislative be more concerned about so-called efficiency than those of the province? On the other hand if this paragon of efficiency is sincere will he not realise that legislation by the Central Legislature is bound to affect efficiency in the case of some provinces at least? Even Sir Sivaswami cannot be ignorant of the obvious fact that some provinces are more advanced than others and legislation by the Central Legislature, if it is for the sake of uniformity, must drag down the level of the more advanced provinces. Moreover the all-India services are already under a Public Service Commission and the Central Legislature has control over legislation regarding that body. It is the provincial services that are sought to be affected by the local public services commission and it seems to us rather curious that the Central Legislature should be asked to pass legislation regarding a body intended to control the recruit-

ment of these services. Sir Sivaswami Iyer may perhaps plead that there should be a substratum of uniformity with reference to the recruitment of even these services and that that is the reason for his invoking the aid of a legislature which is central. But his anxiety to deprive the provincial Councils of even the right to amend such legislation, so as to make it suitable to local variations, proves clearly the purpose of his suggestion.

Is not Sir Sivaswami Iyer's real object in making these suggestions the fear that the Provincial Councils may impose barriers on unrestricted competition and may suggest measures for the prevention of a monopoly in the services? Does he not believe that members of his community will have unlimited and unrestricted scope if the Commission is constituted by the Governor and the rules to be adopted by it in recruitment are laid down by the Central Legislature? In the Local Council the Bill relating to the constitution of such a Commission will have to be discussed by the entire Cabinet of which three of the members in the major provinces are ministers. Popular opinion will be brought to bear in the inner Councils of the Government and a much more satisfactory measure evolved from the popular point of view by a Local Council than by the Imperial Legislature. If the Central Legislatures are asked to pass this Legislation it is obvious that the shaping of the Bill will be in the hands of irresponsible members of the Executive. In the second place though the lower House has a non-official majority, the Council of Elders is so composed that Government can always command a majority. The need for every legislation being carried through both Houses assures the Government that the Bill as it is anxious to be passed, will not be materially effected. Sir Sivaswami's suggestion therefore amounts to a belief in the bureaucrat's good intentions in preference to popular will. Is Sir Sivaswami prepared to say openly

that he is a greater believer in the bureaucratic system of Government than in democracy? And all this forswearing of democratic ideals is after all for the mean, ignoble and base idea of promoting the chances of his own clansmen and kinsmen in the public services! Can fraud go further?

We are sick of this low mentality, this unabashed communalism which is the curse of our country. We are often asked why we should be keen on breaking monopolies in the public services. The simple answer is that till we attain a complete form of democratic Government the Civil Services will have a powerful influence in shaping the politics of the land. If we were complete masters in our land, it would not matter who the public servant is. But till then the services have a dominating influence on the life of the nation and a monopoly in the services will be a crime and high treason against nationalism and the progress of the country. The position of England with its democratic House of Commons was different though even there such a fear has often been expressed. Gladstone in one of his speeches in Parliament referred to this fear and showed that under the peculiar circumstances of England, it was groundless. "In England" said Gladstone "we need not be afraid to make the Civil Service too powerful. In France and Germany they fear this; for in countries where you have not got free institutions in full vigour and unfettered action, it may be a question whether it is desirable to concentrate all administration and political power in a single class; but if I am told that in such a country as ours there is a danger of making the Civil Service too strong for the safety of the State, my answer is that the Commons of England are strong enough to prevent the growth of any power that may be prejudicial to the safety and liberties of the people." Can this state of things be predicated of India? Are the Central Legislatures or the Provincial Councils so strong? Let Sir Sivaswami answer.

The Mylapore knight is anxious that the Governor should nominate the members of the Commission and that Ministers should have no hand in the matter. May one ask why? Sir Sivaswami wants the example of England to be followed. By whom are the Civil Service Commissioners appointed in England? By His Majesty the King? Or by His Majesty-in-Council, that is, by the King acting with his advisers? And does not this mean merely by the Ministers for the time being? Why is this characteristic of the English system attempted to be changed? Is it that men like Sir Sivaswami can command backstair influence at Government House? We are disgusted with the methods adopted by this great patriot for carrying out his pet ideas? We would have certainly admired him if he had simply stated "I believe brahmins alone have brains. They are the fittest people to be public servants. Please appoint them instead of recognising the claims of others who, I believe, are not so well qualified." That is what Mr. Narasimbachari said and though one may not agree with him, one cannot quarrel with such frankness and honesty. But the serpentine meanderings of an ignoble mind which tries to achieve its purpose by infinite camouflage is disgusting. It is only a moral coward that can build up such elaborate arguments for a petty purpose, as Sir Sivaswami has done. We congratulate the University authorities on the brilliant choice of the lecturer. (10-9-27)

INDIANISATION OF SERVICES

Give us men ! Men from every rank,
 Fresh and free and frank—
 Men of thought and reading,
 Men of light and leading,
 Men of loyal breeding—
 The Nation's welfare speeding—
 Men of faith and not of fiction,
 Men of lofty aim in action ;
 Give us Men ; I say again,
 Give us Men !

Bishop of Exeter.

The question of the Indianisation of services has passed beyond the realms of controversial politics and none except those who wish to find pretexts for party warfare and personal squabbles could accuse any responsible political section in the country of a desire to condemn such Indianisation. But this agreement on the principle of Indianisation is not inconsistent with a desire to see that there are no monopolies established in the name of Indianisation, that selfish and narrow cliques do not exploit the patriotism of the many for the aggrandisement of the few. The Moslem protests against the domination of the Hindu, the non-brahmin against the monopoly of the brahmin in spite of the fact that the principle of Indianisation is accepted by both. Nay, on the contrary, it is exactly because of that principle that constantly we hear these complaints against any particular community getting disproportionate representation in the services. What is the underlying basis of the agitation for Indianisation ? Is it not obviously because, the public prefer that opportunities of service should be enjoyed by the people of the country and that power should be exercised and responsibility shouldered by the sons of the soil ? Is not the theory of efficiency trotted out by those who plead for the retention of the European element and

is it not curtly dismissed by those who plead for Indianisation.

It is an extension of this principle that makes Moslems, Christians and Non-brahmins agitate for representation of their communities in the services of the country. It passes one's understanding to discover why the first cry is characterised as national and patriotic and the second as communal and treacherous. Hard words break no bones and the hypocrisy involved in such bitter criticism is all too obvious. We note that the Raja of Panagal is the target of attack in the 'nationalist press' for what he is reported to have stated in connection with the judicial services. He is described as a reactionary, as one who sells his country's rights to the Europeans for a mess of pottage, as a narrow communalist and a poor patriot. The record of the Raja's work as Chief Minister, especially in the matter of Indianisation, which his worst opponents must admire, is the best repudiation of such charges. The Nationalists now in office or those who may hereafter step into their shoes cannot hope to do a tithe of what he has done, if placed in the same circumstances. Instead of trying to understand why a leader of his type, one who is an ardent advocate of Indianisation should have made such statements, the vulgar critics whose nationalism is skin-deep, whose patriotism does not extend beyond their community are performing a war dance in the belief that by their criticism they have scored a point against the Justice Party. The Rajasahib in his speech did not speak against Indianisation but protested most emphatically against brahmanisation especially in the judicial services. We ask our readers to honestly state whether he erred on the side of exaggeration. What is the state of the subordinate judiciary to day ? During the last 9 months nearly a dozen District Judges have been appointed to act in places which were usually occupied by Europeans and all with one magnificent exception have been brahmins. The same sad

story is repeated in the case of subordinate judges and even in the case of District Munsiffs where things have not improved as fast as one has a right to expect. On the top of this staff is a Law Member belonging to the same community. The whole organisation is vigorously backed up by a bar which is predominantly composed of the same element and which receives constant inspiration from the visits of the Law Member. What, we ask, is the effect of this system on the public life of the country.

A great jurist of England is reported to have said that it is not enough if justice is administered; it is far more important to make the clients feel that whatever be the result, they had a just and a fair hearing. We ask whether the litigant public have this feeling to-day. Even with reference to ordinary litigation where no political or other sensational issues are involved, it is a matter of universal knowledge that clients are anxious to engage particular practitioners. And when one considers the positions of the litigant in cases where there is the slightest political tinge, it is simply deplorable. In how many election cases, concerning local boards, municipalities, union boards, and other such bodies, does not the client feel that the fact that he belongs to a particular party, is a great handicap? Does the litigant public feel that justice is assured? Is there no hesitation? Is it all one serene waiting at the hands of the dispensers of all law and all justice? We do not wish to suggest that the scales are not held fairly and that justice is not dispensed with. Our purpose is to point to the state of feeling of the client rather than of the judge. Sir Sankaran Nair nearly twenty years back wrote to the *Contemporary Review* that in cases which involve racial considerations—where a European is pitted against an Indian—an English Judge cannot be expected to do justice. Indian opinion applauded the sentiment and expressed its emphatic approval of the idea. Is human nature different because it is concealed

in a brown and not a white bosom? Where the question is between a brahmin and a non-brahmin, especially if it is a political issue that is involved, is it beyond all reasonable doubt that justice can always be had? When political passions run high, when practically the entire non-official portion of a community is arrayed against a political party is the litigant a mad man who imagines that he may not obtain justice at the hands of one whose community is his political adversary? Was it more than this that the Rajah of Panagal suggested in his speech? What is the remedy for this woeful state of affairs?

The British administration, is supposed to be broadbased on the justice it deals out. It is high time that a solution is found for this very pressing problem. It will be a crime to allow the domination of one community in the name of Indianisation. Maukish sentimentalists, gullible ignoramuses may permit it; but those who can see far into the future must take a firm stand. We want Indianisation as quickly and as completely as it can be carried out, but let it be real Indianisation. The present constitution of the judiciary is a danger alike to the peace and the contentment of the country. We are glad that so responsible a statesman as the Raja of Panagal has courageously come forward to point out the danger. (26-3-27).

WHITHER? OH! WHITHER?

There was a Door to which I found no Key:
There was a Veil part which I could not see:

Omar Kayyam

The trend of political events in this presidency during the last few weeks, has not been reassuring, to those who believe in orderly and constitutional progress, in the peaceful expansion of civic rights, of individual liberties and in the gradual

amelioration of the conditions of those classes who are backward and depressed. Opinion is gaining ground, amongst the classes who have hitherto been known for sobriety of views and soundness of judgment, that the prospect has somehow changed and the angle of vision completely altered. The showy and unsubstantial elements in politics are gaining ground and inexplicable as it may appear, are receiving every encouragement from those who may be normally expected to discountenance their efforts.

We are led to these reflections by the numerous letters that we have received from all over the presidency, of a policy of vendetta being pursued against all that the Non-brahmin Party has stood for, during the last decade. In the guise of discouraging what is termed 'communalism' the powers that be, are to a certain extent leaguering themselves with the most intolerant elements and whether it is intentional or otherwise, are slowly crushing the generous impulses of those who have stood through good report and through evil, for stable Government and a reasonable pace of advance. We are constantly told that the non-brahmin Party stands purely for 'communalism,' that it ignores the interests of efficiency and that its continued existence is a menace to the country's progress. Directly and indirectly, by comparison and contrast, by suggestion and by innuendo, at post-prandial speeches and at serious addresses, by witty and humorous statements and by severe reflections, the impression is sought to be created, that in that happy dispensation that has now dawned on the province, there is no room for the 'communal party' which is called the 'Justice Party'.

It is best for us to know how we stand and what are the forces that are arrayed against us. We owe no apology in recalling the part that the movement has played in the past, in toning the political life of the presidency. Ten years back in the

throes of a great world war, our movement was born. Its first task was to check the tearing raging agitation of the Home Rule League, to stem the progress of its virulent propaganda, to show to the masses the way of real progress. Political memories are notoriously short and those who carried on a campaign of hatred against the British, a crusade of lies against the Government of the country, who talked of the iniquity of supporting the English in their war against the Germans, who discovered new ethnological origins and ties of relationship between the Germans and the Shermans. (Sarmas) are to-day the trusted lieutenants of the bureaucracy. Later still when the non-co-operation movement was at its height, when the triple boycott was preached, when the Reforms Scheme was rejected by flighty politicians, the still silent voice of the Justice Party continued to be heard throughout the length and breadth of the land. If to-day, the ban on the Councils has been removed and Ministries have been formed in every province, if there is talk of co-operation and a desire to appreciate the British point of view, we can claim, not unduly, that that change has been brought about by the persistent and indomitable efforts of the non-brahmins. We have done our share of the work, with no thought of further reward than the elevation of the condition of the masses. But, it is at the same time, one of the minor tragedies of the situation, that people in authority should allow themselves to be used, to stifle, what so far has been the only constitutional party in the country.

We are told that 'communalism' should be rooted out. It has become the fashion to-day to proclaim this dictum from the housetops and yet one wonders whether those who speak so lightly understand, wherein lies the communal spirit and who is perpetuating it. The Non-brahmin movement is the most emphatic protest against 'communalism,' against the monopolistic spirit. The social implications of the movement

have not been understood and the cry of more opportunities of service through Government agency, has been misinterpreted by our opponents. There is a constant action and reaction between political institutions and social estimates. To confine the control of Government to one class is to appreciate that class at the expense of others, and to encourage its members to abuse their less fortunate brethren, whenever they are brought into contact with them. So long as the big business of politics is reserved for them, so long are they compelled to believe that the monopoly is the reward of their superior worth. Their ego is exalted, even as that of the excluded ones is depressed. Private insolence is the inevitable consequence of public privilege. Government by landlords means interference with the political opinions of tenants. Government by Hindus or brahmins means the exclusion of Mahomedans and non-brahmins from offices of dignity and profit. Government by masters means, bad conditions of labour and fettered powers of combination among workmen. Government by men means the exclusion of women. It is this basic fact that is the foundation of the Non-brahmin Movement and yet it is so often misunderstood that one feels tired of the perpetual chatter against jobs and loaves and fishes of office.

The Government of the country appear to be moving at a fast rate indeed towards a goal which they have not fully sensed the danger of. In their desire to be free from the charge of encouraging 'communalism', in their anxiety to escape criticism from the most vocal section of the public, through the press and platform, they are fast losing the confidence of the general bulk of the people and perpetuating that very 'communalism' and monopoly which they have undertaken to put down.

The latest report of the rumoured appointment of a South Indian Monopolist to a seat in the Executive Council of the Government of India gives point to our remarks. If there

is any foundation for the rumour, it is the grossest insult to the masses of this presidency. It would be invidious to mention names but our readers could easily recall a dozen names which are more worthy of being considered for the post than that of the retired Deputy President of the Assembly. How long can this studied insult continue?

The tension is increasing at an enormous rate between the two communities in this presidency and people are fast slipping out of that condition where they firmly believed in the good intentions of the authorities. We, who are in touch with the prevalent opinion of the day, feel it our duty to sound a note of warning to the authorities, that exasperated feelings cannot always be restrained or checked. The control that the leaders have so far exercised, against any attempt on the part of the following, to fly off at a tangent, has been admirable but there are limitations to such dictatorial control. Once the rank and file get into a fit of despair, the consequences are beyond the grasp of any leader. The Non-brahmin Movement stands to-day at the parting of ways. Statesmanship and sagacity may put it on the right track and the country may progress on oiled wheels. A blind partisanship, or a desire to purchase an easy time by indulgences to the truculent, may put it on a path, whose end none can see clearly. History tells us that Caesar took a long time to consider whether the Rubicon should be crossed, but the actual crossing was a matter of a few hours. So it is in the life of a nation or a great party. If the Government believes that it can get on with a conscript service recruited from a single community, if the so-called theory of efficiency is exaggerated at the expense of freedom, and the right of every intelligent man to interest himself in the affairs of his own country is denied, then such a Government loses all moral justification. The Non-brahmin Movement believes in every member of the society rising to the full stature of his manhood,

in demolishing all monopolies which militate against this ideal and in allowing individual citizens to determine their own future, instead of being drilled and regimented into ways and habits by an authority which in its heart despises them. It looks on men and women as ends in themselves and would have them stand upright on their feet. Shall it be helped in carrying out this object? The salvation of the community is after all in its own hands but with the present attitude of the authorities, one wonders how those ideals will ultimately be reached, what direction progress will take, which way the rank and file will march and where they are bound. Whither? Oh! Whither? (10-12-27).

STILL THEY COME

But welcome fortitude, and patient cheer,
And frequent sights of what is to be borne!
Such sights, or worse, as are before me here,—
Not without hope we suffer and we mourn.

W. Wordsworth.

News reaches us that the Right Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri will be nominated a member of the Legislative Assembly by a grateful Government, which finds itself impotent to carry on its administration, without the helpful criticism of the Gokhale of South India. We are also informed that another gentleman from South India, Dewan Bahadur T. Rangachariar, has been selected by the Government, to represent it as a delegate in Australia, at the ceremony to inaugurate a new capital for that dominion. We have no reason to doubt the authenticity of the news, but we did not expect that there will be available, so promptly, a proof of the changed angle of vision in the bureaucracy. A certain section of the press will hail the news with joy and congratu-

ate the Government on its singular wisdom and the authorities will feel a sense of smug satisfaction and comfort at the chorus of praise that they have received. But the really thoughtful and far-seeing, will note with surprise and sorrow, the course of the "Rakes progress" down the steep precipice. What possible justification could there be for nominating a member of a community which is already so well represented in the Assembly? Of the fourteen possible hindu members of the Assembly from this province, twelve belong to the monopolist class and the perversity of a Government seeking a thirteenth recruit to the same coterie, passes all comprehension. We know that we are laying ourselves open to the charge of 'communalism' by venturing to criticise, the nomination. We shall be reminded of the services of the eminent gentleman, of his amiable excursion 'round the world in eighty days' of his stupendous sacrifices, of his epoch-making contributions to the League of Nations and the Imperial Conference. We shall be told that the Assembly gains in honor and dignity by the presence of so illustrious an individual and that the gentleman will be conferring a favour rather than receiving one, in accepting the honor. We shall be told that in the critical times that are ahead, when the future progress of the country is to be determined, the wisdom and sagacity of the gentleman is indispensable. We feel quite unconvinced at this withering and staggering array of reasons. We ask ourselves one single question, whether the electorate may not have chosen him if he was a paragon of all these virtues. Why did not Mr. Sastri seek the suffrage of the people and why was it not left to them to appreciate the greatness of the gentleman? Somehow he has fought shy of a democratic constituency and a suppliant Government is only too anxious to make good the defects of an uneducated electorate!

The choice of Mr. Rangachariar as the ambassador of this

country, is equally ludicrous and none but an impervious Government could commit such an egregious folly. Mr. Rangachariar has got on, no one knows how, in the political life of this country. His trip to London on behalf of the Kenya Indians was a colossal failure and yet a conscientious Government is anxious to come to the assistance of its favourite friends and do all it can to prop them on artificial pedestals.

How long can this jobbery be perpetrated? Earth is weary of the sickening way in which prize-boys are found for the Empire and thrust into positions which they are unfit to occupy. The authorities are not merely content to turn a deaf ear to all representation for a balance of power, but have of late, taken to the delectable task, of lecturing to the protestants, on their duty to ignore communal considerations and serve the motherland free from all such bias. It was only the other day that His Excellency Lord Irwin told a Mahomedan audience, that his Government would break all monopolies. What we ask is His Excellency's idea of a monopoly. Does the Viceroy think that adding a thirteenth brahmin gentleman from South India to the twelve eminent worthies of the same community already entrenched at New Delhi is one of the methods by which a monopoly is broken? We must confess to considerable perplexity and bewilderment. And is His Excellency unaware of the 'galaxy of stars' that have gone abroad as 'ambassadors of the land' at public expense? The Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri on more than one occasion, Sir Sivaswami Iyer, Sir T. Vijayaraghavachariar, Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer and Mr. T. Rangachariar, have all been compelled by a Military Government, to leave hearth and home, forcibly wrenched from the sweet consolations of family life, and marched off at the point of the sword to distant lands. The Government of India is perhaps unaware of the punishments attached to the sin which the monopolist commits when he crosses the ocean, and the greater sin which an abetter of the crime is guilty of.

The day of retribution for this vandalistic act of the Government may not be far off.

Meanwhile, what shall we tell our readers who have been ridiculing us for our continued faith in the good intentions of the authorities, in their innate sense of justice and fairplay, in their desire to give equal opportunities to all? We have told them that, if the authorities err, it is in ignorance and we repeatedly pointed out the necessity to 'educate our masters.' That education has been going on and we can no more delude ourselves with the belief that the Government are unaware of the strength of feeling in the country. We have no answer to offer to our critics, except the hope that we may so work our salvation that such transparent wrongs may not be again perpetrated. How that goal will be reached, is more than we can point out to-day, when we are overwhelmed with the wrong itself.

O That a man might know,
The end of this day's business ere it come,
But it sufficeth that the day will end
And then the end be known.

(2-2-27)

AN AMURATH TO AN AMURATH SUCCEEDS

Men may come and men may go,
But I go on for ever.

Tennyson.

The news comes with refreshing candour from Ootacamund, just at a time when there is so much discussion over the 'no-confidence' resolution passed at Coimbatore, that an Amurath has succeeded an Amurath, that Mr. T. Raghaviah, has given his place to Mr. Pappu Seetharamiah, Collector of Cudappah, and that peace and tranquillity reigns in the land, and 'nationalism' has once more triumphed. We shall not

discuss, at present, the propriety of continuing the farce of the Malabar Tenancy Committee, which has been condemned so thoroughly by the people most concerned—the tenants of Malabar—and whose work in the face of the tenants' boycott is bound to resemble more that of the lotus-eaters than the work of any responsible body of men anxious to get at the real issues of the case. If the Law Member is determined to give a holiday to some of the officials at public expense, and if 'the chief of my Government' should have approved of the act of the Law Member—a remote possibility indeed in these days, when we are told that the Governor is a constitutional head of the province with self-imposed restrictions—who are we to criticise the high magnanimity which inspired the considerate order, or envy those who are able to earn a pleasant holiday specially in the land of palms?

But the Law Member is always thorough in his ways, and in addition to providing a temporary sinecure to the present Law Secretary, he has been able to appoint another monopolist to the place of a Secretary in 'My Government.' The Law Secretariat has been under the control of a monopolist since the Reforms Administration, and it has been a happy coincidence that the Law Membership of the Government has also been held during the last seven years by a monopolist. It needs hardly any imagination to visualise how the administration of the Judicial Department will be carried on under such happy and harmonious auspices. His Excellency Lord Goschen whose 'self-imposed restrictions' are the admiration of the monopolists will be congratulated the wisdom of his choice, and the blessings of the 'nationalists' will be poured on the devoted head of His Excellency. We shall be told that the highest constitutional practice and the noblest traditions have been observed by the Governor, that merit and efficiency have triumphed, and that once more a determined effort has been made to put down 'communalism.'

What does it matter if Mr. Pappu Seetharamiah hardly knows where the Fort St. George is? Who is concerned with so paltry a consideration as the question of what Secretariat experience the gentleman has? Why should Lord Goschen trouble himself with the utterly irrelevant issue that Mr. Seetharamiah had no experience of Secretariat work during the past thirty-two years of his career either as an Assistant Secretary, Under-Secretary or Deputy Secretary and that the only period he was in any way connected with the Government Secretariat was for a period of three months in 1919, when he was attached to the Local and Municipal Secretariat? These are considerations suggested by 'rabid communalists' which the 'Nationalistic Governor' cannot entertain even if he is permitted to by his masterful colleague, the Law Member. And has not 'My Government of which Lord Goschen is the chief' established precedents in this matter? Was not a Judicial Officer—Mr. C. V. Krishnaswami Iyer—taken straight from the judiciary and without being tried for a single day in Secretariat work, confirmed as a permanent Under-Secretary of the Law Department? That these gentlemen belong to the celestial community is sufficient guarantee of their capacity and efficiency.

The chain of arrangements consequent on the happy transposition of one monopolist in the place of another is not complete. The Collectorship of Cuddappah had to be filled up and 'My Government of which Viscount Goschen is the chief' took due note of the wishes of the people of the district in making the appointment. Cuddappah had 'voted solidly against communalism' and for 'nationalism' by returning two Swarajists in the last elections to the Legislative Council, and a constitutional Governor was very much exercised in his mind as to how the popular will, so clearly expressed, might be satisfied. It was felt not sufficient that an ordinary monopolist should be appointed to the place, and therefore

'My Government of which Viscount Goschen is the chief' searched long and patiently, and pitched upon one, who in his famous speech at Cuddalore—which was the subject of an adjournment motion in the Legislative Council—anticipated the wise remarks of Lord Goschen, and declaimed against communalism and communal electorates. Mr. P. T. Srinivasachari, the erstwhile Collector of Land Acquisition in connection with the Metur Project, is the happy choice for the post of Collector of the Cuddapah District. It is surely no concern of the Governor of the Province, who observes faithfully those 'self-imposed' restrictions, that every Indian Collector from the provincial services is to-day a monopolist. There is not a single Muhummadan who is in-charge of a district to-day, though for thirty years continuously before the happy advent of His Excellency Lord Goschen as Governor, communalism thrived and at least one Indian Collector was a Moslem. There is not a single Indian Christian Collector to-day, nor a Non-brahmin Hindu nor an Anglo-Indian. His Excellency has seen to it that the Government of the province is purged of all such considerations, and that only the monopolists are appointed to such, dignified and responsible positions.

His Majesty the King-Emperor, on the eve of appointing Lord Goschen as Governor, issued 'personal instructions wherein His Majesty stated "you shall do all that lies in your power to promote all measures . . . to fill all classes of the population without distinction to take their due share in the public life and Government of the country". Obviously the phrase "without distinction" is ringing in His Excellency's ears and the Governor does not desire to make any distinction between Brahmins, Non-brahmin Hindus, Moslems and Christians, but desires to give all appointments to Brahmins.

The position is becoming fast intolerable and is developing into a first rate scandal. If a complaint is lodged against

this monopoly, against subjecting a whole province and all classes of His Majesty's subjects to the domination of a single caste, those who protest are told that they are job-hunters and that the displeasure of the Governor will be visited on them. But we might say in return that the terrors of gubernatorial powers are fast disappearing, if they are not already extinct, that people are counting the days when they will emerge from that eclipse, which has come over the fair name of the province, when once more the commands of His Majesty will be obeyed loyally, and when the great watchword of King George 'Sympathy' will be the watchword of his august representative here. That day is not far off in any case, and may be much nearer than it is generally supposed. Meanwhile let 'us stretch a hand through time and catch the far-off interest of tears.' (19-7-27).

SCANDALUM MAGNATUM

The good old rule

. The simple plan,
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can.

W. Wordsworth.

The replies to some of the questions relating to the representation of the different communities in the public services of the province throw a flood of light on the real position of these communities in the administration of the Government and amply prove how false is the cry raised in interested quarters that the brahmin has no place in such services to-day. We are aware of the unholy agitation that is being engineered by a set of unscrupulous politicians, who for the ignoble purpose of further strengthening the advantageous position of their small community, are carrying on a crusade against those whom they term 'communalists.' An untruth often

repeated may occasionally savour of truth and it is on this principle that these advocates are carrying on their campaign. But even they and certainly any honest man however much he may be anti-non-brahmin, must be confounded by the answers that a reluctant Government has been compelled to give. They form so damaging an admission of the impotence of the Government to check the vagaries of their subordinate officers. They reveal such a shocking state of jobbery and nepotism and of the worst Tammany Hall methods. They so eloquently express the patent truth that back-stair influences have been so predominant. They so regale to us the smell of the incense of the budoir that the Government members who had to give these answers must have felt most uncomfortable in discharging their task.

Let us first place before our readers the aggregate position of the communities in the services. Our readers will remember our drawing attention to the legerdemain of the writer of the administration report of 1925-26 by which it was made impossible for any 'communist' to compare the position of the communities in the previous year with that in the year under report, in spite of the fact that tables specifically meant for the purpose were given in the report. We are indebted to Mr. Munuswami Naidu for the explanation which he has wrung out of the Government, an explanation however which explains nothing. The Government have not chosen to answer the question raised by Mr. Naidu as to "how this divergence arose and who was responsible for so preparing the figures as to make it impossible to achieve the main idea intended by that analysis, the idea of comparing the strength of the different communities in the services year by year". The Government however, now state, that even the figures of the previous year are not accurate, and they have now chosen to give the 'cor-

rect figures for the permanent and temporary and officiating staff' for the two years.

Sir Sivaswami Iyer and a host of other nationalists whose hearts bleed for the 'depressed brahmin community' and who have taken on themselves the task of doing tapas to save 'the efficiency of the administration' may ponder over these figures. We trust that their lacerated hearts would find balm from a perusal of the number of brahmins in the services. In the gazetted services the number of monopolists on 1st April 1925 were 723 and on 1st April 1926, 725 showing an increase of two officers. The non-brahmins show an increase of twenty two officers, the Mahomedans maintain a stationary figure, the Indian Christians show one more of that rank and others show an increase of five. It is obvious that the brahmin has not suffered and the explanation for an increase in the number of non-brahmins is perhaps the fact that a certain number who by seniority were ripe for promotion to gazetted rank obtained it. Do these figures indicate that the monopolist is being persecuted, that efficiency has suffered or that the brahmin is a depressed individual to-day?

But perhaps the next category of officers is even more important for it is here that there is large scope for jobbery and nepotism and a free field for recruiting whomsoever a superior officer likes. It is here that a short-hand writer who attaches himself to a camping officer may find sudden promotions and large increments to his salary. On the 1st April, 1925, there were 4290 monopolists on a salary of rupees 100 and over. On the 1st April 1926 the number rose to 4359 an increase not less than the increase in the number of posts obtained by all other communities. And yet the Sivaswamis rave and rant about injustice to the monopolists. In offices carrying a salary of less than Rs. 100 there were 13210 monopolists in 1925 and 13126 monopolists in 1926. It is here for the first time that there has been a decrease. And what a decrease! There are

84 less clerks in that grade in 1926 than in 1925. Can there be a worse catastrophe overtaking the British Raj? How can efficiency be sustained at this alarming rate of decrease of the really capable men? In 157 years, if this rate is kept up there will not be a single monopolist in that service and then the generation of that age will remember how the great Sir Sivaswami raised his humble voice against deterioration in the efficiency of the administration.

But even more interesting than these answers are those given to a series of questions of Mr. Kuppuswami Chowdary who has exposed the vagaries of the judicial department and has done yeoman service to the cause of moral rectitude by his searching questions. 'There are 81 clerks' says the Government in reply to Mr. Chowdary's question in the grade of Rs. 35—60 in the judicial department of whom 9 are non-brahmins and one is a Muhamedan, the remaining 70 being monopolist.' Let us satisfy the quaking heart of Sir Sivaswami by giving some statistics of the ministerial officers in the Judicial Department in Guntur. There is only one appointment on Rs. 180 and it has been the preserve of a monopolist since 1925. There are three appointments on 125-50 of which two are held by efficient monopolists. There are three appointments on Rs. 80—120 and all of them are in the sacred keeping of the same caste. There are 17 appointments on 60-80 of which only 15 are held by Sir Sivaswami's chosen race, one is held by a non-brahmin and one is fortunately so far vacant. Now that Sir Sivaswami has thundered forth on inefficiency, we are fairly certain that it will be occupied by another monopolist. Let Sir Sivaswami note what the 'Communal Government' which has allowed efficiency to suffer by permitting communal considerations to prevail, did in the Guntur District in the Judicial Department. Six vacancies occurred in the grade of Rs. 60-4-80 from 1925 to the end of April 1927. This 'Communal Government'

through its agents in Guntur filled up all these six vacancies with monopolists, of course in the interests of efficiency and purely from considerations of merit. Let the Government state to the edification of Sir Sivaswami who these efficient sons of the chosen, are. "The Government understand that of the six clerks promoted one was debarred from promotion in 1912 and two others were suspended in 1916 and 1919 respectively. These three clerks are reported to have been promoted to their present posts on the recommendation of the officers concerned, their subsequent work having been found satisfactory". May we know who these officers concerned are and what caste they belong to? What a state of affairs is revealed by this significant answer of the Government!

The tyranny of some of the monopolist officials is becoming unbearable. We have received repeated complaints that good and efficient non-brahmins are often condemned and that the worst brahmin clerks are as frequently condoned. We did not expect to receive such ample and complete confirmation of this state of affairs from the Government itself. But let us proceed with this romance. The only non-brahmin clerk in the grade of 60-4-80 recently retired from service and his place, quite naturally, was taken by a monopolist, again in the interests of efficiency. Let Sir Sivaswami know something of the history of this clerk, a paragon of efficiency according to Mylapore standards. The Government admit that 'this brahmin clerk was previously suspended for tampering with office records and that his suspension was approved by the High Court.' There is no question of condonation even, in this case. And yet the Government instead of explaining this atrocious case, fall foul of a non-brahmin who had the temerity to apply for the post in spite of an undertaking given by him that he will accept a certain junior rank in the service. Is it any wonder that as a

fitting finale and climax to this state of affairs, Government state that they do not consider that the orders regarding communal representation have been disregarded? We seriously suggest to the Government that under the destruction of old records rules, they should burn the 'hateful communal G. O.' Government will at least have an opportunity of showing itself in better colours and need not have the painful duty of justifying the unjustifiable. We confess our patience is utterly exhausted.

The Judicial Service is the pivotal service of the province. All public life, all social progress depends upon the fairness and integrity of that service and on the confidence which the public have in such fairness and integrity. We have shown how the Ministerial services are manned in that Department. The reply to the question of Mr. J. A. Davis, who will hereafter be styled a 'communalist,' discloses the same dismal tale with reference to Judicial officers. On the 18th July, 1927, there were twenty-nine brahmin Subordinate Judges, five non-brahmins and two Anglo-Indians. On the same date there were 142 monopolists as Munsiffs as against 56 non-brahmin Hindus, eight Mahomedans, five Indian Christians and one Anglo-Indian. While such a scandalous state of affairs existed, the High Court selected for the post of District Munsiffs twelve monopolists, nine non-brahmin Hindus, two Mahomedans, one Indian Christian, and one Anglo-Indian. The pretence that there were not qualified candidates is idle and will be laughed out of court. There were four Anglo-Indians who applied for the post. The whole judiciary contains only three Anglo-Indians. Why were not all these four chosen? The selections made this year are even worse, an absolute majority of the candidates being monopolists.

It is time that this power of appointment of District Munsiffs is taken out of the hands of the High Court and vested in the Government. There may then be some chance

of rectifying this scandal and in any case one can have an opportunity of giving expression to one's feelings more freely and effectively. The public are getting desperate. This system of recruitment and this creation of monopoly is the surest way of undermining the prestige of the Government. We warn them that they are standing on the brink of a precipice. Let them not make the millions of non-brahmin Hindus, the fiery Moslems and the extremely docile Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians realise that there is no hope in constitutional agitation. That way lies danger. (18-10-27).

THE INSOLENT OF OFFICE

Rise like Lions after slumber
In unvanquishable number—
Shake your chains to earth like dew—
Which in sleep had fallen on you—
Ye are many—they are few.

Shelley.

The latest appointment to the Judicial ranks of the Presidency is the most convincing proof that the authorities have definitely thrown to the winds all considerations of justice and fair play and are bent on a mad career of communalism. Protests, vehement and sincere, have had no effect either on the Governor of the Province or on the Law Member. The rankest jobbery is being perpetrated specially in a department which ought to command the respect and the confidence of the country. During the last Budget debate some of the members of the Legislative Council spoke of the judiciary being packed by the members of a particular community, of the feeling of insecurity created among the litigant public, of the many abuses that such an overwhelming preponderance by a single community would lead to and of the incalculable political evils that would result therefrom. These candid state-

ments made on the floor of the House with all the responsibility that representatives of public opinion can command, ought to have made the authorities pause and reconsider their position. But it is apparent that it has had the opposite effect and that the divinities that shape the ends of public officials are determined to proceed recklessly despite all criticism and all advice. The Judicial Service is the pivotal service of the province. It shapes public opinion. It is the one service which is least under restraint. It creates a bar. It plays a most important part, at least as it is at present constituted, in elevating some and depressing other communities. That it should be monopolised by a single community, dominated by an exclusive caste and that its approaches either by promotion or by direct recruitment should be denied to members of other communities, is as inexplicable as it is dangerous.

It was only the other day we had the misfortune to criticise the appointments to the highest Judicial office of the land. We showed how communal considerations dominated the selection, how non-brahmins and mahomedans of proved merit and capacity were ignored and monopolists selected. The European press sometimes shows its impatience at the constant reference we make to jobs and our contemporary is shocked that we should be pressing forward the claims of non-brahmins. We should ask our contemporary to give a straight answer to a straight question. Is the *Madras Mail* satisfied that efficiency and merit have triumphed in the series of appointments that have been made to the judiciary during the last few days? Our monopolistic contemporaries may shut their eyes at convenient intervals and ignore what is difficult to explain. But if the *Madras Mail* desires to be understood to be a 'candid critic' it has a duty to perform when it sees nepotism being perpetrated so blatantly. The protest of the Justice Party during the last one year against the over-brahmanisation of the judiciary must be

known to all responsible men in the Presidency. At one stage seven gentlemen were posted as acting District Judges all belonging to the same community. At the present time there are fourteen monopolist in the grade of District Judges, whereas all other Indian communities contribute the magnificent total of six Judges. Of the six gentlemen who are District Judges two are Moslems one is a Christian and three Hindu non-brahmins. We shall willingly class all of them as non-brahmins, but even so, that a small section of the population should have fourteen places and that all the rest of the world should be satisfied with six seats, is the very 'quintessence of fairness.' As if this diabolical injustice were not sufficiently startling, the latest recruit who has been appointed a Judge of the City Civil Court comes from the same monopolistic community.

A few juggleries are performed; small and inconsequential lifts are given to a few non-brahmins already in service and a monopolist is thrust into a fat appointment. Our contemporary in Ellis Road shed copious tears and protested against direct recruitment from the bar for short vacancies. What are its Lachrymal glands doing now when a practising vakil is elevated to the High Court and another is appointed as a City Civil Court Judge? Has it forsworn its principle so soon and given slip to its own conscience that it is so supremely unconscious of the violation of the very principle it laid down a few days back? And this is honest journalism and honest politics and we who criticise such shameless hypocrisy are job-hunters! The gentleman selected is a practitioner on the Original Side of the High Court. If he is as efficient as has been made out he must have a large clientele in the city; but the administrators of the province have no hesitation in believing that these facts will not handicap him in the discharge of his duties. We ask those who wish to defend these appointments whether there was not a single non-brahmin anywhere

in the Presidency, Hindu, Moslem or Christian who could have efficiently filled this post. What about the Moslem gentleman who was promised times without number by the Law Member a place as a District Judge? Is it a fact that his appointment was actually made last year and then withheld owing to the protest of the Provincial Services? And now without any such protest, a monopolist is sneaked into the service and there is peace and calm in the land. The situation is indeed growing desperate.

We have been deluged with correspondence which shows the acute feeling of resentment at the ways of the authorities. We are asked if these jobberies are what Lord Goschen had in mind when he inveighed against communalism. We are asked to compare the position on the 14th of April 1924 when Lord Goschen took charge of his office, with the position to-day. Turn where we may, we find nepotism and rank jobbery, communalism in excelsis, monopolies being firmly and securely entrenched. The public of the province must by now have realised that in the Governor of the Province they have the bitterest opponent of the interests of the non-brahmins. His Excellency's path will be strewn with roses if he continues to encourage Brahmins and appoint them to every office possible. We have realised the workings of the Governor's mind by now and our duty is clear. No resolutions, no protests, no angry demonstrations will have any effect for the next two years. If those that surround the Governor have their own way His Excellency will be spared the trouble of even reading such protests. Our only advice to our indignant readers is to prepare themselves for the coming task. We had not gauged properly the difficulties ahead of us. We did not realise the forces that are arrayed against our efforts to promote communal justice. We have not even understood the ultimate sanction behind our demands. Prayers and petitions, deputations and interviews will not bring us

salvation. A policy of mendicancy has never paid and will not now pay. If any of the leaders of the movement or any of the rank and file have such ideas it is high time that they get rid of them. The only power that will translate our resolutions into practical propositions is the popular will as demonstrated by the elected representatives in the Councils. Let us whole heartedly sincerely and selflessly address ourselves to the task. Governors may come and Governors may go but we are after all the arbiters of our own destiny. The monopolists cannot continue long their iniquitous trade however much some of our bureaucrats may be inclined to assist them.

For the next two years let us be prepared to be in the woods and in a spirit of humility let us carry on our work without any reference to the jobberies that are perpetrated. Every sincere patriot must welcome the piling up of a series of injustices on our heads. It is the accumulated wrongs of a people that will ultimately lead them to salvation and the day is not very far off when we may yet bless Lord Goschen for being the unconscious and unwilling agent in leading us to the promised land. To our contemporary the *Madras Mail* whose ostrich-like blindness is so pathetic we shall only say: "There are more things done in the by-lanes of Mylapore and the nooks of Government gardens at Ootacamund than are dreamt of by your editorial chair. Try to study them a little before you take up to the delectable and fashionable task of baiting the so-called communalist." The *Madras Mail* has given its blessings to that immaculate body the Staff Selection Board. We shall examine the credentials of that Board in our next issue. (12-5-27)

THE STAFF SELECTION BOARD

There was a Door to which I found no Key
 There was a Veil part of which I could not see
 Some little talk awhile of me and thee
 There seemed—And then no more of thee and me.

Omar Karyam

Our esteemed contemporary the *Madras Mail* is an exponent of the theory of efficiency and its favourite pose is that of the dispassionate and candid critic who with all the desire to help a cause, finds itself unable, owing to that inconvenient commodity which it possesses, a sensitive conscience, to do so. In its issue of last Saturday, it has given a few patronising slaps to non-brahmins and showed them clearly where they are wanting and defective. 'Their (the non-brahmin's) brilliant men are equal to the giants of other communities' says the *Madras Mail* 'but', continues our contemporary, 'there is not enough of them'. And that is explanation enough for the preferments that go on day after day. But the *Madras Mail* makes out an irresistible case when it quotes the reports of the Staff Selection Board against us and shows how there are not sufficient qualified men amongst non-brahmins for the appointments which the fairminded brahmin superiors and the over sympathetic European officers are only too ready and anxious to offer to non-brahmins. When the *Madras Mail* tells us with bell, book and candle that we have not produced a sufficient number of qualified candidates, reinforces its argument with the reports of that immaculate body, the Staff Selection Board, we can only hide our head in shame and feel annihilated by the withering force of the case made against us. Says our amiable and sympathetic contemporary: "There has been a tendency in the past to encourage the belief that nothing save

obstinacy and the machinations of a certain community have prevented non-brahmins from securing posts. This chimera has been dispelled by the reports of the Staff Selection Board. These have made it clear that where one community has been more successful than another, this was due to the lack of qualified applicants from other communities. It serves no purpose to rail against the Board, to allege favouritism here or there, unless one can prove that there is no dearth of qualified men." We recognise the force and cogency of this splendid piece of reasoning, and we pity those who in spite of the *Madras Mail's* friendly warning continue to rail against the Board. The *Madras Mail* is thoroughly satisfied that there is no favouritism. It is equally certain that neither the obstinacy of the European nor the machinations of the brahmin is responsible for keeping out the non-brahmin. Such chimera have been dispelled by the reports of the Board which the *Madras Mail* has studied deeply and carefully, for its soul has been much vexed by the constant wrangle about jobs. We should have been perfectly satisfied with the *Mail's* dictums, but a fatal curiosity led us to peruse the reports of the Staff Selection Board, only to find with what complete justification the *Mail's* superior sermon has been preached to us.

The Board in its report says: "With a view to carrying out the policy of providing equal opportunities for service under Government for different communities the Board, with the approval of Government adopted as a general rule in framing its lists of selections, whether for clerical or for executive work, the following proportions of communal representation; Non-brahmins forty per cent, Mohammadans twenty per cent, Brahmins twenty per cent, Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians ten per cent, Depressed classes and others ten per cent. These proportions were adopted only as a general standard, provided suitable candidates were forth coming and with-

out prejudice to the selection of any specially well qualified individuals in any community'. What noble ideals! What generous sentiments! How the *Madras Mail* should have been impressed with the high sense of communal justice of the Government of Madras and the Staff Selection Board when it read this paragraph from the annual report of the Board. And how unreasonable of the non-brahmins to rail against such a Board!

The appointments with which the Board is concerned are initial appointments. There is no question of overlooking the service or other claims of individuals and making improper promotions. No member of any community has a vested interest for such appointments. The Board goes by the test of qualifications, and the *Madras Mail* may rest assured that no unqualified man is selected by this august body. Let us therefore see what happened in the year 1925-26 the year of report, and see how far the very tests which the Board with the concurrence of the Government have laid down for themselves, have been fulfilled. A statement showing by communities the total number of applicants registered, the number eligible for selection and the number finally selected by the Board for each class of appointments for which the Board made selections during the year is appended (Appendix A). We would invite the earnest attention of the *Madras Mail* to that statement. Let us take the Financial Service which is notorious for being entirely monopolised by one community. Lord Irwin spoke of his Government not permitting any monopolies. The *Madras Mail* talks platitudes about efficiency. Yet while according to the Board's own admission there were six non-brahmin eligible applicants, not one of them finds a place in the list of those finally selected by that most judicious of bodies, the Staff Selection Board. Of the ten persons selected, eight are monopolist, one a Christian

and one a member of the depressed classes. Will the *Madras Mail* who rails against us and talks of 'lack of qualified applicants' explain why none of these six non-brahmin eligibles were finally chosen by the Board. There were two Christian eligibles and yet only one was selected, the justification being that ten per cent of the number alone could be Christians. The *Madras Mail* and those of its way of thinking go into hysterics over the problems of the depressed classes. Will it explain why where there were two 'eligible' members of that community, only one was chosen? Was it because the Board did not want to break its golden rule regarding percentages? And what happens when eighty per cent of the candidates come from the monopolists? Verily! 'the chimera has been dispelled by the report.' Let us take again the Financial clerkships. There were three eligible non-brahmins and one eligible Christian but when the Staff Selection Board frames its final list of selections they can find room only for two monopolists. 'What horror to introduce these untouchables into the Financial Department. Did we not issue prohibitory orders regarding entry into the Kalpathi agharam. And is this agharam any the less sacred? Then away with the non-brahmin or Christian however eligible he may be.' As another striking illustration of the manner in which the 'report has dispelled the chimera,' let us take again the electrical staff to Government offices in the City of Madras. There were sixty-six posts required and though there were forty 'eligible' non-brahmins, only twenty-seven are chosen in strict conformity to the percentage test laid down. But when it comes to the monopolists who according to that very test can be only thirteen, a just and equitable Board chooses twenty-seven monopolists leaving aside a number of eligible Non-brahmins, Muhammadans and Indian Christians. And the *Madras Mail* is thoroughly satisfied that efficiency is the sole criterion and that the non-brahmins wickedly rail against the

Board. Take another instance to illustrate the fairness of the Board. They wanted five weaving superintendents in the Department of Industries, a figure which easily lends itself to the percentage division of two non-brahmins, one brahmin, one Mahomedan and one Christian. There were two eligible non-brahmin candidates, but a just Board thinks that in the interests of efficiency only one non-brahmin should be selected while two monopolists are thrust into the list. Does the *Madras Mail* want more instances of the unreasonable railing against the Board? They wanted two jail clerks and among the 'eligibles' were four Non-brahmins, five Brahmins and one Christian. But the Staff Selection Board sees to it that only two monopolists are chosen in the final selection. They wanted thirty-one typists and among the 'eligibles' were seventeen Non-brahmins but a just and generous Board selects four Non-brahmins and twenty-six monopolists. The total number finally selected by the Staff Selection Board is 194 candidates of whom eighty-one gentlemen only are Brahmins, as many as sixty belong to the four hundred and fifty subcastes of non-brahmin Hindus, as many as eighteen are Moslems, nineteen are Christians, seven are Eurasians and Anglo-Indians and nine belong to the depressed classes. And yet the communalists complain and 'rail' against the Board according to the *Madras Mail*. There is not a single department where the monopolists get less than twenty per cent allotted to them, and it is only in the fitness of things that in most cases they get very many more posts than the number fixed for the particular community. We would advise the *Madras Mail* to re-read the report of the Staff Selection Board before it preaches its high sounding morals. The toad beneath the harrow knows exactly where each pick goes. We who have suffered in the past and are suffering to-day from a system of iniquitous jobbery and nepotism, and realise that the talk of efficiency is the veriest cant.

Our contemporary says: "Daily we receive letters denouncing the delay and discourtesy of public servants and abundant evidence is forthcoming to justify the complaints. And when heads of departments are approached they assert that they can do nothing to curb incivility and little or nothing to increase efficiency. The blight of communalism is upon the services." We entirely agree though perhaps in a sense different to that of the *Mail*. It was only the other day, we showed how the 'blight of communalism'—the monopolist regime—was responsible for inefficiency. If men are chosen, as most monopolist are, not for their efficiency in the discharge of their real official duties but for more pleasant, amiable and self-sacrificing qualities, then it is no wonder that the services become inefficient. Not only is such monstrous injustice perpetrated but insult is added to injury by remarks of ignoramuses like the *Madras Mail*. We wonder if our contemporary will have the decency to admit that it is mistaken. It is not easy to always discover these jobberies. The monopolists responsible for it try to cover it up as much as possible, so that it is impossible to expose the shameless jobbery that is perpetrated.

We invite the attention of the *Mail* to only one instance of such designed hoodwinking. In response to a resolution of the Legislative Council which passed the resolution, because it desired the public to follow the progress of recruitment to the services of the different communities, the Annual Administration Report gives a statement under the heading communal representation in the service of the Government, of the number of posts held by members of different communities. On 1st April, 1925, Brahmins had 594 gazetted appointments while on 1st April, 1926, they are shown to have 402 posts only. What has happened to the 192 posts? Non-brahmins are shown in the first year to have 280 while in the second year they have 215 posts. The same anomaly is found with

reference to other communities. The note at the end of the statement of 1st April, 1926, that the figures do not include officers in the High Court and the District Courts, does not explain the discrepancy. We suggest that the statement was compiled by some monopolist subordinate, for the very purpose of misleading the public and making it impossible for us to make comparisons. It is time that non-brahmins awoke to the realities of the situation and cast off their inertia and their attitude of indifference. How long can this crying injustice be tolerated? (13-5-27)

HONI SOIT QUI MALY PENSE

Thou may'st conceal thy sin by cunning art,
But conscience sits a witness in thy heart;
Which will disturb thy peace, thy rest undo,
For it is a witness, judge and prison too.

Wordsworth

"Evil to him who evil thinks." Such is the motto of the Order of the Garter, one of the most ancient and esteemed of the orders of Great Britain. Tradition has it that Edward III uttered these words, when he picked up the garters of the Countess of Salisbury and silenced an uncharitable spectator. That is the only consolation which is occasionally possible when the forces of evil are let loose. We have repeatedly drawn attention to the huge conspiracy that is being hatched in this province to strengthen the monopolists' position by all means, fair or foul. The decrying of the Justicites is not merely a favourite pastime, but a favourite device by which better inner knowledge of its working. Are we to understand that all this is based on information? Why! Mr. Ramachandra Rao is not even competent to hear properly what his informant has to say. Such vile insinuations can only be

the ends of the conspirators are sought to be achieved. Men in high position and in low, men in service and out of it, men with political ideas and men with none, have all banded together among the monopolists in one last desperate struggle to crush the so-called communalists. Evidence is overwhelming of the nature and extent of this conspiracy and of its ramifications. Sitting in the editorial chair it is our melancholy privilege to come across a mass of valuable evidence showing the wide area and the large circle enveloped by the designing groups. Occasionally, however, the veil of secrecy is raised and persons come out openly flaunting their hatred of the Justice party and making no secret of their homicidal intentions.

We have recently come across an instance of the kind. Our readers are aware of Dewan Bahadur R. Ramachandra Rao, the erstwhile Secretary of the Government of Madras. Mr. Ramachandra Rao is a gifted individual. Nature has endowed him with the rare capacity to be deaf to all that goes on around him, so as to enable him to concentrate all his intellectual powers in thinking out the most abstruse problems connected with the administration of the country—co-operation for example. It was this gentleman who is reported to have stated, with all the pride of the monopolist, at the time of the first constitution of the Non-brahmin Ministry that within three months the Non-brahmin Ministers would hang themselves, owing to their incompetence. Giving evidence before the Co-operative Committee, Mr. Ramachandar Rao felt himself in his element and let himself go, giving expression to all his pent-up indignation against the Justice Party. An official just retired and waiting for opportunity to burst forth, he has taken the earliest occasion, when he could malign to his heart's content, the very Ministers whom he served. The following paragraph will be read with interest.

"Q:—You say that appointments in the department are not made on merit and do you consider that appointments are generally made on that basis?

A:—I do not want to say any names. I know of an instance. A person was appointed because his wife was related to the Minister. Inspectors were appointed simply as electioneering agents for the purpose of the Justice Party getting into office. I know another instance when a person was appointed simply because he was recommended by an M.L.C. Even after his appointment, he has not imbibed co-operative principles."

We do not wish to characterise this statement in the language in which it deserves to be characterised. But we should like to know to what extent the purist Mr. Ramachandra Rao has been responsible for appointments which have been made only on merit. Mr. Ramachandra Rao gets into hysterics because a co-operative inspector possibly on fifty or sixty rupees has been appointed on the ground that his wife was related to the Minister. We are willing to grant the correctness of this great discovery, though we are fairly convinced that his relationship was the least of his recommendations. But how many hundreds of instances can our readers quote, where such relationships have not played the predominant part in getting certain monopolists appointed. Mr. Rao says that 'Inspectors were appointed simply as electioneering agents for the purpose of the Justice Party getting into office'. A more reckless statement from a person presumably holding a responsible place in life, has hardly been made. We challenge Mr. Ramachandra Rao to substantiate his statement. What direct knowledge has he got to make this monstrous suggestion? At the time of the 1923 election, he was Law Secretary and had as little to do with the Co-operation Department as the man in the moon. In 1926, he was Collector of Madras and had no

made by one who is bereft of all decent sense of responsibility. This gentleman elsewhere poses as a very impartial individual sitting on the serene heights of wisdom and uninfluenced by local gossip. He is loud in decrying the present registrars of co-operative societies and their methods of gathering knowledge. He says: "The registrars' informants are persons disgruntled with local leaders and who mislead for private reasons." May it not be that even if Mr. Ramachandra Rao honestly believes his statement, his informants are just the same sort of persons as approach the registrar? Mr. Rao states that a person was appointed because he was recommended by an M.L.C. Is that a very novel feature of the present day administration? Are M.L.C.'s the only sinners?

Are not Secretaries to Government, Judges, and even members of the Executive Council give recommendations? Does Mr. Rao want evidence on the point? And then comes the pontifical trade that the poor clerk has not imbibed co-operative principles. Has Dewan Bahadur R. Ramachandra Rao C. I. E. ex-Registrar of Co-operative Societies, imbibed "co-operative principles?" Is not a charitable feeling the basis of all real co-operation? And breathes there one charitable thought throughout the oral and written evidence of this model co-operator? In criticising the department, in attributing motives to Government, in holding the Registrar of Co-operative Societies to ridicule, in speaking of 'nepotism,' in stating that party capital was made of the department—in every word of his evidence has Mr. Ramachandra Rao given expression to one charitable thought? How can this monopolist, the very embodiment of evil thoughts, be a co-operator or give lessons to others in co-operation? But there is consolation to those, whom he has decried before the Committee in the reflection "evil to him who evil thinks."

"Though the mills of God grind slowly,
Yet they grind exceeding small." (16-11-27).

A LIBERAL VOLCANO BURSTS

Give unto me, made lowly wise,
 The spirit of self-sacrifice ;
 The confidence of reason give ;
 And in the light of truth thy bondman let me live.

W. Wordsworth

A Traveller sailing along the coast line of South America often comes upon a range of exhausted volcanoes standing prominently out against the horizon. There is not a flicker on their pallid crests. No smoke clouds the air and no burning lava flows down their jagged sides. But the mariner is ever careful and knows that he cannot trust his steamer too near these extinct volcanoes. Ever and anon is heard a dull roar, a rumbling sound underneath and the sky may at any time be overcast with noxious fumes. The political mariner in South India attempting to survey the monopolist volcanoes which spit forth fire and brimstone from the early days of Hinduism has equally to be careful about those, which popular opinion has treated as extinct. One such apparently 'exhausted volcano' has suddenly come to life and belched forth hatred and venom through the columns of *New India* and has cast its noxious fumes in the already unhealthy atmosphere of of Madras. Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, the great liberal leader, the favoured of the bureaucracy, was considered an extinct volcano by many a young and enthusiastic politician but his article on 'communalism in the service' contributed to our Adyar contemporary must convince every dispassionate reader that the deep rumblings and murmurings are still there and that an adequate opportunity is all that is required for the lava of hatred to overflow consuming the 'communalist' in its course. Sir Sivaswami Iyer has discovered that his liberal heart pants after one great desire at his time of life, one strong affection which has become an obsession with him—the desire, the

love, the adoration for 'efficiency in the public administration' That is the message of the new Messiah—the call to keep up efficiency in the administration.

The bureaucracy is going wrong; the Government does not realise the error of its ways; the authorities are blind to the dangers ahead. It is not the Swarajist that is a danger to British rule in India; it is not the non-co-operator that will prove a menace to British connection. It is not Gandhian ideas that inculcate a spirit of indiscipline which may shake the foundations of British rule. These may be the opinions of an unthinking bureaucracy. Cogitating in his Ashram at Mylapore, after spending sleepless nights and restless days, the political savant of Southern India has discovered the true elixir and he gives with all the charming simplicity and sincerity of the genuine sage and scientist, the benefit of his discovery to the Government. If the British connection should at any time be imperilled, it is when the efficiency of its administration suffers and the only way it can suffer is when the Government introduces the principle of communal representation in the services. Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer is all for open competition, for a fair field and to every one and showed no favour, for the place of an Advocate-General Mr. P. S. Sivaswami Iyer would have topped the list and been appointed Advocate-General to the Government of Madras? And what competitive test does the great liberal leader suggest for the post of an executive councillor of the Government of Madras? Whatever the test may be which the gentleman might himself fix, does Sir Sivaswami suggest that he would have topped the list in an open competition, where a free field was given to all individuals and no favour was shown to any one. Sir Sivaswami prates a great deal about efficiency. Did he have the same opinions as he now proclaims when he was nominated the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras? How did he come to hypnotise himself into the

belief that he was the fittest man for the job when he was appointed a member of the Esher Committee constituted to enquire into the military requirements of India? Was he the fittest person to be sent as a delegate to the League of Nations, he who had never crossed the ocean before, he who had hardly moved in European Society and he who in the days of Justice Boddam gave an exhibition of moral courage in the court room?

It is indeed a melancholy sight to see these pharisees going about the country calmly accepting all the good things showered on them irrespective of merit and turning up their noses in holy horror at the mere possibility of any one who is not a monopolist being chosen one who is not a monopolist being chosen for any place great or small. What is the record of the quinquennial regime of this exceptionally brilliant administrator who wants to give lessons in efficiency to lesser mortals? Is there a single measure of any consequence associated with his name, a single reform in the administration of any department under his control for five long years, a single piece of legislation which was calculated to promote the social or moral or political development of the country? And yet this gentleman goes into hysterics over the theory of efficiency as if there is any advocate of proper representation in the services who does not make it the fundamental basis of his demand, that efficiency should not suffer. If this plea for efficiency were real and honest, if it was genuinely felt, we could understand this outburst. But a moment's reflection will convince anyone that it is not so. Where was this ardent enthusiast for efficiency when the unpassed shining lights of another great leader in Madras were forced into Government service by a too obliging bureaucracy? Was the volcano conveniently in temporary inaction then? We are yet to hear a protest from Sir Sivaswami at the appointments of the sons and son-in-law of Mr. Rangachari or the relations

of the Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri or of Sir B. N. Sarma or a host of other monopolists too numerous to mention. The Pym of Triplicane and the Hampden of Mylapore keep a discreet silence when nepotism and jobbery of the worst kind is perpetrated and suddenly develop a phenomenal activity if there is the slightest sign of a non-brahmin being appointed.

The immediate reason for the volcanic outburst of the Mylapore Knight is a notification of the Inspector-General of Police calling for applications from candidates for the post of an Inspector of the City Police. The minimum qualification fixed is a completed secondary school leaving certificate and over the inequity of such a qualification the staid, calm and respectable Sir Sivaswami lets himself go. "Except on the hypothesis that it is necessary for the purpose of appointing Anglo-Indian or lads or some particular non-brahmin lads whom it is designed to favour, it is difficult to understand the necessity for such an absurdly low standard" says Sir Sivaswami. "It is to be hoped" he continues "that this lowering of the standards will be condemned even by the advocates of communalism, if they have any regard for the efficiency of the services. The downward path to inefficiency in the administration is very easy but it is so very difficult to undo the mischief when it has once been done. The inefficiency of the services must inevitably tell upon the whole character of the administration and upon the well-being of the people." It is hardly to come upon a passage more replete with untruths and half-truths. Why is Sir Sivaswami so sure that this lowering of standard is meant solely to benefit Anglo-Indians, Muslims and Non-brahmins? Has that been the experience of the past? When a fourth form student was started on a fat salary of Rs. Three hundred a month as Superintendent of Post Offices, when a matriculate was appointed Assistant Traffic Superintendant of Railways, when an unpassed youth

was taken into the Imperial Customs Service, was not the qualification fixed absurdly low? And who were benefitted except the monopolists, inefficient and incapable sons of high dignitaries? Sir Sivaswami can, like the unmentionable gentleman, quote scripture.

But in this particular instance he has not even taken the trouble of reading the entire notification. The Inspector-General has a special note that 'candidates possessing better educational qualifications will be preferred.' But Sir Sivaswami's hazy gaze cannot catch it. He must have his fling at the 'advocates of communalism.' We ask him to search his conscience and say who are the 'advocates of communalism,' we who ask for a fair field and an even distribution of patronage, and the breaking up of all monopolies or Sir Sivaswami and his tribe who by a thousand subterfuges, by innumerable devices seek to create the most formidable monopoly that has ever been created through all the ages. Sir Sivaswami's article leaves us in no doubt as to the future. It is no use talking of Swaraj, of political advance, of Indianisation, of a rapprochement of parties, of a united front and of a common understanding. All these are mere will-o-the-wisps. Sir Sivaswami and his band have openly stated that they must first kill what they term 'communalism.' Our one duty our only duty at the present time is to break the monopoly, to destroy the ring of nepotism that has been formed and which is crushing the very life of the nation. It is obviously a fight and let it be a fight to the finish. All else can wait; ^{all} else must wait. Let our non-brahmin brethren among whom we include the equally persecuted Moslems, Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians learn the truth and let us take to the task that is ahead of us with courage and determination. Down with Monopoly! (14-10-27)

SYMPATHY RUNS AMOK

Doth then the world go thus, doth all thus move?
Is this the justice which on earth we find?
Is this that firm decree which all doth bind?
Are these your influences, Power's above.

W. Drummond.

The Sympathy which the authorities have shown and are showing to the Non-brahmins, Moslems and Christians has been emphasised during the last few weeks, particularly in the discussions on the Statutory Commission. Lord Birkenhead's solicitous regard for the welfare of these classes is touching, and was eloquently put forward in his memorable oration in commending the Statutory Commission to His Lordship's noble colleagues. Anglo-Indian journals in this country have been most vehement in condemning 'communalism,' in asking the Non-brahmin-Hindus and Moslems to rise above 'communal' limitations and in exhorting them to work for national advancement and welfare. In particular, they have overwhelmed these communities with their sage advice, regarding the undesirability of lowering the efficiency of administration, with their friendly warnings against introducing communal considerations in filling up public places, and with their kind suggestions regarding the constitution of a public service commission. But suddenly as if by the wave of the magical wand, an alteration has come over them all. Gushing sympathy, profuse kindness, illimitable anxiety breathes through every leader in the press. The non-brahmins are patted on the back, told that it was in their interests that the personnel was confined to Parliamentary members, abjured not to make the fatal mistake of ruining their interests by neglecting the rare opportunity they have of appearing before the Commission and presenting their case. We do not think that any Non-brahmin or Moslem leader has shown so much concern as these 'friends' of 'communal' parties, and our heart goes out

to them in eternal gratitude for their good wishes. Nor are the authorities less kind and less devoted to our interests. They are as much imbued with the desire to help and support the 'communal parties' as Lord Birkenhead and Earl Winter-ton. Every action of theirs specially during the past few weeks is illustrative of this mentality.

We published quite recently the gratifying news that Mr. N. Chandrasekhara Iyer—a Brahmin—has been appointed District and Sessions Judge of Cuddapah. We are perfectly certain that the same considerations, which weighed with Lord Birkenhead in excluding Indians from the Statutory Commission, have influenced the authorities here in making this happy choice, just as every class and section among Indians would have clamoured for a place in the Commission, so also there would have been an uproar from various sections of these communal parties, if the Government had thought of appointing any one of them. The different sub-sections among Hindus, a hundred and seventy-three in number, the various Islamic creeds, the large variety of depressed classes and those sections of the Indian population, who have suddenly come to the recollection of Lord Birkenhead, the aborigines—all these would have fought for the place if any one except a member of the monopolist class, was appointed as district and sessions judge. In the interests of these conflicting interests, and with a view to have in the public-services men 'ignorant of the conditions' prevailing among non-brahmin litigants and absolutely free from any 'bias' a Government as considerate of non-brahmins as Lord Birkenhead himself, has wisely chosen a brahmin for the new post. It argues a perverse mentality to point out that there are already sixteen members from the monopolist class as district and sessions judges. It betrays a narrow and prejudiced mentality to suggest that members of other communities are, in spite of the requisite qualifications, not chosen. These

considerations do not weigh with a government, which has constituted itself the special protector of the non-brahmin classes. It is impossible for these classes to understand the mysterious ways of the government or understand their high and noble purposes.

Last year, when there were a number of vacancies in the provincial judicial service, the principle was adopted that acting vacancies should not be filled up by members at the bar, and the result was that seven members of the monopolist class were appointed. This year when the vacancy would have naturally gone to a non-brahmin if the member from the provincial service were promoted, an understanding and sympathetic government recruits a brahmin member of the bar, as an unexampled illustration of the concern which the authorities show for non-brahmin interests.

The Anglo-Indian press is specially anxious to help the Moslem cause and is constantly referring to the fear which the Moslems entertain of being swamped by Hindus. But the practice again shows how that concern is translated into action. We have already referred in these columns to the fact that a Mahomden gentleman was promised the place of a district judge by the very Law Member of the Government of Madras more than two years back, how letter after letter was received by him from that high authority, actually mentioning the place to which he was posted, and the date when he should join his appointment. And yet when actually the vacancy arises, his claims are brushed aside and a member of the favoured class appointed. It was only recently that the gentlemen in question, Mr. Abbas Ali Khan, gave expression to his strong views against the boycott of the Royal Commission. Knowing something of the mysteries of the Madras Government, we do not think we shall be far wrong if we state that these reactionary views of Mr. Abbas Ali stood in the way of his preferment, and that

the little chance he had of getting has been lost by his over-loyalty and docility. The Government of Madras can appreciate only those who are good fighters, and we warn all those applicants for high offices, whether it be the Law Membership the Presidentship of the Public Service Commission or of the Endowments Board, that if they desire to obtain the post, they must give expression to 'patriotic views', such as the advocacy of the boycott of the Commission or those which Mr. N. Chandrasekhara gave forcible expression to, on the eve of the constitution of the new ministry. Nor is this the single instance from which we draw such an inference.

The Government is evidently determined to force all backward communities to come into line with the so-called forward communities, and present a united front of boycott to the Commission. We understand that the Government have decided to appoint Mr. S. V. Ramamurthi, I.C.S., as the Special Officer to prepare the case of the Local Government for the Royal Commission, and to collect all evidence on behalf of the Government. Mr. Ramamurthi is well-known to readers of this journal. Wherever he has been from Kalladakurichi to Tanjore, Mr. Ramamurthi has left trailing behind him clouds of glory. His appreciation of the work of the Justice Ministry is widely known, and that appreciation has been so great that occasionally Mr. Ramamurthi had to break silence, and give expression to his views, as in his speeches on educational reform delivered in Madura. It is only fair that so sympathetic a gentleman should be entrusted with the task of reviewing the work of the Justice Ministry, as an illustration again of the unexampled concern of the Government of Madras to the non-brahmins of this province. Lastly there is the case of a successor to the present Law Member who will be rid of the worries, cares and anxieties of his high office in a few months at the most. It is widely believed that one of the sacred members of the hallowed community which has done so much

y healthy agitation to improve the administration of the country will be the final illustration of that unexampled concern which the Government has for the non-brahmins of the province.

We ask these communities how long they will continue to fight against the inevitable, and whether they will still continue their 'communal wrangles.' There are, we notice, some who have been insisting on the protection of non-brahmin interests and who desire to present the case of the non-brahmins before the Statutory Commission. We ask all those sincere lovers of the non-brahmin community to pause and consider whether they should do so. Have they no faith in the benign Government? Are not their interests safe in their hands? Will not the Madras Government specially, with the advice of so sympathetic an officer as Mr. Ramamurthi, present the case of the non-brahmins? Then why embarrass our 'friends' in the government by appearing before the Commission? Why should we not be content with leaving well alone? If the facts are as we stated above, we wonder whether there will be a single self-respecting non-brahmin, who will embarrass the Government of Madras by deciding to co-operate with and give evidence before the Commission. It is not a case of our agreeing or coalescing with other political parties. We appeal to the same self-respect which has been invoked, and we are certain that that self-respect will 'stand the community in good stead. (2-12-27.)

REPRESENTATION IN SERVICES

Heavens! hinder, stop this fate or grant a time
When good may have, as well as bad, their prime!

W. Drummond

At a public meeting held on Wednesday last, the Muslims of the Province entered their emphatic protest against the

present policy of 'efficiency' pursued by the Government of Madras which has resulted in the weeding out of the members of their community from all responsible posts in Government. The Chairman of the meeting pointed out that there was not a single Moslem in charge of the revenue administration of a district, not one in the Board of Revenue or among the Secretaries to Government and no Moslem occupies a seat on the bench of the highest court in the land. We might multiply instances of the series of services or classes of appointments where the Moslem is not wanted and where 'efficiency' has played havoc. There is not a single Moslem to-day in the whole of the Secretariat, either as Secretary, Deputy Secretary, Under-Secretary or Assistant Secretary. There is not a Moslem to-day not merely on the judicial bench of the High Court but among the Registrars, Deputy Registrars, Assistant Registrars nor among the Law Officers of the Government from the Honourable the Advocate-General down to the law reporters of the High Court.

But we should like to ask how this situation has arisen and whose is the fault of this scandalous state of affairs. What have the Moslem leaders in the country and the Moslem representatives in the Council done to remedy this woeful state of affairs? What have they done to strengthen the hands of those who have been fighting for equal opportunities to all? Our Moslem brethren will realise that we write more in sorrow than in anger, when we say that the fault has entirely been theirs. If they had been more vigilant in protesting against injustices done to their community, if they had protested against monopolies being created in the name of efficiency, if they had the far-sight to see that divided they can be of no effect and that united they can be a power in the Council, such a fearful state of affairs would not have come to pass. A few of their leaders were accustomed to attack the Justice Ministry when they were in office for not

doing their best to promote Moslem interests. But to-day when a tithe of what was done under the justice regime is not even attempted, when Moslem claims are openly flouted and ridiculed, what, we ask, are the Moslems doing to impress their view-point on the authorities. Are the Moslems unaware that the leaders of the Swarajist Party are going about the country and impressing the authorities with their theory that 'communalism' must be killed that 'preferment' must be based on merit, that representation to the services should be based on some mysterious test which the 'monopolists' alone in this province can fulfil? Are they not aware that all this cant of efficiency is used merely to strengthen the monopolist hold on Government and that, whatever else may be the qualification required, efficiency certainly is not the most important of the tests applied? How comes it that Moslems are found adhering to a party which is openly against their interests and which works so insidiously against their aspiring to places of profit and power?

We note that the Moslems are incensed against the Government not appointing a member of their community to a High Court Judgeship. Are they aware how, so far from justice being done to them, positive injustice is being meted out to public servants who happen to be any, except the sacred monopolists? Have they not heard of the case of one of the most brilliant of lawyers and the ablest of Judicial Officers, a District Judge, being forced to retire owing to an alleged physical defect? Who among all those who can be thought of for a High Court Judgeship can hold the candle before this gentleman whose versatility of genius and solid learning was the subject of admiration by all? And yet two years before his term of office would naturally end he was asked to take leave preparatory to retirement. Was it not because he would be found to be a formidable competitor to a High Court Judgeship? Was the physical defect so grave that it

unfitted him for judicial work? Are there none else holding the identical appointment who have the same defect which the condemned gentleman was supposed to have? Why were not such men retired under similar conditions? Is the reason of the difference due to the fact that in the one case the individual was a Moslem, a member of a community which could be flouted and in the other case it was a monopolist, a member of the most perfectly organised, the most dangerous community to enrage which may endanger the very basis of Government itself? Have our Moslem friends learnt any lessons from this incident?

Are they aware that in July of last year a proposal was made and practically accepted that a Moslem and a Brahmin should be appointed as acting District Judges and that it was dropped later on the ground that both of them were gentlemen practising at the bar and that it was inadvisable to appoint such practitioners to temporary vacancies? Do they realise that of the two gentlemen then selected, the Brahmin gentleman has been appointed to the City Civil Court Judgeship, though the same objection still holds good and that the Moslem practitioner has been bowled over? Where is the question of efficiency in so gross a case of injustice? Both members were obviously declared efficient in July 1926 but in June 1927, the powers-that-be consider that the judiciary is not sufficiently represented by brahmins and desire to add to the monopolists' cadre. Are the Moslems prepared to take these insults lying low? Have they been so cowed down as a community or so demoralised as individuals as to pick up any crumb that may be occasionally dropped from the monopolists' table? There is and there can be no useful result in passing at spasmodic intervals a resolution of the kind passed on wednesday last. They must join forces with all those who are out to destroy monopoly however powerfully it may be entrenched and

whatever high auspices it may command for the time-being.

We do not desire to take advantage of the misfortune that has overtaken our Moslem brethren and try to make political capital of the situation. But as we have repeatedly urged, we have to fight the same tyranny that the Moslem is subjected to. Our handicaps, our grievances and our difficulties are the same. It is therefore right that we should conserve and unite our forces if we are to attack the citadel of monopoly. We trust that Moslems will reorganise their party, will form a solid phalanx and with their characteristic zeal press their view in and outside the Council. The danger that is ahead of them, our friends have not yet realised. Politically they are fast becoming a negligible factor in this province owing to the manner in which their ranks are divided and their forces dissipated. As friends of the community, as those who believe that every class or community should have a place in the sun, as believers in and admirers of moslem culture and statesmanship, we appeal to them to lay aside their lethargy and any little bickerings that may exist among the leaders and work for the ensuring of justice and equal opportunities to all. The days of 'communalism' and 'monopoly' are numbered however much high dignitaries may support such ignoble causes. Let us hasten the end of the monster. (6-8-27).

JUDICIAL RECRUITMENT

The giant shades of fate, silently flitting
File the dim outline of the coming doom.

R. Browning

The letter which we publish elsewhere from a correspondent in Madura reveals an extraordinary state of affairs and deserves

the careful consideration of the public. Our correspondent informs us that the Bar Association of Madura has been informed by the High Court, presumably by the Registrar, that a list of persons eligible for the place of District Munsiffs will be prepared shortly by the Judges of the High Court, and that gentlemen desiring to apply for the place should send in their applications before the 21st of July. We are loath to believe that our informant is correct, but knowing the writer of the letter, we must accept the statement as substantially correct. If the Registrar has sent a communication to that effect, we should like to know why it was done, and what has become of the list prepared by the Judges about a year back. Has the High Court exhausted the names of all those individuals who had been so far selected? And why has the Registrar chosen to address Bar Associations on the subject? Surely, even the High Court ought to be aware of how most of the Bar Associations are dominated by monopolists, how most of the non-brahmins have had to keep aloof or are kept aloof from such Associations and how the esoteric section of most of the Bar Associations is composed of members of a single community? Does not the High Court realise that if they had intended the information to be kept sacrosanct, and to be divulged even like the sacred Hindu Texts only to the privileged few, they could not have chosen a better course? A bare announcement in the press would have served the purpose that the High Court has in view, if that purpose is to get applications from as wide an area as possible. We understand that in the last selection when the list was prepared, members of different communities were chosen. We must be profoundly grateful for those who advocated the cause of communal justice, and made it impossible for rank communalism and monopoly to prevail. But may we point out that their task has not been attended with much success? If our information is correct, fifty per cent of those who were selected belonged to the brahmin community, while

the remaining fifty per cent were composed of non-brahmin Hindus, Moslems, Indian Christians and members of the Depressed classes. Is this the means by which monopoly is intended to be destroyed? The High Court cannot be unaware of the present state of the judiciary. The explanation is often given that if the higher ranks of the judiciary are composed almost exclusively of monopolists, it is because in the lower ranks they predominate. We are told that it would be unfair to overlook the claims of those in service, and that seniority should be given its due weight. And when the question of initial recruitment is taken up, the explanation is given that there are not sufficient qualified individuals available. This vicious circle of reasoning is fast creating an intolerable situation.

So far as the judicial services are concerned, even the hollow pretence of want of qualified men cannot be raised. There is material available in over-abundance for every place that may be vacant, if those who have the dispensation of patronage care to follow the rudimentary principles of justice and fair-play. Even if every vacancy in the judiciary is filled by a non-monopolist, it will take a decade before they have a fair share in the judicial service. While such is the case the Government of the day is fast following a policy of relentless hostility to the non-monopolists. It is packing the judiciary with brahmins of every kind to the serious detriment of the confidence which the public may have in the even-ness of British justice. If the terrors of 'contempt of Court proceedings' were not so vividly before the public mind, the authorities would have had a disconcerting time, while public opinion freely expressed itself over the question. Those who surround the powers-that-be know how to prejudice the case of the few non-brahmins that can be thought of for such judicial appointments, and amiable and none-too-discerning authorities fall an easy prey to such poisonous propaganda. One non-monopolist has not got

much practice in the law courts ; another has no experience of appellate work ; a third no doubt has large and remunerative practice, but it is of a varied nature ; yet another has not specialised in commercial causes which is the prime need of the hour. And if none of these so called defects can be alleged with impunity, there is always the trump card which can effectively be used as against an administrator to whom the cry of 'communalism' is as disconcerting as the cry of 'Boo' to a frightened baby,—the applicant can be warned off the course by the suggestion that he has taken a prominent part in 'communal politics.' To-day the British administration in the Province is so run that it is much safer to be disloyal, to take a prominent part in any seditious activities, to run down the 'white bureaucracy' and to preach hatred against the foreigners, than to raise a word of protest against monopolists at home, who by their activities, are creating class hatred of a bitter type. It will be within the recollection of our readers that such men are rewarded for their disloyalty, petted, cajoled and warmly embraced for their anti-British sentiments, while those whose only possible sin is a conviction that the country cannot progress until monopoly is put down, are characterised as 'brahmin-haters.' We should not much object if the same test were applied to all candidates, and if 'communalists' of all castes were equally proscribed by the powers-that-be. But as a matter of fact, and we would draw the attention of the *Madras Mail* to this fact, the penalising is only of non-brahmins.

Does our contemporary really suggest that we are exaggerating or mis-stating the condition of affairs ? Let us give a few instances which must convince even the *Mail* that something is rotten in the state of Denmark. We are at some pains to make our contemporary realise the true state of affairs, because we still feel that it is want of information that makes our contemporary a prejudiced critic. The *Madras Mail* knows that on the eve of the formation of the Independent

Ministry, men of-different parties ventilated their views freely and showed their real frame of mind and their genuine bias. We should like to quote from a precious contribution which appeared in the *Hindu* of the 18th November, illustrating the mentality and the attitude of mind of the gentleman who sent the contribution. "Let not the mistake of the elections to the Presidentship of the Corporation" says this estimable gentleman "be repeated. Let not the Swarajists miscalculate their strength and be under the impression that they could, at any moment, defeat the Ministry even if Panagal and Co. are again called into power. The officials with the nominated blocs behind them can always carry on the administration, and the Swarajists might cry themselves hoarse, but would not be able to defeat the Ministry supported by official and nominated strength. The verdict of the country is clearly against a communal Ministry and it behoves the Swarajists to see that if they could not themselves accept office, they should put into power people who will undertake the administration on a non-communal basis with their support and co-operation on all normal occasions and in all matters of general interest." What a charming disclosure of the mentality of the individual, we have in this letter ! Does not the *Madras Mail* appreciate the reference to 'the officials with the nominated blocs behind them carrying on the administration' ? What elegance and judicial frame of mind is disclosed by that phrase Panagal and Co. ? And is it not only too obvious that the gentleman has no communal bias, and that he is wholly national in his views according to the wishes of Lord Goschen himself ? Does the *Madras Mail* doubt if behind this over-anxiety to get rid of 'Panagal and Co.' and this beseeching on bended knees of the Swarajists not to permit a communal Ministry, there may be a deep substratum of communalism ? The *Madras Mail* may have doubts on the point, but His Excellency Lord Goschen of Hawkhurst has no doubt on the

point whatever, for he has decided to appoint this gentleman as the Judge of the City Civil Court of Madras. And when the Confederation passes a resolution that the non-brahmins are losing confidence in His Excellency, the *Mail* turns round and states, with all that genuine anger which it undoubtedly feels in its ignorance, that the Confederation has stultified itself by such a resolution. The toad 'neath the harrow knows exactly where each tooth-pick goes.

Does the *Madras Mail* not realise that the impression in the public mind is that it pays to be an opponent of the Justice Party and to talk vulgarly of Panagal and Co., and that the appointment is a reward for such truculence? Is it aware of what the public opinion is, regarding the manner or nature of the recommendations made to the authorities in connection with judicial appointments? Is it aware that not very long ago a gentleman was highly recommended as most efficient for a District Judgeship and that nothing but the fact that within a few weeks thereafter, he was found by the High Court guilty of grave professional misconduct and struck off the rolls, and was later adjudicated an insolvent—that nothing but these facts saved the judiciary from being adorned by so 'highly recommended' an ornament. The *Madras Mail*, as an outspoken critic and as one who stands for purity of administration, owes a public duty. It ought to agitate for a public enquiry into the present state of the judiciary, and if it could induce the authorities to grant an amnesty to those who will come forward to lead evidence, a state of affairs would be revealed with reference to certain judicial officers, which will shake even the *Madras Mail* from its lethargy. Will it do so? If not, let it not defend that about which it knows little and understands less. (8-7-27.)

II

The list of persons selected for appointment as District

Munsiffs by the Honourable Judges of the High Court must convince all non-brahmins that the trend of the times is evidently in favour of the creation of monopolies. We are aware that we must speak with all due respect of the Judges of the High Court and we do not wish in any way to detract from the dignity of officers who hold the highest judicial position in the land. But we must state that in their administrative capacity they have shown themselves incapable of understanding the mind of the people or appreciating the point of view from which a monopoly in the services is deprecated. We have repeatedly stated that the Judicial Department is the most brahmin ridden Department in the province, that the combination of a bar predominantly brahminical with a bench mainly composed of members of the same caste, is a menace to the free social and political development of the nation. We have agitated time and again for the prevention of such a monopoly and we have quoted the very high authority of H. E. the Viceroy in support of our contention. We have tried to show that in initial recruitment to public offices there can be no question of vested interests, that everyone who does not belong to the monopolist class may be chosen if he possesses the requisite qualification.

The Judges of the High Court at their meeting on Thursday choose twenty eight candidates of whom sixteen are brahmins and twelve belong to all other communities, Moslem, Christian, non-brahmin caste Hindu and Depressed Classes. So far therefore from preventing monopolies, it is obvious, that the choice is bound to accentuate the present evil—an evil which Lord Irwin has himself deprecated. It is suggested by apologists of efficiency and fairness that in promotions to different ranks, only seniority and efficiency ought to be considered. But the plea of seniority fails with reference to initial recruitment and so far as efficiency is concerned, every applicant has the necessary qualifications of being a B. A. and

B. L. We are told that the Judges had to go by the recommendations of the District Officers and when we point out that the large majority of them—as many as sixteen—are members of the brahmin community we shall be accused of prejudice and communalism. Will the Judges state if there were not sufficient candidates from the other communities or if the applicants were inefficient or unqualified? The Legislative Council has cried itself hoarse over this question; the public have protested at this method of filling the service with a single caste. Conferences and confederations have proved unavailing. So far from the evil being checked, it grows in intensity.

On the last occasion the High Court Judges selected twelve brahmins and thirteen members of other communities. We protested that it was far too large a share to go to a single Community which was already over represented. The reply is the present list of sixteen brahmins as against twelve of all other classes. We do not wish to lose our temper or indulge in hysterical writings. We can well realise how the public will feel at this decision and what their frame of mind will be. We can only say that we have come to the end of our tether. We must frankly own that our deep-rooted conviction in the ultimate success of constitutional agitation is fast crumbling to pieces. We must confess that our methods in this regard have proved futile. We shall make ourselves ridiculous if we counsel patience, if we ask the people to pray to the authorities and to petition them. We shall give no advice but leave it to them to face the biggest crisis that has ever faced them. If the people are strong, united, disciplined and if they choose men to fight their causes and not invertebrate vacillating individuals, there is some ray of hope for the non-brahmins. Otherwise they are bound to go under.

What will our Leaders do in the face of an obvious organised attempt to crush the non-brahmins? Will they come

out as the tribunes of the people, place themselves at the head of that mass indignation which is so patent and give a definite lead? Or will they satisfy themselves with empty platitudes and old unavailing methods of alternate protests and supplications which have so miserably failed? The country awaits a reply. How do the Leaders propose to break this monopoly? Echo answers how?

JUSTICE BEASLEY AND LAW REPORTING

If your lips you'd keep from slips
Five things observe with care :
Of whom you speak, to whom you speak
And how, and when, and where.

The proceedings of a meeting at the High Court, which we published in our last issue, when Justice Beasley addressed the applicants for the post of assistant law reporters, read more like a romance than a page out of actualities. There were two vacancies among the Law Reporters, and applications were invited from the members of the legal profession. A number of practitioners naturally applied for the place, and among the applicants were members from the various communities of Southern India. His Lordship and perhaps some of the other European members of the Committee, are reported to have received anonymous letters, canvassing the qualifications of some of the candidates, and warning the members of the Selection Committee not to be influenced by the specious reasoning that may be advanced by their monopolist colleagues. The anonymous correspondents pointed out that various relations of prominent legal practitioners had applied for the place that a close relative of one of the members of the Committee was himself an applicant, and that therefore it was apprehended that the appointment may not go by strict merit or efficient

cy. One of the correspondents also appears to have pointed out that it was freely given out that previous experience in law reporting would be taken as a qualification, and that if such a test were applied, it would only benefit the monopolists, who had opportunities for possessing such qualifications which were denied to others. These anonymous letters, it would seem, roused the ire of the Chairman of the Committee, Justice Beasley, and he gave expression to his indignation at the meeting held in the Sessions Court room of the High Court. We are not among those who believe in or admire anonymous correspondence. The pages of this journal are ample proof of the fact that we regard open protests and frank criticism as the only proper method of drawing the attention of the authorities to any grievance.

But having said that, we feel bound to state that the method adopted by Justice Beasley in giving expression to his abhorrence of anonymity was singularly unfortunate. Justice Beasley appears to have jumped to the conclusion, as is clear from his speech, that the correspondents were non-brahmins from two circumstances. The letter was signed by a Reddy and a Naidu, and though it is clear that the names were fictitious, His Lordship apparently believes that the caste appellations are genuine. The internal evidence contained in the letter obviously shows that it could only have been written by non-brahmins. It is from this circumstantial evidence that His Lordship has thought it fit to make the denunciation and to hold up the non-brahmins to ridicule. His Lordship's reputation as a shrewd judge of evidence is deservedly high. We shall not, therefore, draw his attention to that commonplace among legal maxims that circumstances may lie. But may we, in all humility as persons far removed from the temple of learning, offer our own opinion as to the authorship of the note? Is it too far-fetched a theory, if we suggest that the letter was the production of a monopolist, written with the

design of prejudicing the case of the non-brahmins? May it not be that rivalry among the monopolists themselves, which every one knows does exist, is really responsible for the description of some of the monopolist applicants for the place? Does His Lordship think that we are romancing when we state that a monopolist, anxious to get in and not possessing previous experience of law reporting, referred to the hardship that may be caused by the adoption of a rule relating to such experience? We are told that there were a hundred applicants for the place, the vast majority of whom must have been monopolists. Individuals with previous reporting experience could not be more than a dozen or a score. Is it not apparent that the majority of brahmin applicants were as much damnified by the rule as any non-brahmin? His Lordship relies on the internal evidence of the communication. May we also rely on the same communication for our theory that it is the production of some monopolist, and point out that no non-brahmin could know the ramifications of the genealogical trees of prominent members of the bar as well as the anonymous correspondent apparently does? We are sorry that His Lordship should have so easily slipped into an erroneous belief, doing violence to his own truer judicial instincts. But granting for a moment that it is the production of a non-brahmin, how does His Lordship come to the conclusion that it was the effort of one or more of the applicants? We are told that His Lordship asked the gathering to own it up and to come forward, frankly confessing their mistake and when none came forward, His Lordship is reported to have remarked that that was what he expected. The implication is obvious that His Lordship was firmly convinced that some of the applicants must have written it, and that they were not bold enough to own it. But whether it was a monopolist or a non-brahmin who wrote the letter, is it beyond His Lordship's imagination to conceive that it might be the work of a

well-meaning over-jealous outsider, who has no connection with the candidates?

We are really surprised and pained to see that in the heat of his virtuous indignation at being 'pestered' by anonymous letters, His Lordship should have made statements which, we are sure he would wish unsaid in calmer moments. Nor was the occasion or manner of His Lordship's expression of indignation happy. We wish Justice Beasley would visualise the situation from the objective point of view rather than the subjective. There are over a hundred applicants, all anxious to get a job, which would give them a lift at the bar and possibly remove the wolf from the door. They receive a communication from His Lordship to meet him in the hall of the Sessions Court at a particular hour. With high hopes, with possibly prayers on their lips, trembling with fear lest they may lose the chance, palpitating with hope for success, this large group of the 'cultured intellectuals' gather in the hall. And then comes the denouncement. Not a word of encouragement, not a message of hope, not a friendly glance; thunder sits on the brow of the selecting authority. Words of hot indignation flow from his lips. The gathering which went with rising hopes melts away in gloom and despair. His Lordship is a sportsman. He has been to the wars, and the martial instinct is the most chivalrous of all instincts. Does His Lordship think that this poor, we were about to say miserable, gathering of office-seekers, standing in all humility before him, more obsequious than the slaves exposed in the markets of the Caliph at Baghdad—does His Lordship think these were the persons to whom His Lordship could speak about the pestiferous practice of anonymous correspondence in this country? Does His Lordship think that these suppliants on his mercy were the persons even to muster courage and protest against His Lordship's remarks and point out that it might after all be that none of them

wrote the letter? No! my Lord! The terms were most unequal, the occasion altogether unique; they on the one hand in a position worse than that of slaves. His Lordship the indubitable master and protagonist of the situation. His Lordship very rightly pointed out that he was not prepared to take notice of anonymous correspondence. It is a decision on which we may offer our felicitations to His Lordship, but for the supreme contradiction between theory and practice. The proper receptacle for the letter was at His Lordship's disposal near his desk. Why, we wonder, did His Lordship think it worth while to take such serious notice of an anonymous letter, while all the time he was protesting that it would be ignored by him? The whole incident must be, now that His Lordship has had time to review it, as unpleasant to His Lordship as it is to us.

His Lordship many however rest assured that the greatest evil in this country is not the anonymous letter. It is 'influence from on high' that is the real peril of this country. It is against such 'influence' that we are fighting, not covertly but openly. Will His Lordship enlighten the public on the point whether letters of recommendation are not received by him, whether high individuals do not 'put in a word' for some applicant or other? If His Lordship has not so far been pestered by these, His Lordship has had an unique experience and must congratulate himself. If on the other hand he has suffered from that ailment, which is so common to all European dispensers of patronage in this country, we should like to be assured that His Lordship is as little influenced by these letters of recommendation, as the anonymous correspondents. But whatever may be the personal experience of Justice Beasley, we may assure him that anonymous correspondents are not the real danger to a pure system of administration.

Elsewhere we publish a letter from the Honourable Law

Member addressed to a European Judge of the High Court. What does His Lordship Justice Beasley think of the letter? Does he think that it is fair that a member of the Government, and the very gentleman who is at the head of the judicial administration of the province, should interest himself in the recruitment of a munsiff and write a note of recommendation to one of His Majesty's Judges? Does His Lordship think that it will conduce to the fair and impartial transaction of business if such a course is pursued? The gentleman writing the letter, the gentleman to whom it is addressed, the official relationship between them, the purpose of the letter—all these proclaim the magnitude of the scandal. Will His Lordship be easy in mind when he realises that the letter is not an exception, but is fairly illustrative of the practice in this country? Does he now understand why people smile disdainfully when there is so much talk about merit and efficiency?

The letter is dated July 26. The newspapers published early in 1926 a decision of the Government that no member of the Government should give recommendations to applicants for appointments. We should like to know to which members of the Government it is applicable, and whether the first member of the Madras Government is beyond these petty rules and restrictions. To Justice Beasley, we may respectfully point out that there are more things in the Madras Presidency than are dreamt of by gentlemen who have a just horror of anonymity. (24-11-27).

CHAPTER V CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS

Breathes there a man with soul so dead
Who never to himself hath said
This is my own, my native land—

W. Scott

RETAIL HUMILIATION

Some men a forward motion love,
But I by backward steps would move;

H. Vaughan

The budget session in the Local Legislative Council has come and gone and it is time we take stock of the situation and review the constitutional position which has been created by the appointment and the continuance in office of the 'Independent Ministry.' The position of the Swarajists, their broken pledges, their disgraceful manouvres and their hasty retreats, have been the subject of comment all over India. It will be a mere work of supererogation to criticise those who have so thoroughly been exposed. The more important question to consider is the position of the Ministers. They have suffered two decisive defeats on two different occasions but have saved themselves from losing their seats owing to the tactics of the Swarajists on the occasion of the no-confidence motion. Does the Ministry consider that they are in a safe or dignified position, that they enjoy the confidence either of the House or of the public, that they can carry on the administration with vigour and profit? The most humiliating of all positions is that occupied by a Ministry which is in a minority and which is tolerated by a majority for purposes of its own.

A situation not entirely dissimilar arose in 1873 when Mr. Gladstone was defeated on the Irish Universities Bill by a combination of Conservatives and Irishmen. Mr. Gladstone had made the question one of confidence in the Ministry and therefore resigned his Premiership consequent on the adverse vote of the House. Her Majesty then summoned Mr. Disraeli the Leader of the Conservative Party to take up office.

But Mr. Disraeli was in a minority as the Irish vote could not be counted upon by him and he declined to form a Ministry. In explaining his conduct to the House of Commons he gave expression to some sentiments which we commend to the very earnest consideration of His Excellency and of his 'Independent Ministers.' "I know well" he said, and those who are around me know well, what will occur when a Ministry takes office and attempts to carry on the Government with a minority during the session. We should have what is called 'fair play'; that is to say, no vote of want of confidence would be proposed, and chiefly because it would be of no use. There would be *no whole sale censure, but retail humiliation*. A Right Hon. Gentleman will come down here, he will arrange his thumb-screws and other instruments of torture on this table—we shall never ask for a vote without a lecture; we shall never perform the most ordinary routine office of Government without there being annexed to it some pedantic and ignominious condition."

Is this not a true pen-picture of what is happening to-day? Are not the Ministers who glory in their release from the no-confidence sentence subject to retail humiliation. Are they not being subjected to pedantic and humiliating conditions? Is not the barrel presented from behind and the scimitor waved in front and like the galley slaves of old are they not marching on, trying to please their masters as best they can?

Mr. Disraeli humorously continued the description of his picture. "I wish" he said "it was not my duty to take this view of the case. In course of time we should enter into the paradise of abstract resolutions. One day Hon. gentlemen cannot withstand the golden opportunity of asking the House to affirm, that the income-tax should no longer form one of the features of our ways and means. Of course a proposition of that kind could be scouted by the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) and his colleagues; but then they might dine

out that day, and the resolution might be carried, as resolutions of that kind have been. Then another Hon. Gentleman, distinguished for his knowledge of men and things, would move that the diplomatic service be abolished. While Hon. Gentlemen opposite were laughing in their sleeves at the mover, they would vote for the motion in order to put the Government into a minority. For this reason:—'Why should men', they would say, 'govern the country who are in a minority?' totally forgetting that we had acceded to office in the spirit of the constitution, quite oblivious of the fountain and origin of the position we occupied. And it would go very hard if, on some sultry afternoon, some Honourable Member should not 'rush in where angels fear to tread,' and successfully assimilate the borough and the county franchise. And so things would go on until the bitter end—until at last even the Appropriation Bill has passed. Parliament is dissolved, and we appeal to those millions who, perhaps six months before, might have looked upon us as the vindicators of intolerable grievances, but who now receive us as a defeated, discredited, and degraded Ministry, whose services can be neither of value to the crown, nor a credit to the nation."

Is this not the very position to which the present Independent Ministry has been driven? The Honorable Member for the University, brings in the University amending bill with practically every provision of which the Minister is at variance and yet the 'patron saint' of the Ministry must be appeared and the Honorable the Chief Minister of the Government of His Excellency Lord Goschen is put to the humiliating necessity of canvassing for support for a Bill of a Member of the opposition. The Honorable Minister for Public Health decides upon a costly scheme for remodelling the General Hospital but he is bound to listen patiently and humbly to a long lecture on what he should do and how the details of such reconstruction should be carried on before the

adjournment motion is gracefully withdrawn. And in 'course of time when the so-called fear of a justice regime cannot be used to defraud the public, the leaders of the opposition will bring their thumb-screws and other instruments of torture, arrange them on the table and the Ministerial inquisition will start in real earnest. Without a party in the country, without a following in the Council, a weak and discredited Ministry will then pass into oblivion, unwept, unhonored and unsung.

We have written of the Ministry more in sorrow than in anger, more as friends than as critics. We can see clearly ahead what is so hazy to the vision of the Governor and his Ministry. We can see through the months of 'retail humiliation' to the day when an ignominious defeat will be the only possible fate of a Ministry such as this. We wonder how the Ministry will get out of their helpless state. It will be interesting to watch and wait for events. The short period of reprieve till the next Council meets—none will grudge the Ministry. And then—what then? (30-3-27)

JAI SEETHARAM

A life of nothings, nothing-worth,
From that first nothing ere his birth
To that last nothing under earth!

A. Tennyson

The hour has tolled; the call has come. By an overwhelming number of votes in the Legislative Council last night, the voice of public opinion has expressed itself clearly and unequivocally. There is no mistaking the decision of the Council which by fifty six elected members out of a total

elected strength of ninety eight condemned the system of dyarchy and what is far more important expressed its want of confidence in the Ministry. The result is eminently satisfactory to all lovers of self-government and will be hailed as a vindication of the self-respect of the nation. There had been grave doubts expressed as to the ultimate fate of the No-confidence motion. Soothsayers and astrologers who sprang up in plenty, began to foretell the exact manner in which votes would be cast, secessions that were likely to occur in the two Opposition Parties and the absolute certainty of the motion being rejected by a large majority. Ever since the resolutions passed at Coimbatore, a raging and tearing propaganda was carried on by the Independent Ministry, by frightful interviews, lightning tours and exhaustive speeches. Not a day passed without one or another of the Ministers addressing a public meeting in some part of the presidency. They attacked the Justice Party, questioned their motives, ridiculed their tactics, impugned the honesty and sincerity of their leaders and tried to impress on the country how invaluable the services of the Ministers were at this particular juncture. Men who had shown little regard for the constitution in the past, who had cried down the dyarchic system, suddenly turned into its most powerful supporters. The triumphal tour of the Chief Minister, the equally blazing trail of the Excise Minister and the serpentine meanderings of the Minister for Development were calculated to confuse and confound the public. The Leaders of the Opposition were inert and hardly knew their own minds. Compared to the hectic flights of the Ministers, the leaders of the two organised parties were like snails, incapable of motion. Nor was all this frothy activity confined to the Ministers alone. The tapers and tadpoles of the Ministerial Party began to make equally loud noise. Madura became for the time-being the hub of the universe. A new Messiah was discovered in that sacred Southern City preach-

ing concord and harmony and broadcasting through lengthy interviews to an amiable news agency, invaluable advice regarding the political situation. As if not to be outdone in the great and glorious work, Coimbatore took up the delectable task of passing resolutions galore in support of the Ministry. Sphinxes which were noted for their proverbial silence were galvanised into speech through agencies which it is not advisable to discover. With feverish haste announcements were made regarding the activities of Ministers only to have them cancelled later. A Monster meeting was advertised but the monsters never met. A demonstration was planned but the demons were put to flight on the eve of the No-confidence motion. Appeals were made, fervently and eloquently to followers who had long since ceased to recognise the lead; appeals were made to the patriotism of the members. We were told that it was 'midsummer madness' to vote against the Independent Ministry. An infernal din and noise was created throughout the province in anticipation of the No-confidence motion. As the day for the resolution drew near boastfulness and braggadacio became more prominent. 'The Tamil Nadu was solidly behind the Chief Minister.' The Ministers and Ministerialists had settled everything. They had exhausted all the arts of unanimous audacity. It is the custom of undisciplined hosts on the eve of battle to anticipate and celebrate their triumph by horrid sounds and hideous yells, the sounding of symbols, the beating of drums, the shrieks and springs of barbaric hordes. But when all has occurred, it is sometimes found that the victory is not to them but to those who are calm and collected; the victory is to those who have arms of precision, though they may have made no noise—to those who have had the breechloaders, the rocketbrigade and the Armstrong artillery. So has it been on the present occasion. Fifty six Honourable Members, uncorrupted and incorruptible, whom no

temptation can influence and no seduction deflect, cast their votes against the Ministry. Two months of continued fight, eight months of unalloyed power and autocratic sway and all the arts of the Ministers,—*Sama, Thana, Bedha, Dhanda*—have not been able to influence to the slightest degree the elected members of the House who remained adamant. Only three of those elected members who sat on the opposition in March walked over to the Ministerial benches, a triumph indeed to the discipline of the two political parties. The Ministers could only command thirty elected members as against fifty six on the opposition.

We do not wish to analyse the thirty votes but it is obvious that the overwhelming verdict of the country is against the continuance of the Ministry. We refuse to believe that the Ministry itself will take it in any other spirit. They have been in public life and claim to be politicians. *Vox Populi Vox Dei*. If the politician does not recognise the potency of public opinion, if by perverse reasoning, abstruse logic or hairsplitting casuistry the decision of the public is sought to be explained away, then there is no hope of ever evolving a democracy. It is Marcus Aurelius who said "A life without a purpose is a languid drifting thing." Such will be the life of the Ministry should it decide to continue. The only honourable course for those with a political past who hope to have a political future, is to recognise the verdict of the country and say *Jai Seetharam*. The world is large and a Ministership is not the sole avenue for public service. But respect for public opinion is all too meagre in a country swayed by bureaucrats. Will our Ministers choose the path of cushioned ease, patted and fondled by the powers-that-be and scorned by the public or will they take the noble course of responding to the call and putting themselves at the crest of popular opinion. Let us wait and see. *Jai Seetharam*. (25-8-27)

THE GOVERNOR AND THE CONSTITUTION

Oh; how a king who governs well should see
 That counsellors, and those more intimate,
 With love sincere and true endowed should be
 With conscience and with purity innate!
 For, as he throned sits in Majesty,
 Of matters far removed, affairs of state,
 But little more can he be made aware
 Than what the official tongue may choose declare.

J. J. Aubertie

The resolution passed by the Non-brahmin Confederation at Coimbatore, placing on record the fact that the people of the province are losing confidence in His Excellency Lord Goschen, has induced several persons to come forward with interviews, explanations, statements and exhortations. We see that the three Ministers and one of the members of the Executive Council have constituted themselves as the special defenders of the Governor, and have in varying degrees of deprecatory and unbalanced language taken up cudgels on behalf of Lord Goschen. But we are afraid that their zeal has out-run their discretion and whether by a common understanding or by a natural preversity shared by all of them alike, they have damaged the cause they sought to support. Our readers will have read with amazement the interviews that came in a crescendo of power and glory from these gentlemen during the past few days. The third Minister as the last of the quartette began it, the second Minister followed it, the first Minister came treading on the heels of his colleagues with his interview given from the cool and sobering heights of Ootacamund and the finale is struck by the brilliant interview of the Honourable Law Member.

The four musketeers the famous quartette, have discharged their fusillade. Athos and Aramis, Porthos and D'Artagnan have come to the rescue and who can resist the onslaught of

four such terrible heroes? But the consequences of the bombardment are more serious to the side of the heroes than to the side of their opponents, for in the hurry and rashness of their fight, they forgot that the muzzles of their guns were turned on the gentleman whom they tried to defend. We are afraid His Excellency Lord Goschen will not feel thankful towards his over-exuberant defenders. They have reduced the Governor of the province to a figurehead to a non-entity. They have suggested that he is only an ornamental piece in the Cabinet of the Government, and that he has no functions to discharge and no duties to carry out. They have stated almost explicitly that his only task is to open a bridge here or lay the foundation of a dam there and to do these things as gracefully as possible, leaving the real work of administration to be carried on by his overmasterful colleagues. Does His Excellency realise that the defence, which has been put forward by his four colleagues, is a more thorough and overwhelming condemnation of the Governor than the resolution which the Confederation passed. If it was 'madness' to pass such a resolution, how, we ask our readers, shall we characterise the statements of responsible Ministers and a member of Council who have well-nigh made His Excellency look ridiculous in the public eye? Let His Excellency and our readers hear what some of the colleagues of the Governor think of the representative of the King, the first gentleman of the province of Madras.

Let the third Minister give expression to his views in that elegant language, which he has apparently learnt, while damming the rivers of the province and building anicuts. "Concerning the vote of 'no-confidence' in H. E. the Governor," says Mr. Arogyaswami Mudaliar, "I may say that I consider it despicable. The ex-Ministers know very well that the Governor according to the constitution cannot interfere with the ad-

ministration of the Transferred Subjects as a rule"! This will be news indeed not merely to ex-Ministers, but to all those who have any knowledge of the Reforms. The new Ministry are apparently not merely good administrators but experts in constitution also! Cannot interfere! Yes, otherwise H. E. would have appointed a public works expert to be in charge of the Department of Public Works. Who would have thought that His Excellency was so completely *functus officio*?

The Second Minister to the Government of Madras is a politician and has taken part in the Home Rule agitation of the last decade. He has been till lately busy in promoting the Commonwealth of India Bill and pretends to a knowledge of the constitution. His statement of the position which His Excellency the Governor occupies, is highly interesting and entertaining. Says Mr. Ranganatha Mudaliar: "I cannot let this statement end without a reference to the unjust and unfair attack on H. E. the Governor, and emphatically repudiate any suggestion even remotely implying that he has interfered with the powers vested in the Transferred half. So far as all that has taken place up to now is concerned, I can in all sincerity bear testimony to the fact that His Excellency has always acted in the only way a constitutional head of a province should do. Holding as I do, that the Ministers are really responsible for all that they have done hitherto, I can have no possible objection to criticisms being levelled at us, but it seems to me very unfair to blame His Excellency for adopting the attitude, which we have been insisting all these years that the provincial head should adopt." Such a refreshingly candid statement of the position of the Governor of a province, it has hardly ever been our lot to come across. The Honourable Member 'emphatically repudiates any suggestion even remotely implying that he has interfered with the powers vested in the Transferred half.' We are unfeignedly glad that His Excellency has never

dreamt of questioning the conduct or actions of his colleagues. Whether according to the Government of India Act which talks of the Governor acting with his Ministers or according to the Instrument of Instructions, according to which specific duties and obligations are laid on His Excellency, the Governor should do more than be a lotus-eater. Indian politicians will welcome the announcement made by a responsible Minister that Lord Goschen has not interfered and has not dreamt of interfering with the Transferred half. Nay more Mr. Ranganatha Mudaliar is quite clear in his mind what place the Governor should occupy, and he gives the certificate that 'His Excellency has always acted in the only way a constitutional head of a province should do.' We are happy to see that before provincial autonomy and fully responsible Government has been achieved, a responsible Minister is in a position to talk of the constitutional head of the province presumably in the sense in which British Ministers talk of His Majesty the King as a constitutional monarch.

The first Minister, as suits the position he occupies, and the education which he possesses, and which has so completely dazzled our Anglo-Indian contemporary give expression to his views on the question with the sobriety of so circumspect an individual. "It was madness," says Dr. Subbaroyan "to pass a vote of censure on His Excellency the Governor." Who is a better judge of lunacy than the Mulla, whose actions we have been faithfully chronicling to an amazed world. The Minister proceeds to repeat what his colleague has already stated. "He has been a constitutional Governor."

Poor Lord Goschen! to be so described by the very men whom he has lifted from inconspicuous places and put in positions of power and authority, whom he has continued to maintain in such positions. 'Constitutional Governor' Is there such a phrase in the Indian constitution to-day

Is the Governor as limited in power and responsibility as the constitutional monarch of a limited monarchy?

But let us leave the excited incoherence of political babies, who have not had the time yet to study the constitution under which they are working. Let us look at what the first member of the Government of Madras, the Vice-President of the Executive Council, has to say on the subject. He has sufficiently prepared us for his views, for did he not speak at Tanjore of 'My Government of which Viscount Goschen is the chief.' Says Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer. "The resolution is utterly unreal. It may amuse or thrill those who are easily amused or thrilled, but to those who are aware of the constitution under which the provinces are working and the circumstances that His Excellency the Viscount Goschen has always acted with complete adherence to the principles underlying the constitution, and who remember that the members of the Justice Party who were members of the Cabinet during the past six years, must be aware of the rights, prerogatives and constitutional limitations and self-imposed restrictions on His Excellency the Governor. One can only point out that the attempt to blame His Excellency for the actions of his constituted advisers and colleagues is as futile as it is splenetic." We might leave aside for the time the spleen of the Law Member, which according to a medical expert at Tanjore who heard him, shows signs of considerable enlargement. We are indeed glad to find from so high an authority as the first member of the Government, that not only has the Governor faithfully observed the constitutional limitations, but has also gone further and has restricted himself by certain self-imposed limitations. We wonder what those self-imposed limitations are. We now realise why so many unaccountable things are happening to-day. The accumulated effect of the statements of four of his colleagues clearly shows, if there is any truth in them, that His Excellency has

effaced himself, that he has given up his judgment and discretion to the custody of his colleagues that he does not desire to obtrude his personality into the affairs of the state or to use the language of Sir Ramaswami Iyer that 'he has subjected himself to self-imposed restrictions.' How far this is an attitude justified by the Government of India Act or the Instrument of Instructions, we shall examine in another article.

But if His Excellency Viscount Goschen of Hawkhurst were to tell the public that his colleagues have rightly described his position, that he has no concern with the acts of his colleagues, that he is subject to restrictions self-imposed and otherwise, then we have no other alternative, except to apologise for the resolution passed at Coimbatore. Nay more we shall suggest to the leaders to immediately convene another Confederation, and ask it to revoke a resolution which was passed under the impression that the Governor of the province was an entity to be counted upon in the administration of the province, and that he had certain well-defined powers, duties and responsibilities. We know that a constitutional King can do no wrong. And we are now told that Viscount Goschen is a constitutional Governor and can do no wrong. If His Excellency accepts this position the 'mad' resolution of Coimbatore would not have been passed merely to thrill or amuse splenetic Executive Councillors, but would have done the greatest good to the cause of political progress. And our profuse apologies would be offered to the Governor unsolicited. (18-7-27)

II

It is a fitting commentary on the utter demoralisation of official and political life of the province that it should have been possible for us to publish such interviews from responsible members of Council and Ministers as we have had the

misfortune to publish during the last week. We have already referred to the utterly ribald suggestions that have been put forward by some of the colleagues of His Excellency the Governor and showed how in their apparently chivalrous defence of the Head of the Province, they have only succeeded in holding him up to public ridicule. That the Governor is a gentleman who scrupulously avoids intervention in the affairs of Government, that he does not spin, neither does he toil but permits the onerous duties of Government to be carried on by his colleagues, that he not only observes the conventional limitations of his office but has, with what desire, it is not suggested, puts himself under self-imposed restrictions and that therefore, being a person not to be counted within the administration of the province, he cannot be fairly found fault with for any defects — such is the brilliant defence put forward by these over-solicitous colleagues of his. It is perhaps this mentality that gave courage to one of his colleagues to speak of 'My Government of which Viscount Goschen is the chief.'

We cannot pretend to any detailed knowledge of the inner working of the system of the Government and as we have already pointed out we shall refuse to believe that such an woeful state of affairs prevails, till we have a more reliable authority than such as we have had hitherto, reiterating these statements and emphasising such sentiments. And our disinclination to accept the statement that the Governor of the province is just a figure-head is due neither to a desire to invest him with greater powers than he possesses at present nor to any sheer perversity of temperament which does not accept the position put forward. Our difficulty is due to the fact that our reading of the constitution gives us an entirely different impression altogether and that we are convinced that in theory and according to the constitution at least, the Governor possesses more powers than ever and is a

bigger autocrat than he was at any time in the pre-reform days. In fact even with reference to the Executive Council, the Reserved half of the Government the power of the Head of the province is greater than it was under the old Act. That this was deliberately intended, that the Governor was not considered a mere ornament, the constitutional head, as some of his colleagues now make out, that he was in fact the pivot of the whole administration and that on his rigorous and virile personality depends the success or failure of a difficult and complicated system of Government, is clear from the various reports which preceded the Government of India Act. Mr. Montague and Lord Chelmsford in their now famous report visualise the position of the Governor of a province in clear and unambiguous language. Speaking of the relation of the Governor to his Ministers the learned authors state "do not contemplate that from the outset the Governor should occupy the position of a purely constitutional Governor who is bound to accept the decisions of his Ministers. Our hope and intention is that the Ministers will gladly avail themselves of the Governor's trained advice upon administrative questions, while on his part he will be willing to meet their wishes to the furthest possible extent in cases where he realises that they have the support of public opinion."

We should like to draw the special attention of our readers to the passage which follows: "We reserve to him a power of control, because we regard him as generally responsible for his administration, but we should expect him to refuse assent to the proposals of his Ministers only when the acquiescences of acquiescence would clearly be serious. Also we do not think that he should accept without hesitation and discussion proposals which are clearly seen to be the result of inexperience. We recommend that for the guidance of Governors in relation to their Ministers, and indeed on other matters also, an instrument of instruction be issued to them

on appointment by the Secretary of State in Council." Is this, we ask, those political babes who are to-day in charge of responsible offices as Ministers, what they understand by the phrase a constitutional Governor? Do not the authors of the report particularly warn everyone that they do not contemplate the Governor to be a 'constitutional Governor?' And yet those who are ignorant and those who are wilfully perverse join together and put forward the hoax before the public that the Governor is a 'constitutional Governor.' Is the Governor giving his 'trained advice upon administrative questions' to his Ministers and is it after such advice has been given that acts of Ministerial Vandalism are being perpetrated? Does not the Governor realise that 'inexperience' is the one great incontrovertible asset of some of his Ministers and does he accept 'proposals which are clearly seen to be the result of inexperience' 'without hesitation or discussion.' It is only then that his apologists can suggest that His Excellency is blameless and cannot be censured.

The Government of India in their famous report of 5th March, 1919, which deals exhaustively with the whole subject of reforms, states in paragraph 35 referring to the appointment of Governors under the new dispensation: "We take this opportunity to note that all the three presidency Governments have called attention to the heavy personal burdens which the new order of things will impose upon the Governor; and we lay stress upon the need for securing for such offices alike the best talent which the services can furnish, and in the case of appointments from outside, men of the highest qualities and ripest experience." Does this emphasis on the 'highest qualities and ripest experience' suggest that what was aimed at was a mere 'constitutional Governor' against whom 'any suggestion even remotely implying that he has interfered with the transferred

self should be warmly repudiated.' Whether the desire of the Government of India has been carried out, whether the exigencies of English party politics and the well-known practices of jobbery of British cabinets have always permitted the Secretary of State or the British Government to 'secure or such offices as Governors men of the highest qualities and ripest experience,' the citizens of the different provinces and the future historian can give an opinion upon.

We are only concerned with the constitutional position which has been clearly stated by the Government of India. In fact that Government was so impressed with the position, functions duties and responsibilities of a Governor of the province that so far from calling him a constitutional Governor they stated in paragraph 38 of their report that "the Governor will be the keystone of the new provincial system." What a travesty would it be, if it could be conceived for a moment that the Executive Councillor who speaks of 'my government should be correct in his statement regarding the 'constitutional Governor.' That hackneyed phrase was before the Government of India who rejected it and with scorn. The 5th March report says. 'The Montagu-chelmsford report proposes, as we think rightly, to impose a particular personal responsibility upon the Governors in respect of their administration; It is clear that rules of business should allow cases of minor importance to be disposed of by the Ministers and should require that cases of major importance should be laid before the Governor.' Again in describing the relation of Ministers to the Governor which it considers a vital matter, the report of the Government states "The (Montague) report says, 'we do not contemplate that from the outset the Governor should occupy the position of a purely constitutional Governor. The Governor will advise the Ministers as to the difficulties which they feel, and it may be hoped that the upshot will be a decision which Ministers

can defend and the Governor accept; but, if the Governor thinks that the Minister is seriously wrong, he may refuse to issue the proposed order, or he may require an order to be issued which differs from it, or he may direct action to be taken where the Minister has proposed no action". Does this appear as if what the province possesses is a constitutional Governor holding a titular or ceremonial place in 'My Government?' The despatch further states "we hope to propose a draft of the instrument of instructions to Governors but any formula that may be devised must be framed in general terms, and its efficacy must largely depend upon the Governor's vigilance, judgment and good sense". And why should vigilance, judgment or good sense be required if the Governor is only a constitutional Governor? It is in the light of these remarks that the Instrument of Instructions issued by His Majesty the King Emperor himself to the Governor of the province should be read. "You shall do all that lies in your power to maintain standards of good administration" said His Majesty King George V to Viscount Goschen of Madras. "You shall do all in your power to promote all measures making for the moral, social, and industrial welfare of the people, and tending to fit all classes of the population without distinction to make their due share in the public life and Government of the country."

These are instructions from the King Emperor and though the Law Member has risen to that giddy eminence from which he can talk of the Government of this province as 'My Government' he has not reached the beatific heights whence he can discourse on 'My Empire' and 'My Governor.' Lord Goschen is therefore bound by the instructions of the King and cannot take instructions in supercession therefore from his Law Member. "Has he maintained, standards of good administration with reference to Metur Pykara and Tuticorin" asks the Coimbatore Confederation.

'Criticisme me and not the Governor who is only the chief of My Government' says Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer. "Has the Governor done all that lay in his power to promote measures tending to fit all classes to take their due share in the public life and the Government of the country? Is the monopoly in the judicial, Engineering and various other services an indication of the Governor's doing all in his power in that direction" asks the Coimbatore Confederation. "Criticisme me the real power in the land, not a poor uninterfering constitutional Governor" says Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer in the glory of his power and the plenitude of his wisdom. How much longer will this libel go unchallenged? We shall wait and see. (18-7-27).

NON-ACCEPTANCE OF OFFICE

Yet this inconstancy is such
As you too shall adore;
I could not love thee, Dear so much,
Loved I not honour more.

Lovellace.

One of the most significant resolutions passed at the recent session of the Non-Brahmin Confederation held at Coimbatore was the resolution regarding non-acceptance of office. While a very large number of persons have expressed their satisfaction, if not their appreciation at the attitude adopted by the Justice Party, it must be admitted that it has met with a certain amount of hostile criticism from some quarters. Kindly critics have not been wanting who have rushed to the conclusion that the Party by passing such a resolution has forsworn all its principles, and that they have attempted to steal a march over their political opponents by adopting their thunder. Others again, like Mr. George Joseph who could see nothing

but the embodiment of evil in the party have indulged in generous abuse and have condemned them for the supposed *volte face*. Mr. Joseph adds: "Now for the first time without a previous single hint, the party has committed a *volte face*." We shall examine this question a little in detail later, but we may recapitulate here the exact terms of the resolution which was accepted unanimously at the Special Confederation. The resolution states:

"In view of the fact that the Justice Party after having worked the system of dyarchy for six years in this province has found, as stated in the memorandum of its Ministers that it is a difficult system to work, and in view also of the fact that it is impossible to carry on a dyarchic administration, if any portion of the Reserved half is fundamentally opposed to the principles and policy of the Transferred half, and in view further of the fact that it has been found possible under the dyarchic system to instal in office a benami Ministry which has worked with no following in the Council and which, by its unscrupulous methods, has brought the administration of Local Self-Government into contempt, this Confederation while approving and ratifying the attitude taken up by the members of the Justice Party in the Legislative Council, declares it as its considered opinion that the Justice Party should not accept the responsibility of office till provincial autonomy is conceded to the province."

We have quoted the resolution at length, because no impartial critic could, after a perusal of even the bare resolution, come to the conclusion that the party was either precipitate in its decision, or that it was actuated with any desire that it should steal a march over other political parties. Whatever critics might say to the contrary, it is a fact not open to contradiction, that the only political party in the whole of India that gave a fair trial to dyarchy and worked it with

success for six long years, if in no other sense, at least because it never suffered a defeat in the Council, is the Justice Party. It should therefore be conceded that if there is one party which is competent to express an opinion, it is the Justice Party. Now we should request our readers to examine carefully and in detail the resolution as worded and answer the question where in the Confederation states that it will wreck dyarchy or will follow a policy of non-co-operation. All that the resolution states is that the experience gained by the party through six years of successful working of the system of dyarchy, are so grave and that the possibilities of success are becoming so increasingly small, that as a Party it is not prepared to commit political suicide, which must be the inevitable result, were it to attempt to work dyarchy again. Our party in the local Council was forced to oppose the present so-called Independent Party, because they were convinced that it was immoral on the part of a Ministry to work under the commands of a so-called opposition, and because six months of their regime had exposed their vagaries, their obnoxious orders and their unscrupulous alliances. The Justice Party will not be a consenting party to such unholy acts and would far rather that such a state of affairs were ended, whatever be the consequences because they could not be mended.

The resolution, we repeat is not copying the tenets of non-co-operation preached by the Congress. We state this as a matter of fact, for we must remind our critics that non-co-operation is not a new stunt for the Justice Party, and the world knows that long before any political party in India thought of non-co-operation, long before the Congress dreamt of it as a practical issue, the Justice Party adopted it and practised it with perfection when the Feetham and South borough Committees visited India almost ten years ago. It is not because we are frightened of non-co-operation or would

hesitate to practice it, if the interests of our country really demand such a course, that we say that the resolution, whatever else it may mean, is not a gesture of non-co-operation.

Among those who have criticised the resolution is Sir K. V. Reddi Naidu, ex-Minister and a prominent leader of the non-brahmins. In the course of an interview, Sir K. V. Reddi stated: "It is impossible for me to accept the resolution. I consider it fundamentally opposed to the basic principles of S. I. L. F. not to speak of its inconsistencies with the fact of ourselves having worked dyarchy for six years. I cannot subscribe to such a resolution, for its inevitable consequence would be the wrecking of the existing constitution and thereby placing a heavy handicap in obtaining a decent advance at the next impending stage of our political reform." We must confess to a feeling of surprise that one of the foremost critics of dyarchy should now question the wisdom of passing such a resolution, when the Confederation has only tried to follow the advice given with so much of refreshing candour and vehemence by leaders like Sir K. V. Reddi Naidu. We should like to emphasise the fact that the resolution is really an anticipation of our demand before the Royal Commission, our minimum demand, for during the life time of this Council which expires in 1929, a date which coincides with the statutory period, there is no question of our acceptance of office. A party which worked the reform with so much of honor and dignity without suffering a single defeat, could not naturally even dream of acceptance of office when it was not in a majority, so that the declaration of non-acceptance of office, is the clearest record of its verdict on dyarchy and a forecast of its demand. The resolution, we must repeat, was the most momentous one and reflects not a little, the sagacity of the leaders, for when a great political party lifted the ban on entry into the Congress, it was inevitable that it should give a clear lead as to the

political future of the country, so that the party may not be misrepresented and maligned. Not less important was the need in view of the impending appointment of the Royal Commission, that the party that was perhaps the only political party entitled to express an opinion on dyarchy should state it in clear terms, so that unkindly critics may not later try to make out that the resolution was influenced by any other considerations, except those relevant from the point of view of actual experience. Now, we should have thought from the previous speeches of Sir K. V. Reddy that the resolution would be wholly acceptable to him.

We have already referred in a previous article to the fact that the resolution was foreshadowed in the memorandum submitted by the leader of the party, then Chief Minister, and by the other Ministers to the Muddiman Committee. The only other non-brahmin leader who can speak with authority as an ex-Minister was Sir K. V. Reddi.

On the 18th August, 1924, a debate on the grant of provincial autonomy was initiated in the Local Legislative Council, and perhaps the most outstanding feature of that debate was the masterly speech of Sir K. V. Reddy. Speaking in the course of the debate, Sir Kurma stated: "As one who had some inkling into the inner working of the reforms in its earlier stages, and as one who had his share in the administration under those reforms, I feel it my duty to lay before the House a few of my experiences, which would conclusively show that if there is one resolution that could be accepted unanimously in this House, it is the one that is before the House just at present. I was, Sir, if I may, with your permission, use the first person, a Minister of Development without forests, a Minister of Agriculture without irrigation, and a Minister of Industries without factories, without boilers and without labour. How on earth is it possible for a Minister of Industries to develop industries without the

slightest control over labour, factories, boilers, or electricity? Take again Sir, the Public Works Department. That is a transferred subject. Irrigation and Public Works have got the same staff throughout the whole presidency. But Irrigation is in the hands of an Executive Councillor on the Reserved half, and Public Works are a Transferred subject, so that if one half of the public officers is responsible to this House, the other half is responsible to somebody else. Such a system of divided responsibility is bound to fail. Well, Sir, such a position is found to exist to-day and the only remedy which any one can suggest is that there should be complete provincial autonomy. It has been said that the time has not yet come for full provincial autonomy, that the act has provided for a Commission only once in ten years and that even before three years elapsed, we were coming forward with this extraordinary demand for provincial autonomy. But our demand now is that the time has come for a further advance for provincial autonomy. We show by facts and figures, by the practical difficulties that we have come across in the administration during the three years of the working of the Reforms Scheme in this province, that dyarchy is impossible. That is admitted by everyone in every province, but when we in Madras who have worked the Reform Scheme in the spirit in which the Act was conceived, say that time has come for complete provincial autonomy, I say the voice of this House and of this province must carry greater weight with the authorities than that of other places."

Such indeed was the spirited speech which Sir K. V. Reddy Naidu made from his place in the Legislature and on the occasion of a historic debate, when every word would be weighed and every sentiment carefully scrutinised. And when three years later, with the accumulated evidence of the evils and the defects of dyarchy, his erstwhile colleagues and followers with his rallying cry still ringing in their ears,

translate that speech into a resolution, the ex-Minister is disgusted and is very angry. Sir Kurma states: "Dyarchy is like an improvised bridge, which enables us to pass from the side of an irresponsible bureaucratic Government to the side of a Government responsible to the representatives of the people. What is being done now is the breaking of this bridge before the side is reached. The bridge is sought to be broken before the pedestrians reached but a few spans; there is every danger of their being swept away by the waters underneath." We ask, if such be the views of Sir Kurma, how came it that three years ago, he expressed himself so strongly against dyarchy. Would not his disaster have overtaken us then, and would not the bridge have broken three years ago if the resolution had been accepted? Concluding his memorable speech on the 18th August, 1921, Sir Kurma said, "I hope I have said enough which will convince this House that if really any step is to be taken, if real responsible Government is to be introduced into this country, if really we are to make any advance towards that for which we have been fighting all these years, then I say the first step, the nearest step, the smallest step, would be the grant of provincial autonomy." Why then does Sir Kurma think that the Confederation which has taken the smallest step, and the nearest step by recording its considered opinion for non-acceptance of office till provincial autonomy is granted—why does Sir Kurma contend that in following his own advice, the Confederation has passed a resolution fundamentally opposed to the basic principles of the S. I. L. F. and that it is inconsistent with the fact of ourselves having worked dyarchy for six years? Verily, there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in our philosophy!

We must again reiterate that by passing this resolution the Justice Party has shown its patriotism, practical sagacity and

statesmanship. It may be that Congressmen, as remarked by Mr. George Joseph, after many years of wandering and futility are coming round to a grasp of political reality and are eager to form a Ministry. It may be that to superficial critics of his type the resolution may spell of 'political lunacy' and may seem 'sheer perversity and sticking in mud.' But we feel sure that educated non-brahmins far from repudiating the decision against the non-acceptance of office would heartily welcome that decision, and would watch with amusement the Congress Party donning the cast-off robes of the Justicites under the advice of such patriots as Mr. Joseph. (11-7-27)

DYARCHY REDIVIVUS

Only the actions of the just
Smell sweet, and blossom in their dust.

T. Shirley.

The feeble enthusiasm that is displayed in Congress circles especially in Tamil Nadu for the wrecking of the Dyarchic system of Government in this province is an indication of the extent to which public life has been demoralised by the association of irresponsibility with power and patronage. For six long years the Justice Party has been the subject of fierce attacks and the most severe criticism was based on its supposed predilection to exercise patronage. Our readers who have followed the career of the Independent Ministry would have easily realised that the darkest deeds alleged against the Justice Ministry pale into insignificance before the undisputed and irrefutable acts of vandalism perpetrated by the Independents. The wholesale exercise of the powers of nomination, the persecution of Justicites by every method possible, the utter overthrow of all law and justice when required by the Swarajist to do so, the shameless acts of jobbery and nepotism carried on without a blush and the defence put forward that powers

are given to be exercised, have, to use the expressive language of the Coimbatore Confederation, brought the administration of some of the departments into contempt. When it is further realised that this holocaust of justice and fairplay is to help the Swarajist opposition, to strengthen their position in the district and to appease their parched thirst for power and patronage, one can understand and even sympathise with the absence of enthusiasm and even the coldness with which the idea of wrecking Dyarchy, is now received by the Swarajists. They have tasted the sweets of office without having the responsibility or the burden of it. They are still licking their fingers and constantly sticking them in the Ministerial jampot and it is not human nature to expect them to stand by principles—dry and severe as such principles are bound to be. The excuse that they pleaded once cannot be advanced before any sane set of persons. The Coimbatore resolutions have cleared the atmosphere and placed the matter beyond the reach of controversy. The rank and file among the Swarajists who have not received and do not care to receive favours from the Ministry and who are comparatively innocent of the Tammany Hall methods that have been pursued, are eager and anxious to follow their clean and clear cut methods and to redeem their election pledges. They have been fooled once by the baseless threat of a possible Justice Ministry and they have awakened to the fact that these threats were placed before them for ulterior purposes by designing individuals. They do not evidently intend to toe line which the selfishness of over-prosperous leaders may suggest. But some of the leaders do not desire that the Ministry should be defeated. They feel that their importance and fortunes depend on the continuance of a benami regime. The position is in all conscience difficult but it is not beyond solution by the subtle intellects which command the obedience of the Swarajist group.

We understand that attempts are being made to disorganise the party to some extent, so that the motion of no-confidence may not be carried. But it is realised that however much the party may be disorganised and some of the members either remain neutral or absent themselves, the voting on the motion would show that a large majority of the elected members will be in favour of the no-confidence motion. The position created thereby will be difficult to justify, if the Ministry continues in office. The amiable and singularly patriotic Ministers who stated that they will quit their office the moment they saw that the people did not want them, would find it impossible to retain their seats. The hour when *Jai Seetharam* should be uttered, would have unequivocally struck. And even His Excellency who has continued his Ministers after they had been thrice defeated on budget motions, would have to reconsider the position if the Ministry is defeated either absolutely or even on its elected strength on the no-confidence motion. The Swarajist leaders are therefore preparing themselves for an eventuality which they realise cannot be avoided. They have started the theory that the vote of no-confidence is really a censure on the system of Dyarchy and not on the Ministers. They state quite explicitly that they have ample confidence in the Ministers but that their objections is only to the Government under which they have to function.

We understand that some of them have even assured His Excellency the Governor that they will make it clear in their speeches that they have nothing personal to suggest against the Ministers and that they will confine themselves to a condemnation of the bare dyarchic system. Under such circumstances, they have suggested to His Excellency that the very wide latitude given to him will not oblige His Excellency to demand the resignation of his ministers. We cannot vouch for the absolute accuracy of

these statements but we shall not be surprised if they prove to be correct. The August session and the speeches made by the leaders of the Swarajist Party then will establish the truth or otherwise of these statements. We wish to keep the public informed of the trend of events so that they may follow the ensuing debate intelligently and thoroughly appreciate the point of the speeches. It is no doubt hard to call upon some of the Swarajists who have continuously received favours from the Ministry, to vote for a resolution of no-confidence in the Ministry. The situation is getting really interesting and we are promised a rare good time in studying political insincerity and hypocrisy. (2-8-27)

LORD BIRKENHEAD'S LATEST

Forget not the great assays,
The cruel wrong, the scornful ways,
The painful patience in delays,
Forget not yet!

Sir T. Wyatt

The speech of the Secretary of State for India in the House of Lords reads like the summing up of a clever and eloquent lawyer before a jury whose verdict he wishes to snatch against its better judgment, rather than like the pronouncement of a responsible administrator or a far-seeing statesman. That His Lordship should have after two years of office repeated the sentiments and almost the very words of the speech that he delivered when first he gave expression to his views on India as Secretary of State is a remarkable proof of the essentially conservative attitude of his mind. Lord Birkenhead is a thorough going 'No-changer' whose consistency of policy and attitude will put many a Congressman with his vacillating policy, to shame.

Speaking in the House of Lords in July 1925 the noble Lord said: "It would, indeed, have been an assumption of omniscience alien to the Anglo-Saxon tradition, for Parliament to assume so high a prophetic gift as to declare that in no circumstances should the date of the Commission be accelerated. In fact the door was never closed; it is, on the contrary, open to-day but the condition is clear and precise. There will be—there can be—no re-consideration until we see everywhere among the responsible leaders of Indian thought evidence of a sincere and genuine desire to co-operate with us in making the best of the existing constitution." The Secretary of State reiterates the same sentiment to-day and does not see any signs of change in the feeling or attitude of the Indians. It seems to us that it is only a mentality schooled against recognising all changes, thoroughly immured to the idea that the political condition of India should be crystallised in its present form, that can fail to observe the radical change that has come over the people.

Lord Birkenhead in spite of all his protestations has been a signally unsympathetic 'friend of India.' He believes that the 'remarkable and extremely bold experiment' of 1919 was made in 'an atmosphere of post-war idealism.' He has admitted on a previous occasion that he was never a particularly enthusiastic supporter of the policy of the late Mr. Montague. It is no wonder that a statesman imbued with such feelings should come to the conclusion that no further steps can be taken at the present time. His Lordship cannot be blind to the mutations of Indian politics during the last six years.

We started with rejecting the Reform Scheme altogether, with stating that it was unworthy of acceptance, with preaching a complete boycott of the Councils created under that Scheme. That mentality of negation disappeared at the very first stage in the experiment and men of all parties contested

the second elections. The obstructive policy of the Swarajists whom His Lordship has on his brains, was successful only in two of the Provinces, Bengal and the Central Provinces. In the last election a further change took place; a considerable section seceded from the Swarajists ranks; the new party, the Responsive co-operators came into existence and to-day there is not a single Province in the whole country where the dyarchic system is not working. It is perfectly true that all schools of thought are to-day united in condemning the dyarchic system but they have tried, most of them at any rate, to loyally accept the constitution and to work it in the hope that it may lead to a better and happier political state.

Lord Birkenhead has not been an admirer of the present system either. He has told us that he entertained great doubts of the reform scheme. I "myself was always very distrustful of the dyarchical principle, says His Lordship" It seemed to me to savour of the kind of pedantic and hide bound constitution to which Anglo-Saxon communities have not generally responded, and which in my anticipation was unlikely to make a successful appeal to a community whose political ideas were, thanks in the main to Macaulay, so largely derived from Anglo-Saxon models." How, we ask, can he complain if even the most loyal of Indians complain of this pedantic and hide bound constitution and desire that a change should be brought about, whereby the tension of the day may be relieved. His Lordship speaks of irrational obstruction being a powerful argument against the extension of reforms and suggests that only during the last four months is there some slight indication of a desire on the part of the people to collaborate in the better Government of India. His Lordship has evidently forgotten the peason of glory to the working of the act in the provincial councils which he himself sang two years back. His Lordship said:—"Not all the resources of a very adroit and sophisti-

ated party have availed to destroy this experimental constitution and indeed, I, who was prepared to curse, upon the balance of the whole matter find myself almost inclined to bless. His Lordship then reviewed with satisfaction the position in the several provinces and stated that the constitution had not altogether failed.

But in the present occasion when the prospect is brighter, when every province has accepted the Scheme, the Secretary of State taunts Indians with not collaborating with the Government. Nor is his reference to the Hindu-Moslem conflict conceived in a happy vein. In 1925 Lord Birkenhead stated that the tension between Hindus and Moslems has nothing to do with the constitution but to day he is so impressed with the communal conflicts that he feels no political progress is possible. The speech leaves one the impression that a statesman who is determined not to make any advance has been reinforcing his position by arguments gathered from all available sources without reference to their value or merit. It is not that the difficulties of the situation have driven Lord Birkenhead to take the view that no progress is possible at present but that the Secretary of State who is determined not to progress has discovered difficulties enough to justify his position.

We are not surprised at the conclusion to which Lord Birkenhead has arrived. He is the foremost Conservative of his party, a man of strong will and determined ideas, probably, the inspirer if not the leader of that 'ginger group' which has recently been formed inside the Ministerial ranks to force the leader to more reactionary ways. His Lordship has merely translated into elegant English the supercilious notions of high Imperialism and gingo patriotism. The question of the hour is, what shall be the response of India to the challenge of the Secretary of State. Lord Birkenhead has taken advantage of the situation

caused by internal dissensions and mutual recrimination, by the jealousies of leaders and the over-zealousness of followers. He has merely followed the traditions of those ancestors of his whom he once referred to as having laboured through generations for the 'well-being of India.' Any suitable retort to Lord Birkenhead will sound ridiculous to-day. If the nation can organise itself, if selfishness and distrust give place to a really high national spirit, if we cease to be narrowly communal and monopolistic, if we get the Indian National Congress freed from its present bondage to a caucus and make it the representative body of the nation then and not till then can we give a suitable and dignified reply to Lord Birkenhead and gentlemen of his persuasion. Hard words, violent phrases which give exercise to the spleen but hurt no one, cannot be that dignified response.

The Conservative Government stands exposed to-day in all its nakedness and in fact any other British Government would be not very different. The idea of political reform will be an illusion till the country unites. The remedy is with us, the arbiters are ourselves and not any foreign Parliament. And when that union is brought about, when individual glorification of leaders ceases to interest the nation, when Hindu and Moslem, Brahmin and Non-brahmin, the high caste and the low have made real sacrifices each according to the benefits he has enjoyed in the past, then shall we be able to dictate our terms to the British Imperialists. We shall tell them that they will be following 'a political will-O-the-wisp' if they believe that 'the changeless East will always submit to an autocracy.' We shall tell them that the 'intelligent discharge of their responsibilities' will mean a permanent partnership between East and West and that 'an irrational policy of Imperialism' will bring about that dissolution which they dare not face.

The years ahead are critical, and if the events in

the Far East, the cataclysmic changes which have taken place in Japan, in Turkey and Persia and which are to-day happening in China will not open the eyes of the most ancient of the Asiatic people, let us hope that the speeches of Western dogmatic Imperialists atleast will bring about an awakening. Lord Birkenhead goes so far as to suggest that the Government of India Act may be amended so as to obviate the necessity of a Parliamentary Commission and states that Indians are not anxious for such a Commission. We do not feel that the world will come to an end if Parliament should so amend the Act and His Lordship is perfectly justified in believing that a large section of the public do not wish for such a Commission. The feeling is gaining ground that the findings of the Commission have been anticipated by the authorities and that the Royal Commission will merely echo the preconceived notions of Lord Birkenhead.

Of one thing however we should like to assure His Lordship, that no political party with an eye on the electorate could accept to work the present dyarchic system after 1929. They have so far worked it at great risk to their popularity in the belief that they were serving the highest interests of the country and that by such co-operation further reforms may be obtained. His Lordship may be pleased to learn that if no progress is made in 1926 the country as a whole, obstructionists, responsivists, loyalists and co-operators alike will be only too happy to humbly decline with thanks this precious gift of a dyarchic Government. We fervently hope that the country will address itself seriously to the task that lies before it. (1-4-27.)

WHITHER DRIFTING

Cursed be the social wants that sin against the strength of youth;
Cursed be the social lies that warp us from the living truth!
Cursed be the sickly forms that err from honest Nature's rule!
Cursed be the gild that gilds the straiten'd forehead of the fool!

Tennyson

The passage of time has inevitably brought to prominence the question of the constitution, which, not all the attempts of the most thoughtful and far-seeing of Indian politicians could make a live question requiring immediate attention, during the last five years. It is said that a prominent English politician whose correspondence was unduly large and whose habits of procrastination were deeply ingrained, had a golden maxim of never answering such correspondence as the letters answered themselves by the mere lapse of time. A similar formula has apparently been observed by the British Cabinet. Whatever its form or constitution may have been, it just pursued a policy of masterly inactivity and retained a sphinx-like silence to the numerous resolutions of the various Congresses and Conferences, not to speak of Provincial Councils and Legislative Assemblies in whom an enraptured Under-Secretary is daily discovering more and greater virtues.

In reply to the debate on India initiated by Mr. Lansbury to whom the task of heckling the Conservative Government regarding India has apparently been consigned, Lord Winterton stated, and quite truly at this time of day, that the actual date of the Royal Commission was a matter of comparative insignificance and that Government were preparing evidence to be placed before such a Commission. The statement is disingenuous but the absurdity of pretending indifference to the date at the present juncture and quoting Indian opinion in favour of it, must be apparent to everyone. Earl Winterton could have gone further and stated with a great deal of truth that not merely the date of the

constitution of the Commission but the fact of such constitution is gradually becoming a matter of supreme indifference to the Indian public. The repetition of and insistence on the slogan of co-operation has disgusted the most confirmed believer in the good intentions of the British Government. In spite of all assertions to the contrary this cry has merely come to mean an abject and service obedience to whatever is done by erring agents in this country in the name of the British Government.

The problem is far more serious to-day than ever it was during the days of Mr. Montague. The distinction between the two periods is transparent to any one who has even a nodding acquaintance with events in India. In 1917 when the famous declaration was made India had not yet found its real strength. Its people had not awakened to a sense of what is their due. The peaceful pathetic contentment of the masses was not stirred to the very depth. Autocracies existed in several parts of the world and the belief in democratic institutions was not so firmly rooted that no other form of Government dare be advocated for any civilized country. It cannot be asserted that the fullest and most complete development has taken place in India or that ideal conditions exist for complete Self-Government. But the change has been remarkable. No country in the world not excluding Russia has so completely and bewilderingly been revolutionised as India has been. Political consciousness cannot any more be said to be the exclusive privilege of a small sect or a narrow intelligentsia. It is fully realised that in the neglected villages, in its hamlets and outlandish parts lies the real strength of India. The masses have awakened to a sense of their importance and what is due to them, and the trouble is not much to make them realise their position as to instil into them, an idea of the limitations of their position. India was in a shell of its own deeply encrusted in its prejudices

unmindful and unconscious of the outside world. To-day it is taking an active interest in international politics. It sees nations far less cultured, organised or disciplined taking an independent position while it is still in serfdom. Little Albania and Yugo Slavia can play the part of incensed rocks but the giant India must still believe that it is a toddling infant unable to sit up, much less to walk about.

The irresistible march of events has been a greater object lesson to Indians in Self-Government and in its essentials than all the practice that Ministers and Councillors can have by trying to work the impossible Dyarchic system of Government. It is a realisation of this change that has come over India which made Lord Lytton say that the country was going through such quick alteration that within three months he was feeling out of date.

In a thoughtful article contributed to '*The Daily Mirror*' Lord Lytton puts the problem of India in a nutshell. "There is a school of opinion in this country" says Lord Lytton "which professes to believe that British interests should not affect our policy in India, but that Indian interests alone should determine our action. There is also a school in India which holds the same opinion, and claims that it is a moral duty of Great Britain to satisfy India regardless of British interests." "This doctrine of trusteeship" continues Lord Lytton "has led to a great deal of cant and hypocrisy on one side and a great deal of irritation on the other. If there is to be sincerity in the discussions of the problem of India's future, it would be well for those who discuss it in both countries to remember and respect the limitations imposed by the national interests of each." That is the real crux of the problem and we are glad that Lord Lytton with his usual frankness has stated the case. Neither country will give up its national interests, whatever a few thoughtless or selfish individuals on either side may say.

The problem of the hour is to so adjust these conflicting and often divergent interests as to harmonise the existing relations between the two countries. "A free, independent strong united, self-governing and self supporting India is a contented and friendly member of the Confederation of free nations that form the British Empire would undoubtedly be beneficial to British interests. On the other hand, such a country with no ties of affinity with the Empire, hostile, unfriendly and ready to make common cause with the enemies of this country, would 'as undoubtly be prejudicial to British interests.'" Truer words than these have rarely been given expression to by British statesmen. His Lordship realises that the answer to this does not depend on India alone. If a constant irritant is applied to India, if the die-hard element is specially truculent and encourages the renegade Indian to air his reactionary views, if there is constant ridicule poured on the Indian's fitness for Self-Government and the supercilious assumption made that all Europeans are adepts at playing the democrats, if the statesmen at the helm, as unfortunately is the case to day, make the most unsympathetic speeches and put forward the most unreasonable conditions, if the country is constantly reminded of the mailed fist, then the idea of India being friendly towards Britain must be given up as an impossibility.

The march of events will make it inevitable that India should attain her goal and it is that time that her relations with Britain are of real importance. A feeling of soreness, of having dragged from unwilling hands that which was her due, cannot make for a happy relationship between the two countries. India may be divided, her people may mistrust each other Hindu and Moslem may have not complete confidence in each other; political parties may fly at each other's throat; but it is none-the-less true that to day the relationship between the two countries is not over-

friendly and that a certain section of her countrymen—though a small one—are ready to make common cause, or at any rate to sympathise with every enemy of Britain.

As Lord Lytton rightly observes at present the relations between the two countries are unhealthy. The statesmen are suspicious of each other. The intentions of each are ill-defined and the consequent 'uncertainty breeds mistrust.' Broad statesmanship, generous and high principles of administration and keen foresight, is what is required to bridge the widening gulf. A gesture and sincere friendship will not be without its echo in a land where gratitude is proverbial and inborn. Will that gesture be forth coming? If not whither are we drifting? (20-6-27)

THE STATUTORY COMMISSION AND AFTER

Yet Freedom! yet, thy banner, torn but flying,
Streams like a thunderstorm against the wind.

Byron

India and Anglo-India are equally exercised over the question of the coming Royal Commission to inquire into the working of the Government of India Act. English newspapers occasionally have startling news about possible Chairmen of the Royal Commission, and speculation of rife regarding the personnel of the Commission. Anglo-India is certain that the best results could be obtained by having on the Commission men whose one qualification is their blissful ignorance of Indian conditions, political or social. The 'open mind' theory is being trotted out to such ridiculous extent that it is beginning to be suspected that what is wanted is not an 'open mind' but a 'vacant mind', which can be filled with ideas which Anglo-India is so full of. At the other extreme are Indian politicians, retired Executive Councillors or Ministers,

prospective members of the Royal Commission, who are sanguine that the millennium will be arrived at, if a few Indians are on the Commission. They are convinced that the sweetly reasonable attitude, which such Indians will adopt, may result in an unanimous report, which will advance the political status of the nation. The tragedy of the whole situation lies in the fact that the country to-day is supremely indifferent to the constitution of such a Royal Commission. It realises that the object of such a Commission is to postpone the advent of real Swaraj. The spectacle of leaders, associations and Congresses vying with each other in presenting memoranda and submitting evidence, which was a feature of the Montague Chelmsford enquiry, will certainly not be repeated. The country was at one time anxious that a Commission should come. It suggested a Round Table Conference. But that was some years back. Since then, much has happened to disillusionise the people.

The motive of the Government in appointing the Royal Commission, at this stage, is all too clear. The Conservative Government is anxious to carry through as much of its reactionary programme as possible. It is painfully aware that its days of power are numbered, that in the coming 1929 elections, it cannot possibly have the strength that it possesses to-day, and that it may even find itself in a minority in the House. The Trade Union Bill which has been rushed through, and the House of Lords reform which is proposed to be rushed through Parliament, are indications of the coming eclipse of the Conservative Party. Lord Birkenhead, therefore, desires to go out of his way and to finish the work of Indian reform during his regime, so that the task may be done after his own heart.

It is a pity that Indian opinion has not correctly appreciated this aspect of the question. The time has not come for the constitution of a Royal Commission. It is true that

Indians wanted a revision of the Reforms scheme earlier than 1929, but the Government which spurned the request of Indians at the time, cannot with impunity be permitted to choose its own time for constituting the Commission.

If Shylock should have his pound of flesh, and says that he wants it according to law, let us see to it that the strict letter of the law is applied. Section 84-A of the Government of India Act lays down :—

(1) At the expiration of ten years after the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919, the Secretary of State, with the concurrence of both Houses of Parliament shall submit for the approval of His Majesty, the names of persons to act as a Commission for the purposes of this Section (2) The persons whose names are so submitted, if approved by His Majesty, shall be a Commission for the purpose of inquiring into the working of the system of Government, the growth of education, and the development of representative institutions in British India, and matters connected therewith, and the Commission shall report as to whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish the principle of Responsible Government, or to extend, modify, or restrict the degree of Responsible Government then existing therein, including the question whether the establishment of second chambers of the local Legislature is, or is not, desirable. (3) The Commission shall also inquire into and report on any other matter affecting British India and the Provinces, which may be referred to the Commission by His Majesty."

It is obvious that a Commission cannot be appointed before the end of 1929, and Lord Winterton has admitted that the Act should be amended if the Statutory Commission should started earlier than in 1929. The issue before the Indian public is a straight and clear one, Are they going to permit the Baldwin Government to perpetrate what would amount to a fraud on their power by amending the

Act and expediting the enquiry, or will they make it clear that they resent these tactics? The remedy is in their own hands. Indian opinion may be divided on the advisability of boycotting the Statutory Royal Commission.

There are those who feel that every effort should be made to place the Indian view-point before that body. We can understand and even appreciate this view. But there cannot be, there ought not to be any difference of view in boycotting a Commission, which is obviously constituted with a motive, whose existence is hastened for ulterior purposes, and whose constitution will be a fraud on the original intentions of the framers of the Act. We trust that Indians of all shades of opinion will give expression to their views in time. If, in spite of their views, a Royal Commission is thrust on them by an expiring Government, they have the remedy in their own hands of making it a ridiculous and innocuous body. They will resolve that no self-respecting individual will place his views before that body, and that no association which makes a pretence of representing public opinion, will send its delegates to give evidence before that body. The Commission may come, tour through the country, dine with Governors and European Associations and go back. Indians will have neither share nor part in such a Commission. (27-11-27)

II

The suggestive though cautious replies of Earl Winterton in the House of Commons to the series of questions that have been put to him regarding the appointment of the next Statutory Commission to enquire into the working of the Indian reforms, show clearly that the announcement of such a Commission is imminent. It is not unlikely that directly on the return of Mr. Baldwin from Canada a statement on the subject will be made. We know that there are a certain

number of politicians in our country belonging to all parties who are on the tiptoe of expectation regarding the personnel and who have spent sleepless nights and restless days contemplating the possible candidates for such a Commission. We have made our own position with reference to the Commission clear on a former occasion and we expressed our emphatic opinion that the appointment of such a Commission at the present moment is not dictated by any desire to help the Indian cause.

We pointed out that while we were eager regarding the constitution of the Commission in 1924 or even in 1925, the lapse of years has deadened that desire to accelerate the enquiry which was dominant among all sections of the public. Anglo-Indian journals have often twitted the politicians about their apathy towards the Commission at the present moment and have suggested that it is due to a consciousness of the disadvantageous circumstances in which they are placed owing to conflict of interests and opinions among the different communities. They have pointed out with a certain amount of satisfaction that the deep fissure that exists to-day between the two great communities, the religious intolerance that prevails, the physical combats that have been an unfortunate feature of public life in Northern India, are really the cause of the extreme reluctance of the Indians to face the Commission. They have stated that Indians are convinced that the enquiry if held at present, would not help the cause of political advance but would rather, by the sheer weight of the evidence recorded, tend towards retarding such advance. It need hardly be stated that such a view of the situation hardly takes into cognisance either the feeling of the people or the real mentality of the nation. It binds itself to the obvious fact that there is a section which will wholeheartedly welcome a retrograde policy and even the withdrawal of the present scheme not on the ground that it has lost faith in democracy

but rather than on the ground that such a policy will unite the different political parties and make them more determined than ever to attain the common goal of all.

But without taking into consideration these two extreme views, we should like to ask those who are so eager about the Statutory Commission, why it is that the Committee is proposed to be appointed at this stage. As we have already pointed out the Government of India Act specifically states that the Statutory Royal Commission should be constituted at the expiration of ten years after the passing of the Act. It is therefore clear that no commission as is statutorily prescribed can be appointed before 1929. If however Anglo-India and a few misguided Indians who have fallen into the trap, desire the period to be shortened, the Secretary of State will be compelled to approach Parliament for an amendment of the Act and such an amendment cannot be carried out before the end of the current year. One wonders why the powers that be, are so keen, why Anglo-India is so solicitous of a Royal Commission being appointed so much earlier than the period fixed. If Indians desire to postpone the appointment of a Commission owing to domestic infelicity, it appears to us that Anglo-India and its advocates in England are not quite the innocent babes that they wish others to understand them to be and that there is a deep and well-conceived purpose behind their solicitude. The startling suggestions made from time to time regarding the composition of the Committee, the naive idea that no Indian should be on the Committee, the still more curious suggestion that they should form a body of assessors, all tend to show that Anglo-Indian opinion desires to impede political progress and not to help it.

Nor is the reason for the precipitating of the Commission far to seek. The Conservatives are in power to-day and their Cabinet is dominated by masterful reactionaries.

Lord Birkenhead is a Secretary of State entirely after the heart of the die-hards. Their interests are perfectly safe in his hands. A commission constituted under his auspices is bound to be a safe Commission. Time brings about terrible revenges and even Anglo-India is perturbed at what may happen in 1929 when the present Conservative Government has to face the electorate. The chances are not remote that the Labour Party may come into power. The flapper vote is an unknown danger. The Trade Union Act has roused the sleeping dogs and Labour is more united than ever. The still-born proposals of the Government regarding the reconstitution of the House of Lords, have only served to create a feeling of uneasiness all over the country and have blown the smouldering embers of Liberalism into a flicker of a flame. The die-hards feel that the Augurs cannot presage the same good time after 1929 which they are undoubtedly having at the present day. Hence their anxiety to finish the 'good work' before it is too late, to get a Committee constituted after their own heart and if possible to pronounce judgement on the Committee's report and stave off the possibility of the Labour Party laying its unwholy hands on the sacred constitution of India.

We are not among those who believe that the millennium will dawn when Labour deals with Indian questions, but we bound to confess that if it is a question of England 'granting' are reforms and concessions, there are greater chances of a liberal measure of reforms being granted by Labour than by the Conservatives. We therefore regret to note that many of the Indian leaders are more concerned with the personnel of the Commission and with the place that Indians will have on it than with the essential question whether it is for the good of the country that any Commission should be sent out at present and by the present Government.

At such a critical juncture in the political situation it is, to say the least improper that News agencies in this country should try not merely to collect news but to create views on the question of the coming Royal Commission. The Associated Press representatives have occasionally shown a tendency to lead public opinion rather than to merely convey the views of real politicians. We are aware of members of the staff of the Associated Press trying as special correspondents of certain journals, to air their own views, to mould the opinion of the less robust members of the Assembly or to give a peculiar turn to discussions of the Legislature so that they may point the moral they desire to be conveyed. It is possible that other News agencies are not free from the same defect for it is an undoubted defect in a pure News agency to try to deflect public opinion along certain lines. We cannot sufficiently deprecate such tendencies in our young News agencies. We are forced to make these observations specially in connection with a news message which we have received regarding the constitution of the Royal Commission. We have not troubled our readers with what we consider a jejune message. We claim to know as much of public opinion in this Presidency at least, as the news agencies and when we are told that 'speculation is rife in political circles in Madras over the probability of the Statutory Commission coming out this year' we decline to be excited and to go into flutters over this so-called speculation. As far as we are aware there is hardly any responsible politician who is keenly exercised over this question and the further problem whether the Commission should be boycotted or not has hardly come on the horizon of practical politics. We notice further that it is stated that 'the Non-brahmin Party is reticent but not those in the counsels of the Party over certain opinions.' We can only say that there is no justification for this statement and that the question

has not been yet considered either by the Confederation or even by a single Branch Association of the Liberal Federation. If the accuracy of the rest of the precious message is to be judged by this piece of information, we can only offer our condolence to the other political parties whose views have been represented in the message.

We repeat again that we deprecate the course which certain News agencies follow of trying to shape the views of political parties or to draw them out into a discussion on questions which are premature. We should like to offer a piece of friendly advice to the News agencies in India, that they will consult their own interests best by curbing their zeal for the adventurous and trying to give news in as impartial a manner as possible. Meanwhile we decline to concern ourselves with a Commission which we still hope will not be appointed prematurely and for ulterior purposes, and which, if it should come at all, should come only after the efflux of the statutory period. (1-8-27)

III

The *Sunday Times* is responsible for the statement that the Royal Commission will not be constituted before next autumn and that it will not be in a position to visit India before the winter of 1928. No responsible group of Indians will regret the postponing of the Commission. The tangled situation in this country the aggravated state of the communal problem and the lack of clear and agreed views on the advance that is required—all point out to the advisability of postponing the date of enquiry. As we have stated on more than one occasion, Indians stand to gain and not to lose by the delay. The Act of 1919 requires that the Parliamentary Commission should be constituted not earlier than ten years from the passing of the Act. Even if the Commission were to be formed in 1928, an amending bill will be necessitated to legalise that body.

But the question is not so much the formation of a Commission, which is inevitable, as the attitude of the British mind. Reports received from England during the past few months are not favourable to Indian interests and do not augur well for the future of the peace of the country. That English opinion is hardening itself against further advance, that it is not sympathetic to Indian progress, that Indians are not looked upon with respect or treated with kindness, is becoming increasingly clear day by day. Students, merchants and tourists have conveyed their impressions to the Indian press and these impressions have almost invariably strengthened the view that Britain is becoming more and more reactionary towards India.

Indian politicians—the most sober amongst them—have likewise come to the same conclusion. In an interview published elsewhere, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, on the eve of his departure from England, states that opinion is hardening against the inclusion of Indians in the Statutory Commission. The impression appears to be that nothing which England can offer will satisfy Indian public opinion, that it is therefore futile to expect either the goodwill or the co-operation of Indians in such matters, and that therefore the only course is for England to do what it considers best for the future of India. We regret very much that such a view should be entertained in any responsible quarter. It does injustice to the large body of Indian opinion which has supported to the extent that in reason it could, various measures of Government. It does injustice to the statesmanship of British ministers, for it represents England's control over India as an absolute and undiluted autocracy. We are not among those who believe that the millennium would dawn, if there were a certain number of Indians—or even a majority—on the Statutory Commission. We have had experiences of committees whose composition was so based, and which yet

did not satisfy any party. After all, the recommendations of any commission will be advisory in nature, and will be subjected to the careful scrutiny of the Indian press and to the effective criticism of the India Office and later of the British Parliament.

But the exclusion of all Indians from the Commission, which Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru foresees, will be a calamity, because of the interpretation which will be put on such an act by Indian opinion. It will make it clear that every Indian is to-day a suspect in British eyes, that no Indian is credited with sobriety of opinion or that none can be credited with that moral courage, which enables one to give expression to views, which may be hotly criticised by one's countrymen. Is England justified in coming to such a conclusion? Let the history of previous commissions answer. It is our experience that Indians are generally more anxious to adopt a conciliatory attitude than Englishmen. Apart however from this undeserved reflection on Indian politicians, such a step will be welcomed by the obstructive elements in the country. It will revive the drooping spirits of those who are out to raise false issues and to make the country chase will-o-the-wisps. There is a section of extremist opinion, which is already advocating boycott of the Commission. These false prophets would find ready material for their propaganda and the sober section would find it hard to lead evidence before a Commission, on which Indians have been plainly told they had no place.

We do not see what good a Royal Commission can do, if it is faced, as it is likely to be, with an effective boycott under such circumstances by all Indian parties. What chances are there for a fair and dispassionate consideration of any scheme of reforms, however generous, adumbrated under such auspices by. It seems to us that it is queering the whole pitch for any committee to undertake the task of examining the future

progress of the country with such handicaps. There is another aspect of the problem which we should like to draw prominent attention to. We must concede that whatever scheme of reforms be evolved, there will be a section of the public which will be disappointed with it. The task of the statesman will lie in narrowing this class as far as possible. Such being the case, it seems to us that wisdom lies in getting the support of a considerable section of the people to any future scheme of reforms and to make them committed to a support of such reforms. Unless there is that support, it will be a hopeless failure and the new era will start under much worse handicaps than the one which we have just passed through. We have written more in candour than with discretion on the situation, as we visualise it. The situation is so full of menace to the peace of the land that we feel it our duty to place our views frankly before the responsible authorities. We shall examine in another article what we consider will be the bare minimum of political advance which will satisfy reasonable public opinion. (6-10-27.)

IV

The announcements made simultaneously by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons and by the Viceroy at Delhi, regarding the personal and scope of work of the Statutory Commission proposed to be appointed under the Government of India Act, will hardly come as a surprise to those who have been following the pourparlers which have taken place at the Indian and provincial capitals, between the Viceroy and Governors on the one hand and the leaders of various parties on the other. But though the announcement is what the country has been prepared for during the last fortnight nevertheless there is no doubt that it was entirely unexpected by the Indian public. The personnel of the Commission has received wide attention at the hands of the Indian

press and dissappointment and even anger has been freely given expression to the idea that Indians are proposed to be excluded from the Commission. We feel however that the question to be carefully considered by Indians before they decide on what attitude they should adopt towards the Commission is not so much the exclusion of Indians as the spirit underlying the announcement and the angle of vision of those who have decided on the appointment of a purely Parliamentary Commission. We are of opinion that the question of exclusion of Indians by itself, is a matter of secondary importance and that the mere inclusion of a few Indians will not hasten the millennium or produce a report necessarily satisfactory to every shade of Indian public opinion.

The history of Royal Commissions in India is a history of reports where the Indian view expressed in the report has as often been quite as unacceptable to Indian public opinion as the English view. We need only refer to the Public Services Commission presided over by Lord Islington, to the Southbrough and Feetham Committees, to the Rowlatt Committee, to various committees on fiscal reform, on currency problems and last though not least in importance to the Muddiman Committee itself to illustrate and emphasise the point that the mere inclusion of a few Indian names is not a panacea for all the political evils we are suffering from.

But the question still remains in what spirit the exclusion of Indians has been decided upon and what is the mentality behind the announcement of the Premier. His Excellency the Viceroy in his long statement has tried, as perhaps he did in the course of his interviews to explain the motive that induced the authorities in England to decide upon this extraordinary course. His excellency has attempted to give an explanation as to why a Commission should be constituted at

the present juncture when popular opinion seemed to favour the postponement of such a Commission to a later date.

We have carefully perused the statement of His Excellency and we must confess that we are not convinced of the case which Lord Irwin has made out for an earlier Commission. Writing on the 1st August in this journal we pointed out that the act contemplated the constitution of a commission at the end of the decennial period and that if it had to be constituted earlier, an amendment of the Act was necessary. Though some of our contemporaries doubted the soundness of the view yet it is now beyond controversy that the legal position is as we stated, for we find that Lord Birkenhead has introduced a bill in the House of Lords to amend the act so as to make the constitution of a Commission at an earlier date legal.

The question naturally arises as to the need for this anticipation and we made no secret of our apprehension that it was a move on the part of the conservatives to have the question of Indian progress settled during its time of office and not to leave it to its successors. We said: "As we have already pointed out the Government of India Act specifically states that the Statutory Commission should be constituted at the expiration of ten years after the passing of the Act. If however Anglo-India and a few misguided Indians who have fallen into the trap, desire the period to be shortened, the Secretary of State will be compelled to approach Parliament for an amendment of the Act. If Indians desire to postpone the appointment of a commission owing to domestic infelicity it appears to us that Anglo-India and its advocates in England are not quite the innocent babes that they wish others to understand them to be and that there is a deep and well conceived purpose behind their solicitude. The conservatives are in power to-day and their cabinet is dominated by masterful reactionaries. Lord

Birkenhead is a Secretary of State entirely after the heart of the die-hards. Their interests are perfectly safe in his hands. A commission constituted under his auspices is bound to be a safe Commission. Time brings about terrible revenges and even Anglo-India is perturbed at what may happen in 1929 when the present Conservative government has to face the electorate. The die-hards feel that the augurers cannot presage the same good time after 1929 which they are undoubtedly having to-day. Hence their anxiety to finish the 'good work' before it is too late, to get a commission constituted after their own heart and if possible to pronounce judgment on the committee's report and stave off the possibility of the Labour Party laying its unholy hands, on the sacred constitution of India."

His Excellency has not attempted to combat this suspicion and the statement that the Commission has been hastened to prevent the growth of communal bitterness is ingenious but not convincing. Nor is the reason advanced for the exclusion of Indians such as would carry conviction to the Indian public. His Excellency states that 'the desire natural and legitimate of the Indian members to see India a self-Governing nation could hardly fail to colour their judgment of her present capacity to sustain the role.' We may be inclined to accept the position taken up by His Excellency though instances are not wanting where Indians have not been so coloured in their opinions as His Excellency feels they would be. The Viceroy in attempting to be fair to the other side of the question states, "On the other hand there are those who might hold that British official members would be less than human if their judgment were not in some degree affected by long and close contact with the questions to which they would now be invited to apply impartial minds." We are afraid that in this statement of the other side of the question His Excellency has done injustice to his naturally logical and shrewd judg-

ment. Why does His Excellency believe that only British official mind—and by that phrase he obviously means those who were officials in India—would not be unprejudiced. If there is not a single Indian out of 300 millions who can hardly fail to be coloured in his judgment what reason is there to hope that there is a single Britisher who will not be equally prejudiced. If Indians as members of a subject race desire to have self-Government without exception, is it not equally correct to assume that Englishmen, citizens of the ruling race, would without exception desire to have power as long as possible and continue their rule till the last? And if the truth must be faced, will not the Viceroy admit that there will be a larger number of 'reasonably-minded' Indians than Englishmen.

It is apparent that inspite of hallucinations to the contrary entertained in certain quarters it is obvious that conservative, liberal or labour, they are all touched by the same brush and have more or less identical views on Indian questions. The *Daily Herald* may thunder forth against the inequity of excluding Indians from such a Commission and a few labour leaders may express dissatisfaction at the personnel of the Commission but the fact nevertheless remains that two of the members of the Commission are Labour M. Ps., who have accepted to serve on it presumably with the concurrence, if not at the instance, of the Labour leaders.

We repeat again we are not so much concerned at the exclusion of Indians as at the spirit manifest in such a proceeding. If really the conservative government wanted men who had no bias in the matter to serve on it, we could have understood them, if they had appointed a commission consisting a few Frenchmen, a couple of Germans, Fascist Italian, a Czech and perhaps a Japanese. With such a commission the Viceroy could have made out a convincing case for an unbiassed investigation of

the Indian position. The present defence is self-condemnatory and will not convince anyone. His Excellency in the course of his statement makes an appeal to the finer feelings of the nation. Knowing the high and noble qualities of His Excellency we realise the genuine feeling breathing through that appeal. But we are again constrained to add that His Excellency has not correctly appreciated the position. When the Viceroy speaks of 'all friendships being subject at times to strains which are the sovereign tests' he gives expression to a fundamental truth. But we should also like to add that friendship is mutual and that it is possible to question the nature and extent of that friendship which wantonly puts a strain on a friend.

There is one aspect of the question however which we are in entire agreement with. His Excellency has appealed that the scheme adumbrated by him may not be hastily condemned. Mr. Jinnah in an interview on the eve of the Viceregal statement has made a similar appeal to suspend judgment till the entire position is known and correctly appraised. There is no good in rushing into the public with hasty opinions of boycott and other extreme steps. In times of excitement, and the present is indoubtedly one such, the best of judgments are apt to prove treacherous and a calm and dispassionate consideration of the proposal is desirable in the interests of India itself. The nature of the statement of His Excellency, the obviously sincere attempt of the Viceroy to get the Indian leaders to examine it on its merits and the trouble taken by him during the last few days to explain the scheme, all these deserve at least this consideration at the hands of Indian Leaders that they shall not precipitate their views on so momentous a question but will allow time for the ideas to be properly appraised, and if possible appreciated. Nor can we immediately come to any conclusion as to what attitude should be taken by the country at this crisis and how the

country should reply to the gesture of the British Government. But having said that may we also add in fairness to ourselves that the omens are not propitious; the augurers look gloomy.

"Plucking the entrails of the offering forth,

They could not find a heart within the beast." (9-11-27)

V

We are not surprised to learn that at the meeting held yesterday of the leaders of various parties, it was found that there was no prospect of a unanimous decision being arrived at regarding the attitude to be adopted towards the proposed Statutory Commission. The atmosphere of mistrust that so largely prevails in this province together with the different points of view from which the constitution of the Commission is condemned by the leaders of different parties is apparently the main reason why there was no consensus of opinion as regards the course to be followed. It is obvious that the needs of the situation will not be met by the mere expression of disappointment and resentment at the constitution of the Commission. One has to go further and probe into the causes that give rise to that resentment and the possibility of concerted action depends upon the degree of agreement which prevails with reference to the causes. We are aware that it is suggested that the reasons for condemning a thing may be varied but so long as it is condemned by all parties a common course of action is desirable and practicable. We cannot agree to this view for we feel that at the very next stage if there is the slightest modification in the situation, this union of parties will disappear like a house of cards and the next position will be very much worse than the present. Nor are we satisfied of the bonafides of those who organise these Unity Conferences and their sincere desire to get a common line of action adopted by all parties and adhered to under all the changing circumstances.

We may recall to our readers what happened at the Unity Conference held in Bombay in November 1924 when Mahatma Gandhi himself took an active part in its deliberations. When the leaders of various parties met at Bombay a surprise was sprung upon the house by Mr. C. R. Das moving the resolution relating to the Bengal detainees which was not in the agenda. The question of the Bengal detainees was outside the pale of controversial parties but objection was taken to the moving of the resolution at that stage because the main purpose of the gathering had not been considered. It was pointed out that the Unity Conference would be merely utilised by a few who were anxious about the question of Bengal detainees to get the resolution passed and that thereafter interest would flag with reference to the question of unity. Mahatma Gandhi warmly repudiated the suggestion and took upon himself personal responsibility for solving the question of unity. Subsequent events are still fresh in the minds of the public and they can form their own opinion as to who was correct in his surmise.

We are led into these reflections by the vehement denunciations of the 'Liberal' politicians of the country. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru 'the greatest Roman' of them all, has come out in flaming colours. He has no-confidence in the Secretary of State, Lord Birkenhead. "Do not submit to this indignity, this injustice and this unfair deal." Eloquent words, which raise a warm thrill and make one believe that Sir Sapru has after all unmistakably joined the forces of nationalism. But when we examine the speech of Sir Sapru we find instead of stern nationalism mere pathos; instead of the resentment of a nation, the personal pique of an individual; instead of a sense of dismay at India's future a tone of disappointment at personal exclusion.

We have no desire to be unfair towards our own countrymen. But we should like to know why Sir Sapru thinks that

an indignity has been offered to India to whom injustice has been done and how the deal is unfair. Sir Sapru's wail is over the single fact that Indians have been excluded from the Commission. We ask in all seriousness whether that in itself is a calamity so great as to justify this outburst and lead Sir Sapru and his faithful lieutenant in Southern India Sir Sivaswami to vote for a motion of no-confidence in Lord Birkenhead. We have repeatedly stated that the exclusion of Indians is not an unmitigated evil. We have shown how in past Commissions the Indian element has done as much harm as good. Does Sir Sapru suggest that India should have welcomed the Commission if it had been constituted under exactly similar circumstances but with the addition of a few Indian names? What attitude would Sir Sapru have advised us to adopt the 'Chorus girl of the Empire' the Maharaja of Burdwan was a member of the Committee? How would he have received the announcement of the Commission if the Cinema Star with silver and gold garlands in either hand, the Knight of Ritherdon Road to be Mr. T. Rangachari had been foisted on the Commission? Would Sir Sapru's liberal heart have dissolved in raptures if Sir Sivaswami Iyer who has been painfully expounding his constitutional ideas in the hope that their sublimity would attract world-wide attention, was made a member of the Commission? And would the constitution have received its finishing touches and have been rendered perfect if he himself, Sir Tej Bahadur, ex-Member of the Government of India had been gracefully asked to accept a place on it? These are questions which force themselves on our attention when we consider the attitude of the Liberals and are invited to join in the course they propose to follow.

The Liberals have announced a boycott of the Commission. We shall accept their sincerity and agree that they are genuinely anxious to adopt Sir Sapru's lead and boycott the

Commission. But may we not know how long this attitude will last? Supposing a few Indians are now added to the Committee what will their attitude be? Supposing a proposal such as that which Mr. Fenner Brockway has suggested of a Conference with a Committee of the Indian Legislature is adopted would they still maintain their attitude? If there is no satisfactory answer to these questions the suggestion for concerted action should be discarded altogether. The evil should be guarded against of any party being used to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the liberals. A boycott which would have the effect of placing a few such Liberals as we have mentioned on the Committee and serve no further purpose is not merely futile but is suicidal to the best interests of the country. It would be far better to have the present Committee function as it liked, with no party in India committed to any views or bound by any decisions of that committee.

It seems to us therefore that the very vehemence of the Liberals and their anxiety to threaten a boycott should make other parties hesitate and keep their counsels to themselves. After all the real work of the Commission commences only next year and till then the public are not invited to get into touch with the Committee.

While the position of the Liberals is open to question that of the Swarajists all over the country and particularly in this province is even more suspicious. Their policy has been undergoing rapid metamorphosis. Their position has been frequently changed. They are roaring lions to-day and sucking doves to-morrow. They put on the forbidding airs of an uncompromising critic in one place and they assume the arts and graces of the wooing mistress in another with powder puff and lip—stick complete. The phillipics at the Beach have their counter-part in the swan songs at Hotel Bosotto. Where then do the Leaders, of the Swarajya Party stand with reference to the commission? Are they in favour of any Com-

mission at all? Will they accept a Commission at the end of 1929 and do they object to the date being 'merely anticipated? Is it their conviction that no Commission however composed will be acceptable to them and that only a Round Table Conference can settle the future of India? It is impossible to get any coherent ideas from the valuable monologues of the President of the party. The personal note so overwhelms the impersonal ideas, the subjective moods and tenses so dominate over the objective ideals that one is dazzled and bewildered by the sublime unconsciousness of the President of the Indian National Congress. How long the cloak of extremism will be worn at what stage it will be dropped, where bravado will cease and the beggar's bowl take its place, when the severity of the boycott will give place to the docility of violent co-operation, are 'unknown certainties' of which we have had many practical examples. What would have been the position of any party if it had adopted the stern and unbending patriotism of the Swarajists when they said that none should attend any party got up to honour a bureaucrat? How many genuflexions have there been among the Swarajists including the very President of the Congress who smiled out his bliss when he was seated by the side by Sir Alexander Muddiman? What would have been the position of any party if it had co-operated with the Swarajists when they advocated persistent and continuous obstruction and refusal to accept nominations to membership of Committees. Who are on the Road Committee to-day, on the Cinema Committee and on scores of other Committee?

It is hardly necessary to refer to more instances nearer home and we shall content ourselves with drawing the attention of our readers to just one example. The Swarajists declined to accept Ministerships, stated that the reforms were thoroughly disappointing and advocated complete Swaraj. The Justicites at their Confederation in

Coimbatore passed a resolution stating that it was their conviction that dyarchy was unworkable and should not be worked till provincial autonomy was granted. One could hardly have thought this was a matter of any controversy and certainly none could have imagined that it would have been considered an extreme position to adopt by the Swarajists. And yet the very Deputy Leader of the Party harangued before the European Association that by passing such a resolution the Justicites had taken a more extreme view than the Swarajists and were more irreconcilable. It is obvious that extremism and moderation are poses which so far as the Swarajists are concerned depend on the attitude that the Justicites are prepared to adopt. How then can any concerted action be taken so long as there are individuals at the head of the Swarajya Party so ready to change and alter, to develop from the chrysalis stage of an obstructionist to the butterfly stage of a violent co-operator? Nor has it been made easy for us to act in unison with the Congressmen in this province.

It is an old story which reflects little credit on the province how those who were frantic in their appeals inviting Justicites to enter the Congress put every obstacle in their path directly the Justicites resolved to permit their members to join the Congress. This province is undoubtedly aware of the efforts made in Tamil Nadu to prevent the enrolment of Justicites, the supervising boards appointed and other devices restored to for preventing such a catastrophe. It was only a few days back that we published the open letter to Mahatma Gandhi by the citizens of Salem revealing a most discreditable state of affairs. The fact that none of the monopolists attended the Salem District Congress merely because it committed the sin of having as its delegate Justice Congressmen, is pregnant with meaning and shows the spirit of the ancient law-giver who considered others as untouchables. Finally

we have the classic instance which we referred to the other day of the decision of the Swarajya Party with reference to the Presidentship of the Corporation. The support which the Justice Party extended to the Congress candidate was spurned by a section of the Congressmen on the ground that such support would contaminate the party. Is it with such a party that co-operation is possible? Till there is a thorough change of mentality, till this arrogance disappears, till honesty is more widely prevalent than it is to-day among some of them, no co-operation is possible or desirable. We do not wish to co-operate with an individual who in public pleads for a common platform and in private interviews tells exalted individuals that 'the country is grateful to them for killing communalism'. *Avaunt Brummagem!* Let us wait till honest and sincere men resolve to stand shoulder to shoulder with us in our fight for Swaraj. In the meantime we shall best help the cause of progress by taking counsel within the party and keeping it to ourselves. (14-11-27).

VI

The speeches of the noble Lords in the Upper House on the constitution of the Statutory Commission dispel any lurking hope that there is a sympathetic atmosphere in England or that any particular political party is anxious to appreciate the Indian point of view. The Secretary of State, in a speech, which is formally sympathetic and contains many platitudes about treating Indians as friends and equals, has managed to impress upon India the fact that she is the slave of Britain, ruled with an iron hand, *albeit* it be, according to its rulers, the hand of benevolence. We have been constantly stating that it is not the non-inclusion of Indians that is the real cause of complaint, but the angle of vision from which Indian affairs are looked at, at present. Lord Birkenhead has crystallised the

situation and if his speech has any significance, it means that so long as he can visualise, there is no prospect of putting into practice the grandiose promises so lavishly made in the days of Britain's trouble. It is good for Indians to realise their own impotence, the estimation in which English administrators hold them, and the prospect that stares them in the face.

We shall deal on another occasion with the many inconsistencies, which abound in the speech of the Secretary of State and with the severe condemnation that it has given expression to, unconsciously, of the British administration. To-day we are only concerned with the real implications of that speech and with the obvious lessons that it conveys to India. It is clear that His Lordship is convinced that progress in the direction of self-government is not possible. The numerous divisions into which the country is divided has served as a useful weapon to ridicule the demands of the people.

His Lordship has, we are thankful to see, recognised that there are also a set of persons called Non-brahmins in India, who feel differently from Brahmins and have grievances of their own. But we wish that, instead of merely using this difference to support his theory of the difficulty of selecting Indian members on the Commission, His Lordship had shown some tangible proof of his sympathy for the Non-brahmin Movement.

We have searched through the speeches of Lord Birkenhead in the past in vain to find some suggestion of good-will towards, and some token of understanding of the Non-brahmin Movement. His Lordship must also be aware that latterly, in more than one province, there is a distinct sign of His Lordship's agent and representatives hardening their hearts against such a Movement. It has in fact, become the fashion in some circles to deprecate the Brahmin-Non-brahmin disputes and to suggest that Europeans will have no sympathy for such 'communal activities.' Does His Lordship

then expect us to take him seriously when he talks of the Non-brahmins not accepting the Commission, if they are not represented on it? We do not doubt the fact that Non-brahmins would have resented most rigorously the inclusion of Brahmins and the exclusion of Non-brahmins from the Commission. But it is difficult to realise that His Lordship was solely actuated by a desire to avoid this contretemps in the suggestion he has put forward.

His Lordship has indulged in a long praise of the personnel of the Commission. We do not wish to quarrel with it, though even the recipients of this fulsome praise must realise that it would have been more valuable if on some domestic occasion and not in a matter avowedly non-party, such praise was bestowed. The Prime Minister Mr. Stanley Baldwin, has gone a step further, and improved upon the statement of the Secretary of State. While deprecating any praise of Englishmen, he has given them a character which, not Easterners only, but the whole world will envy. We shall not state what other feelings than envy, the French, the Germans, the Italians and even the Americans will have on reading Mr. Baldwin's peroration. It is clear that Mr. Baldwin believes that he belongs to a chosen race. He quotes with approval Milton who stated that whenever there was a difficult task to perform, God chose an Englishman. No doubt, with ideas like these. Mr. Baldwin finds it difficult to understand how Indians can solve such problems as face the country to-day. If a responsible statesman, the very Premier, can speak in such a manner, it is no wonder that others less responsible should indulge in wild and sometimes vile language.

Sir Hubert Carr, the President of the Annual Meeting of the Calcutta European Association, is reported to have given expression to some choice sentiments. Says Sir Hubert Carr: "I feel it is only personal moral obliquity that

can allow a man to reject the honesty of these pledges and contemplate such a silly, if not wicked, course as boycott of the Commission." We are not surprised at the language, specially if Sir Hubert believes with Mr. Baldwin, that he is a member of the chosen race. He has given us as a very full illustration of how fit and capable according to the testimony of Providence itself, an Englishman is to solve difficult and delicate problems. We shall not give the retort which Sir Hubert deserves, but only ask Indian leaders whether they will now at least realise their position.

The speeches of Lord Birkenhead, Earl Winterton and Mr. Stanley Baldwin are undoubtedly strong provocatives for united and concerted action on the part of Indian leaders. That united action, if it is not possible now, will never be possible. Will Indian leadership rise to the occasion? Unless 'communalism' is given up, unless false and exaggerated notions of superiority are rejected, unless the monopolist in the South and aggressive Mahasabहितes and Moslem Leaguer in the North, make a determined effort to get rid of their communalism, there is no hope of resenting the snubs that India has received. The future will show how far this insult will be swallowed and how far it will be resented. Such resentment cannot obviously be shown by merely using wild language. It must be shown in action and not in rhetoric, in supreme sacrifice not in self-adulation, in a spirit of good-will towards other Indians and not in a carping criticism of their supposed defects. India's best reply to the Extremists, now waying the destinies of the Empire, whether as Cabinet Members or Leaders of the Opposition, is not so much by threats of boycott, as by a real effort at unity—unity which has for its basis the divesting of vested interests and the recognition of legitimate rights and privileges. What will the answer of the communalists be? (26-11-27)

It is time now that the country has had sufficient opportu-

nity, to study and invariably digest the speeches of the various members of Parliament in the debates on the resolution relating to the Statutory Commission, that we should examine in detail the arguments advanced by responsible administrators for the course they have pursued. It will be a profitless deviation to once more refer to the attitude that the country should adopt in regard to the Commission. We notice that it has become the fashion to give expression to 'indignation and resentment' at the non-inclusion of Indians. The most 'constitutional' of leaders in the country, gentlemen in whose very constitution constitutionalism is to be found, have thought it wise to preface their other remarks by an expression of 'indignation' at this exclusion. Sir Mahomed Shafi may protest against the boycott campaign but he feels compelled to express his resentment. So do many others whose 'constitutionalism' has at last found expression.

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We do not know if we come under the category of constitutionalists or will be permitted by the sacred custodians of constitutional principles to a claim to any constitutionalism. But as we have repeatedly stated we feel no sense of resentment at the non-inclusion of Indians, and no indignation at the Commission being an exclusively Parliamentary Commission.

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It is the spirit underlying the whole scheme that makes us feel uneasy. We have taken the advice of Lord Irwin and do not desire to find fault with 'this or that part of the proposals.' We agree that 'the plan stands outlined as a single comprehensive whole and should be so regarded.' But even more important than the plan are the speeches made by the

statesmen at the helm of affairs in recommending the plan for our acceptance. It will considerably help us to understand the psychology of the situation, if we analyse those speeches and unearth the fundamental principles to which the authors of the speeches are committed. There is an Indian proverb which says that it does not matter whether you sit at the top or bottom of the row at a feasting dinner, so long as he who serves the food is your friend. So it may truly be said that it does not matter in the least whether there are Indians all of them, or Europeans all, on the Commission so long as you can feel that there is a real and genuine feeling of friendship and good will and an attitude of mind anxious to help the Indians towards a realisation of their goal. Do Lord Birkenhead and Mr. Stanley Baldwin indicate in their speeches any of that sympathy which is as balm to the sensitive soul of the Indian?

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Lord Birkenhead repeats that old worn-out dogma of Anglo-India regarding the desire of India not to have the protection of the navy and army withdrawn from its shores nor to lose the advantages of an efficient civil service before India can replace these by its own services. But does Lord Birkenhead give expression to the whole of the truth when he places the answer of the Indians before his colleagues in the Lords? We should like to know whether there was a single Indian who had an interview with his Lordship, who desired the present state to be perpetuated? Did they plead for an eternal confirmation of existing conditions? What was their full answer with reference to the withdrawal of the army or navy? What was their suggestion regarding the Civil Service? Whom does Lord Birkenhead hope to convince by these statements which convey only a partial truth?

But His Lordship is not complimentary to British administrators either. His Lordship states: "The activities of our

commercial and trading bodies, supported by the force of arms, composed the warring sects of India and our withdrawal to-morrow would reproduce precisely the conditions which existed when we went there." His Lordship is too acute not to realise the full import of this statement. If after 150 years of British rule in India and after seventy years of direct administration under the Crown, the Secretary of State from his responsible place in Parliament can say that things are exactly where they were, there is only one interpretation that can be put on the statement. It is no good saying that the statement is a condemnation of the British rule. Such criticism many raise a cheer at a mob gathering and His Lordship will not care for it. What His Lordship wanted to convey was the distinct idea that all thought of Swaraj is moonshine, that the British authority essentially in its present form must continue for ever. Two years back he put the same idea in a different form when he said, "I am not able in any foreseeable future to discern a moment when we may safely, either to ourselves or India, abandon our trust."

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The Secretary of State in his brilliant speech says: "I should suppose that out of the 230 millions remaining, about two hundred and twenty millions have never heard of the Commission and I do not believe it would be a bold prediction to say that about two hundred millions are unaware that they are living under the benefits of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. My Lords, remember how infinitesimal is the number of those who vote in the elections and of that fractional percentage who vote, how large a proportion consists of the illiterate class. We in this house and those of another place have responsibility, not for the loudly articulate India, but for real India, as a whole." What excellent sentiments these are! How one is overwhelmed by the pathos with which his Lordship refers to the illiterate classes!

But why is it not always remembered that the two hundred millions realise nothing of what goes on beyond the cankering cares of their domestic and village life? When the great war was on, did the two hundred millions follow every move with care and attention? Did they have the crescent at Mons inscribed on their walls to follow the advance of the enemy? Was it not merely those contemptible articulate classes that went about beating up enthusiasm for the allies? And then it was a case of India "standing as a nation behind Briton!" Verily! Statesmanship has many curious points about it.

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But let us grant for a moment that His Lordship is perfectly correct in what he says. Will Lord Birkenhead look at the other side of the picture? We hear a great deal of talk about the responsibility of Parliament, a phrase which must mean, if it has a meaning at all, the thirty million electors in Great Britain. These are our rulers, the men and women who are night and day thinking with ceaseless care of the condition of the 200 million inarticulate souls who are betrayed by their articulate countrymen? How many millions of these 'rulers' know that there is a scheme of reforms called the Montford Reforms working in this country? How many of them have heard of the Legislative Assembly or the Council of State? We wish the great administrators in England would have a lively sense of the ridiculous, before they make these statements. In the course of the debate, Lord Reading prided himself on the fact that India is not a patty question. We have long realised that Indian questions hardly figure in election manifestoes. How can the average English elector know anything of the problem? Who is the greater political conjuror the Indian agitator, who says he voices forth the sentiments of his countrymen or the English Parliamentarian who talks of the duties or responsibilities of English-

men towards the Indian masses? Let Lord Birkenhead himself answer.

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But perhaps His Lordship is referring to the House of Parliament, the illustrious representatives who sit there and examine the affairs of this country. Will Lord Birkenhead tell us candidly how many M. Ps. know what system of administration now obtains in this country? They may have heard vaguely of dyarchy but do they know very much beyond that phrase? And yet Lord Birkenhead talks of Parliamentary responsibilities. How many members are present in the Houses, when Indian questions are discussed? When the Act of 1919 was passed, large rule-making powers were given to the Secretary of State. When the objection was taken to this course, Mr. Montague said that provision was made in the bill that the rules will be valid, provided that within two months no motion was made in the House to amend any of them. On the very first occasion in 1920, when amendments were proposed to these rules by some private members there was not a quorum in the house, 40 out of 615 members and the amendments lapsed. And this is the magnificent Parliament which has a direct responsibility for the administration of the country. Is there any honest man who does not realise that the responsibility is only of three or four members of the cabinet, that all else is mere camoflage and that India is the most autocratically ruled country in the world? (29-11-27).

VIII

During the coming week various Conferencee and Congresses of a political character will be meeting in different parts of India, and it may safely be assumed that their attention will to a large extent be focussed on the Statutory Parliamentary Commission on Reforms and their attitude towards

that Commission. The Liberals will have their convivial gathering with their usual 'feast of reason and flow of soul' at Bombay. The Muslim Leaguers, if all things go well, will muster forces at Calcutta. The great Indian National Congress will have its massed strength spectacularly displayed to an amazed world at the Spur Tank in Madras. And if very small things could be mentioned in the same breath with very great things, the Non-brahmins of Madras have proposed to have a meeting of their executive in a few days to consider the question of the Simon Commission. It is clear therefore that the Commission, its personnel, the atmosphere in which the announcement was made the purpose of the bureaucracy in selecting such a Committee, will all vigorously canvassed from various points of view, during Christmas.

The task of making a critical analysis of the speeches of His Excellency Lord Irwin and of Lord Birkenhead in announcing the Commission is one which may appropriately be undertaken at this juncture, and we propose to do so in this and succeeding articles. Whatever decision we may come to with reference to the Commission, whether we propose to boycott the Commission as some suggest, or whole heartedly co-operate with it as others signify, or decide to protest and then violently co-operate as Donna Juliana did when Don Juan insulted her, and as the Editor of the *Indian Daily Mail* would advise us to do, let us not be open to the charge that we have not carefully examined the weighty pronouncements of the statesmen at the helm of affairs and rushed into hasty conclusions. Let our conclusions be based on a thorough understanding of the plan laid down by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, by the Prime Minister and the Under-Secretary. So judging the question, we shall be on safe premises.

To the Non-brahmins who will meet next Saturday, we would like to give a piece of warning. It will not be in the

best interests of their party, if they import into the consideration of the question, any extraneous considerations, not strictly relevant to a decision of the question. We can only conceive of two main points, which would legitimately be before them in considering the question. The first and primary consideration will be the merits of the scheme outlined by the authorities, and its capacity for promoting the goal of Self-Government which they have in view. The second is undoubtedly the interests of the country and with the interests of the country is inextricably intertwined the interests of the non-brahmin party. For the non-brahmins believe sincerely that it is not for the advantage of a few or even the aggrandisement of the many that their movement has been started, but it is solely to further and promote the interests of all classes of people, who have had their lot thrown in this country either temporarily or permanently. We repeat therefore that these two considerations alone should weigh with the party executive in coming to a decision on the point. We have laid stress in this aspect of the case, because from the trend of discussion and debate in the province, we feel there is a great danger of other issues being allowed to cloud the decision—issues absolutely extraneous to and unconnected with the consideration of the question.

There are those who suggest that since the brahmins have decided to boycott the Commission, therefore it is to the interests of Non-brahmins that they should co-operate with it. They point out that the special difficulties and grievances of the Non-brahmins can well be placed before the Commission and it will be playing the part of a traitor to the best interests of the community, if this golden chance were missed and either for the sake of soulless uniformity or with a desire to be in the lime-light, the hard-headed and practical non-brahmins should follow the advice of mawkish sentimentalists. To such, and they are a few, we can only answer in the classic

language which Mr. Jinnah used to his compatriots when an identical argument was advanced to induce Moslems to co-operate with the Commission, when the Hindus had decided to boycott it. If Mr. Jinnah feels that there are no particular interests of the Moslems which can either be advanced or jeopardised by the activities of the commission, it is obvious that no great reward will be forth-coming to Non-brahmins, if they appear before the Commission and no great danger to their interests, if they decide to stand aloof.

There is another class of critics who have made a fairly correct estimate of the patriotism of the monopolist classes in this province and who feel that in spite of the thunders which at present issue from 'Liberal volcanoes' like Sir Sivaswami and in spite of the red hot fire that belches forth from the patriotic souls of men like the Congress President, it is unsafe to depend on the continued and continuous indignation of the monopolists. They point out that these are not the persons with whom one can go safely tiger-hunting. They give as an illustration the way in which Mr. Satyamoorthi, the Deputy Leader of the party, explained to the European association in his 'bed-room' style of oratory that the Swarajists are not such extremists as the Justicites, and they suggest that these calculating and hypocritical leaders would withdraw from their present stern and unbending attitude of complete boycott, the moment some petty advantage is vouchsafed by the powers that be to their clan, leaving the more honest and straightforward Non-brahmins marooned on the boycott platform. It is more difficult to meet this class of critics for there is great substratum of truth in their statements. Our reply can only be that we as a distinct political party should come to a decision irrespective of the prospective backsliding of weathercock politicians, that even in South Indian politics, though at present the non-brahmin is in umbrage, the time is not far off when his honesty of pur-

pose will prove his salvation and that our real masters are not the temporary holders of power and authority, who can give small doles to petty minds but, the masses whose support and help alone can solve our problems. Let the non-brahmins who are to-day stronger than ever following the straight and narrow path which they laid down for themselves at Coimbatore, come to a decision according to the dictates of their conscience, irrespective of the consequence.

There is glory and eternal life for a party which Casabianca-like stands alone at the post of duty, irrespective of those who desert it, whether that duty be one of boycotting the Commission or co-operating with it.

There is a third class of critics who plead for a thorough and effective boycott of the Commission, whatever be the merits of the plan laid down by the authorities, and howsoever that plan may further be modified, so as to ensure equality of opportunity and treatment to Indian opinion. They point to the undoubted fact that co-operation with the authorities in any manner is wrought with evil, that it is a sham, a delusion and a snare, that the growing strength of the party will be shattered by any lukewarm attitude, however reasonable it may be, on this vital question. They give innumerable examples of the new policy followed by the bureaucracy and claim that the authorities respect only those who are extremists in politics. They draw special attention to conditions in this province during the last year, the growing and scarcely veiled antagonism of the authorities to the Non-brahman movement, the contempt and ridicule to which the Non-brahmins had been subject, and the pampering of the monopolists whether are Liberals or Swarajists. They suggest that this new policy of the authorities has direct and distinct lessons to teach the Non-brahmins. Constitutionalism is an attribute which is not much appreciated by the powers-

that be. It may be argued, that one cannot fly away from one's moorings that one cannot forswear one's principles, because of the cursedness of the authorities for the time being. But they suggest that the attitude is so distinctly hostile, the response to pleadings and petitions and prayers so curt, that the time has come when the very fundamentals have to be critically examined. They further state that every opportunity has been given to the authorities to realise the true situation in the provinces, that Viceroys and Governors, Members of the provincial executive council and of the Imperial executive council have been sufficiently educated and that in spite of interviews and conferences and resolutions they pursue the even tenor of their way promoting 'communalism' and encouraging the monopolists in a thousand ways. They ask whether the time has not come to realise that there is something radically wrong in our methods, that our very sweet reasonableness is our curse, and that the capacity to look at the other side of the picture, which our leaders have developed, is proving fatal to us. There is a vernacular saying which says that the beggar expressed his bitter annoyance, not at the sweet and kind lady who never gave any alms, but at the wretched woman who gave alms every day regularly, but had refused any alms on that day. The attitude of the authorities at the present moment is very similar to that of the beggar, say the critics. The only remedy for this intolerable state of affairs is to take a frank and fearless attitude of hostility to the ways of the bureaucracy, and try to achieve that, by the weight of public opinion, which has proved impossible by loyal and constitutional methods.

We must confess that to this class of critics also, we find it difficult to find an answer. With a knowledge of the events of the past few months, it is difficult to controvert arguments which are apparently irresistible and

which are calculated to appeal to all that is manly in us. We shall however suggest that our faith in the methods that we have advocated can only be tested not in prosperity but in adversity. We do not wish to be guilty of giving expression to inanities, but we firmly believe that the longest night must have its dawn and that even the inconceivably short-sighted peccadilloes of a few, should not throw us off our balance. We appeal to these critics also to consider the question not in a spirit of huff, not in a disgusted frame of mind, not with bitterness and anger, though there is room for both in plenty, but to consider it only from the two aspects which we have suggested above. (20-12-27)

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

I will be wise,
And just, and free, and mild, if in me lies
Such power; for I grow weary to behold
The selfish and the strong still tyrannise
Without reproach or check.

Shelley

The last nail in the coffin of that much advertised body, the League of Nations of Geneva, has been struck by the failure of the three main naval powers to arrive at an amicable understanding regarding their naval policy. When the question of naval disarmament was first raised, it was immediately apparent that inspite of the 'atmosphere' which the League had tried to create, many of the European countries were averse to putting themselves under restraint in connection with their naval activity must affect the activities of other countries declined to enter the proposed conference and preferred to watch the course of events. The proposed Conference was then confined to the three big naval powers, the United States, Great Britain and Japan. After several months of

discussion and proposals and counter-proposals, after the world was kept on the tip-toe of expectation that some great dramatic coup will be accomplished, after repeated assurances of the most perfect understanding, of amiable feelings and of identity of view points, Reuter furnishes us the news that a deadlock has been reached and that after a plenary session on 1st August when the failure will be reported, the Conference will be dissolved. And thus ends one of the most momentous conferences which, it was hoped, would usher in an era of peace and prosperity to the world.

Those who have followed the activities of the European nations during the last few years and who know what influence the League of Nations has exercised on the general situation in Europe will be hardly surprised at the result.

We are aware that the tripartite Naval Conference was convened not by the League of Nations but by President Coolidge, that it had no connection with the League and that beyond the bare courtesy of allowing the powers to use its buildings, the League as such had no concern with the Conference. But it is not a wild conclusion to draw, that if the League was of any consequence, if it had really created a pacific atmosphere, such a calamity would not have occurred at all. Opinion is gaining ground that the League of Nations has fallen far from its original high purpose and that it is fast becoming a potent agent for mischief. If the United States had any intention during the recent past, of entering into the League, it is certain that the debacle that has attended the well-intentioned move of the President of the Republic to reduce Naval armaments, would only confirm it in its original determination, to give a wide berth to the League. That an oligarchy is developing within the League, that in the Secretariat itself there is an esoteric section, that three or four major powers are running the League very much

as they desire, is the opinion of every impartial observer of the League's activities.

An institution inaugurated under the most influential auspices, with the highest ideals before it, has degenerated into a hot-bed of intrigue and none of the minor powers are in a position to protest against this lapse from high estate which the League has suffered. We note that occasionally individuals and nations who have as little to do with the League, as the proverbial man in the moon, go into rhapsodies over the highly moral purpose which the League is serving and desire to impress on the world the great divine object which it is fulfilling. The first and foremost purpose which the League was intended to serve was to make the world safe for democracy, to see that any future war amongst the members of the League was an impossibility and to so organise the Nations of the League as to eliminate all chance of war even by nations not parties to the League. Where, we ask, has this policy been carried out. In the very presence of the League at its very door, nations are to-day arming themselves and preparing for the coming armageddon more thoroughly than ever and in spite of the fact that they are members of the League and pay lip homage to its decisions, the League is helplessly looking on. Who has not noted the extremely truculent tone of the Italian dictator, the martial preparations of Italy and its open challenge to the peace of Europe? And the latest example of the impotency of the League is furnished by the collapse of the Naval Disarmament Conference. Grateful Delegates of the League may point out that it has achieved marked success in a variety of directions. They may say that the League has successfully combated the drug evil; they may grow eloquent over the fight which the League has put up to destroy the white slave traffic; they may go into ecstasies over its valiant war with social diseases. But he

must be devoid of all sense of relative importance who can justify the League on the ground of some little success which it has achieved in these directions. Reforms of this nature, important as they are, need not be undertaken by so great an institution. There were many other international bodies and organisations which had devoted themselves to these social tasks long before the League was inaugurated and it is poverty of imagination which can make one believe that the League was needed for such purposes. The Hague Convention had undertaken many of the social reforms which the League has now made itself responsible for and the Hague Convention was not been so much praised as the League has been.

We are sincerely convinced that the League has failed and is bound to fail in its real purpose and that the peace of Europe is not going to be assured by its activities. But when we turn to the place which Eastern nations have in the League, we are amazed at the mockery which is revealed by the League's activities. Can Asiatic nations feel that they have a place in the League? What has been the experience of those that believed in it? The history of Turkey and the Mosul question is fresh in our minds and serves merely to show that if the League has ideals and aims, they are only for helping the European nations. The League will be found in due course to be the most powerful opponent of all coloured races and their aspirations. It is pathetic under such circumstances to find either will-intentioned or ignorant or mischievous individuals trying to whip up enthusiasm for the League in this country. We know that there is a local League of Nations Union which comes into evidence occasionally under gubernatorial auspices. We ask what the League has done for India, what it can possibly do under the present circumstances and how India is interested in keeping up this farce. Banal nothings, sweet and meaningless phrases, cannot help to advance a nation. We see that from the cool heights of

Ootacamund a message of hope and good will has been broadcasted by the protagonists of the League. It is ridiculous to talk of India taking part in the deliberations of the League, for the Indian Delegate is not even the chorus girl on the Geneva stage but merely the person in charge of lowering or lifting the curtain at suitable intervals. It seems to us that dignity and the interests of the nation require us to treat the League as an institution which can be of no benefit to India. The latest delegate to the League from this province is reported to have stated that "The League strives to bring about not only physical disarmament but economic and moral disarmament as well." We do not know in what sense this fine eloquent sentence was uttered but we agree that the League has brought about moral disarmament. There has never been a time when the members of the League have been so fully disarmed of all moral ideas as to-day. They have lost all notions of real morality and are going about like pharisees of old with war in their heart and peace on their lips. We are best aloof from such a League. (29-7-27)

THE ASSEMBLY AND THE CONGRESS PRESIDENT

The Conquering hero has come home. The President of the Indian National Congress has returned to his lair and an obliging News Agency has immediately seized the opportunity to give publicity to his views on the political situation in the country and the work of the Assembly. Mr. S. Sreenivasa Iyengar is to-day a sadder and let us hope a wiser individual. He finds that the Delhi atmosphere is not congenial to his brilliant ideas and that the cold and unemotional, severely critical and logical Assembly does not go into

ecstasies and transports over his extravagant speeches and jejune ideas. The halo that surrounds him in Madras and which was preserved at great cost at Gauhati does not seem to have been retained at Delhi.

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The President of the Indian National Congress found himself certainly amongst his equals and very often his infinite superiors—men who could not be treated as political non-entities and to whom the Pontiff of Mylapore was not a dreaded individual or a superior person. That attitude of Alexander Selkirk could be adopted among a coterie, many of whom are your paid henchmen, but when in freer gatherings you exclaim 'My right, there is none to dispute,' you are treated to an indulgent smile and allowed to pass by. Mr. Iyengar may find his creatures in Madras—the unknowns and unknowables whom he picked up from the depths of obscurity and placed on the seats of responsibility—talk of his sacred message. They may sing hallelujahs for one from whom more favours are expected, whose assistance may push them up to further eminence. But beyond in the wider world, the sentiments and the childish pranks of the Congress President have done much to destroy what little prestige the Congress possessed.

It is really amusing to read Mr. Iyengar's praise of Mr. Jinnah or Sir Purushottamdas. To use his own inimitable language Mr. Iyengar is 'insolent and pontifical' when he tries to pat these veterans on the back and tell the world what good boys they have been and how pleased he is with their performance. Mr. Jinnah has forgotten more politics than the political innocent of Mylapore can ever learn. While Mr. Iyengar was playing marbles in the political fields, eating the sticky sweets of office and licking his fingers with great relish, while he was yet marching about the province not decently covered

with political knowledge, Mr. Jinnah from his place in the Imperial Legislative Council had done yeoman service for his country and countrymen. For nearly a generation he has toiled on, without a thought of reward either from the Government or from the people, consistently refusing honours and office which would have fallen thick on him at a nod. And now when he is nearing three score years and is plain Mr. Jinnah the Mylapore hero talks of Mr. Jinnah having warmly co-operated with 'us'!

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Nor is Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas an individual whom the great Swarajist leader can patronise. Foremost among the commercial men of Bombay—a gentleman whom one must admire as an undaunted fighter, whatever one's difference of views may be on monetary problems—Mr. Iyengar with his ill-digested economic knowledge and his equally ill-gathered parliamentary experiences, is hardly the person to speak patronisingly of him. Sir Purushottamdas is not a vulgar antagonist. He does not descend into the realms of the ridiculous by trotting out the most absurd and extreme theories. He has never believed in insolent social conduct as a requisite for bold and patriotic political behaviour. His breezy speeches in the Council, his straight attacks on the treasury bench, his pungent remarks on those occasions when it is necessary to use them and his quick repartee has added lustre to the debate and brought just fame to the individual. And this is the gentleman whose performances Mr. Iyengar condescends to notice with a superior air—Mr. Iyengar who mumbles his speeches into the bosom of his shirt, who rarely looks squarely at the treasury bench, who as he speaks with one leg on the chair, body slightly bent forward, and looking not at his opponent but rather at his admirers, reminds one of a humble and devoted servant of the bureaucracy, and who on those occasions when he

gives expression to extreme sentiments commits howlers which any school boy would be ashamed of. What a funny world this is when dross sometimes shines through artificial agencies better than pure gold.

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There is a mystery surrounding the statement of Srijut S. Sreenivasa Iyengar, the President of the Indian National Congress. One reads through two columns of a message which refers to a number of persons and deals with a variety of topics, but search as one may, one finds no reference to the leader of the Swarajist opposition in the Assembly, to his work therein, to the hold he has over his followers or to the speeches that he made. Why is Pandit Motilal Nehru so completely ignored, so skilfully thrown aside? Is it part of the scheme whereby the 'younger and more energetic deputy' is being pushed to the front? We know how almost from the first day there has been intriguing from a section of the Madras members against the dominant position which the Pandit in the Assembly. The kinsmen of the Swarajist Leader of Madras raised the question that the President of the Congress should naturally lead the opposition in the Council and were only silenced when it was pointed out that each year there was a different President but the leader of the party in the Council must remain the same individual during the term of the Council. And since then, the campaign against Pandit Nehru's leadership is going on in a certain section of the press. *The Indian Daily Telegraph*, *The Hindustan Times*, *The National Herald* and some of the extra-national papers are booming the Congress President for all he is worth and decrying Pandit Nehru. It is only a coincidence that in the editorial staff of these journals is a monopolist from South India. But the Pandit grows in estimation as this dirty game progresses and all unprejudiced opinion either in Congress circles or outside, is unanimous that there is no comparison between the

serene dignity, the sweet polish and high parliamentary abilities of Pandit Nehru and the hysterical jumpings of the Mylapore Jack-in-the box.

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Mr. Iyengar has made a great discovery which he has been kind enough to give to an expectant world. 'I also now realise that, the rules of business leave very little scope for any real obstruction or dead lock.' How surprising, how wonderful, how too bewildering to be true, that the prize-boy of Mylapore, the enfant terrible of Swarajist politics, should have in his very first term at school made this astounding discovery! Whoever thought of rules of business, when we went about swaggering through the country talking of obstruction and resistance to the bureaucracy and bringing the Government to a stand still—surely not Mr. Iyengar. And now after the elections are over, after he and his henchmen have duped the electorates with false promises, when they have secured their seats in the Assembly, they discover—what they could have found out months if not years earlier by a perusal of the Assembly manual—that the rules of business do not permit of obstruction. All hail to the great Columbus—or if our denationalised mentality could think of only a foreign name, all hail to the great descendant of Manu whose name our patriotic and national Swarajist friends might remember.

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But Mr. Iyengar's discoveries do not stop there. The fit is on him and his inspired talks must be flashed by the awe-struck Associated Press. Says the great Mylapore hero 'the President must naturally be impartial and work the rules for the purpose for which the rules were framed and not for the purpose of Swaraj or for the benefit of any party that wants by a policy of obstruction to change the constitution?' So President Patel is not working for Swaraj. Why then was all this cry

for a Swarajist being elected as President, why this jubilation when one of their rank had obtained the highly valued post? Anyone in that position could have done equally well when it is only a question of working the rules. There again you find an instance of one cry till the elections are over and another thereafter. These fits of candour on the part of the Swarajist leader must be extremely embarrassing to his followers, though the purpose with which the statements are made, are obviously to enhance the prestige and illustrate the purity and selflessness of the leader.

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The finale is most interesting and throws a flood of light on the mentality of the Congress President. Says Mr. Iyengar 'I have no faith that by our work in the Assembly we shall ever be able to attain Swaraj or any substantial measure of it. Since when has this vision dawned on him? And in whom or what has Mr. Sreenivasa Iyengar any faith? Has he faith in himself, in his programme in his policy, in the work that he has hitherto done? Has he faith in his followers, in those whom he made 'great,' in those creatures whom he installed into responsible places? Has he faith in his deputies, his whips, his secretaries? We are aware of the 'faithless existence' which the 'lonely leader' of the Swarajist Party is leading and our heart goes out to him in his sorrows and tribulations, in his disillusionments and discoveries. Men must reap what they sow and we wish to prepare the President of the Congress for the harvest of tares which he is bound to reap in plenty. And when that time comes we assure him that he will have more sympathy from those whom he considers his bitterest opponents than from his fair-weather 'friends.'

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Meanwhile may we not suggest that the situation is in all conscience serious, that differences and splits have made us

the laughing stock, that bitter 'communalism' and determined 'monopolistic tendencies' must be sacrificed if peace and unity have to be achieved? May we not in all humility point out that victory cannot always be won by trying to drive a wedge in serried ranks, that the task of purchasing over the enemy with smooth words and sweet promises, will not always be paying and that a large vision and far sighted statesmanship is what is wanted to-day. No narrow advantage—no technical successes—no hoodwinking the ignorant—no deception of the unvary—no petty aims—no personal ambitions—no intriguing spirits—no conspiring heads—no running with the hare and hunting with the hounds—no secret compacts and ignoble combines—none of these can bring about Swaraj. A policy of enlightened self-sacrifice, a realisation of the obverse and reverse side of the picture, an understanding of the difficulties of those less fortunately placed, a genuine sympathy with and not lofty and supercilious patronage of their aims and aspirations—an absence of all that is 'insolent and pontifical'—these are what will bring us nearer the goal of Swaraj. Will the President of the Congress pin his faith on them? Then he will be of some service to the motherland. (5-4-27)

CHAPTER VI MISCELLANEOUS

Yet I argue not against Heaven's hand or will,
Nor bate a jot of heart or hope,
But still bear up and steer right onward.

Milton

THE YOUTH LEAGUE CONFERENCE

The Conference of the Non-brahmin Youth Leagues of the Province which meets in the City on the 22nd and 23rd of this month under the presidency of Mr. Abbas Khan, Member of the Mysore Legislative Council and Chairman of the Bangalore Municipality, promises to be of more than usual interest. It is, we believe, the first occasion when non-brahmin young men from all over the province will be brought together to discuss the various problems that confront them and to find a solution for them. The time when these so called sectarian conferences were decried and deprecated, when they were despised as narrow and as tending to create divisions and dissensions, are gone. These criticisms have fallen flat on the country and on the people, and, except the few individuals who, out of ignorance or for worse and more selfish reasons, echo these criticisms, there is not a single non-brahmin who can gainsay the need and utility of such conferences. Nor is there anything either sectarian or narrow about such organisations. They embrace practically all, except the 'supposed highest caste.' They make no difference between individual and individual, between community and community, between sex and sex. Youth is universal. It knows no differences of creed or caste or sex or religion. And the organisers have amply illustrated this by their choice of leaders. A distinguished Moslem gentleman, who combines in himself catholicity of views with deep veneration for his own faith, is the President of the Conference. A learned lady who has already proved her worth by her public services will open the Conference.

It may be asked whether the Conference excludes the brahmin young men and whether there, by it does not write itself

down as an intolerant or exclusive organisation. It is perfectly true that brahmin young men are excluded from becoming delegates of the Conference, but it is emphatically not correct to state that thereby the Conference has narrowed itself down in its sphere of activity, nor is it animated by any feeling of hostility towards any sect. The organisers obviously feel that their views are not in consonance, generally speaking, with a particular class, and they see the need to solve the social and other problems connected with the vast bulk of the youth of the land, unimpeded by the undoubted conservatism of the 'highest caste' of the land. We do not deny that there may be individuals even in such a caste who have caught a glimpse of the 'vision celestial' but it is undeniable that in South India, at any rate the vast majority in that caste make for conservatism and orthodoxy in the most bigotted sense of the term. And till a more liberal disposition becomes manifest, the non-brahmin youths feel that they stand to gain by keeping their institution distinct.

We advert to this aspect of the question not by way of apology or explanation, for it needs neither, but merely to state the position as we understand it. The Youth Conference meets under exceptional circumstances, and has raised high expectations not merely among the young men but among the older generation, who are watching it with sympathy and understanding. Thanks to the indomitable energy of Acharya Surendranath Arya and of the dynamic personality of the hero of Vykam, Mr. E. V. Ramaswami Naicker, the young man of the non-brahmin community have been roused to a sense of their fallen position. They realise poignantly and acutely that they are despised in the land of birth, despised not merely by aliens and conquerors, but even more by the indigenous and conquered portion of the population. They have learnt that socially they are all depressed, and the little

consolation that some of them at one time drew from their being in a position of vantage as compared with other less fortunate classes, was merely a delusion and a snare.

The great talismanic word of to-day, which will open the gates to freedom socially and politically, is the word 'self-respect.' That is what the young man must understand and cultivate. Taking his stand on the imperishable foundation of 'self-respect,' he need fear none. The Conference will, we feel certain, promote that feeling of self-respect. All eyes are turned expectantly on the youth of the nation. All over the world it is the young that have been the rejuvenators of the nation. Ireland became free through its young men. Fascist Italy gained her dominant position through the young black-shirts. Germany overthrew militarism through the young Republican blood. Turkey has swept off its old and antiquated usages through the vigorous and healthy influence of the young Turk. Shall India lie fettered and in bondage, unable to rise up and take her proud place among the nations of the world? So long as there are young men, pure and undefiled, attached to no vested interests, free from the coils of ancient superstitions, unhampered by the cankering cares of after-age — there is hope for the country.

It is these true sons of the soil that will meet next Saturday, and we are certain that the very heavens will smile benedictions on their endeavours. It is not merely the political sphere that needs the attention of public men. Even more does the social life of the country need the galvanizing touch of the reformer. Customs that are stale and have corrupted the nation have ruthlessly to be wiped out. Musty and ancient books which contain abominations should be cast to the winds. Youth is not satisfied with merely being taught, with homilies being poured on its devoted head, with perpetual feeding of advice even when it is so excellent as Chesterfield's to his son. The young blood wants to dare

and do. Youth wants the inspiration of adventure. It is the dynamic that appeals to Youth. And here is the very sphere, where all the dynamic energy of the youth can be utilised to the best advantage of the nation. To the non-brahmin youth therefore, we say that the hour for action has come. It is their privilege to bring about that great social change which will be the surest foundation for a political democracy. And meeting on Saturday in the pandal which derives its name from the greatest youth of the age and the 'most saintly of all—they can address themselves to no nobler task than the renaissance of Indian society. Youngmen of Southern India: "Awake, arise or be for ever fallen."

"Leave studied wit and guarded phrase

For those who think but do not feel;

Let youth speak out in words which raise

Wherever they fall, an answering blaze

Like flints which strike the fire from steel." (17-10-27)

THE HEROES' WEEK

The anniversary of three great heroes who have done much to change the current of life for the better, who by their unselfish labours and heroic endeavours brought a ray of sunshine and happiness to the people, falls during the next week beginning with the 28th of April. Shivaji the great Mahratta Leader and Patriot whom English historians have painted in blackest colours to suit their own purposes died on the 3rd of May three centuries back. The ter-centenary of this noble chieftain will be celebrated all over India during the coming week. He who has been described as a brigand and a mountaineer, has a strong hold on the imagination of every adventurous Indian youth. His exploits, his conquests, his military manoeuvres, the subtlety of his unlearned intellect, all these

have made him a National Hero who is admired and respected and would have been defied in any other country. Born of humble parentage, with every circumstance against him, he became a master of men and led his victorious hordes from success to success. At a time when national self-respect is at a low ebb when confidence in oneself has almost vanished it is good that one should remember the life of one of the greatest Hindu warriors and statesman whose catholicity of view was only rivalled by his military powers. It is sometimes suggested that the observance of the Shivaji day will be an offence to Muslim sentiment and may wound their susceptibilities. It seems to us that those who raise this question, view it from an entirely wrong point of view. The memory of great men inspire us to great deeds and it is not the actual combatants that they met, but their own life and the purpose for which that life was led, which is the object of inspiration. When the French observe the Great Napoleonic anniversary, they do not dream of antagonising the English nor do the latter feel any sense of soreness at such observance. When the United States celebrates the Independence day, the function is not associated with hostility to that England which levied the hated duties nor is the fourth of July an occasion to sing a hymn of hate against the Anglo-Saxon. It seems to us that there is no idea of hostility to either the Moslem or the Englishmen necessarily involved in such observance. We readily admit that there may be designing individuals who with ulterior purposes may try to utilise such occasions for purposes of fanning sectarian prejudices but their number must be few and in the general national celebration they may be neglected and ignored. If the life of Shivaji has got its object lessons for to-day, the fate of that Great Empire which he built up, has even more interesting and appropriate lessons to teach us at the present juncture.

What is it that led to the fall of the Great Mahratta Empire that almost enveloped the continent of India from Rajputana in the north to Tanjore in the south? Who were responsible for those dissensions and schisms, for creating those mutual jealousies which ultimately brought the empire to ruin? What part did the Peshwas play in this debacle—the Peshwas whom English historians have made the rulers of Mahratta Kingdom. What was the effect of the rigid caste exclusiveness, the sacer dotalism the narrow barriers created among the fighting races through the intolerant superstition of a few sects? These are questions which should be carefully pondered over, if we should really benefit by the life of Shivaji. The Maharaja of Kolhapur, the descendant of the Great Shivaji who died on the 4th of May 1922 and whose anniversary will be celebrated next week; was a prince among men and a man among princes. His majestic figure, his robust optimism, the iron-will of which he was a master, his kindly and generous disposition marked him out as a true Mahratta of the best and noblest type. Born at other periods he would have founded an empire and created a confederacy. In more degenerate days he did his best to revive the true spirit of Shivaji among his Mahratta brethren and made them realise to what low level of efficiency, priestcraft and superstition had sunk them. They who were the bravest of the brave, the dreaded of all evil doers and marauders, had become careworn pigmies trembling at the touch of the sacred reed. The mission of Sahu Chatrapathi was to instil life into them, to teach them the eternal verities of Hindu Dharma and to make them true followers of Hinduism. The personal hold which he had over the people was phenomenal and reminded one of the palmy days of the Mahratta Emperors. He cast aside the little cobwebs which for centuries were wound round the Mahratta chieftains by designing individuals and crafty sects and at once bounded into unprecedent popularity. The latter-day

awakening of the war-like Mahrattas, their freedom from the snares of the Chitpavan priests and their ability to assert their manhood was due to his teachings and his personal example. He liberated them more really and more effectively from that slave mentality which was reducing them to impotent bondsmen than all the platform orators of Maharashtra whose empty platitudes carried no balm to the lacerated hearts. His loss was irreparable but his memory will ever remain green and ought to inspire us to heroic deeds. Of Sir Pitty Theagaroya Chettiar, the white-robed saint whose life is a perpetual inspiration to all genuine workers, whose austerity, independence and broad-mindedness is a shining example to all, it is difficult to write much. Those who stand at the foot of the Himalayas and try to look at the peaks towering one over the other in ever increasing ranges of higher altitudes cannot possibly have a correct appreciation of the great mountain range. One has to keep at a proper distance to have a good view and proper perspective of the colossal hills. So it is with a great personality. Sir Theagaroya has been so recently with us that even those who know him best cannot properly appreciate his noble qualities ranged one after the other in altitudes of greatness utterly unapproachable to ordinary individuals. Time must pass before the greatness of the maker of modern South India, the grand old man of Madras will be understood in its entirety. And then we have no doubt that he will rank with the great heroes of India and be held in veneration by all classes of the public. We are sure that the memory of these three great heroes will be observed all over the presidency by all who believe in the emancipation of man and his liberation from fetters religious social or political. Their illustrious examples serve to show us whether the path we are treading is the right one. The lives of these great men

remind us that we can make our lives sublime and the coming week will be a proper preparation for that worthy object. As is only appropriate Thursday the 28th will be observed as Theagaroya Memorial day, the public meeting being held under the auspices of the Devanga Association in Madras. The programme for other days is equally interesting and will be published from time to time. We are certain that similar celebrations will be held all over this Presidency and in Bombay and Central Provinces.

II

With the celebration of the Sahu Chatrapathy Day last night, the Heroes' Week came to a close and we hasten to offer our hearty congratulations and sincere thanks to all those who have heartily co-operated in making it such a signal success. We are glad that the week has been observed in several parts of the presidency, and that generally the public of South India utilised these celebrations, not for paltry political or party considerations as the monopolists have attempted to do, but rather to spread the tenets of nationalism, and to sound the note of warning about the pitfalls that one should avoid. Now that the week is over and that the celebrations have come to an end, we think the wisdom of our leaders in celebrating the week, independently of any other organisation, would be amply justified. Strange as it may appear it is unfortunately true that the monopolists who could have little or no sympathy with Shivaji, wanted to utilise the opportunity to draw their own moral and to point their own tale. On the very first occasion, when the week was inaugurated by the monopolists, the Chairman, a retired bureaucrat, made a desperate attempt to use the opportunity to push up the claims of the monopolists and to criticise those who stood for fair-play and no favouritism. It was a clear indication that the object of these people in celebrating the ter centenary was not

to honour the memory of a great man, but to utilise the occasion for selfish ends and ignoble purposes. Subsequent speakers at the monopolists gatherings have only confirmed our impression that the end and aim of the monopolists in joining in these celebrations was nothing more than to preach their pet doctrines and force down their own pet ideals. We do not see for instance what relevancy there is between the Shivaji day and the evils of modern education, except that it gave the speakers who had probably no ideas to speak about in regard to Shivaji's life an opportunity to air their views about some pet subject or other.

The Heroes' Week, however, is full of significance and affords many valuable lessons to the non-brahmins of South India. The life of Shivaji should be a great eye-opener indeed. A great ruler and chief, a great administrator, a great soldier and heroic fighter though he was, Shivaji fell a prey to the superstitious beliefs and ceremonial observances preached by a far-sighted priestly class. It was this more than anything else that brought about his ruin. The great Mahratta hero became a lump of putty (clay) when he was face to face with the pick of the Pandit clan. It was the money that he wasted in feeding these people in offering them costly presents, in propitiating them with the material things of the world, that he practically exhausted all his wealth and had not the sinews of war to maintain his position.

Has this not a significant lesson to teach us? How many non-brahmin families there are to-day, who in the pursuit of similar superstitions are bringing themselves to the verge of ruin! If the life of Shivaji Maharaj has one lesson to teach us, that of the late Maharaja has other lessons to impress us with. The late Maharajah was one of the premier princes of India who realised the necessity for throwing away the shackles of priestly domination. In spite of tremendous odds and fighting against unscrupulous opposition, he bravely, as became a

descendant of Shivaji, faced all adverse criticism and ridicule and did not swerve from the path of duty. The Maharajah's life would certainly have been pleasanter, if he had followed the wishes of the monopolists. They would have sung hallelujahs to his glory, instead of criticising him and holding him up to public disapprobation, as did the President of the Gokhale Hall meeting. The Maharajah of Kolhapur's memory will be cherished with love and gratitude by the non-brahmin communities all over Southern India.

Of Sir Theagaroya, the last of the Trojans to fall, it is unnecessary for us to speak at great length. He was a towering personality, and the great lessons that he impressed on us and the great fight that he put up will be remembered so long as monopolist clannishness, class bigotry, racial arrogance, and communal intolerance exist in this land. It is only by exposing those national vices wherever they may be present, that we would really prepare the way for an early Swaraj. It is for non-brahmins to benefit for the goal of Swaraj at as early a date as possible. We do hope that the inspiration of the celebrations during the Heroes' Week will act as yet another incentive for great work that lies ahead of us.

THE SHIVAJI TER-CENTENARY

Foremost captain of his time,
Rich in saving commonsense,
And, as the greatest only are,
In his simplicity sublime.

A. Tenmyson.

Shivaji Maharaj is the rage of the day. The ter-centenary of his birthday is being celebrated in all parts of India and politicians, officials and non-officials, Executive Councillors and high judicial officers are vying with each other, in singing a chorus of praise to Shri Shivaji and drawing morals from his life. The centenary week observed by the monopolists of

Madras began on Wednesday last with a public meeting at Gokhale Hall. The Hall was crowded with members of the legal profession and a retired official presided over the function. The speeches delivered were of a very high order as we shall show presently. The only defect, if defect it can be called, was that the reactionary non-brahmins of the Justice Party did not take part in the function.

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What else could be expected of this party which is always known to be against all patriotic movements? The catholicity of the monopolists in honoring the memory of a great National Hero, their patriotism, their sincerity, their love and adoration for Shivaji are unquestionable. Are they not conferring a favour on the departed leader by their appreciation and praise? Of course they drew their own morals from his life and activities. They pointed lessons to the non-brahmins gathered there, of the way in which Shivaji's Government behaved and how the present Government was behaving. And the non-brahmins were convinced, saw the error of their ways and disowned emphatically those Justicites who were working against the country for petty official loaves and fishes of office.

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The Chairman of the meeting was Dewan Bahadur R. Ramachandra Rao who as Collector of Nellore made a name for himself which is still remembered in that district. He was chosen as a descendant of one of the great Mahratta families and fit therefore to conduct so epoch-making a meeting. He is an undoubted Mahratta and feels a personal sense of tie to Shivaji. Who can question these facts? What does it matter if the claim of the monopolists either in Poona and Mahrashtra or in Madras to be Mahrattas were a belated one? What does it matter if at one time they thought so low of the Mahrattas that they disowned the appellation? What does it matter if they despised the caste from which

Shivaji sprang? A famous Indian historian says: "Before the rise of the National movement in the Deccan in the closing years of the 19th century, a brahmin of Maharashtra used to feel insulted if he was called a Mahratta. "No", he would reply with warmth, 'I am a Dakshina brahmin,' Yes; That is the secret of this lionising of Shivaji by people who disowned him at one time. The monopolists are adepts in the art of appropriation. Their whole life is one appropriation clause. They appropriated Rama and Krishna though they were not of their superior caste; they made a wholesale appropriation of Lord Buddha; and the necessities of national politics have made them appropriate Shivaji. In course of time commentaries and glossaries will be forthcoming showing that Shivaji was himself a monopolist.

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Let us however present our readers with a few delicious morsels from the rich dish of oratory and historic veracity which the chairman of the meeting served to his audience. Mr. Ramachandra Rao says: "In the dispensation of offices Shivaji was guided by the principles 'that the true ruler shall be equally impartial to all caste and creeds. He shall give freedom of religion to all his subjects from all races and classes of men, worth and valour being the sole tests of selection'. What a fall thereof there is now, in his representatives at Kolhapur. And how these principles enunciated even as long ago as three centuries before have yet to be understood by modern Governments".

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After this severe rebuke by 'one of the most cultured of Southern Indians,' one who would have been a Peshwa in another age, what remains for the Maharaja of Kolhapur but to get into sack-cloth and ashes. The Chairman in celebrating the ter-centenary can only think of the officers that Shivaji distributed among his people. Worth and valour were to be

he soul tests unlike these degenerate days when communalism revails and a brahmin is being persecuted. Is that not the end and finale of this peroration? And our non-brahmin friends think it wise to partake in this monopolist observance. Who is this ex-Secretary of the Government that he talks so glibly of the scions of Kolhapur! We knew the late Maharaja of Kolhapur and we know Mr. Ramachandra Rao who is unfit to unlace the shoes of so cultured, so patriotic, so noble a hero as Sahu Chatrapathi Maharaj.

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The Monopolists talk of worth and efficiency and the only test for the supreme qualities are literary Education and high Degrees of Universities. What was Shivaji but an illiterate poor according to the new race of cultured beings. He could not write his own name. He learnt from experience in the hard and cruel University of life. If he were living to-day no monopolist would think him worthy of the lowest position in life. What bureaucrat would offer him even a clerical post? Would he be even qualified to appear before the Staff Selection Board? Would that august body recommend him for any post? And yet uncouth, barbarous, unlearned, without that culture which is so flaunted today, Shivaji shook the greatest empire of the east and established a mighty confederacy. To-day the Deputy Leader of the Swarajist party would shut him out as an unworthy representative of the Senate of the Madras University where pure academic life must prevail. Instead of drawing the necessary inferences from a life like this, the Chairman, born monopolist as he is, wishes to frighten the 'satanic Government' to give up what little they possess of the virtue of fair and equal treatment.

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But what was Shivaji's position with regard to the filling of offices by qualified individuals. He was against creating monopolies. An English historian says 'Shivaji did not recognise

hereditary rights to the great offices of State: and he attempted to preserve a balance of castes both in military and civil appointments.' Mr. H. G. Rawlinson an Englishman, who has made a special effort conscientiously to give an unprejudiced portraiture of Shivaji says in his book on Shivaji; "As in the army, Shivaji was careful that Prabhus, Maharattas and Brahmins should all take their share in civil Government. *The brahmin monopoly of office, which gained with fatal results, under the rule of Peshwas and still prevails to a certain extent, was carefully avoided.*" In fact the secret of Shivaji's success was his avoidance of the creation of all monopolies in any particular community. The decline and fall of the Mahratta Empire began with the Peshwas who made nepotism a fine art, the effects of which are felt to this day.

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Was it not one of the members of Mr. Ramachandra Rao's clan that appointed 179 of his relations to different offices as Sheristadar of the District Collector of Anantapur? Is not this policy of monopolystill being pursued with fatal results to union and nationalism? And yet men like the Chairman have the impudence to tell the world that in Shivaji's time worth was considered and now it is not. The fact is that for the sake of peace and to avoid criticism from the most vociferous section the bureaucrat is to-day following the policy of the Peshwas and these absurdly false statements are made for the purpose of confirming him in that course of conduct.

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The Chairman of the meeting would have done better if he had traced the cause of the downfall of that Great Empire and considered who had brought about that downfall. Let Mr Jadunath Sirkar tell us in his own words, what he considers to be the cause of the decline of the Mahratta Kingdom. "The first danger of the new Hindu Kingdom" says Mr.

Sirkar, now the talented Vice Chancellor of the Calcutta University, "established by Shivaji in the Deccan lay in the fact that the national glory and prosperity resulting from the victories of Shivaji created a reaction in favour of Hindu orthodoxy; It accentuated caste distinction and ceremonial purity of daily rites which ran counter to the homogeneity and simplicity of the poor and politically depressed early Mahratta society. In the security, power and wealth engendered by their independence, the Mahrattas of the 18th century forgot the past record of Muslim persecution; the social grades turned against each other. The brahmins living east of the Sahyadri range despised those living west, the men of the hills despised their brethren of the plains, because they could do so now with impunity. Caste grows by fission. It is antagonistic to national union. In proportion as Shivaji's ideal of a Hindu Swaraj was based on' orthodoxy, it contained within itself the seed of its own death."

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Strong words these, spoken by one of the foremost students of history and a patriot beyond all cavil. But the lessons of his study are wasted on men like Mr. Ramachandra Rao and his clan of monopolists.

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Let us see what another great Indian, the poet and seer of the east Dr. Rabindranath Tagore says of Shivaji and the moral to be drawn from his life and times, writing to an early number of the *Modern Review* the great sage of Sabarmati says "A temporary enthusiasm sweeps over the country and we imagine that it has been united; but the rents and holes in our body-social do their work silently; we cannot retain any noble idea long. Shivaji aimed at preserving the rents, he wished to save from Mughal attack a Hindu Society to which ceremonial distinction and isolation of castes

are the very breath of life. He wanted to make this heterogeneous society triumphant over all India. He wove reports of sand; he attempted the impossible. It is beyond the power of any man, it is opposed to be divine law of the universe, to establish the Swaraj of such a caste-ridden, isolated, internally torn sect over a vast continent like India." Wise words these, coming from one who has caught a glimpse of the vision celestial, who speaks as one inspired—but words wasted on the narrow, wordly monopolist. When will this naunter this selfishness, this caste pride disappear? Then alone will Swaraj be possible.

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Mr. Jadunath Sarkar tell us in his book on Shivaji 'There was no attempt at well-thought-out organised communal improvement, spread of Education or unification of the people, either under Shivaji or under the Peshwas. The cohesion of the peoples in the Mahratta State was not organic but artificial, accidental and therefore precarious. It was solely dependent on the ruler's extraordinary personality and disappeared when the country ceased to produce supermen.' Shivaji's rule was followed by that of the Peshwas whose rule has been so much advertised by British historians. Let Mr. Sirkar give us a picture of their rule. "The Mahratta leader (the Peshwas) trusted too much to finesse. They did not realise that without a certain amount of fidelity promises no society can hold together. Stratagem and falsehood may have been necessary at the birth of their state, but it was continued during the maturity of their power. No one could rely on the promise of a Mahratta Minister. The later-day Mahrattas trusted too much to diplomatic trickery, as if Empire were a pacific game of chess. Thus, while the Mahratta spider was weaving his endless cobweb of hollow alliances and diplomatic counter-plots, the mailed fist of Wellesley was thrust into his laboured but flimsy tissue of

state-craft and by a few swift and judicious strokes his defence and hereon was torn away. The man of action, the soldier-Statesman, always triumphs over the mere scheming Machiavel". True only too true, but we have not yet learnt this lesson.

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The Monopolists disowned Shivaji; they proved most ungrateful to him during his life-time. They got the lost pie out of his treasury. It is a sad and miserable chapter of our history, how they refused to crown him, how they pretended to make him a Kshatriya, how they tried to demoralise him with absurd rituals. Shivaji Maharaj understood something of their conduct during his lifetime and we are certain the Great warrior would now have realised the entire truth. It would shock his departed soul to find that the descendants of those people are to-day celebrating his ter centenary. We shall show in another article what part was played by the monopolists in the life time of Shivaji. (29-4-27)

II

The celebration of the Shivaji ter centenary by the Monopolists of South India and Bombay, the enthusiasm which is displayed by them in organising such a celebration and the sudden apparently spontaneous zeal shown by Monopolists in either Presidency, have given room for furious thought among the public. What is the object, the secret purpose of these demonstrations that those who treated Shivaji with scant courtesy, almost with open contempt, should now suddenly find untold virtues in him? What is the new orientation due to? We are deluged with correspondence requiring us to elucidate the mystery and asking us to throw some light in the dark recesses of those subtle machinations, which our correspondents are convinced, are contemplated in these manoeuvres. We shall not attempt to answer our correspondents at this stage but we shall give them some idea of the relations

that existed between Shivaji and the Monopolists of his period.

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Let us take the great event of Shivaji's life that which concerned him most and about which he was most keen—his Coronation. Shivaji had long felt the practical disadvantages of his not being a crowned king. "Theoretically his position was that of a subject; to the Mughal Emperor he was a mere Zamindar; to Adil Shah he was the rebel son of a Vassal Jagirdar. He could not claim equality of political status with any king. As he was a mere private subject, he could not, with all his real power, claim the loyalty and devotion of people over whom he ruled. His promises could not have the sanctity and continuity of the public engagements of the head of a State. He could sign no treaty, grant no land with legal validity and an assurance of permanence." It was necessary to rectify his position in the eyes of the people. A formal coronation alone could show them that he was a King and therefore their superior and enable him to treat on equal terms with the rulers of Bijapur and Golkonda. 'The higher minds of Maharashtra too, had begun to look up to Shivaji as the Champion of Hinduism, and wished to see the Hindu race elevated to the full stature of political growth by the formal assertion of his position as an Independent King. They longed for the Hindu Swaraj, and that implied a Hindu Chatrapati.'

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But the 'Nationalist Monopolists' of these days thought differently. They did not recognise in him a Champion of Hinduism or if they did, they assumed that a Sudra had to get over his Karma, and could do no less than protect brahmins and save the cows. Let Professor Jadunath Sirkar tell the story of brahmin obstruction in those days, for there were as many adherents of the theory of 'persistent, consistent and continuous obstruction till a proper

reply was given,' in those days as there are to-day. "According to the ancient Hindu scriptures, only a member of the Kshatriya caste can be legally crowned as King and claim the homage of Hindu subjects. The Bhonslas were popularly known to be neither Kshatriyas nor of any other twice born caste, but were tillers of the soil, as Shivaji's great grandfather was still remembered to have been. How could an upstart sprung from such a Shudras stock aspire to the rights and honors due to a Kshatriya. The brahmins of all parts of India would attend and bless the coronation of Shivaji only if he could be authoritatively declared a Kshatriya."

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They did not care for Hinduism or for the rule who was supposed to have saved the Hindu faith. They stuck to their narrow communalism till was made worth their while to give up their obstructive policy. And history is repeating itself to-day! Shivaji Maharaj was equal to the occasion. He attempted to secure the support of a Pandit whose reputation for scholarship would silence all opposition to the views he might propound. 'Such a man' says Mr. Sarkar 'was found in Beshweswar, nick named Ganga Bhatta, of Benares, the greatest Sanskrit theologian and controversialist then alive, a master of the four vedas, the six philosophies, and all the scriptures of the Hindus, and popularly known as the Brahmadeva and Vyas of the age. After holding out for sometime he became compliant, accepted the Bhonsla pedigree as fabricated by the clever Secretary Bhalaji Arj and other agents of Shivaji, and declared that the Rajah was a Kshatriya of the purest breed, descended in unbroken line from the Maharanas of Udaipur, the sole representatives of the solar line of Ramachandra'. And for this courtierly ethnological theory Ganga Bhatta, the leader of the obstructionist party of those days received the sum of 7,000 hons.

The historian tells us that the preparations for the ceremony took many months. The Sanskrit epics and political treatises were ransacked by a Syndicate of Pandits to find out the orthodox ancient precedents on these points. Invitations had been sent to learned Brahmins of every part of India and eleven thousand Brahmin families were assembled at Raigarh and fed with sweets for four months at the Rajah's expense. Meanwhile the Raja was required to go to various shrines and make innumerable presents to the deities and priests at such places. But in spite of all this there was still a defect to be removed before the coronation could take place. Shivaji might conquer many kingdoms and win victories over the most famous writers of the day but thanks to the Code of Manu, he was impotent, and a child before the monopolists of the day. Their obstruction had to be overcome not by deeds or even words but by the soothing influence of the most precious metal. And they saw to it—that they whose descendants are to day celebrating the tercentenary—that the Great Hero was dragged to the lowest depths of degradation before his coronation took place. The monopolists insisted that the Great Ruler should be publicly purified and 'made a Kshatriya.'

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On the 28th May 1674 Shivaji was made to perform penance for the sin of omission in not having observed the Kshatriya rites so long, and was invested by Ganga Bhatta with the sacred thread the distinctive badge of the twice born castes. Let Mr. Sarkar tell the story of what happened next in his own words. "The next step was to teach Shivaji the Gayatri Mantra and initiate him into the rules of the Kshatriya caste. Shivaji very logically demanded that all the Vedic verses appropriate to the initiation and coronation of a true Hindu King should be chanted in his hearing because the Kshatriyas being one of the holy 'twice-born'

castes, he as an admitted Kshatriya was entitled to use the Vedic mantras equally with the Brahmins. At this there was a mutiny among the assembled Brahmins, who asserted that there was no true Kshatriya in the modern age and that the Brahmins were the only twice-born caste now surviving! Even Ganga Bhatta was cowed by the general opposition and evidently dropped the Vedic chant and initiated the Rajah only in a modified form of the life of the twice-born, instead of putting him on a par with the Brahmins in this respect." What a commentary on the life and manners of Hindu society. Is it any wonder that the monopolists are proud of those ancestors of theirs who could bring the terror of the Dekhan, the prince whose fire and sword carried everything before him, on his knees make a clay model of him and deal with him as they liked? And what a lesson for posterity!

But even these hymns were not properly recited. Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri is our authority for stating 'that the greedy Brahmins probably saved their conscience by reciting some of the Vedic hymns of Shivaji's coronation, by mumbling them in such a way that not a syllable reached the ears of Shivaji'. The practice of not reciting the proper hymns to Sudras or reciting them in such a way that they may not get the benefit of it seems to be an ancient one well-known and widely practised by the monopolists. Let those who criticise modern propagandists, who suggest that the whole of the mantra recitation is a hoax, ponder over this incident in Shivaji's life and consider whether they are not in the right.

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But even a worm turns occasionally and Shivaji seems to have felt the humiliation when the Pandits declared that the only twice-born class in the Kaliyuga was the Brahmin caste. He desired to take them at their word and tell them what was expected of Brahmins in the modern age. The Persian manuscript Tarikh-i-Shivaji, 39 a, states: "The Maharaaj

learning of the refusal of the brahmins to teach the Vedic mantrams said 'the brahmans are revered men. It is not proper to appoint them royal servants. They ought not to discharge any work except worshipping God.' So he removed all the brahmins from their posts and appointed Prabu Kayasthas in their places. Moro Pant interceded for the brahmans." It is that intercession that paved the way for the ruin of the Mahratta Empire. Look at this picture of Royal magnanimity which ignored personal insults and look at that picture of the monopolists wresting every coin from the King whose memory their descendants today seek to revere.

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But let us proceed with the ceremonies that were then performed. Jadunath Sarkar tells us that "Next day Shivaji made atonement for the sins, deliberate or accidental, committed in his own life time. He was separately weighed against each of the seven metals—gold, silver, copper, zinc, tin, lead and iron, as well as very fine linen, camphor, salt, nutmegs, and other spices, butter, sugar and fruits and all sorts of eatables (betel-leaves and country wine being among them). All these metals and other articles to the weight of his body, together with a lakh of hun more, were distributed after the coronation to the assembled brahmins." And Shivaji was not a small little mountain rat. Mr. Parasnis is our authority for stating that Shivaji weighed 140lbs or ten stone. The money and other articles the brahmins took home and what became of the country-wine let our readers answer!

But to proceed with the story. The Dutch records tell us that "even this failed to satisfy their greed. Two of the learned brahmins pointed out that Shivaji, in the course of his raid, had burnt cities, involving the death of brahmins, cows, women and children." He could be cleansed of this sin—for a price The King was

conscience-stricken and resolved to seek out the sufferers of their families and pay some compensation for the grief and loss they were subjected to. But that was not the point of the purificatory ceremony. He was told that "it was not necessary for him to pay compensation to the suffering relatives of the men and women who had perished in his sack of Surat of Karinja. It would be enough if he put money into the pockets of the brahmins of Konkhan and Desh. The price demanded for this 'pardon' was duly paid."

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Such was the coronation of the great Shivaji and such the part played by the monopolists in that function. the Sabhasad puts the total cost of the coronation including the sums distributed in gifts and alms at the incredible figure of one crore and forty-two lakhs of hun. The Dutch merchant Abraham Le Feber writing four months after the event says that the distribution of largesses alone amounted to 1,50000 pagodas. It is undoubted that several crores of rupees were spent in these ceremonies and that as happens on a minor scale today, so in those days the Royal Prince was plucked clean of all his plumage. And we read the pathetic sentence in the history, which must bring tears to the eyes of all 'The coronation exhausted Shivaji's treasury and he was in need of money to pay his troops. It was, therefore necessary for him to be out on raid immediately afterwards'. What a sad commentary indeed on the times! And it is with the monopolists that we are asked to 'celebrate' the tercentenary of Shivaji. Oh! Tempores! Oh! Mores!' (2—5—27).

THE HINDU MAHA SABHA

The hysterical appeal made by Dr. Moonjee to his Hindu co-religionists will come as a shock to everyone who is interested alike in the preservation of the Hindu faith and Dharma and in the political advancement of the country. It is a matter for extreme regret that the tension between the two great communities in Northern India—acute as it undoubtedly is—should have unbalanced some of the leaders of Hindu thought and disabled them from viewing the events of the day in their true perspective. The Hindu Maha Sabha, when it was first started, was hailed by some as another organisation political in purpose, meant to counteract the work of the Muslim League. But authoritative denials were forthcoming which emphasised the fact that it was merely an agency for making the Hindu fold more compact and for reviving the glories of the Hindu religion. We find however from the speech of the President of the Maha Sabha—a speech which was intended to be delivered but which we are not sure was delivered—that there can be no doubt that the Sabha is a political organisation and meant for political purposes. The address is full of inconsistencies and inaccurate statements and it has not been our lot to read a worse defence of Hinduism than what is contained therein.

Dr. Moonjee charges “Moslems with having imported religion into the purely political movement of Non-co-operation, thus leading to a wave of pan-Islamism.” Has Dr. Moonjee forgotten his own share in the non-co-operation movement? Does he not remember that the Amritsar tragedy and the Khilafat wrongs were the two main grounds for starting the non-co-operation movement? Has he lost count of the score of Hindu leaders who in their anxiety to get Moslem support for the non-co-operation movement exploited the Khilafat grievance more successfully than even

the Moslems themselves? Does he suggest that he has no recollection of the Hindu leaders who presided over the Khilafat organisations and celebrated the Khilafat day? Was it not Dr. Moonjee and some of the protagonists of the Hindu Maha Sabha who installed Mr. Mahomed Ali in the presidential ghadi of the Indian National Congress? Does Dr. Moonjee’s memory fail him when he tries to recollect what Hindu leaders said and did regarding Biamma the famous mother of the Ali-Brothers? And now Dr. Moonjee comes and accuses Moslems of importing religion into politics. Verily with Hindu leaders of this type, it is no wonder if Hindu religion is at a low ebb. What were Dr. Moonjee and other Hindu leaders, who now come to safeguard Hinduism, doing when at the Congress in 1921 Mr. Gandhi moved his famous resolution regarding Khilafat and Swaraj which was the main resolution of the session? “Whereas since the holding of the last National Congress the people of India have found from actual experience that by reason of the adoption of non-violent non-co-operation, the country has made great advance in fearlessness, self-sacrifice and self-respect and whereas the movement has greatly damaged the prestige of the Government and whereas on the whole, the country is rapidly progressing towards Swaraj, this Congress confirms the resolution adopted at the special sessions of the Congress at Calcutta and reaffirmed at Nagpur and places on record the fixed determination of the Congress to continue the programme of non-violent non-co-operation with greater vigour than hitherto, in such manner as each province may determine till the Panjab and the Khilafat wrongs are redressed and Swaraj is established.” Such was the resolution passed at that Congress.

That august body further resolved to form volunteer organisation throughout the country and the pledge dictated to the volunteer by the Congress is instructive. “With God

as witness, I solemnly declare that (1) I wish to be a member of the National Volunteer Corps, (2) so long as I remain a member of the Corps I shall remain non-violent in word and deed and shall earnestly endeavour to be non-violent in intent since I believe that as India, is circumstanced non-violence alone can help the Khilafat and the Punjab and result in the attainment of Swaraj." And now Dr. Moonjee "charges Moslems with having imported religion into the purely political movement of non-co-operation thus leading to a wave of pan-Islamism." Was the Khilafat a religious or a political question? And who introduced it into Congress discussions? And how bitterly were those like ourselves attacked in those days, when we declined to join in a purely religious agitation carried on by our Moslem brethren and declined to encourage their extra-territorial patriotism?

Let us consider the charge of pan-Islamism which is to-day so freely brought against the Indian Moslem. Who encouraged this pan-Islamic spirit? Is it not a fact that the Ali Brothers are the protagonists of this idea? Did not one of them speak of the Moslem corridor from Constantinople to Delhi and were they not the objects of petting and fondling by Dr. Moonjee and his tribe? Have their professions been disowned even to-day? Is it not a fact that President after President of the Indian National Congress went out of the way to congratulate Turkey on its victories?

Where was Dr. Moonjee's Hindu soul when Mr. C. R. Das the President on the 37th Indian National Congress, said in his Presidential address: "We are on the eve of great changes and the world forces are upon us. The victory of Kemal Pasha has broken the bonds of Asia and she is all astir with life. It is Prometheus who "spoke within her" and her "thoughts are like the many forests of value through which the might of whirlwind and of rain had passed." In the Congress of that year a resolution was passed "congratulating the

Kemalists and recording the determination of the Congress to carry on the struggle till the Turks had been restored to a free and independent status and the Jazirat-ul-Arab freed from non-Moslem control."

It is unnecessary to quote further extracts to prove how Hindu leaders out-Moslem the Moslem and how the orthodox monopolists of Kumbakonam and Srirangam vied with fire-eating fanatics of Northern India regarding the Khilafat wrongs, how Khilafat hartals and Khilafat days were observed more by Hindus than even by Moslems and how insincere politicians commanded ready and cheap applause by speaking of "enslaved and outraged Turkey." And at this late time of day Dr. Moonjee the Swarajist leader of the Central Provinces talks of pan-Islamism and the Moslems introducing religion into politics. The speech is otherwise also ill-advised and mischievous.

What does this apostle of neo-Hinduism, this votary of Swaraj mean when he says that the "struggle for Swarajya dated as far back as the defeat of Prithivi Raj", when he refers to 'Hindus adopting Sangathan to a life of ease, of the more self-respecting Hindus risking their life and prestige rather than embracing Islam!' The fact seems to be that some of the Hindu leaders appear to have lost all sense of proportion. Lala Lajpat Rai speaks of the two alternatives before the Hindus. "Either you disappear from India as a living religious community having its own culture and civilisation or assert yourself and face a crisis." "There is still life in us. Come what may, the result may be success or defeat, but we shall not go down without doing our part in this struggle for life." •

We have no hesitation in stating that these exaggerated and alarming sentiments are absolutely uncalled for and will serve no useful purpose. Hinduism has a vitality which the Presidents of Hindu Maha

Sabhas have hardly realised. It has survived the shock and impact of countless invasions and need not be frightened at the temporary and hectic activities of a Tauzeem movement. It is not the danger from without but the danger from within that has to be guarded against. If these over-zealous Hindus would try to reform Hindu Society, if without uttering platitudes about untouchables they turn their attention towards practical work, see to it that temple-entry is allowed to all classes, that the lower castes are properly treated and that the tyranny of the minority does not prevail, they would be doing far greater service to the religion they profess.

These militant notes against a particular religion do infinite harm both to the religion and the country. Political advancement is indefinitely postponed by these suicidal methods. Why should the Sangathan movement aim only at reconverting Moslems to the Hindu fold. The christian faith is spreading much faster than the Moslem. During the last forty years the Christian population has nearly trebled itself and if the denuding of the Hindu ranks is a matter of deep concern would expect the Hindu leaders to turn their activities in that direction also. Why have they not done so? It seems to us that both the communities are suffering through the activities of ill-advised leaders and we trust that the common sense of the public will assert itself and stop the rot that has set into the political and social world. Fanatics on both sides, the worst communalists of either community—are at the bottom of the trouble. The Moslem of the Moulvi type and the Hindu of the Pundit type—exist both among educated and uneducated members of the communities and till their influence is eradicated there is no hope for the country. That is the task—the task of wiping out the communalist—that we are engaged in and we trust that all patriots will join in the noble work. (18-4-27)

CHAPTER VII

H. E. THE VICEROY

There was a time when meadow, grove and stream,
The Earth, and every common sight
To me did seem
Apparell'd in celestial light,
The glory and the freshness of a dream.
It is not now as it has been of yore;—
Turn whereso'er I may,
By night or day,
The things which I have seen I vow can see no more!

W. Wordsworth.

AN OPEN LETTER TO H. E. THE VICEROY

My Lord,

Allow me to offer Your Lordship a hearty, cordial and respectful welcome on the occasion of your first visit to the Province of Madras. It is a matter of sincere gratification to the people of Madras that Your Lordship should so soon, after assuming the reins of office as the representative of His Majesty, take the opportunity of visiting this Province, which has suffered much in the past and is still suffering to-day from the fact that it is physically so far away from the seat of the Indian Empire. Your Lordship's visit at the present juncture in the political fortunes of this Presidency is peculiarly timely and appropriate as there has never been a greater need than at present, to understand the real position in Madras, the drift of public and political opinion, and the manner in which the administration of the Province is being carried on.

I am aware, My Lord, that there are many natural ways, which the Viceroy of India is supplied with information regarding current topics and political movements. I am also aware that a number of mutually destructive interviews from eminent public men will complete the education of Your Lordship regarding the present situation. I am one of those My Lord, who believe in conveying my views to Your Lordship in as public a manner as possible and without that carefully sought secrecy which a private interview naturally affords. I do not wish to go into the nature of the information conveyed by those interviews which Your Lordship is likely to grant, for the public can make a shrewd guess about them. Your Lordship will listen to eminent gentlemen who will assure Your Lordship that thanks to the liberal

policy of the Government and in particular the Governor, 'communalism' has been put down in the Province, that the party 'which ran the administration for six years and made it impossible for merit to rise' has been cashiered by the electorates and that peace and contentment reigns in the land, except for the doleful cries of a 'few disappointed Job-hunters.' Your Lordship will be assured by leaders of the opposition in the Legislative Council that the administration of the Province is as perfect as it can be under the present system, that if failings there be in the Government they are the failings and defects of dyarchy and not of individuals who are in charge of the administration and that the people have complete and ample confidence in the present personnel of the Government. Your Lordship will be further told that the formation of the Independent Ministers was a special feat of statesmanship on the part of H. E. the Governor, that they are individuals whose administration is beyond reproach and that even if a no-confidence motion is tabled against them it will be an indication not of any want of trust in the Ministers but rather of a want of trust in the dyarchic system. Your Lordship will have a plethora of evidence presented, that the attacks of the Justicites against the Reserved half are solely directed against the first member of the Government, that the reason for these attacks, persistent and vehement as they have been, can be found in the fact that he is a brahmin and ergo anathema to the Justicites and that even in these attacks the large body of non-brahmins have no part or share. Your Lordship will finally be assured that the province is just getting over the injustice which Lord Willingdon perpetrated in forming a communal Ministry and that Your Excellency should do all in your power to strengthen the hands of Lord Goschen, who is fighting 'the demon of communalism' and trying to establish 'clean political parties in Madras'. I am fairly sanguine, My Lord, that I have with some accuracy presented a summary of

the views which you will gather through some of the interviews which you have graciously granted and the most convincing argument that will finally be presented to Your Lordship regarding the correctness of these views will be the fact that men coming from diverse castes and professing different creeds will give expression to such views.

It seems to me therefore a work of superfluity to present my views—the views of an unknown and perhaps unknowable individual—as against the views of that galaxy of stars which have gathered at Ootacamund to impress Your Lordship with the real version of the situation in Madras. If inspite of this obvious disadvantage I crave Your Lordship's attention to a few outstanding facts, it is because I feel the situation requires that every sincere lover of his country, should try to acquaint a person of your exalted eminence who has so much capacity for doing good, with the correct position.

My Lord, the most outstanding fact in the political situation of the Province to-day, is the change that has apparently come over that political party which has been termed the Justice Party. Explanations will be forthcoming and will be pressed with vigour on Your Lordship's attention. The *volte-face* of the party will be alleged to be due to the party having lost the elections and its leaders being soured by the disappointment of not getting reinstated in office as Ministers. I am an old Justicite, who has not subscribed to the recent resolutions passed at Coimbatore but my disagreement with such resolutions does not blind me to a consideration of the reasons for the position that the party has now taken. I have been watching closely the trend of events during the past few years and let me assure Your Lordship that I felt the change was coming and was forced on the party by the policy of the present administration. My Lord, I do not know whether your Lordship has studied the history of that party. The Justice Party which has fallen

now on evil times and on evil tongues, was the one party which in the whole of India stood out for law and order, for constitutional progress, for reasonably working the scheme of reforms granted, in the certain hope that it will lead to progress and to further responsibility. In the days when the non-co-operation movement and the boycott of Councils was at its height, it carried on a vigorous propaganda against such methods and tried to wean the country from what it considered was suicidal and destructive propaganda. It organised co-operation conferences, tried to rally the people towards the Reform Scheme and faced the most severe obloquy in its efforts to work dyarchy. When insults were attempted to be offered to Governors and Viceroys, when the very Heir-Apparent to the throne of England was attempted to be insulted, the Justice Party stood out against these tactics. Prominent members of the party enrolled themselves into a band of volunteers and protected the innocent spectators, who were anxious to give a royal welcome to Prince Charming, from being molested by the forces of disorder organised under the auspices of political rivals. When the administration was attempted to be brought to a stand still, when the Bardoli resolutions leading to the no-tax campaign were sought to be introduced, when Guntur led the war against British supremacy, when smart England-returned men under the inspiration of a liberated Andhra Province and the very tax-collector's, the village heads were induced to non-co-operate, the members of the Justice Party again stood by the forces which worked for orderly development and made it impossible for the movement, which would have led to many a Chauri-Chaura, to spread in the Province. They passed a Revenue Bill enabling the authorities to collect taxes under emergency measures; they passed increased taxation measures to balance the budgets. Ultimately when at the time of the second election a dead set was made to wreck dyarchy, they tried

their best to save the reforms scheme and worked it successfully. Your Lordship cannot at this time, when every party is putting on, albeit temperarily, the clock of ultra moderation, realise what such an attitude then meant. Physical violence was the least of the dangers which were the lot of the Justices. They were reviled, abused and denounced by a section of their own countrymen and the moral courage that could withstand such vulgar abuse is not a common feature in the politics of this country. My Lord, I have given a short history of the Justice Party till 1926, not with a view to parade it as a creditable record before Your Lordship's eyes, not indeed with the object of suggesting that such work deserves a reward from the hands of the Government, though such will be the motive suggested by political rivals, but because Your Lordship should know the past history of the party to understand its present position and attitude. What is it then that has led the only organised political party in the country which worked the Reforms Scheme and tried methods of co-operation, to fly off at a tangent as apparently it has done at Coimbatore? What is it that has driven those who were characterised as loyalists, s supporters of Government, who worked the Reforms Scheme for six years in the most trying circumstances, to suddenly brow up the sponge? Can it be due to a desire to capture the electorate? The suggestion has only to be made, My Lord, to be rejected with scorn, for those who on three occasions braved the sneers of the Swarajist super-patriots are not likely to turn tail especially when no election is in sight. What then is the reason for this change that has come over the party, for let me assure you, My Lord, that though an individual here and there may rail at the Coimbatore decisions and disassociate himself from the resolutions, the large and infact overwhelming portion of the party stands solidly by those resolutions. Is it a case of opportunism, My Lord, that

has brought about the change? It is an answer to these questions that I propose to give in this letter and I crave Your Lordship's attention to it, so that the political situation may be placed before Your Lordship from all aspects. (2-8-27.)

II

My Lord,

I have traced the history of the Justice Party till 1924 and tried to show that it stood for orderly progress and peaceful development. The successful working of the dyarchic system in this province has been the subject of commendation by Viceroys and Secretaries of State and a large portion of the credit goes to the Ministers who were members of that party. How comes it then, My Lord, that such a party with such antecedents has suddenly come to the determination that unless provincial autonomy is granted it will not again assume the responsibilities of office? The reason is not far to seek and is contained in the resolution itself which states plainly and most significantly that the system of dyarchy is impossible of being worked, if any portion of the Reserved half of the Government is fundamentally opposed to the policy of the Transferred half. My Lord, it is this clash between a portion of the Reserved half and the Transferred that I should first like to draw Your Lordship's attention to. It was a rare piece of good fortune for this province, My Lord, that the first Governor to initiate the province into the new reforms was so tried an administrator and so great a statesman as Lord Willingdon. His Lordship had at once realised the strength and weakness of the dyarchic system. Lord Willingdon has stated on several occasions—a statement which has been often ridiculed by the thoughtless who did not understand the constitution—that his Cabinet was a happy family. The crux of the whole problem of Dyarchy lies in the fact that unless team work prevails, unless there is mutual con-

fidence and a certain amount of common understanding, honest dealing and good-will, dyarchy will break to pieces. His Lordship made the reforms a success by ignoring dyarchy and trying to work the Government on a unitary basis. Unfortunately towards the close of his career as Governor, an element which made for political friction and for the breaking up of the happy family, was introduced into the Cabinet by the appointment of Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer as Law Member. I shall not apportion the credit or blame of appointing a gentleman, who was a determined and inveterate opponent of the Justice Party, between the Governor and the Ministers, and if really any members of that party were directly or indirectly responsible for the appointment it only proves that their heart got the mastery of their head. But from the date that this fatal step was taken of including into the Cabinet one who was a volatile politician at one stage and one who was bound to be an incongruous element the prospect of the happy family continuing its career as such dwindled away. I shall not enter into the details of transactions which have not yet seen the light of day but I may venture to say without fear of contradiction My Lord that the Law Member of the Government of Madras has used every opportunity to weaken the party, to wheedle away its supporters, to break the allegiance which members owed to it and in divers ways to wreck the Justice Party. These activities became open and notorious after Lord Willingdon left the shores of India and a stranger to Madras public life and Indian conditions, Lord Goschen, took over the Governance of the Province. Does Your Lordship think that any political party can continue to keep up its homogeneity and consolidate its position whatever work it may do for the country, if at every stage a member of the Reserved half is in a position to thwart it and to demoralise its ranks? And pray, remember, My

Lord, that a member of the Reserved half has more power and very much more patronage than a Minister can possibly have. Your Lordship has been a member of the British Cabinet, has had opportunities of studying the methods of party consolidation and can easily realise the position. One of the first acts of the Law Member My Lord was to offer the appointment of Public Prosecutors to three members who were supporters of the Justice Party, thus forcing them to resign their seats in the Legislative Council. The place, my Lord, was only a quasi-official post and though they had to resign, they could have stood for re-election but the Law Member imposed further conditions on their acceptance of office as Public Prosecutors which made it impossible for them to come into the Council again. It was not due to any goodwill on the part of the Law Member that out of the three consequential bye-elections, the party retained its seats in two districts and lost only one seat. I shall refer to many more instances of the kind where the Law Member tried sometimes successfully and sometimes unsuccessfully to weaken the party, but about this time the activities of the Law Member in another direction were equally interesting and no less disastrous to the continuance of a constitutional party in the province. Your Lordship is aware of Dr. Annie Beasant and the part that she has played in the religious and political activities of the country. In the days of the Great War Dr. Beasant started a violent Home Rule agitation with Mr. Ramaswami Iyer, as one of her most active lieutenants, and the billing and cooing dove of to-day can hardly be compared to the roaring lioness of 1917 and 1918. About the beginning of 1924 Dr. Beasant started another fierce agitation for what is termed the 'Commonwealth of India Bill.' She published in her newspaper *New India* the names of those gentlemen who had blessed her Bill and foremost among them was, as Dr. Beasant told the public with obvious pride, Mr. C.

P. Ramaswami Iyer, Law Member to the Government of Madras. It was stated in *New India* that the Law Member had examined certain technical aspects of it, that the Bill was drafted in consultation with him and that it had his generous support. Does Your Lordship consider that it is proper on the part of a member of the Executive Council to associate himself with a move of this kind, however laudable its objective may be? But Your Lordship has not heard the full story of the Commonwealth of India Bill. Dr. Besant is nothing if she is not thorough in whatever she undertakes and the lady organised an Executive Committee to 'carry on an intensive propaganda in the country' for the enactment of the Commonwealth Bill by Parliament. And foremost among the members of that Executive Committee, charged with the positive work of carrying on an agitation against the Government was Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, ex-Advocate-General and member of the Executive Council of the Government of Lord Goschen. My Lord, such were the activities of a responsible member of the Government in May 1924 at a time when the Swarajists were threatening to wreck the Constitution in more than one province, when Mr. Das was making it impossible for Lord Lytton to continue his Ministry, when Dr. Moonjee had forced Sir Frank Sly to resume the administration of transferred subjects in the Central Provinces. What, My Lord, would be the effect of such an attitude on the part of the Law Member, the gentlemen who was in charge of the administration of police and justice, on the public life of the province? Does Your Lordship consider that constitutionalism can develop or even outlive the shock of so demoralised a political situation? Nor was this all. The Law Member was known to have been in close touch with some of the most prominent Swarajists, attending their tea-parties and otherwise mingling with them. Is it any wonder, My Lord, that the forces making for disorder triumphed

and that those who stood by constitutional development went to the wall? Is it any wonder, My Lord, that to-day the President of Andhra Provincial Congress, himself an uncompromising Congressman, openly accuses the Law Member as being the Leader of the Swarajists? Were these facts not brought to the notice to Lord Goschen and what action has His Lordship taken to steady public opinion and to curb the political activities of one of his colleagues? Was not the result of such activities a slackening of the whole administration and was it not publicly stated on an adjournment debate in the Legislative Council that there was a growing tendency amongst public servants to take part in politics? Was not a specific accusation sought to be made in Council against the Law Member directly? I ask again, My Lord, when these things were brought to the notice of Lord Goschen, what steps did he take to straighten out the tangle and ease the situation? My Lord, I was referring to the efforts of the Law Member to weaken the party in the Council. It may be, My Lord that he was absolutely innocent of such motives and that the consequences turned out to be that in every case the party was weakened. There is the classic example My Lord, of a member of the Legislative Council being offered the place of District Judge by the Law Member without any reference to H. E. the Governor or other members of the cabinet. Four letters have passed from the Law Member to the gentleman concerned, in each of which, he was told to be in readiness to go on particular date to take charge of a District as District Judge. Does Your Lordship consider that these offers were made in all innocence and simplicity and that they did not involve the breaking away of the gentleman from the party? If so, My Lord, read his speech on the Budget debate of 1926 and if Your Lordship has still doubts, may I summon to my humble aid, My Lord, testimony of the most unimpeachable character, the evidence of the Governor of the

Province and the first gentleman of the presidency. Will His Lordship state what passed between the member in question and His Excellency about June last year at Ootacamund? The interview was the talk of the hills for weeks afterwards. Is it a fact that the gentleman showed the letters which the Law Member had written and that His Excellency was annoyed that such an offer had been made by a member of Government without his consent or knowledge? Did the Governor receive the impression that these offers were made with the object of weaning the member from giving support to the Ministry? Was the Governor told that the Law Member was in constant touch with the Swarajists, that he was being consulted about elections by some of the candidates and that he had actually conveyed through the particular member, his desire that a certain gentleman should oppose the Justice candidate in one of the districts? Is it a fact, My Lord, that His Lordship was told by this member of the Council, 'if I am neck-deep in the Swarajist Party, your Law Member is knee-deep in it'. Was Lord Goschen told at the interview that it was not Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar that is the Leader of the Swarajist Party but the first member of the Government? My Lord, these are not random statements made by irresponsible men, but facts which are freely being talked of. Your Lordship can get it easily verified from the Governor of the Province or some of the members of the Executive Council whether there were such allegations made against the first member of the Government of Madras. If these are true what action did Lord Goschen take?

My Lord, I am sure Your Lordship realises the gravity of the situation created by such a state of affairs. I am sanguine enough to hope that Your Lordship can now understand the real purport and significance of the resolution passed at Coimbatore. I shall refer to further interesting facts which will elucidate the situation to Your Lordship. (3-8-27).

III

My Lord,

I have tried to show the part that one of the colleagues of His Excellency Lord Goschen played till the very eve of the elections in the politics of the province, a part which was calculated to strengthen the forces making for disorder and to enfeeble those who had stood for a rational working of the Government, a part which confused and confounded the on-lookers as to the relative positions of politicians and members of the Government. The open alliance of an Executive Councillor, advertised, as it well was, by un-contradicted reports in the press, was bound to create chaos. The part taken by the Law Member in shaping the Commonwealth of India Bill and in associating himself with the agitation connected therewith appears to have been so patent and so pronounced that, not merely did the *New India* publish the statements that I have already referred to, but a responsible Member of the Council of State, the Hon. Mr. G. A. Natesan, from his place in that dignified Assembly stated in the course of a discussion on the future political progress of India that the Commonwealth of India Bill might well be considered by the authorities as it had received the support of a member of the Government, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer. My Lord, would it not queer the pitch of any political party if a supposedly responsible member of the Government is in a position to out-Herod Herod, to put forward a more extreme political position than even that which was put forward by the great Swarajists themselves in the Legislative Assembly for My Lord, a cursory glance at the Bill, will prove to Your Lordship that it is in many respects more extreme than the resolution adopted by the non-officials in the Assembly? What chance has a political party, like the Justice Party with its programme of practical politics and solid humdrum work of rural reconstruction and expansion of education, against the dazzling schemes put

forward under the aegis of a Government member. Nor was this all the handicap that the party had to suffer from. Its activities were misrepresented; its plea for breaking up monopolies was wilfully perverted and it was held up to ridicule as a 'communal party,' as if indeed a party which professes to voice forth the grievances which 97 per cent of the people are suffering from at the hands of 3 per cent of the population, can be called a 'communal party.' The Justice Party has not asked for preferment for any small community. It has not carried on an agitation for the devolution of power into the hands of any particular sect. It has pleaded and pleaded in vain that instead of all power being concentrated in the hands of a small traditionally intolerant class, power and authority should be broad-based and distributed amongst all communities. It did not matter to the Justice Party if the official posts were given to Moslems, Indian Christians, Depressed classes, high caste or low caste Hindus, Andhras, Tamils or Keralas, so long as it was not all centred in one community—the brahmins. The Justice Party has agitated vigorously for the recognition of the claims of Muhammadans. It has fought more consistently than the Indian Christians themselves on behalf of that community. It has even advocated the just claims of Anglo-Indians and Europeans. Its only sin has been that it has persistently protested against all monopolies. It is on account of this unforgiveable crime that from one end of India to the other the Justicites have been branded as communal and even the brahmin officers of Government have started making speeches condemning 'communalism'. My Lord, we appealed to His Excellency the Governor through the Legislative Council, pointed out to him the unfairness of allowing officials to make such statements which are bound to be interpreted as a condemnation of a political party by persons who ought not to

interfere in political controversies. We drew the attention of His Excellency on the floor of the Legislative Council, to the danger of concentrating all power and patronage in the hands of one member of Government and that member, a determined opponent of the Justice Party. We showed that it was not conducive to the healthy development of public life that the Law Member of the Government of Madras, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, should be in charge of the entire police force, of the whole of the Judicial administration both on its civil and criminal side, of the total staff of the Public Works Department engaged in Irrigation, of Hydro-electricity, of Marine and last but not least of all the subject of elections itself. We pointed out also that over eighty per cent of the judiciary, specially in the higher ranks, belonged to the same community as that of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, that the same was the case with reference to the Irrigation Department and that there was every possibility of official influences being brought to bear on the elections, particularly in view of the fact that the official head of the departments concerned, was understood not to be unsympathetic to any move that would cripple the strength of the Justice Party. What, My Lord, was the reply of His Excellency Lord Goschen to this repeated criticism, to these prayers and petitions, entreaties and appeals? What was the attitude, My Lord, of the Governor of the Province, who was directed by His Majesty the King-Emperor, on the eve of his taking charge of the responsible position, when kissing the Royal hands at Buckingham Palace "to do all that lies, in his power to maintain standards of good administration, to promote all measures tending to fit all classes of the population without distinction, to take their due share in the public life and Government of the country."

The appeals were in vain; the requests were rejected; the petitions ignored. His Lordship declined to change the even tenour of the precipitous course, which the Law Member was

taking. Nor was that all, My Lord. To the misfortune of the province, the Governor appears to have become a firmer believer in monopoly than ever, and the complaints in the Council appear to have made him a more determined champion and supporter of the lawless course of the Law Member. So far from checking the vagaries of some of his subordinates, so far from preventing his public servants from interfering in political controversies of the day, so far from seeing that the balance was held fairly and evenly between contending rival parties, His Excellency suddenly threw himself whole-heartedly on the side of the Swarajists and on the eve of the dissolution of the Council, condemned in unequivocal language the activities of the Justice Party, its policy and programme, its work and objective. My Lord, has Your Lordship ever heard of such a case? Can Your Lordship conceive of a Governor charged with the dispassionate administration of a province, making a positive accusation against the very colleagues who were his Ministers? II, My Lord, Your Lordship finds it difficult to believe my statement, may I crave your attention to the following paragraph taken from the speech of His Excellency Lord Goschen in dissolving the last Council in September last, just a month before elections. After referring to the 'different principles' on which Lord Willingdon formed his Government, principles which His Excellency graciously stated were sound, and had a steadying influence on the early days of our Parliamentary system, Lord Goschen continued: "But I believe the moment has arrived, when we should ask ourselves whether we should not in the interests of the administration of the Presidency and the Parliamentary Government, hasten the days which I seem to see approaching, of the institution of a real division of parties based upon effective political programmes. Let rivalry rest on no other basis than a genuine desire to promote the moral

and material prosperity of the people whom the parties represent." This speech, My Lord was seized by our political opponents with alacrity and used with disastrous effect in the course of their electioneering campaigns and no amount of protest from us that His Excellency was merely offering advice and not condemning any political party, was of any avail. Even after the lapse of several months, the use which is being made of it, will be apparent from the speech of the Deputy Leader of the Swarajist Party at Tinnevely, who will have an interview with Your Excellency—Says Mr. Satyamurthi in his address; "Unfortunately for this province Lord Willingdon constituted a communal Ministry having no political programme or policy before it. That it was a profound mistake and should be changed was foreshadowed with gubernatorial caution, by Lord Goschen in his speech prologuing the Legislative Council on the 17th September 1926. As if almost in answer to His Lordship's exhortation, the people and the voters of this province gave shift to the Justice Party at the elections". Such, My Lord, were the forces working against the party. It has been lately rumoured that the speech of His Excellency was made with the knowledge and approval of his Ministers, and that therefore it cannot be criticised as unfair. My Lord it does not require any reference to authority to show the wide difference between the King's speech, which contains merely the views of his constitutional advisers and the speeches of a Viceroy or Governor, which are the expressions of their individual opinions. If the Ministers did approve of it, they cannot be sufficiently condemned for their folly and short-sightedness. Their desire for courtierly behaviour must have over-ridden their political sagacity; but even their approval cannot possibly justify the Governor's electioneering speech. But, My Lord. I feel certain that it is not the whole truth and that there must be extenuating cir-

cumstances for the conduct of the Ministers who acquiesced in that speech. Perhaps the speech of His Excellency was very much more drastic at first, that the Ministers endeavoured their best to have the remarks and observations toned down, and that they felt they could not possibly ask His Excellency to omit all reference to a subject, on which he felt impelled to express himself. Whatever the truth may be, may I ask, My Lord, whether it was not due to a party which had loyally co-operated with the Government during the most critical days, that His Excellency should make his position clear to the public, when he found that a rival political party was utilising his speech for party advantage? Were they misrepresenting his attitude when they stated that he deprecated the lines on which the Justice Party was constituted or were they not? if they were, fairness demanded that His Excellency should contradict the perversion; if they were not, His Excellency certainly acted against all democratic canons in condemning a political party on the eve of the elections. My Lord, the history after the elections, has not been such as to reassure the minds of the Justice Party. Into the history of the constitution of the Independent Ministers, their pledges, their understandings with the Governor on the one hand and with the Swarajists on the other, I shall enter later. But let me take Your Lordship through the subsequent months, and show to Your Lordship that though defeated the Justice Party had still to suffer a crusade at the hands of the Law Member. The vendetta that he had sworn, and which he was now carrying on apparently with the acquiescence and certainly with the knowledge of Lord Goschen against the Justicites, shocked the country by its very extremity. Let me give just one instance of it to Your Lordship. In an interview which the Honourable Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer gave to the press in February of this year

the Law Member is reported to have stated: "The Independent Ministry came to office on a non-communal ticket and the general expectation was that it would be supported by all the progressive elements in the Council. If however, the present Ministry could be ousted, it would certainly result in the re-establishment of the old Justice Ministry." My Lord, I ask Your Lordship whether there has been more rancour against a political party exhibited than in this interview. That threat that the hated 'old' Justice Ministry would 'certainly' come back, must have been peculiarly pleasing to our political opponents. What, My Lord, I ask was Lord Goschen doing while his colleague was running amok making such astoundingly improper statements? And is it any wonder that the Coimbatore Confederation stated that the people of the province 'are loosing confidence in His Excellency?' (4-8-27).

IV

My Lord,

I have attempted to trace the history of political movements in this province during the last three years, since Lord Goschen assumed charge as Governor of the presidency and have shown how the personal element has dominated, in bringing about a crisis in the situation. My Lord, it was only the other day that Lord Birkenhead with rare prescience referred to this striking feature of Indian politics, the interaction of personalities in the politics of the country. The laxity which was allowed to creep into the staid and level-headed relations that ought to subsist between an Executive Councillor and political groups, was largely responsible for the critical situation that arose after the elections, when the Swarajists were returned in fairly large numbers and declined to form the Ministry. His Excellency the Governor after some slight efforts to form a Coalition Ministry finally resolved to form his Government from a group of

persons called the 'Independents.' The formation of the Independent Ministry from a set of persons who could in no sense be styled a political party, who till long after the election, claimed no adherence to common principles or a common programme, who were independents only in the sense that they were independent of each other, independent of all policy and all programme, the formation of such a Ministry was so flagrantly opposed to all democratic canons and to the very theory of the constitution, that it could only be justified by an overwhelming desire to somehow keep up the show of a Dyarchic Government. My Lord I do not wish to enter into the question of how the Independent Ministry came to be formed, whose advice the Ruler of the province took in making this novel constitutional experiment and whether the tried and natural Counsellors of the Governor had any part in the decision which His Excellency arrived at on such a vital matter. There are various theories current for the course which His Excellency took and My Lord, it is freely stated that a high Judicial Officer, an Ecclesiastical Dignitary and a Commercial gentlemen played a more important part in helping the Governor to make up his mind, than those who had a right to be consulted on such questions and who could have visualised the consequences that would follow from such a momentous course. Whatever might have been the forces at work, the result, My Lord, was the formation of a Ministry from the smallest group of elected members in the Council. The consequences have been disastrous, as I shall try to show by a brief narration of what followed. It is not my desire, My Lord, to speak of the Ministers individually, to appraise their characteristics, their excellencies, their literary attainments or their administrative talents. Biassed as I am bound to be, I can only convey a very inadequate impression of what the Ministers are, and I am glad to see that Your Excellency has the opportunity of meeting them

and particularly, of having an interview with the gentleman who is the 'Chief Minister' of Government of His Excellency Lord Goschen. I can desire to give you no better description of him than the impression which Your Excellency will form after the interview which the 'Chief Minister' will have with Your Lordship. It was obvious, My Lord, that the new Ministry could not carry on the administration with the strength that it possessed and that it had to depend on the goodwill of some other political groups and on their tacit or open support. The Ministers could not expect support from the Justicites whom they condemned, whose 'communalism' they derided, whose policy they professed to throw overboard, and whose 'misdeeds' they claimed to rectify. The only party which could therefore help them in keeping their seats stable was the Swarajist Party—a party which was obviously in opposition, which professed to follow a policy of obstruction, which preached the doctrine of resistance and which thrived on the vigour with which it attacked the bureaucracy. I ask, My Lord, whether it was following the highest ideals of good sound administration, whether it was really working the Dyarchic system whether it was educating the people in the methods of democratic Government, to allow this hybrid system of promoting a secret understanding between the Ministry on the one hand and an apparent opposition on the other? Does Your Lordship believe that Lord Goschen was observing constitutional precedents, that he was helping the progress of democracy that he was training the people in habits of responsible Government if he permitted with full knowledge of the circumstances such secret pacts? Was Lord Goschen unaware of the fact that an offensive and defensive alliance was formed between the Ministry on the one hand and some of the Swarajist leaders on the other whereby the Ministry was promised a safe tenure of office in return for its pursuing a policy of persecuting the

Justicities, dishing them wherever it was possible and strengthening the position of the Swarajists in the country? Could Lord Goschen claim ignorance of what has been an open scandal during the past few months, the methods by which some of the Ministers have been harassing the Justicites and unduly favouring the Swarajists? Can you, My Lord, conceive of a more immoral situation than the one I have attempted to describe? His Excellency, I am aware, has been warily congratulated by interested persons on his most supreme act of statesmanship and praises have been showered on him because he had brought the Swarajists down from their high pedestal of uncompromising hostility to the Government. But even if such has been the effect of His Excellency's Act, what a price, My Lord, has been paid to obtain this result?

The resolutions at Coimbatore have shown on the one side that the consequence of the policy has been the undisguised resentment of a generous people who were the foremost to stand by a just Government and who to-day are equally open in asserting their rights in a just cause even in the very presence of their Governor and on the other side, My Lord, His Excellency has gathered to his support a fawning treachery, against which no prudence can guard and no courage can defend. The insidious smile on the cheek should, My Lord, have naturally warned an administrator of the canker in the heart. My Lord during the short period of eight months that the Ministry has been in power, thanks to the generous support extended to it by the Governor, it has worried all honest men, it has harassed the members of the Justice Party, it has interfered mischievously and often illegally in the affairs of Local Boards and Educational Councils wherever such bodies are controlled by members of the Justice Party. It has cast aside every convention, it has broken the rules that have been laid down for a just

and fair administration, it has bought the support of individual members of the opposition by a flagrant policy of yielding to their arbitrary and unjust demands. Under the guise of an authority to nominate members of the District Board it has weeded out the elected representatives of the people who happened to belong to the Justice Party more effectively than the Parliament was weeded out of troublesome individuals by 'Prides Purge.' My Lord I do not wish to go into the details of the painful and shameful history of South Indian Ministerial regime during these months. I am anxious that Your Lordship should still have a good opinion of my Province. Ask the Governor of the Province, My Lord, what happened in Kistna, in Salem, in Tinnevely, in Tanjore, in Chingleput and in a number of other places and Your Lordship will realise the extent to which public life has been demoralised. I shall content myself, My Lord, by quoting the remarks of only two members of the Swarajya Party on the situation. Mr. S. Muthia Mudaliar, M.L.C., a Swarajist says, My Lord, on the 20th of May, 1927, with reference to the relation of his party to the Ministers "The Congress Party in Madras in creating a Dyarchy within a Dyarchy. There are Ministers sitting on the Treasury benches holding office without power and following, and there the Congress Party sitting in the opposition benches, with the emoluments and the prestige of office without the office itself. The position of the Congress Party is like that of a sanyasin who vows celibacy and refuses to marry a woman but revels in the arms of harlots. The sooner this situation is put an end to the better for the country and honest politics." Mr. T. Prakasam, a member of the Legislative Assembly and President of the Swarajist Party of Andhra Desa says ; "Congressmen were found at the doors of some of the Ministers at all hours of the day and night waiting to get some of their own men nominated for Taluk

and District Boards or some other favours." Does Lord Goschen view this state of affairs with equanimity? Does even the utmost anxiety to keep up the system of dyarchy, My Lord, justify a Governor tolerating such immoral conditions. I have quoted from the statements of those who are not members of the Justice Party and the very quotations serve to show also the folly of supposing that Lord Goschen has tamed the Swarajist lions into timid lambs. What has happened is that a few of them have been suborned by considerations such as those which their leaders have described. The rank and file are as determined as ever, perhaps more so now than before, to obstruct the Government. Was it worthwhile My Lord to condemn tried old friends for the chance of getting new allies? And yet such has been the policy of Lord Goschen. When such a state of politics prevails in the province that the more honest Swarajists themselves are disgusted, can Your Lordship not realise the justification of the resolution that the people are losing confidence in His Excellency the Governor? (5-8-27.)

V

My Lord,

I referred in my last letter to the immoral situation that has been created in this province by the appointment, as Ministers, of individuals who had no party in the Councils and no backing in the country and who followed, according to the admissions of Swarajist leaders, the policy of satisfying the members of the Swarajist opposition by unfair methods, in order to keep their seats secure. It is an open secret, however much it may be denied and whether there, is a pact between the Swaraj Party and the Ministry or not, that certain individual Swarajist members are able to guide the actions of the Ministers, to influence their decisions, to

prevent the fair course of administration and to bully them into passing orders which cannot stand the test of reason. I am aware, My Lord, that it is the legitimate duty of an opposition to influence and direct the policy of the Government, but you are too good a Parliamentarian not to realise that the duty should be discharged openly and in public, that the advice of members of the opposition should be tendered in such a manner, as to be subject to the fierce light of public criticism, and that private conclaves and secret interviews are not the means which ought to be adopted, if the purity of public life is to be preserved. You will easily have understood the political situation created in this Presidency by the appointment of the 'Benami Ministry' and I shall not labour the point further. But there is one resolution passed at Coimbatore, to which I should draw Your Lordship's prominent attention, and I would request you to give your very careful consideration to the implications of the resolution. The members of the Non-Brahmin Confederation who met at Coimbatore, passed a resolution that owing to the several acts that were being perpetrated chiefly by the Law Member of the Government of Madras and the first Minister, the people of the province were losing confidence in His Excellency Lord Goschen. I am aware, My Lord, that this resolution has been variously interpreted, and that a certain type of low individuals, who try to advance their personal interests by self-abasement and the genuflexions of the body and soul, which are supposed to please high personages, have been busy trying to suggest that the Confederation has passed a vote of no-confidence in the Governor of the Province and that it has even urged his recall. With men of that debased temperament, with emaculated persons who try to advance in grace by such despicable methods, I have no concern. I should like, however, to emphasise, not in extenuation or even in vindication,

but purely in the interests of truth, that the Confederation by its resolution conveyed a gentle hint to him, who is the temporary ruler of the province, that there was something rotten in the State of Denmark. It was a friendly reminder to His Excellency to look little more closely for himself into the administration of the province. It was as if Pauline had raised the curtain and told the supposed marble statue, Queen Hermione: "Come down; Descend; Be stone no more". The Laputan flapper is privileged by a gentle flap to call the attention of his Royal Master to the subject on hand, and the resolution, at Coimbatore could not be understood to be anything more than a flap from the Laputan flapper. My Lord, I have tried to give the real significance of the resolution not with any intention of wriggling out of it or of watering down its scope or purpose. One had only to be present at Coimbatore to see the spirit that animated the delegates, the resentment against particular acts of individual members of Government and the disgust with which the administration was viewed, but let me say in fairness to them that it had not yet come to the stage when the delegates at Coimbatore desired to state or even felt that nothing good can be expected of Lord Goschen. I wish from a knowledge of subsequent events that I could be equally sanguine of the feelings of my countrymen and that I could boldly state to-day, as I could indeed have said on the 2nd of July at Coimbatore, that people have still faith that the Governor will set right the mechanism of the Government which appears to have gone wrong. The manner in which the resolutions have been treated, the liberty given to some of the members of the Government to express themselves on such resolutions, the levity which has been shown, the more aggressive attitude which the very delinquents condemned at Coimbatore have taken up, the open flouting of all conventions—all these, My Lord, have created a new situation, not con-

templated by Coimbatore. Let me give Your Lordship just one instance of how irresponsible Lord Goschen's colleagues have become. The Law Member, in an interview which he gave soon after the Conference, stated that he refused to take the resolutions seriously, and he is apparently of the opinion that the criticism that they were the result of the advice of those who only half-understood the great measure that he had initiated, is sufficient to silence his unhealthy critics. But I am rather concerned with a more remarkable interview which he gave later, in which he stated that he understood that the Leader of the Party while the Confederation was still going on 'promptly sought an interview' of the Governor and tried 'to explain away the resolutions.' Whether this is an accurate statement of what took place need not be discussed. The statements of the Raja of Panagal and the Law Member are both before the public and the unprejudiced can draw their own inference from them. But, My Lord, what is the position to-day, if even an interview with the Head of the Province can be so freely referred to by one of his colleagues, obviously without the permission of either of the parties to it. Whither are we drifting, if a responsible member of Government can give expression to such statements, driving either the Governor or the gentleman who had the interview, to a contradiction in the press? Who could have given the information to Sir Ramaswami Iyer, and if neither of the two most concerned gave him the facts, how came he to make such a statement? What has His Excellency done to check the preversity of his colleague, and if he has not, can any one feel secure that he can have a confidential talk with the head of the province without the danger of its being made public? Your Lordship will pardon the digression, which was necessitated by my desire to explain the present position. But how came it, my Lord, that even that resolution, which I have described as a Laputan flap was passed at Coimbatore?

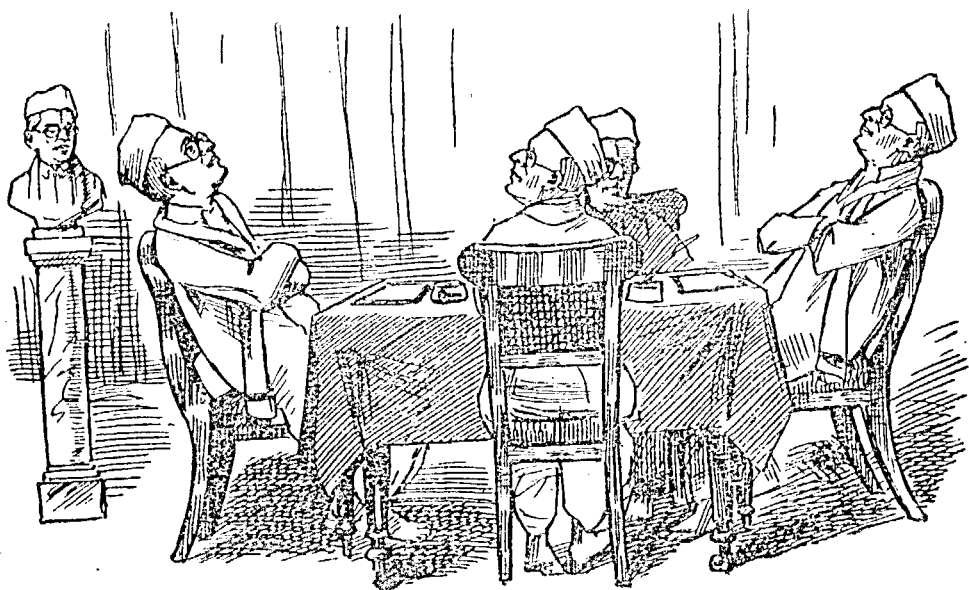
The Non-brahmins of this province are not accustomed to attacking those in authority indiscriminately. They have been amongst the most loyal of His Majesty's subjects. Their work in connection with the visits of Their Royal Highnesses, the Duke of Cannought and the Prince of Wales, I have described already. Nor have they been lacking in their respect to the local representative of the King. When members of the Council who are to-day basking in the sunshine of gubernatorial smiles, were attacking the position and dignity of the Governor, who was it, My Lord, that stood by the Head of the Province? When Mr. Ranganatha Mudaliar desired that the band of His Excellency the Governor should be disbanded, who was it that opposed it? When the little paraphernalia that surrounds the Governor was proposed to be scrapped, who prevented the act of Sabotage? When it was moved in the Legislative Council that money should not be voted for pictures to be hung in the Governor's residence, when it was seriously suggested that money should not be spent in furnishing His Excellency's quarters, aye, and when it was even pressed that money should not be spent in constructing the very saloon in which His Excellency Lord Goschen travels, who was it, My Lord, that opposed these motions and decided to vote funds, so as to preserve the status and dignity of the Governor? Was it not the hated Justicite, the bigotted communalist, he who is anathema to My Lord Goschen to-day? Did he not severely criticise the members of the opposition for their wild suggestions? Did he not risk his popularity, did he not refuse to play to the gallery by supporting one whose dignitary position ought to be beyond the cavils of political parties; "curb thy impetuous tongue nor rashly vain, nor singly mad asperse the sovereign reign"—that was the reply, My Lord, which the Justice Party made to those who thought that in detracting from the dignity of the Governor, they would aim a blow at British prestige in the country.

And what is the position to-day? Are not these detractors, the very persons who are in high favour, whose friendship is praised, whose interviews are most valued? Are not the persons who blackflagged on the occasion of gubernatorial visits, who organised hartals, who refused to vote for addresses to Governors—are not these the persons whom the Government of Lord Goschen is encouraging? And is not the present policy like that of the English fable "Fie Fo! Fum I smell the blood of a Justicite!"? Who, My Lord, is the opportunist, the person who has made a *volte face*, who has changed beyond all recognition, the Justicite at Coimbatore or he who has forgotten the past in the luxurious life of the present hour. (13-8-27.)

APPENDIX

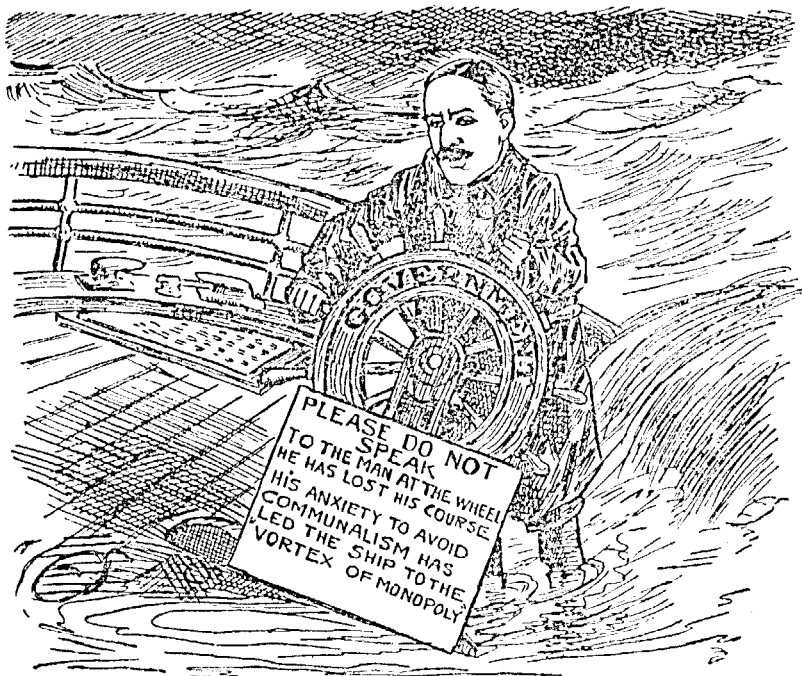
CARTOONS

THE ELECTION OF OFFICE-BEARERS. THE MYLAPORE METHOD



As the result of pushful enterprise our artist has succeeded in sketching the meeting of the Reception Committee of the Indian National Congress, where a "Provisional chairman" of the Reception Committee and other office-bearers were elected. All the members of the Reception Committee are present at the meeting.

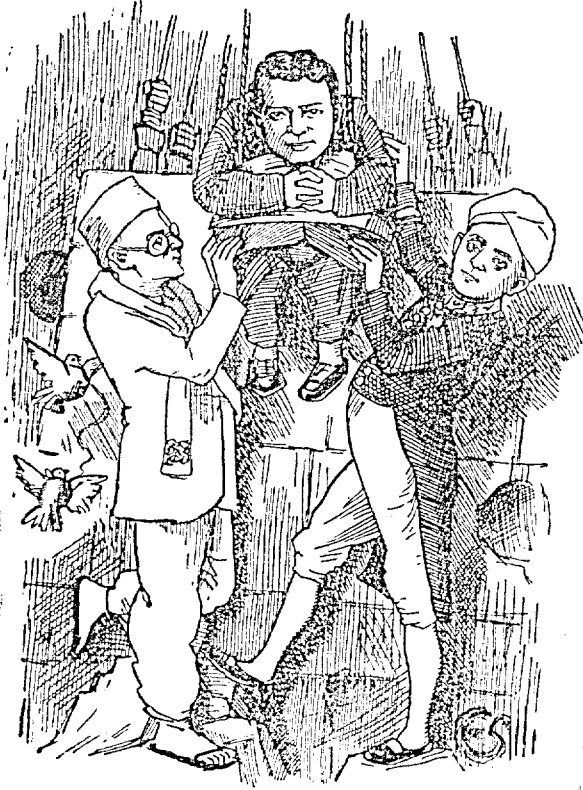
1st July 1927.



Wheel and Woe.

2nd July 1927.

HUMPTY DUMPTY.



Humpty-Dumpty sat on a wall
Humpty-Dumpty had a great fall
C.P. and Sriman with all their men
Hope to set Humpty-Dumpty up again.

14th July 1927.

THE BATHERS AND THE OTHER BANK.



G.S.H.N. I hope he wont take me out of my depths ; I don't half like it. Its getting awfully cold and the Prospect now is not as beautiful as it looked before I got into these unkown depths.

Dr. S.B.R.Y.N. Splash, splash ; How I am enjoying myself for the moment.

A.R. & R.N.A.: Shall we also plunge? We are ready for it anyhow.

The Three M's.

(M.S M.R.M.D.U.N.) Beastly nuisance having to undress and to cast off all our past experience. We know yonder bank and the treacherous sand there. Let's wait and see how they get on.

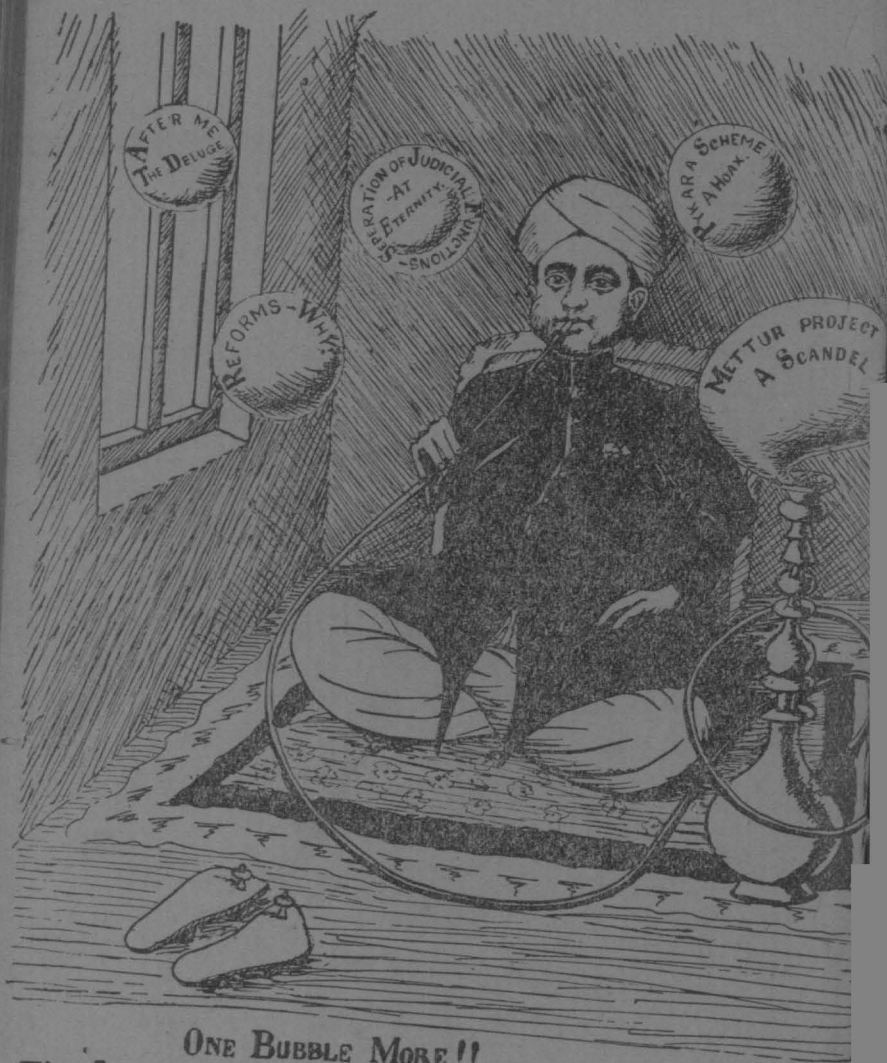
16th July 1927.

THE FINANCE MEMBER'S DILEMMA.



'T.E. Moir :—' What big eyes and what small digestive organs'

10th March '27.



"ONE BUBBLE MORE".

The Law member enjoying his favourite past-time!

17th March

ONE BUBBLE MORE!!

The Law Member enjoying his favourite past-time!

WINDOW-DRESSING IN EXCELSIS!



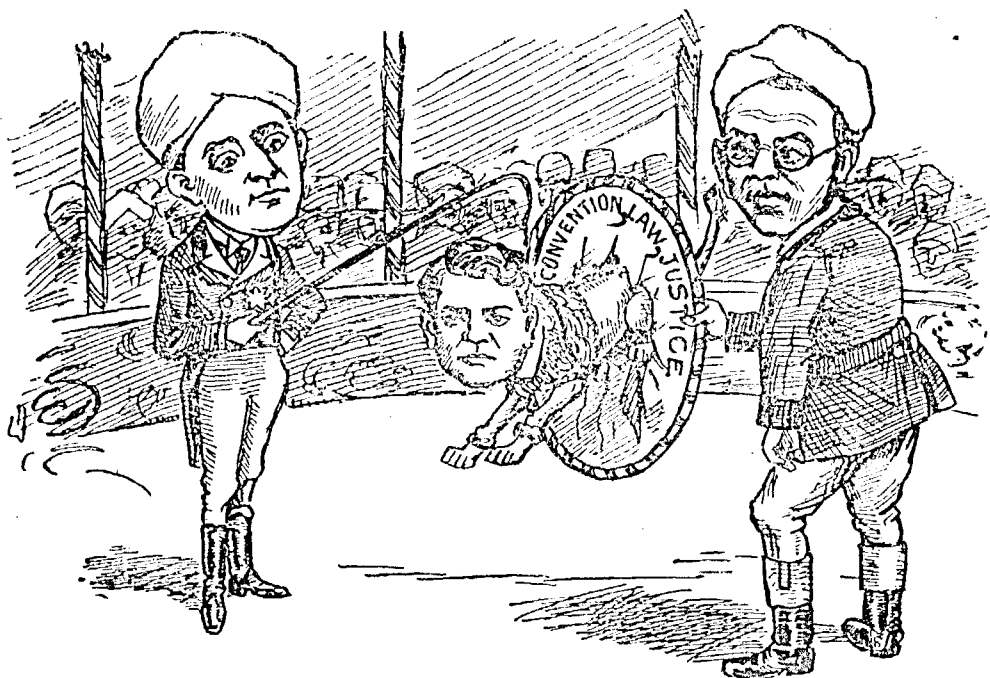
Dr. P.S. (the Shop-artist)—“Now then Mr. A.R.M. Have you put everything out, for the great day.

Mr. A.R.M. “Yes, Doctor, There are some checks to the Justicities, Neutral tints for Srimanites, a case of Mirzapur worsted, our Flexibles from Salem, Designs of Mr. Chetput, Either down in Guntur, lots of trimmings and any number of Nominations to tie them to us.

Dr. P.S. That is good! And then we are prepared to keep the concern going at any cost,

28th July 1927.

BREAKING THROUGH THE HOOP.



The two rival circuses which are at present exhibiting in the City, have inspired our artist to visualise the performances, no less attractive and interesting, put on the Boards at Ootacamund. The Independent Minister is leaping through the hoops breaking convention, law and Justice at the dictation of the Swarajists with a facility which has put the Circus performers to shame.

We must readily give the palm to the menagerie at Stonehouse which has attracted an audience from all parts of the Presidency.

30th July 1927.

THE NEW NURSERY RHYMES.



"Sing a song of six pence, a pocket full of rye

Half a dozen black schemes baked in a pie.

When the pie was opened

The schemes began to burst.

Oh! What a frightful dish to set,

Before my Lord Goschen "

The Diner—L.R.D.—G.S.H.N.

The Chef—C.P.R.

3rd August 1927

THE DILEMMA OF GOVERNORS.



The Showman :—"On your right you will perceive a Governor, A Bolishing of himself by constitutional limitations and self-imposed restrictions'. And over your left is another Governor who talks of 'My Government' A Bolishing all respect 'and courtesy usual shown to the representative of the Crown."

The Puzzled Citizen :—"But which is the Governor?

The Showman :—"Which ever you please, my little Sir. You pays your money and you takes your choice.

4th August 1927

"JOHNNY GILPIN."



(S. S.-R.-N.-V.-S—L.-Y.-G.-R....., John Gilpin).

The Horse who never in that sort.

Had handled been before.

What thing upon his back he had got.

Did wonder more and more.

23rd September 1927

THE GUBERNATORIAL PROGRESS



1st Citizen:—Where are they going? Can not they see the yawning precipice?

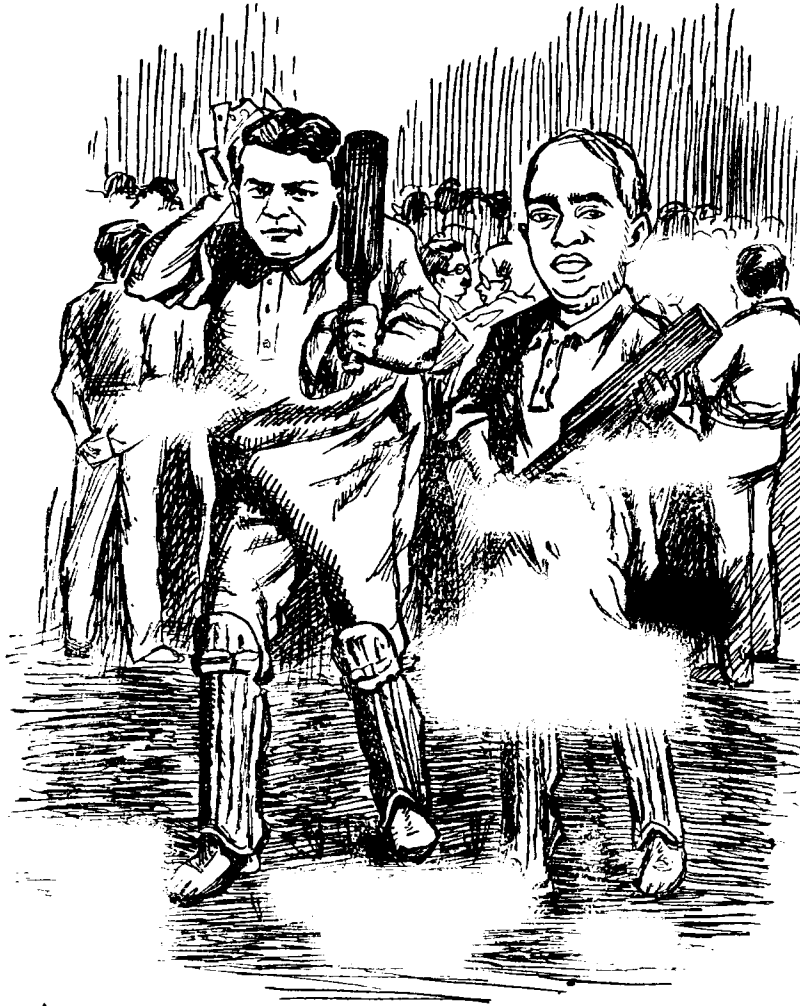
2nd Citizen:—Don't you see that the occupant of the coach is in a trance unfortunately? Those that drag, those that drive and those that push are obviously unconcerned as to what is likely to happen.

3rd Citizen:—But cant anything be done to save disaster?

2nd Citizen:—Yes! warnings have repeatedly been given. You see the last warning on the post by the roadside. But if all warnings are of no avail well! Kismet! What is to happen will happen.

2nd August 1927.

“STUMPS DRAWN”



A.R.M.—“Phew! What an innings!

Doctor! A close shave! But we managed to stick on!”

Dr. P.S.—“Hum! Glad you think so!

But you might have backed me up better at the finish?”

(No—Confidence motion)

24th September 1927.

THE CHEERFUL SWARAJIST PARTY.



(After the late Phil May's well known drawing: "We're a fair old, rare old, rickety rickety crew.")

(Dissensions in the Swarajist party)

26th September 1927

THE INNOCENTS IN THE STORM.



1st Innocent (Dr. P.—S.—b.—r.—y.—n.) Oh! the storm in front,

2nd Innocent (S.—t.—y.—m.—r.—t.) Oh! the storm from behind.

Both the Innocents—in chorus.—Oh! The storm from all sides—'tis dreadful. Let us stick together.

The budget discussions and the debate on the Madras University Amendment Bill, have disclosed the real position of the Ministry and the Swarajist opposition (!)

7th April 1927

THE DOUBLE-LEADERS.



63

Circus-Master (C. P. R.)—That's capital my boys? It's a trying position I know, but only a few months more and we shall be secure

Mr. T. Prakasam in a recent interview described the Law Member as controlling the Swarajists. Mr. S. Sreenivasa Iyengar leader of the Swarajist Party wired to the Madras clique to support the Ministry.

26th May 1927.



(WITH APOLOGIES TO MR. FRANK BARRAUD)

27th May 1927.

HOW THE INDEPENDENT MINISTRY WAS SAYED.



"We're saved! We're saved!!"

[Dr. P.-S.-B.-B.-R.-Y.-N.) "I have thrown that to them already. But it has satisfied only the Northern wolves. By God! I shall throw these now and save myself and my friends."]

The Independent Ministry was saved from defeat and annihilation during the last Budget session by the Swarajist Party remaining neutral.

9th June 1927.



THE POLITICAL ACROBATS.

(S.-S.-R.-N.-V.-S.-I.-Y.-N.-G.-R.) "Steady there! We must all face one way lest the balance be lost and we topple over."

The criticism on the resolution of the Working Committee has shown the necessity of the President and General Secretary of the Congress and the Leader and Deputy Leader of the party in the Council, supporting each other by interviews and speeches.

11th June 1927.

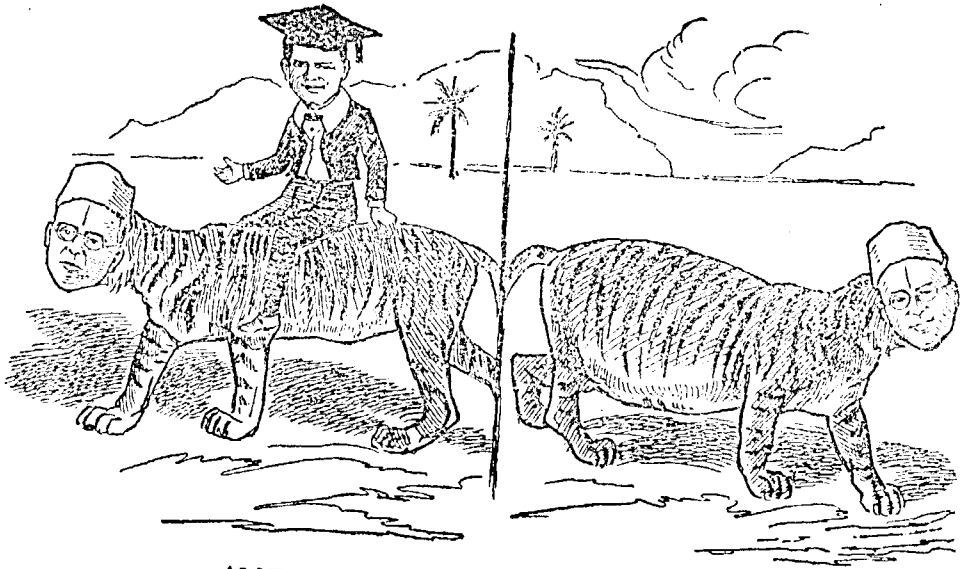
THE LAW OF PROGRESS.



How the Independent Ministry is induced to carry on the administration.

23rd June 1927.

RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT



1927

1928

Master Subrayan of Trichengode
Smiled as on a Tiger he rode,
They returned from the ride
With Master Subrayan inside
And the smile on the face of the Tiger.

25th June 1927.



The Gov
3/11/84

My dear

Can you try to find for

Shankar a Bar and the manuscript
last. He is a young man of parts
who has much interest
with his papers.

Yours
J. H. S. S. S.
C. B. S. S. S. S.

Justice Beasley and Law reporting.

(Vide page 235)